

Spring 2012

Serbian/Albanian Bilingualism in Kosova: Reversal or Entrenchment of the Curse of Babel?

Sarah Littisha Jansen
SIT Study Abroad

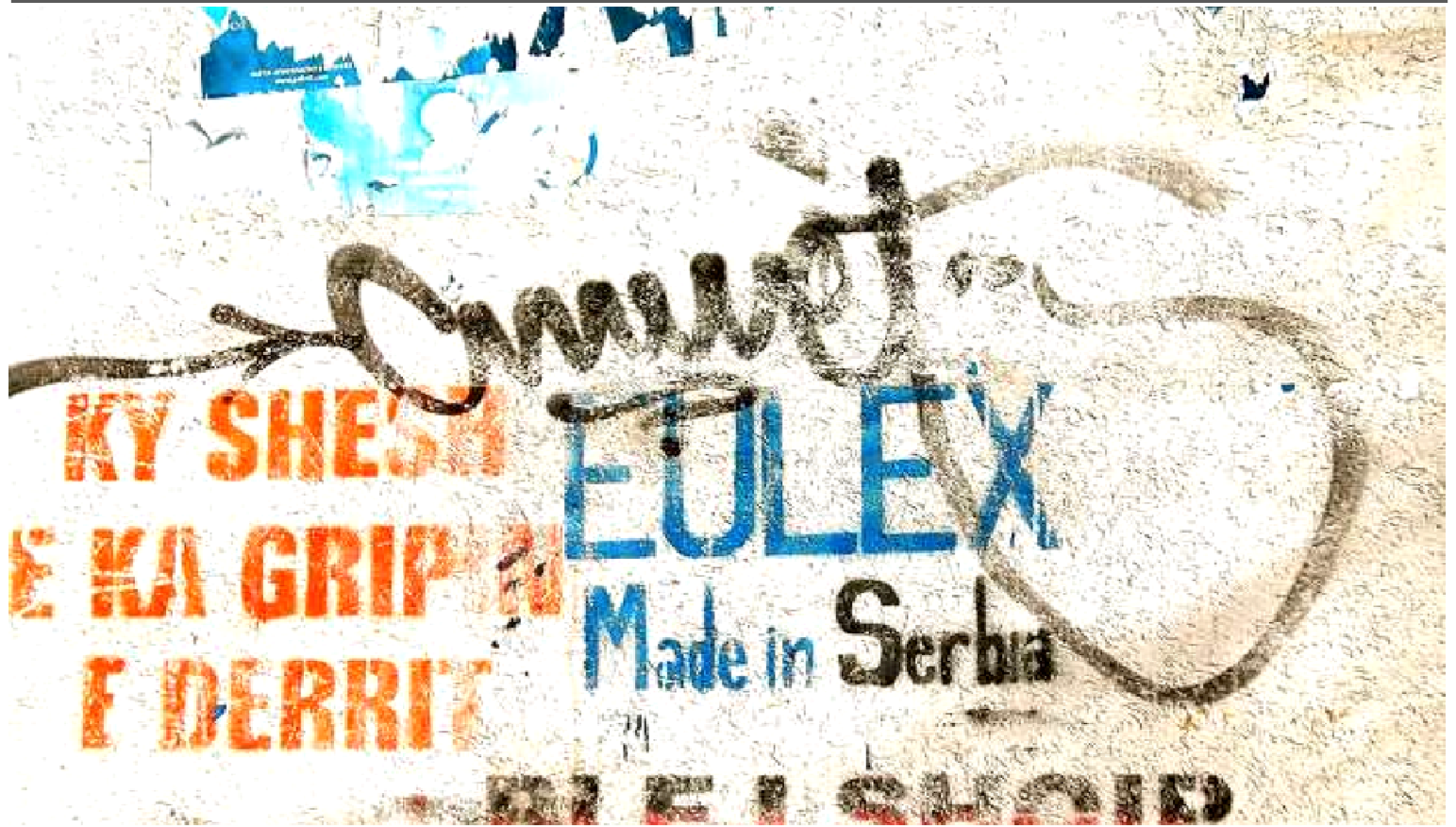
Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp_collection

 Part of the [Anthropological Linguistics and Sociolinguistics Commons](#), and the [Family, Life Course, and Society Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Jansen, Sarah Littisha, "Serbian/Albanian Bilingualism in Kosova: Reversal or Entrenchment of the Curse of Babel?" (2012). *Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection*. 1319.
https://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp_collection/1319

This Unpublished Paper is brought to you for free and open access by the SIT Study Abroad at SIT Digital Collections. It has been accepted for inclusion in Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection by an authorized administrator of SIT Digital Collections. For more information, please contact digitalcollections@sit.edu.



**SERBIAN/ALBANIAN BILINGUALISM IN KOSOVA:
REVERSAL OR ENTRENCHMENT OF THE CURSE OF BABEL?**

GUIDE TO THE CONTENT

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
ABSTRACT	iii
INTRODUCTORY REMARKS	1
LITERATURE REVIEW	5
METHODOLOGY	8
THE BAD NEWS FIRST: NEGATIVE IMAGES OF SERBIAN	11
Institutional Violence	12
Physical Violence	14
Verbal Violence	15
Contemporary Violence	17
THE SLIGHTLY BETTER: SERBIAN AS “OKAY”	20
Practically Speaking	21
Professionally Speaking	23

THE PROMISING: POWERFUL IMAGES	26
Historical and Cultural Value	26
Intrinsic Value	28
Language of Relationships	30
Language of Respect	31
Language of Identity	32
Dissidence! Otpor!	35
LIBERATORY BILINGUALISM VS. INSTRUMENTAL BILINGUALISM	38
CAN BILINGUALS ACT AS INTERCOMMUNITY BRIDGES?	44
ENGLISH: UNIVERSAL OR NEOCOLONIAL LANGUAGE?	46
CONCLUSIONS	48
CAVEATS AND LIMITATIONS	51
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER INQUIRY	52
BIBLIOGRAPHY	53
ANNEX 1.0: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS	56
ANNEX 2.0: JOHAN GALTUNG, A TYPOLOGY OF VIOLENCE	57

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for Serbia, Bosnia and Kosovo: Peace and Conflict Studies in the Balkans, SIT Study Abroad, Spring 2012

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A finished work is the product of many more people than just the author. So many intelligent and inspiring people have contributed to this work in a multitude of ways. My profound gratitude and appreciation goes to the following individuals. First and foremost, to my advisor Yll Buleshkaj who lent his contacts, time, efficiency, and expert guidance to this project. His feedback has been invaluable. Also, to Danilo Popadić for introducing me to the region of the Balkans and its complex and fascinating history and to Donovan Kavish for his insightful comments and careful proofreading. To my professors Awalou Ouedraogo and Veronique Tomaszewski at Glendon college for their letters of reference, encouragement, and support prior to my departure for the Balkans. Additionally, to the Stevanović family, who graciously welcomed me into their home in Belgrade, and to the staff of the SIT Peace and Conflict Studies in the Balkans program, with special mention to Orli Fridman, Nenad Porobić, and Nikica Strizak, for the incredible learning experiences and opportunities they have facilitated, including the very production of this paper. Orli's scholarly suggestions and critical editing have been especially appreciated. Finally, to all the participants in this research, all those who shared their time, memories, thoughts, and stories with me. To all these individuals who have been an integral part of creating and supporting this work, through their time, expertise, and effort: Faleminderit shumë, hvala lepo, and thank-you very much!

ABSTRACT

Dynamics of power between multiple languages in one space are indicative of and inform the relationship between the speakers of those languages. In post-conflict Kosova, two ethno-linguistic groups, Kosovar Serbians and Kosovar Albanians, live in a context where language has become politicized and long-standing linguistic, political, and social hierarchies of power have been radically disturbed. This paper describes the myriad of images of the Serbian language in the country, focusing particularly on those that come from the Serbian/Albanian bilingual Kosovar Albanian community. It then discusses how these inform language as a political tool and what the consequences of this are for peaceful intercommunity relations. A total of eight bilingual respondents from Prishtina and Prizren were interviewed about their perceptions, feelings, and use of the Serbian language, including how these may have changed over time. Three sets of images or narratives are identified, then this paper explores how each set relates to theories of bilingualism and potential for progressive social change.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

In the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRJ), Kosovo/Kosova's social and political inequality was indicated both by its status,¹ not as a republic but as an autonomous province—with the 'autonomous' later being unilaterally abolished by Serbia—and the subjugation of the Albanian language to Serbo-Croatian.² In September 1991, Kosova held a referendum on independence and 87.01% of the population took part with 99.87% voting in favor of independence.³ The Serbian government did not hesitate to respond “with strong opposition, firing tens of thousands of Albanians from their jobs, *banning the teaching of the Albanian language*, and transferring a heavy police force to Kosovo territory” (emphasis added).⁴ The Albanian response to such linguistic oppression—one of many in a line of historical instances of it and symptomatic of more systematic social oppression—was investment in a parallel education structure that fostered the protection of Albanian culture and language. Education was a very important domain to assert control over. As Vedran Obućina remarks,

Among Albanians, education was always regarded as a national breakthrough. Over the centuries various conquerors and governments refused to give education in Albanian language, fearing it could spread Albanian nationalism. Education was also one of the ways for peaceful resistance, another founding myth, vested in the cultural rising in Yugoslavia and the parallel education system in 1990s.⁵

¹ It is symptomatic of the politicization of language in the territory that toponyms are as contested and politically connotative as they are. Serbians and Albanians have different names for the territory and its cities, sometimes the difference is a matter of a slightly different spelling, sometimes names differ completely. Kosovo is the Serbian name for the territory, which it does not recognize as a country, and it is also the Standard English spelling. Kosova is the Albanian spelling. Hereafter Kosova, however original spelling is left in citations. Cities and municipalities will be introduced, as applicable, with both names and then the spelling, unless otherwise indicated, will default to that of the majority community.

² During Yugoslavia the official language was known as Serbo-Croatian. Following the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia, four separate languages have been officially proclaimed: Serbian, Bosnian, Croatian, and Montenegrin. It is a matter of dispute whether these are in fact different languages or, as they are mutually intelligible and differ in only minor matters of vocabulary, script, points of grammar, and pronunciation, if they are merely dialects of the same language. In this paper I use all the names and various hyphenations interchangeably.

³ The Kosovar Serbs boycotted the referendum. Silvo Devetak, “Minorities and autonomy in Central and Eastern European Countries”, in *Federalism, Regionalism, Local Autonomy and Minorities*, Council of Europe, 1997, 75.

⁴ Enika Abazi, “Kosovo Independence: An Albanian Perspective”, *SETA Policy Brief* 11 (2008): 1.

⁵ Vedran Obućina, “A War of Myths: Creation of the Founding Myth of Kosovo Albanians”, *Contemporary Issues* 4.1 (2011): 40.

Ultimately, the Serbian prioritization of state security at the expense of human rights in Kosova “created an environment in which Serbs and Albanians could no longer live together, and led the Kosovar Albanians to begin their search for independence.”⁶

Abdeljalil Akkari points out that the “act of repossessing public use of native languages was a leitmotiv in many national liberation movements”;⁷ as in contexts like Northern Africa where this was the case, so it was also in Kosova. Although the unequal relationship between languages in the former Yugoslavia was a point of contention, inequalities tended to be downplayed inside the overarching ideology of Communist equality: *Bratstvo i Jedinstvo* (Brotherhood and Unity). This collapsed in a series of events that occurred in relatively rapid succession: the death of Yugoslavia’s charismatic dictator Josip Broz Tito, the fall of communism inside the country and the world at large, and Kosova’s subsequent struggle for independence, which involved a violent conflict. With this environment of political friction and uncertainty the Serbian and Albanian languages became highly politicized. Under such duress, Kosovar Albanians more intimately linked a collective identity as an Albanian nation to the Albanian language.⁸

Indeed, in the European context in general, nation and language already had a history of being very closely related. Anton Pelinka remarks that, “modern nations—especially modern European nations—are in many cases built upon the understanding that a common language implies a common nation.”⁹ Additionally, Kosovar Albanians do not all share the same religion but they all speak Albanian. The analysis of Baldwin, a scholar of Ebonics, is pertinent: “[Language] is the

⁶ Abazi, 1.

⁷ Abdeljalil Akkari, “Bilingual Education: Beyond Linguistic Instrumentalization” *Bilingual Research Journal: The Journal of the National Association for Bilingual Education* 22: 2-4 (1998): 104.

⁸ The word to designate citizens of Kosova is still under some debate. There is a claim that Kosovar refers only to Albanians, Kosovac refers only to Serbians, and Kosovan refers to all citizens. In this paper Kosovar is used as an adjective and to refer to all citizens of Kosova, regardless of ethnicity. When a specific portion of the citizenry of Kosova is referred to this reference will be indicated by an additional qualifier (i.e. Kosovar Albanian).

⁹ Anton Pelinka, “Language as a Political Category: The Viewpoint of Political Science”, *Journal of Language and Politics* 6: 1 (2007): 131.

most vivid and crucial key to identify: It reveals the private identity and connects one with, or divorces one from, the larger, public, or communal identity.”¹⁰ Albanian is thus doubly poised, as the language of political nation-building efforts and as the language of identity. Thus the very act of speaking confesses a political identity.

As it became a language of resistance, so speaking Albanian was a form of political statement. This is supported by Akkari, who notes that during the termination of their political autonomy “Albanians in Kosovo were fighting for the survival of their native tongue by boycotting schools that had banned Albanian as the language of instruction.”¹¹ Defined in opposition to this, Serbian became the language that represented the Other and oppression. Pelinka argues that “[l]inguistic conflicts have always also been conflicts between centre and periphery, between the hegemony whose linguistic dominance is fought together with his economic, cultural, political dominance.”¹² The hierarchy of power of Serbian and Albanian languages reflected the hierarchy of power of their respective societies within the conflict and Albanian resistance took both violent and cultural-linguistic forms.

In the post-conflict context Kosova remains a deeply divided society with virtually overlapping ethnic, linguistic, and, to a much lesser extent, religious social cleavages. This is dangerous because, as Pelinka ominously warns, “cleavages which are not cross-cutting but parallel tend to have explosive implications”.¹³ Additionally, the hierarchy of linguistic, as well as social and political, power has also been inverted post-independence. In 1999, the international community, embarrassed by the Srebrenica massacre in neighboring Bosnia, intervened in the conflict in support of ethnic Albanians in Kosova. International backing initiated a reversal of power relations that only intensified in later years, culminating with the declaration of

¹⁰ James Baldwin, “If Black English Isn’t a Language, Then Tell Me, What Is?”, *The Black Scholar* 27 (1997): 1.

¹¹ Akkari, 105.

¹² Pelinka, 141.

¹³ Pelinka, 133.

independence in 2008. Since this shift and presently, Albanian is the dominant language in Kosova while Serbian and other languages are marginalized—in every day reality if not in the policy framework for the protection of minority language rights foisted on the new republic by the international community.¹⁴

It is with this context in mind that the choices of those individuals caught between this socially constructed linguistic great divide become pertinent. The older generation of Kosovar Albanians who were educated in Yugoslavia have knowledge of Serbian along with a handful of Kosovar Albanians or individuals from mixed marriages who have learned for personal, professional, or family reasons. This study focuses on Serbian/Albanian bilingualism in Kosova from a predominantly Albanian perspective, the perspective of these bilinguals who have a (potential) position between ‘us’ and ‘them’ in a divided society. I chose this focus in order to find out (i) what kind of perceptions bilinguals have about the Serbian language, their Serbian knowledge, and the use of that knowledge and (ii) what is the explicit or implicit political statement, if any, being made through the choice to use or not to use Serbian language skills in different contexts. An investigation of these questions is pertinent in order to understand the current images of and micronarratives about the Serbian language and explore both how they relate to individual and collective identity as well as to potentially bridging or further entrenching the ethno-linguistic societal divide in Kosova.

Currently, Kosovar Albanians are heavily engaged in nation-building processes and this is at its heart a purely Albanian project. This can be seen in the disregard for translation into non-Albanian languages during the drafting of legislation, to say nothing of the persistent problems of the poor quality of translation of even primary legislation into Serbian.¹⁵ The relationship between the Serbian and Albanian languages speaks volumes about the present relationship between Serbian

¹⁴ Obućina, 32.

¹⁵ OSCE Mission in Kosovo, “Multilingual Legislation in Kosovo and its Challenges”, February 2012.

and Albanian communities in Kosova. It is precisely the breakdown of interpersonal relationships such as these that Lederach posits as a definition of conflict and as such, he continues, conflict transformation necessitates “the restoration and rebuilding of relationships.”¹⁵ If a conflict has a linguistic element then it follows that the relationship between languages becomes inherently important. In the case of Kosova, this opens the question of whether a historically abusive relationship can be transformed into a power-sharing and mutually beneficial one.

This paper intends to elaborate on different images of the Serbian language that can be heard within the Kosovar Albanian community. These images are very disparate; they range from fear to nostalgia and cover the very wide ground in between. Several attempts will be made to categorize these different images, contextualize them, and examine their respective weight and prevalence. The role of the bilinguals themselves, as related to which images they consciously or unconsciously choose to embrace, is then discussed. Finally, a brief tangent on the role of the English language in Kosovar society will precede final conclusions.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Much has been written about language and language policy in Kosova, but the references in academic literature are rather scattered or tangential to the authors’ main arguments and case studies. There is no comprehensive examination of power relations between linguistic communities in Kosova, let alone the unique position of Serbian/Albanian bilinguals within a dichotomist context where Serbian and Albanian are conceived of as fairly rigid and mutually exclusive social categories. Nevertheless, there is much literature that contributes significantly to grounding the proposed research in theory.

Firstly, Enika Abazi and Robert Greenberg comment on oppression of Kosovar Albanians, linguistic oppression being one of the many forms, by SFRJ and FRJ. Abazi accuses Serbia of

¹⁵ John Paul Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, Washington DC: USIP 1997, 24.

attempting to achieve state security objectives “by enacting massive violations of human rights and furthering a total dissolution of societal security.”¹⁶ An analysis of the violence of the regime can be founded upon Johan Galtung’s theorization of violence. He distinguishes between several aspects of violence, the most pertinent of which are that violence can be structural or personal, physical or psychological, and manifest or latent.¹⁷ His different qualifiers are agglutinative, thus one can have latent psychological structural violence. Yet he acknowledges that these dichotomies are blurred rather than strict since, for example, personal actors carry out state sanctioned violence and psychological torture can be physically detrimental. Nevertheless his theories on violence contribute to an understanding of state violence in the context of Kosova in the 1990s. Meanwhile, Greenberg adds that by imposing Serbo-Croatian language throughout the state “Socialist Yugoslavia had violated a fundamental rule; it denied the right of each people to its own language.”¹⁸ Shkëlzen Gashi narrates, through the biography of Adem Demaçi, the effect of this violation in Kosova.¹⁹ Broadly, these authors nuance an understanding of how language policy can be used as a show of power between linguistic communities situated in a power hierarchy.

The authors Doli et al., Pelinka, Baldwin, Akkari, and Raymonde all complement this by focusing, to varying degrees, on the link between language and individual and communal identities. For example, Doli et al. emphasize that the European Union Commission considers the use of language “what makes us human and gives each of us a sense of identity”.²⁰ According to Pelinka, “[l]anguage is one of the criteria defining inclusion (‘we’) and exclusion (‘the other’).”²¹ Raymonde further notes that “[m]ultidimensional identities are embedded in local and global relations of power

¹⁶ Abazi, 3.

¹⁷ Johan Galtung, “Violence, Peace, and Peace Research”, *Jornal of Peace Research*, 1969, 173. See Annex 2.0 for his explanatory diagram.

¹⁸ Robert Greenberg, *Language and Identity in the Balkans*, Oxford University Press, 2004, 11.

¹⁹ Shkëlzen Gashi, *Adem Demaçi: Biography*, Prishtina: Rrokullia Publishing House, 2010.

²⁰ Dren Doli, Ketrina Cabiri, and Fisnik Korenica, “Equalizing the Use of Language: A View to Kosovo Law’s Guarantees Upon Minority Languages”, *The Open Law Journal* 3 (2010): 9.

²¹ Pelinka, 131.

and can be created and recreated imaginatively through symbolic links and associations”.²² Together they make clear that language is a defining and deeply personal characteristic of an individual and that linguistic differences which coincide with power disparities can be the site of a socially constructed cleavage in society. That cleavage masks other differences inside the linguistic communities, including differences in dialects or internal power disparities, and can provide a basis for political mobilization of the non-hegemonic group.

In the case of political mobilization the narrative of oppression can become a sort of weapon for the weak. This narrative creates solidarity and legitimizes a fight against the established order. Abdeljalil Akkari cites Trujillo who explains that in Texas the Chicano worldview has been shaped “by a long history of political subordination, economic exploitation, and the struggle for civil rights”;²³ Chicano leaders see official language education as a colonizing institution that contributes to the continuation of exploitation and subordination of Chicanos by Anglo-Americans. This example shows how a history of unequal power relations conditions a worldview to be sensitized to mechanisms of reproducing social inequality and this heightened awareness can then provide grounds for political mobilization.

Obučina deconstructs national Kosovar mythology and determines it to be an essentially Albanian master narrative based on the myth of omnipresent suffering and victimhood. If the nation is understood as a big solidarity that is “based on victims and their sacrifice which is understood as necessary in the past, present and in the future” than a narrative of victimhood is essential.²⁴ The attractiveness and political clout of a cult of victimhood is readily apparent, however it runs the risk of justifying a very exclusive kind of nation-building. While Doli et al. praise Kosova’s Law on the

²² Sneddon Raymonde, “Magda and Albana: Learning to Read with Language Books”, *Language and Education* 22.2 (2008): 142.

²³ Akkari, 106.

²⁴ Obučina, 34.

Use of Languages as evidence of respect for the linguistic rights of minority communities,²⁵ the most recent report from the OSCE on multilingual legislation in Kosova warns that implementation is lacking. The poor translation or non-translation of legislation is widespread and “contributes to the exclusion of non-majority community members from public affairs.”²⁶

With the reversal of power relations between Serbian and Albanian linguistic communities, rather than the equalization of those power relations, Kosova is definitely leaning towards an exclusive rather than integrative process of nation-building. Those poised between linguistic communities by virtue of being bilingual are in a position to choose through their actions to falsify and problematize the linguistic divide or to entrench it by rejecting their own linguistic knowledge. This research aims to examine precisely this and is informed by Akkari’s concepts of instrumental and liberatory bilingualism. Instrumental bilingualism allows for minority language knowledge that does not challenge existing power structures—this is the case in most foreign language education programs—whilst liberatory bilingualism is using the power of mastering two or more languages or dialects in order to seek cultural, social, economic, and political equality between the dominant and minority groups.²⁷ In Kosova, instrumental bilingualism would allow Kosovar Albanians to have or gain knowledge of Serbian without altering the Albanian linguistic community’s position of power in society. Conversely, those practicing liberatory bilingualism would use their knowledge of both languages to promote an equal and inclusive society.

METHODOLOGY

The data collection for this project has consisted of semi-structured interviews carried out with eight individuals, five in Prishtina and three in Prizren.²⁸ All identify as Albanian, speak

²⁵ Doli et al., 13.

²⁶ OSCE Mission in Kosovo, “Multilingual Legislation in Kosovo and its Challenges”, February 2012, 19.

²⁷ Akkari, 115.

²⁸ The capital is referred to as Priština in its Serbian form, Prishtinë or Prishtina in its Albanian form, and Pristina in Standard English. Hereafter Prishtina. Prizren is one city whose name is consistent across languages.

Albanian as their first language, and are over thirty years of age, with two exceptions. One participant is a member of the Kosovar Bosniak community, and thus speaks Bosnian as his first language, and one participant from Prishtina is twenty-two and of mixed parentage, his mother is Bosniak and his father Albanian. All participants were male; the specific limitations imposed upon the study by this fact will be discussed in a later section.

The participants came from different educational and occupational backgrounds, although all had some experience with translation or interpretation, whether professionally in some aspect or informally. Every participant was at least trilingual; languages spoken or known by the participants, other than Serbian and Albanian, included English, Turkish, Macedonian, Bulgarian, Persian, French, Italian, and German. Each participant had substantial knowledge of both Serbian and Albanian. Although their training and specific competencies varied, this means that they possessed native fluency in at least one of the languages and were comfortably fluent in at least two and up to all four of the following categories in the other: reading, writing, speaking, and oral comprehension. All interviews were conducted in English, with the exception of one interview in Prizren, which was conducted partially in English and partially through Albanian-English translation provided by a previous participant. Living for a month in Prishtina and traveling within the country also allowed for observation of the use or lack thereof of the Serbian language in public spaces—posters, signs, pamphlets, speeches, celebrations, and conversations on the street.

This topic held particular interest for me as a student and young researcher because I am a bilingual (English/Français) federalist Canadian from Anglophone Canada. As a bilingual individual from a country with a linguistic divide, I am familiar with language being perceived as political and tied to a social hierarchy. Coming from an Anglophone province, my native tongue, English, reveals my privilege in society. This privilege is encapsulated in the French Canadian Michèle Lalonde's chilling 1974 poem *Speak White*, in which the English language in Canada is

conceptually linked to the oppression and unequal power relations of capitalism, colonialism, and slavery.

My choice to learn and speak French, one of the official languages of Canada, and support bilingualism in Canada is directly linked to my identity as a federalist and my belief that bilingualism at the level of individual citizens is an integral part of the continued existence of a multicultural state. My strong views on the role bilingualism plays in Canadian life inescapably conditioned, to some extent, how I engaged with interviews and analysis in this project, perhaps through inappropriate comparison. Language is strongly related to social, economic, and political power in Canada just as in Kosova. However, the distinctness of the Kosovar case is that there has been a relatively recent reversal of power relations between Serbian and Albanian linguistic, cultural, social, and political hegemony.

My particular bilingual education also influenced my choice of topic and focus in this study. As an Anglophone that has spent nine years being educated largely by Francophone professors in Canada, I have also come to have a sense of responsibility for the current and historical maltreatment of French Canadians by English Canada. This has generalized as a tendency to sympathize with the minority, the disenfranchised, or the marginalized in a society. My initial thought was to analyze Serbian perspectives towards the dominant Albanian language because before and during my initial visit to Kosova I perceived the Albanian language as dominant. While true *at present*, this did not reflect an understanding of the wider historical context where the Albanian language, culture, and community in Kosova has until quite recently been subjugated to Serbian, Yugoslavian, or other governing powers' languages, cultures, and communities.

This also brings into focus my identity as an outsider. This outsider identity is highlighted by two main deficiencies: historical and linguistic. I lack an instinctive grounding in the history of the region and indeed have been the recipient of much (mis)information about Kosova and the

Kosovar Albanian community over the years from contacts in the Serbian and Albanian diaspora communities in Canada who have their own unique positionalities. In addition, I lack a familiarity with either of the languages, Serbian or Albanian, being discussed. I have a limited knowledge of the Serbian language acquired through a few months of formal education and my knowledge of the Albanian language, either dialect, is virtually non-existent. This necessarily restricts my analysis to a certain level of superficiality that is hopefully mitigated by the fact that this paper proceeds in a descriptive and theoretical vein that does not require as much practical knowledge of the language as it does knowledge about the language, its use, and its context.

THE BAD NEWS FIRST: NEGATIVE IMAGES OF SERBIAN

Šest vekova kasnije, danas, opet smo u bitkama, i pred bitkama.
One nisu oružane, mada i takve još nisu isključene.²⁹

(Slobodan Milošević, Gazimestan Speech, 28.06.1989)³⁰

Henceforth the focus shifts to an analytically guided retelling of differing perceptions and narratives of the Serbian language in the lives of Kosovar Albanian bilinguals. Unfortunately, this is impossible to execute without examining some very dark images of the Serbian language. It is not in order to prioritize these images or to suggest that they are hegemonic that this paper addresses them first, rather this ordering makes quasi-chronological sense because most of these negative images stem from the past and were more prevalent in the past. Throughout the protracted conflict in Kosova in the 1990s, the Serbian language was the language of the enemy and became heavily tainted through the violent regime it was used by and became a language to be feared, a language of violence. There are four aspects of violence that the Serbian language is intertwined with, namely, institutional violence, physical violence, verbal violence, and contemporary violence.

²⁹ Translation: Six centuries later, now, we are being again engaged in battles and are facing battles. They are not armed battles, although such things cannot be excluded yet.

³⁰ Slobodan Milošević, "Govor Slobodana Miloševića na Gazimestanu, 28. Jun 1989", Vreme, 25.06.2009., www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=872091 (accessed 25.05.2012).

Institutional Violence

Johan Galtung referred to a concept of structural violence, distinguished from personal violence by a lack of subject. “There may not be any person who directly harms another person in the structure. The violence is built into the structure and shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances.”³¹ Assuming a state to not be a personal actor, this loosely corresponds with what is intended here by the term institutional violence. However, Galtung’s concept of structural violence included violence committed by any undefined actor and included several subdivisions, notably physical structural violence and psychological structural violence. Institutional violence refers to a kind of structural violence that is built into a state or regime, its institutions and mechanisms. It also mostly refers to psychological violence, although low level or indirect physical violence is also included, as overt physical violence both with and without a personal agent will be discussed separately.

Institutional violence, then, covers the social injustice and state terror created by any of the various Yugoslav or Serbian regimes over the course of history or today. Actions falling into this conceptual category include the use of state institutions and mechanisms to repress, humiliate, or discriminate against a group. The relevant group in this instance being members of the Albanian community, although in Kosova these measures could also be used against members of minority communities such as the Bosniak or Roma communities, as well as dissident Serbs. It includes unjustified dismissals from work, especially positions in the government, government institutions, or the public service sector; denial, revocation, or limitation of education, including but not limited to native language education; offering state services including healthcare and justice solely in a language that is not the native language of the majority population; routine police harassment; and impeding freedom of movement and freedom of the press. All these are violent in Galtung’s sense

³¹ Galtung, 171.

of violence existing when “human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential realizations.”³² During the 1990s and previously—one respondent emphasized that Serbians had been causing problems for Albanians for the last century—these acts had been daily realities for the Albanian community in Kosova.

A participant from Prishtina described how Serbian can be viewed as a “the language of the foreign oppressor”.³³ Another participant in Prishtina, originally from Istog (Serbian: Istok), described how, when he attended school prior to the 1990s, “I was not very interested to learn Serbian because it sounded like the language of [the] enemy.”³⁴ He also explained that the language “was something that you had to speak because if you want to go to the authorities and ask for a document or service, you had to do it in Serbian because then, during the 1990s, Albanians did not work in the institutions. They were fired.”³⁵ The Bosniak participant from Prizren also detailed the institutional violence he witnessed his friends experiencing during the 1990s through comparison with his own experience:

I did not have any obstacles because it [the language of schooling and administration] was my native language, but talking to my friends, especially in the period when they were expelled from schools! I just did not find it right. [...] I had the chance to enjoy that privilege to go to the public school or that kind of stuff while, for example, the Albanian community was expelled.³⁶

This participant also shared the fact that the Kosovar Bosniaks and Kosovar Turks, while by in large accorded the privilege, or rather the right to attend public school, faced institutional discrimination too by being obliged to perform twice as well as Kosovar Serb students in order to obtain the same grade. Nevertheless, there is a high level of acknowledgement that the Serbian

³² Ibid.,168.

³³ Interview with author, Prishtina, 23.04.2012.

³⁴ Interview with author, Prishtina, 03.05.2012.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Interview with author, Prizren, 21.04.2012.

language was indeed associated with privileges and maintained its hierarchal, dominant position above the Albanian language through systematic institutional discrimination and violence.

Physical Violence

The physical violence associated with the Serbian language was very often also the direct policy of the state; indeed latent personal violence was always implied through the institutional violence used to uphold an unjust social and political system. In the late 1990s this violence became monstrously manifest. James Ron theorizes that police and institutional coercion is used against an unwanted population residing in ghettos inside a violent national state, like contemporary Serbia, but blatant violence is reserved for those unwanted populations in frontier zones. Moreover, a territory's designation as ghetto or frontier is fluid and open to renegotiation. Ron explains that Serbia's attempted ethnic cleansing of Kosova was prompted by the territory's increasing autonomy. "Through a combination of local armed insurgency and international diplomatic and military action, Serbia's infrastructural power in the province was severely undermined, prompting its resort to extreme despotism."³⁷ In short, when coercive institutional violence was insufficient to maintain the desired order, there was an outbreak of personal violence that took a largely physical form.

Violence in this sense means that, as Galtung explains, "human beings are hurt somatically, to the point of killing."³⁸ He further subdivides physical violence into "biological violence" and "physical violence as such", in which it is human movement that is forcibly directed or constrained. So rather than discuss violent bureaucratic measures that have the power to dismiss thousands of workers, ban Albanian press, or expel Albanian students, this is a discussion of forcibly displaced persons; acts of war; police brutality; and the injuring, killing, or disappearing of individuals. Acts

³⁷ James Ron, *Frontiers and Ghettos: State Violence in Serbia and Israel*, California: University of California, 2003, 87.

³⁸ Galtung, 169.

of war, injuries, and both intended combatant and collateral civilian deaths are characteristic of any war; the conflict in Kosova in the 1990s was no exception. Furthermore, in this conflict, hundreds of thousands of individuals were displaced,³⁹ inhumane police brutality was conducted,⁴⁰ and war crimes involving intentional civilian deaths and the disappearing of individuals took place. One case among numerous cases of murdered civilians was the forty-one civilians massacred in Ćuška (Albanian: Qyshkut) on May 14th 1999 by Serbian forces.⁴¹ Furthermore, after the conflict approximately 4,400 people were missing and presumed dead.⁴²

In the eyes of the survivors of these kinds of assaults, this activity produced the image of Serbian as the language of war, or as one respondent termed it, “the language of guns”.⁴³ Another respondent from Prishtina admitted that in addition to good things the Serbian language “also reminds me of war.”⁴⁴ A respondent from Prizren who had distributed aid in regions affected by the war argued that the narratives about the Serbian language were different depending on the location. While Prizren was a relatively calm region, “others who were affected by the war, of course they react negatively when they hear [the] Serbian language.”⁴⁵ He also explained that when working with Iranians who had previously been on assignment in post-conflict Bosnia to deliver aid in areas like Drenica,⁴⁶ the only common language between them being Serbian, they had to speak very quietly in order to avoid antagonizing locals.

Verbal Violence

³⁹ Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, “Internal Displacement in Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia”, *Global Overview 2011*: 68.

⁴⁰ Howard Clark, *Civil Resistance in Kosovo*, London: Pluto Press, 2000, 1.

⁴¹ Human Rights Watch, “Justice for Kosovo Massacre”, 21.05.2010, www.hrw.org/news/2010/05/21/justice-kosovo-massacre (accessed 28.05.2012).

⁴² International Commission on Missing Persons, Kosovo, www.ic-mp.org/icmp-worldwide/southeast-europe/un-administered-kosovo (accessed 28.05.2012). This figure includes missing persons of all ethnicities and both combatants and non-combatants.

⁴³ Interview with author, Prishtina, 26.04.2012.

⁴⁴ Interview with author, Prishtina, 18.04.2012.

⁴⁵ Interview with author, Prizren, 21.04.2012.

⁴⁶ Serbian: Drenica, Albanian: Drenica or Drenicë. Hereafter Drenica.

A form of psychological violence, verbal violence is also the most straightforwardly linked with language out of the four aspects of violence under discussion. The Serbian language was the language of Serbian nationalistic discourse and the language used to express Serbian contempt for Albanians. The language has, as the tool of very public and accessible expressions of nationalism and hatred, been tainted to an extent in collective memory. One participant expressed, with regret, that the Serbian language “does remind me of, unfortunately, of RTS [Radio-Televizija Srbije], the Serbian National Television, which was horrible, horrible. It was a propaganda machine back then and I listened to that.”⁴⁷ Another participant spoke of how “during the 1990s everybody [in] the Albanian community faced those images of violence and they were all in Serbian.”⁴⁸ He also recounted negative experiences with the Serbian language including very nationalistic speeches against Albanians in Kosova and witnessing radical rallies and protests in Belgrade against Kosova.

In addition, there is the issue of toponyms. Places such as cities, villages, and streets in Kosova, and even the territory itself, often have two names—one in Serbian and the other in Albanian. The use of the Serbian toponyms, especially ones like Đakovica (Albanian: Gjakovë) that are for places where the population is overwhelmingly Albanian are controversial and can feel invasive or like they are perpetuating a sort of neocolonialist claim to the land as Serbian. This was never explicitly stated, but inquiries made to Kosovar Albanians about predominantly Albanian communities using the Serbian or even English name were on a few notable occasions deliberately misunderstood or the response was accompanied by a terse correction. If, *prima facie*, serious distress over a name seems far-fetched than one need only to look at the quarrel between two neighboring countries, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Greece. The latter argues that the name ‘Macedonia’ implies territorial claims on Greek land and has repeatedly blocked Macedonia in international endeavors as a result, ergo toponyms are no trifling matter, especially in

⁴⁷ Interview with author, Prishtina, 18.04.2012.

⁴⁸ Interview with author, Prishtina, 26.04.2012.

the Balkans. Finally, insults are violent in their very intention to inflict pain or humiliation. One of the most infamous Serbian insults used for Albanians is ‘šiptar’, a derogatory term that is the Serbianized form of the word ‘shqiptar’, which means ‘Albanian’ in the Albanian language. Thus the very visible use of the Serbian language to verbally degrade Kosovar Albanians, claim ownership over territory, and promote dangerous Serbian nationalism further strengthens the association of the Serbian language with violence and the violent Other, the enemy.

Contemporary Violence

Most of the prior narratives of violence are connected to the past, although institutional and verbal violence do have some continuity. The parallel structures that Serbia maintains in Kosova are institutional and designed to undermine the practical sovereignty of Kosova, which Serbia refuses to recognize. Serbian toponyms and insults continue to be used and, for example, Serbian is the language that the ultranationalist group Naši (Ours) used to threaten independent media outlet Kosovo 2.0,⁴⁹ which ultimately resulted in their withdrawal from the Belgrade-based SHARE Conference 2012.⁵⁰ Kosovo 2.0’s press release stated that,

Unfortunately, this incident reflects the continuing violation of freedom that is inflicted on the citizens of Kosovo by Serbia. It is a violation that is inflicted not only on organizations like Kosovo 2.0, but also Kosovo as a whole.⁵¹

This “continuing” dynamic, however, is simply that. It is not a new phenomenon, rather a continuation of the kind of violence Serbia inflicted in the past upon the country of Kosova and those citizens, largely Kosovar Albanian but not exclusively, that support its independence. As such institutional and verbal violence in the present is not what is referred to with the term contemporary violence.

⁴⁹ This occurred during the period that I was completing an internship with Kosovo 2.0. Views and interpretations expressed in this paper do not necessarily reflect the position or opinions of Kosovo 2.0 staff.

⁵⁰ The SHARE Conference is a annual conference that brings together organizations and artists to exchange and share cutting-edge ideas and information about Internet, new media, technology, and music.

⁵¹ Kosovo 2.0, Press Release, 26.04.2012, www.kosovotwopointzero.com/en/blog/8th-box/press-release-26-04-2012 (accessed 25.05.2012).

The contemporary violence referred to is a novel phenomenon. It is the violence, identified by certain participants, of double standards and positive discrimination. The previous forms of violence were associated with the Serbian language because the language was used in service of this violence whereas contemporary violence is associated with the Serbian language because it is carried out in defense of the Serbian language. It is violence that is politically correct and perpetrated by the international community. Despite the fact that Kosova is overwhelmingly inhabited by Albanians the international community demands an unprecedented level of minority protections, which has included making both Albanian and Serbian the official languages of the young country. The cynical could speculate that this is appeasement for Serbia in order facilitate macro-level negotiations and is simply wrapped in the rhetoric of human rights in order to sweeten the bitter pill of a practical but distasteful policy choice by elites. However, if this was the intention than it has been unsuccessful. Additionally, many view this positively; for example Doli et al. are enthusiastic about the legislation designed to protect linguistic rights: “Kosovo, through the Law on the Use of Languages, has made a big step forward in terms of the deep respect for human rights of ethnic minorities”.⁵² Interestingly, it would be difficult to classify this violence within Galtung’s model, as it does not clearly fit in any of his numerous categories of violence.

Nevertheless, not everyone is convinced that Kosova’s priority should be the protection of the Serbian language, which is expensive, cumbersome, and difficult to implement without considerable resources and an army of well-trained translators. The idea of Kosova as a multiethnic and, by extension, a multilinguistic state meets with resistance on the ground and is in conflict with the almost exclusively Albanian nation-building project. One respondent from Prizren expressed frustration that the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) “made Albanian politicians accept a reality which [states] that in Kosovo there are two hundred thousand Serbs, but

⁵² Dren Doli et al., 13.

there are not even... It is not like that.”⁵³ He argued that the international community has inflated the official number of Serbians in Kosova. Consequently, Serbs enjoy “huge rights”, more than is dictated by international conventions, and this is imposed and expected by the international community despite previous treatment of Albanians by Serbians.⁵⁴ Some Kosovar Albanians embrace, to differing extents, the request for intensive minority protections as a call to take moral high road, while others find the implicit double standard unfair. One respondent, referring to the graffiti that blocks out the Serbian on road signs, said that,

It demonstrates that people are frustrated with the conflict and Serbia making people’s lives difficult, but I do not think there is some hatred involved. It is just that some people feel unequal because of the fact that Serbs make up only five percent of the population here but their language is an official language, which makes people feel like, why does not Serbia do the same in relation to other places and languages? Serbia did not do the same in the 1990s, when we were the same country and Kosovo was thirty percent of their population, of the Serbian population then.⁵⁵

He further explained that he saw the graffiti as a statement of complete disagreement with “positive discrimination” and sympathized with the sentiment behind the vandalism.

The question of whether the official laws and policies regarding the Serbian language are necessary, affordable, or desirable is still an open one. However, what can be asserted is that they were not unprompted or spontaneous creations of Kosovar society. Nor were they democratically developed, but rather imported from outside and implemented under the scrutiny of the international community and this cannot but reinforce the violent image of Serbian as a language that is imposed by those in an undeniable position of power. It is striking that when discussing current language policy in Kosova, which was designed by the international regime, with certain

⁵³ Interview with author, Prizren, 21.04.2012.

Due to lack of a proper census, the most recent census in 2011 was boycotted by the Serb-stronghold north of the Ibar river, there is no up-to-date data on demographics, this number is close to the approximately 130, 000 or 7% estimated by the CIA World Fact Book.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Interview with author, Prishtina, 26.04.2012.

respondents the conversations eerily echoed accusations of the Serbian language being an oppressive language forced on non-native speakers by the former SFRY and FRY.

THE SLIGHTLY BETTER: SERBIAN AS “OKAY”

People who demand neutrality in any situation
are usually not neutral but in favor of the status quo.

(Max Eastman, U.S. writer and editor, 1883-1969)⁵⁶

Beyond anything else the most frequent adjectives used by research participants in reference to the Serbian language was ‘okay’ or ‘normal’. To some extent this can be explained by context, for example it is common for those educated prior to the disintegration of Yugoslavia to have some familiarity with the language, especially in urban settings or when people are from places that had a significant Serbian population. In one multicultural urban milieu, Prizren, it really is quite common for people to be fluent in at least three languages and use them all actively. As one respondent from Prishtina joked:

Prizren people do not speak Serbian, Prizren people do not speak Turkish or Albanian, they speak Prizreni. They just mix up all the languages and sometimes it is very difficult for me to get their point. And they understand each other perfectly well.⁵⁷

In these instances, the language may just be a commonplace part of people’s lives. However, the sheer insistence and repetition of the terms ‘normal’ and ‘okay’ reveal a certain unwillingness to reflect critically. One respondent, responding to a question about the kind of presence the Serbian language has in Kosova today, remarked that, “For most [people], I would say they do not particularly love it [the Serbian language], but they also do not mind it. So, very neutral.”⁵⁸ This neutrality may mask the normalization of the current state of affairs, where the Serbian language is

⁵⁶ Max Eastman, Critical Multicultural Pavilion, www.edchange.org/multicultural/language/quotes_alpha2.html (accessed 25.05.2012).

⁵⁷ Interview with author, Prishtina, 18.04.2012.

⁵⁸ Interview with author, Prishtina, 23.04.2012.

a *de facto* minority language with a low visibility in areas that are predominantly Albanian. Although this is less confrontational than individuals who evinced strong opposition to the institutional equalization of the two languages, this ‘neutrality’ also has strong conservative tendencies and values inequality, albeit in a more passive manner.

The process of normalization reifies the status quo and can naturalize unequal power relations, ergo it is not without consequence. If one finds it normal that a certain profession is male-dominated, or natural for women to be primarily found at home instead of in the workplace, than this individual would not see a need to address issues of gender-stereotyping or underrepresentation of women in certain fields. If the Serbian language is simply ‘normal’ or ‘okay’ this does not necessarily imply it is a neutral part of society, rather that issues like the poor quality of translation into Serbian, graffiti that erases it from the public space, and the linguistically divided education system are not priorities or concerns. They too are so natural, so common, that they are almost invisible. This stalls progress indefinitely and freezes power relations in their current state, which furthers societal marginalization of Serbian-speaking communities and allows the resulting resentment to simmer. Instead of promoting sustainable peace it isolates certain stakeholders and naturalizes an artificial division in society. This is a kind of structural violence:

Structural violence is silent, it does not show— it is essentially static, it *is* the tranquil waters. In a *static* society, personal violence will be registered, whereas structural violence may be seen as about as natural as the air around us.⁵⁹

Serbian as a practical language and Serbian as a professional language are two images that are connected with the Serbian language’s normalcy, but that exclude it from being a constituent element of society.

Practically Speaking

⁵⁹ Galtung, 173.

The theme of learning or maintaining Serbian language skills for reasons of practicality emerged through data collected from respondents. One man stated, “I try to learn it [the Serbian language] for practical reasons because you can contact everyone in the region, with the exception of Greece and Albania, in Serbian.”⁶⁰ He also explained that now, as opposed to prior to the conflict, people speak Serbian for practical reasons and not because they are told that they must. Another respondent made a beautiful analogy: “For me the Serbian language is some kind of a key, one with which you can open [many] doors because if you [speak the] Serbian language or you have knowledge of [the] Serbian language, you can use it in Croatia, Bosnia, Montenegro, Serbia, you can even use this in Macedonia.”⁶¹ Yet another respondent stated that, “Now [the Serbian language] is treated like, properly like, a foreign language. Foreign language, like a regional foreign language.”⁶²

In addition to being termed a foreign language, respondents spoke of it as a regional language, a language of surroundings, and the language of places like north Kosovska Mitrovica⁶³ or Gračanica (Albanian: Graçanicë). In this conception the Serbian language becomes like a passport, it is the language of travel and of other places. A pertinent criticism is that this conceptually exorcizes the language from a meaningful presence inside Kosova. Even when acknowledging that Serbian enclaves or municipalities, like Gračanica, exist in the country there is some distancing. These places are not integrated conceptually, or actually due to the very high degree of decentralization, as part of the whole or wider community. This ghettoization of the Serbian language has the same effect as terming it foreign, this effect of placing it outside the sphere of the everyday or the inside experience of Kosovar society. Ghettoization of the language

⁶⁰ Interview with author, Prishtina, 03.04.2012.

⁶¹ Interview with author, Prishtina, 02.05.2012.

⁶² Interview with author, Prishtina, 23.04.2012.

⁶³ Serbian form: Kosovska Mitrovica, Albanian form: Mitrovicë or Mitrovica, Standard English form: Mitrovica. Hereafter Mitrovica when referred to in its entirety, Kosovska Mitrovica when referring to the Serb-dominated northern half of this divided city.

is part and parcel of a phenomenon of the ghettoization of communities. “Language is a major obstacle to the participation of Serbs in everyday life in Kosovo.”⁶⁴ Serbs in Gračanica experience Prishtina, only ten minutes away by car, as a foreign country. “[M]any young people from Gračanica have never been to Prishtina, before the war or after.”⁶⁵ Migjen Kelmendi laments this segregation. “One thing I learned from all those wars is that I would not wish to live in an ethnically pure state. It is not normal to keep people apart with walls. This is what is unfortunately the case in Kosovo today.”⁶⁶ This, coupled with the idea of Serbian as a “regional language”, which emerged from interviews, suggests that Kosovar Albanians still retain some sense of belonging to a region that is multiethnic and, accompanyingly, is characterized by linguistic diversity.

Nevertheless, although the image of the Serbian language as a key or a passport is more positive than previously discussed images, it still denies it a fundamental presence inside Kosova. One respondent stated that “there are many places where Serbs live, not because of anything negative, but because they live in other places.”⁶⁷ While true, in terms of Serb-dominated municipalities, villages, or enclaves, the idea of Serbs living in “other places” and Serbian being the language of “other places” like Gračanica, or Serbia, or Montenegro, is insidious because there is no notion of Serbian being an integral or constituent part of Kosovar society, as being practical to know because it has a significant presence in one’s own community. It relegates the Serbian language to an outsider status that increases the notion of space and difference between Serbian and Albanian communities within Kosova and can only entrench that separation, especially when this situation is seen as normal rather than a problem.

Professionally Speaking

⁶⁴ Orli Fridman, “Structured and Unstructured Daily Encounters in Kosovo”, manuscript in preparation: 01.11.2011, 18.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁶⁶ Migjen Kelmendi, interview with Omar Karabeg on Radio Free Europe, “Belgrade is a faraway place for the Kosovo Albanians”, 27.12.2008. Translation by the Bosnian Institute, 05.01.2009, www.bosnia.org.uk/news/news_body.cfm?newsid=2533 (accessed 28.05.2012).

⁶⁷ Interview with author, Prishtina, 26.04.2012.

The Serbian language can open doors in another sense as well, in terms of career opportunities and advancements. Many individual respondents cited having used Serbian in a work context through translation, attending conferences, and contacting or communicating with Serbian colleagues or clients. Speaking Serbian in addition to Albanian can increase chances of being hired and facilitate career advancement or daily activities at work. One respondent said, “I started with learning for practical purposes that would help me do my job in a better way.”⁶⁸ The Serbian language can definitely be useful for business and makes economic sense, especially in a situation of economic hardship and high levels of unemployment. For many, the Serbian language helps them to earn their living or excel in their job, whether that job involves translation for local institutions or the international community, running a café, or coordinating youth exchanges between Belgrade and Prishtina. The rationalism of liberal capitalism would appear to be a benevolent force in this instance, yet it may be vulnerable to protectionist movements that promote a ‘Blej Shqip’ or ‘Buy Albanian’ agenda. As capitalism faces protectionist backlash, so too is the political peace it buys fragile. It was precisely the opposition movement Vetëvendosje’s (Self-Determination) push to boycott Serbian goods that countered the trend of integration associated with (neo)liberalism and escalated tension at the border.⁶⁹

In addition, this image falls into the same kind of trap as the last by removing the Serbian language to the professional sphere, to the workplace and conference calls. The professionalization of the Serbian language commodifies Serbian language skills, turns these skills into something with an economic value. This commoditization of aspects of personal life can be criticized as cheapening the value of something invaluable. This is the case with education; the idea of education as a commodity that students demand and universities supply, rather than a process, has arguably led to

⁶⁸ Interview with author, Prishtina, 03.04.2012.

⁶⁹ Linda Karadaku, “Kosovo’s Vetëvendosje movement works to block border crossings with Serbia”, *Southeast European Times*, 14.01.2012, www.setimes.com/cocoon/setimes/xhtml/en_GB/features/setime/features/2012/01/14/feature-01 (accessed 28.05.2012).

inflated grades and an orientation towards teaching knowledge that is trending as valuable in the market rather than alternative knowledge, critical analytical skills, or classic bodies of knowledge from the humanities. The use of the Serbian language as a business language is thus not entirely innocuous; as commoditization is problematic when applied to education, so too probably will it be when applied to language. For example, this kind of image of the Serbian language does not promote it as a language to be used inside the home or encourage the acquisition of non-business related vocabulary. One respondent who uses Serbian in business explained that he does not listen to Serbian music in public because he does not want to be misunderstood or “cause damage to the reputation of my institute” so “I am a little bit cautious on *where* [I listen to Serbian music]”.⁷⁰ This demonstrates this compartmentalized mode of thinking or interpretation, instead of holistic, that declares certain professional uses of Serbian acceptable while other uses of the language are a detriment to business. Language use is thus strictly regulated and confined.

Conversely, in this age of mobile technology the barriers between personal and professional have started to disintegrate. Perhaps it is no longer possible to fully remove something to the sphere of the workplace, because the workplace is no longer just factories and offices. With laptops, mobile phones, and iPads, work now follows people into their living rooms and to restaurants and accompanies them on their morning commute or on vacation. So perhaps learning Serbian for pragmatic professional reasons can be a decent way of introducing it into an individual’s life as a whole. Technology also reduces the distance between people. Tokyo and New York do not seem far apart when video conferencing can be done over Skype. Surely it can also shrink the perceived space between Prishtina and Gračanica or even Prishtina and Belgrade. It is difficult to think of people as being in “other places” when their voices, messages, and even digital likeness are imminently present due to the use of new communication platforms. For example, the Mitrovica-

⁷⁰ Interview with author, Prishtina, 23.04.2012.

based Rock School, a project of Musicians without Borders, allows youth from the north and south to mix while playing music and the Mitrovica local and south-branch coordinator of the school, Dafina Kosova, says: "Even though I have met most of my colleagues from the north only once, we constantly communicate via internet and phone. I regularly meet Nikola, the north branch coordinator, and we really get along."⁷¹

THE PROMISING: POWERFUL IMAGES

Happiness does not depend on outward things,
but on the way we see them.

(Lev Nikolayevich Tolstoy, Russian writer and philosopher)⁷²

Regardless of how technology has revolutionized the workplace, integrated it into our private space, and decreased the relevance of geographical space, this paper posits that there are more powerfully progressive images of the Serbian language in Kosova than that of it as a practical and professional language. One respondent captured this sentiment in a truly inspirational fashion:

I would love my daughter to speak this language. Not because it is the most popular language in the world, not because it is going to open doors for her, but if she decides to live in [the] Balkans it is going to make her life much easier. It is going to create more opportunities for her.⁷³

These opportunities are deeper than travel or professional opportunities. The discussion that follows will examine six powerful ways that respondents from Kosova conceived of the Serbian language: as a language of culture and history, a language of intrinsic value, a relational language, a language of respect, a language of identity, and a language of dissent.

Historical and Cultural Value

⁷¹ Ivana Jovanović, "Rock school mixes sound, ethnicities in Mitrovica", *Southeast European Times in Belgrade*, 22.02.2012. The Mitrovica Rock School is a project that brings young musicians from both sides of the divided city of Mitrovica together in Skopje, Macedonia every summer to marry goals of reconciliation and the restoration of Mitrovica's once great rock music scene.

⁷² Lev Nikolayevich Tolstoy, Leo Tolstoy Quotes, http://www.goodreads.com/author/quotes/85.Leo_Tolstoy (accessed 25.05.2012).

⁷³ Interview with author, Prishtina, 18.04.2012.

Much like Bosnia, Kosova has always been a region located in the center of a confluence of different cultures and interests: Ottoman, Albanian, Italian, Yugoslavian, Serbian, and Turkish. These influences shaped a unique history and contributed to a unique culture. The Yugoslavian experience and Serbian population and influence are as much a part of Kosova as the Albanian, Ottoman, or Turkish elements embraced by society. Prizren has historically been a very multiethnic city in Kosova and best embodies this idea of a mixed culture. A respondent from Prizren stated that: “Living in Prizren and living in a mixed society, we saw it as a part of our culture because when you learn a language you learn a culture and we adapted to it.”⁷⁴ He also stated that it was part of the culture to “embrace a language as your mother language. Cultural thing.”⁷⁵ Multilingualism, including knowledge of the Serbian/Bosniak language, is a very accepted part of the culture in Prizren. A member of the Bosniak community in Prizren attested to this:

So I personally, actually, give [a] plus to anyone who is a bilingual, especially in Prizren and in Prizren it is even the question of trilingual. And it was like this for centuries because all these communities were coexisting together and speaking each other’s language[s] without any obstacle.⁷⁶

Viewing the Serbian language from this angle demonstrates a valuation of the Serbian language’s insider status. It is considered a part of the community and is associated with culture. Indeed, there was a sense of loss when speaking about the drastic reduction in the Serbian population from figures before the war: “The figure [of Serbians in Prizren] was close to ten thousand and then we have now twelve. [...] Only these twelve people who speak [the] Serbian language. It is a sad story.”⁷⁷ This acknowledgement underlines the awareness that with the loss of the majority of the Serbian community there was an elimination of a living part of Prizren’s multiethnic heritage. If

⁷⁴ Interview with author, Prizren, 21.04.2012.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Interview with author, Prizren, 21.04.2012.

⁷⁷ Ibid. Before the conflict of the 1990s Prizren was home to a large Serbian minority and Albanian majority, among other ethnic groups. During the war many Albanians were intimidated into fleeing, when the war ended the Albanian population returned and the vast majority of Serb and Roma inhabitants fled. While the architecture still attests to a culturally mixed city, the demographics are no longer as convincing.

exported to a federal scale this image would conceive of Serbians and Serbian language speakers as a valued piece of Kosova, associated with the land culturally and historically. The community's language can be valued for this cultural and historical linkage.

In Prishtina some respondents valued the Serbian language for its connection to the positive aspects of the former Yugoslavia, such as Yugoslav rock or travel to the Adriatic coast. This association is interesting because it too, similar to the attitude of Prizren, allows a sort of ownership over the language. The participant who most strongly emphasized these associations also, after some hesitation about how it could be interpreted, stated that he could refer to the Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian-Montenegrin language by the informal and less cumbersome appellation 'naš jezik' (our language). "Yes, even 'our language', why not? Our language from ex-Yugoslavia."⁷⁸ That sense of propriety coupled with an appreciation for the historical and cultural value of the language truly privileges its insider position in the community.

Intrinsic Value

There is also an image of the intrinsic value of the Serbian language, a value ascribed to it wholly because of its nature as a language. As such it is desirable to learn because as one respondent recounted: "My parents taught me that a person is worth as much as [the] languages he knows. So if you know three languages [you are] worth as [much as] three persons. This is their philosophy."⁷⁹ One reason for this is the self-growth that is implicit in learning anything, especially something that takes as much time, dedication, and sustained effort as learning a language. Then,

⁷⁸ Interview with author, Prishtina, 18.04.2012.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

once an individual knows a new language, in this case Serbian, there is a new worldview and new sources of information open to him.⁸⁰

The vast majority of respondents emphasized that they used their knowledge of Serbian to obtain and analyze information on current events, either from traditional media or social media, which they could do quicker and more accurately without waiting for a translation, which only served to put one more layer of distance between them and this information. One respondent from Prizren explained that the comparison of media from multiple languages helped him to discover the truth and continuously develop a “sense of understanding or comprehension.”⁸¹ Another respondent likes to read Russian novels in their Serbian translation because they are both Slavic languages and so not as much is lost in translation. About Dostoyevsky’s famous novel *The Idiot*, he comments that: “I probably would not have enjoyed it that much if I read it in Albanian or English. Just for the pure fact that the book is originally written in Russian, which is very similar to Serbian.”⁸² Bilingualism and multilingualism is thus a way to enrich one’s own life. As the youngest among the respondents said, “Every language that you know, you are learning for you, not for the others.”⁸³

Even if acquiring language skills is not a service to other people, it can facilitate genuine interaction. In addition to enlightenment gleaned from media and literature, language also is a tool for communication. In other words, “all languages serve a purpose to communicate with others, so be that Serbian, or English, or Albanian, [it] just serves a purpose of communicating with others.”⁸⁴ This communication allows for people to learn more easily from one another and holds the potential for creating greater understanding between the communities on either side of the Kosovar linguistic divide, which without the presence of bilingualism typically have difficulty communicating.

⁸⁰ Masculine pronouns are used because all participants were male and because English lacks a standard gender-neutral pronoun. This is not intended to be exclusive and should be understood as referring to individuals of any gender identification.

⁸¹ Interview with author, Prizren, 21.04.2012.

⁸² Interview with author, Prishtina, 18.04.2012.

⁸³ Interview with author, Prishtina, 02.05.2012.

⁸⁴ Interview with author, Prishtina, 03.05.2012.

Serbian language skills in the Albanian community thus have the potential to ameliorate intercommunity relations by aiding to overcome misunderstandings, prejudice, and misinformation.

This requires a caveat, however, because this could equally be the case with Albanian language skills in Serbian communities or a high level of fluency in a third language by both communities. One respondent, who was not extremely confident in his spoken Serbian, mentioned also that,

When you try to speak a language that you do not know completely, you also make mistakes sometimes and that could potentially, [for] the other person that could be a potential misunderstanding. It could be seen as a person who tries to be a friend in a fake way but does not really care.⁸⁵

Additionally, he made the point that sometimes in a group of people there may be one person who prefers not to speak Serbian, or may not know it, and so its use could also create misunderstandings in this way. Ultimately language is inherently valuable as a tool for communication, but tools can be used well or poorly, creatively or destructively. A hammer can be used to build, but it can equally be used to demolish. Likewise, language skills hold only the potential for increasing communication, they also hold the potential for miscommunication, intentionally or accidentally.

Language of Relationships

To push one step further than simply allowing one to communicate with other people, the Serbian language is also conceptualized as the language of meaningful relationships with other people. Not all relationships take place within the context or through the use of the Serbian language, but the fact that some do creates yet another micronarrative. During the course of interviews, one participant mentioned a long-term relationship that was conducted in Serbian because his female partner could not speak Albanian. In Prizren, one interviewee was Kosovar Bosniak and some of his Albanian friends frequently, if not exclusively, used the Bosniak language

⁸⁵ Interview with author, Prishtina, 26.04.2012.

with him, so that became the dominant language of their friendship. Finally, one participant spoke of his friends from Serbia and Croatia, with whom he used the Serbo-Croatian language, and also of his mother who is Bosniak. When asked if Serbian-Bosnian-Croatian is used at all in his home he replied, “Yes, I speak with my mom. I mix a little bit of Albanian and of Bosnian language when I speak with her because she is not so good with Albanian.”⁸⁶

The Serbo-Bosnian language then is viewed as a language of love and affection—it is the language used with romantic partners, friends, neighbors, and family members. This image is best encapsulated by a Bulgarian term that was explained by a respondent in Prishtina: “They call it *živagramatika*, that means living grammar and it is a very interesting term for one reason. They say if you want to learn a language really [well], [than] you have to live it.”⁸⁷ He elaborated that this did not just mean living in the surroundings but truly living with people, people that you eat with, spend time with, go to bed with, and wake up to. In other words, living with and having a profound relationship with people who speak the language. This particular image of the Serbian language, of it as a language of relationships and love is the embodiment of this concept of *živagramatika*.

Language of Respect

As opposed to Serbian as a language of intrinsic value or of relationships, which are fairly universal images that are applicable to all languages, a view of Serbian as a language of respect by the Albanian community is more attached to the specific post-conflict situation. One respondent, who works for Youth Initiative for Human Rights office in Prishtina coordinates their Visiting Program, which offers youth exchanges between Serbia and Kosova. He spoke of his use of his Serbian language skills within the context of this program. “When I work on this exchange I [speak] a lot of Serbian language because when the students [come] from Serbia I [speak] with them in

⁸⁶ Interview with author, Prishtina, 02.05.2012.

⁸⁷ Interview with author, Prishtina, 18.04.2012.

Serbian because I know that they will feel more comfortable.”⁸⁸ Another participant added that, “It is impossible to live in Prizren if you are not bilingual. It is a question of respect. It is a question of respect, it is a question of honoring the other community.”⁸⁹ Also, when the Kosovar Bosniak respondent mentioned that his Albanian friend, another interviewee seated at the table, only spoke to him in the Bosniak language even though he could speak Albanian with him the friend interjected: “I refuse to do it!”⁹⁰ For this, he cited reasons of respect, although he also acknowledged that it was an opportunity to develop and practice his Bosnian language skills.

Significant in this conception of Serbian as a language of respect is the deliberate use of Serbian in order to make Serbians, Kosovar or otherwise, more comfortable in a situation where they may feel threatened, intimidated, overwhelmed, or fearful. This acts as a confidence building measure since many Serbians visiting Kosova for the first time or for the first time since the 1990s feel this way because the turbulence of the conflict and post-conflict situation provided the conditions for the flourishing of fear, misperceptions, and prejudice. Also these examples, and similar comments from other respondents, clearly demonstrate that respect is considered a value or a virtue and that it can be practiced daily by addressing someone in their native tongue. This is neatly summarized by the youngest respondent who declared that if he meets an older gentleman who is Serbian or Bosniak, “I would like to greet him, to say ‘hi’ to him in that language that he speaks because it is some kind of respect and for me it is good to know,” he also added that having that ability to be polite in that way produces a “good feeling”.⁹¹ Nevertheless, respect is something that is reciprocal and this is best illustrated by the fact that the selfsame participant expressed a desire to see Kosovar Serbs learn the Albanian language as well.

⁸⁸ Interview with author, Prishtina, 02.05.2012.

⁸⁹ Interview with author, Prizren, 21.04.2012.

⁹⁰ Interview with author, Prizren, 21.04.2012.

⁹¹ Interview with author, Prishtina, 02.05.2012.

Language of Identity

Whilst the idea of Serbian as a language of identity for Kosovar Albanians is counter-intuitive, since it is with the Albanian language that Albanians primarily identify and not with the Serbian language, there is a truth in this paradox. There is great generalizable merit in the statement by one participant that, “The Albanian [language] also unified us and gave that strength to the people, especially when it was getting really bad. [...] That is how it was that we developed that sense of patriotism that unites us precisely around the language.”⁹² This is similarly the case with another participant’s statement that the Albanian language is “something that you associate with everything, with Kosovo, with Albania, with everyone in your neighborhood. While Serbian, it is with a part of [the] people who live in the neighborhood and that is it.”⁹³

On the whole, the Albanian language is very connected with the identity of Albanians as a social and ethnic group. Yet the possession of Serbian language skills can still play into Kosovar Albanian identity in an interesting way. Prior to the escalation of the conflict in the late 1990s when Ibrahim Rugova’s policy of passive resistance was eclipsed by the UÇK’s (Kosovo Liberation Army [KLA]) program of armed resistance, the Kosovar Albanian civil resistance movement was impressively widespread and peaceful. One young man, a member of civil society in Ferizaj (Serbian: Uroševac), expressed how important this was and how proud he was of it, especially since members of his family were involved in organizing the parallel Albanian school system. Howard Clark also writes extensively about this:

In Kosovo, the main obstacle to war was the self-restraint of the Albanian population, in particular their belief that civil resistance offered an alternative. [...] Yet, traditionally gun-loving, the Kosovo Albanians—with rare exceptions such as Adem Jashari in Prekaz—had shifted towards a stance of nonviolence. They had launched a movement for self-reform, addressing problems in their own society and

⁹² Interview with author, Prishtina, 23.04.2012.

⁹³ Interview with author, Prishtina, 03.05.2012.

making it fit to be independent, a movement typified by the campaign to end blood feuds.⁹⁴

Obućina explains how during this time a Kosovar Albanian identity was formed in opposition to the Serbian aggressor regime. If the regime was hostile and provocative, Kosovar Albanians were passive and peaceful.

Kosovo Albanians started to build their identity linked to non-violence, with the image of Ibrahim Rugova as a modern-day Gandhi. Village football teams got new names, such as *Durim* (Endurance) or *Quendresa* (standing firm).⁹⁵

This self-image was largely shredded with the insurgency of the UÇK, but Serbian language skills offer a unique way to revive that identity in the post-conflict period.

That members of the Kosovar Albanian community learn and actively use the Serbian language, acts as a symbol and practice of forgiveness toward Serbian neighbors for what happened during the war. One respondent in Prizren, whose religious family also suffered under the Communist Yugoslav regime, explained how this concept of forgiveness is integral to his identity:

I hope you understand the reality here. I am Albanian. I am also a Muslim. And the principle of my religion does not allow me to hate someone. The principle of our Prophet teaches us about love, to love everybody. And also there is a proverb of our Prophet, it translates as: The satisfaction that I find when I forgive my enemy is irrepressible.⁹⁶

This imperative to forgive and move on was present with many interviewees who, when younger, used to boycott or resent the Serbian language, but as they got older became active speakers in multiple facets of their lives and developed new and more positive images, like some discussed previously, of the Serbian language.

Tolerance towards the Serbian community, including at minimum tolerating and at best embracing the community's language, is seen as a part of what it means to be Kosovar.

⁹⁴ Clark, 3.

⁹⁵ Obućina, 40.

⁹⁶ Interview with author, Prizren, 21.04.2012.

We have very big heart[s] when we [Kosovar Albanians] address tolerance to them [Serbians]. Overall, again, we are giving the best of being tolerant towards them. The big person who lives in Kosovo is trying to tolerate lots of things, this is how I feel and I believe the sentiment is with others as well.⁹⁷

This kind of tolerance feeds back into the earlier myth that grounds Kosovar Albanian identity, allowing for a very positive resurrection through contemporary reaffirmation that can claim historical continuity. In this way Serbian language skills can be viewed as part of, or incorporated into, the identity of being Kosovar Albanian, rather than being opposed to this identity and merely being associated with the Other.

Dissidence! Otpor!

Within the framework of a very homogenized and hegemonic public narrative about the Albanian state-building and nation-building project, the Serbian language can also become the language of dissent, the language *par excellence* of another narrative, a more inclusive narrative. Anna Di Lellio writes at length about the powerful master narrative in Kosova that is reinforced by the unresolved question of status and thus suffocates pluralism, for example:

Albanians in Kosovo are concerned with self-determination and independence, objectives they believe to be consistent with the legal and political framework of decolonization. [...] This has narrowed the focus of local actors to the essential core of independence-statehood earned through the heroic struggle against foreign domination. It has kept criticism below the surface and reinforced the unifying power of the master narrative. [...] Although there is no evidence that Albanians are deaf to the values of democracy and human rights, local control over territory and security, i.e. Kosovo independent statehood, still takes precedence over respect for diversity, least of all for ethnic minorities.⁹⁸

This breeds an attitude of ‘no critical discussion until after the question of status has been resolved’. The environment? Postponed until after full independence is achieved. Minority relations? Status first and foremost. This means that issues of hatred, intolerance, and radicalism, which are present to a degree in every society, are not addressed in a timely matter, denied, or glossed over.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Anna Di Lellio and Stephanie Schwandner-Sievers, “The Legendary Commander: the construction of an Albanian master-narrative in post-war Kosovo”, *Nations and Nationalism* 12.3 (2006): 9.

For some, then, speaking in Serbian can be a way to confront and challenge intolerance and the seeds of hatred, as well as the way, or lack thereof, that their society has chosen to deal with these problems. For instance, one respondent in Prishtina described a night when some drunken women verbally abused him for speaking Serbian and he had to switch to his native Albanian to rudely point out how unacceptable their attitude was. He confessed, “I could not stand such an attitude. I cannot stand it even now when it comes to that.”⁹⁹ He also admitted that sometimes he wondered if he should perhaps stop speaking Serbian so loudly outside, although he never could convince himself to do that. In fact, to connect with the previous section on identity, he has embraced a position of promoting the use of the Serbian language.

I actually see myself as a promoter of usage of this language in the street, in the coffee shops, wherever. People come here [to my café], if they want to order in Serbian I told my waiters, “You are going to behave with any person, whatever language they speak, the way you behave with me or a person that orders in Albanian.”¹⁰⁰

Since he uses his work as a platform for this promotion it can also be connected to the earlier image of Serbian as a language of professionalism and the idea that everyone’s money has the same value, so it is economically irrational and irresponsible to discriminate. However, this instance does deserve to be considered separately because it is clear that a fundamental belief in language equality precedes or underlies his practical approach to using the Serbian language in business.

By persisting in speaking and using the language, even to the point of promoting or insisting that others like his employees use the language too, the respondent demonstrates the opposite tendency from that of a normalization of the language. He problematizes the (under)use of the language through his actions, or rather, through his words, which force other people to respond and engage with the issue of the presence, or relative lack thereof, of the Serbian language. He acknowledged that when he came back shortly after the conflict “it was not the safest language to

⁹⁹ Interview with author, Prishtina, 18.04.2012.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

use on the street, but I have to tell you that I used it and it did bring me to some awkward situations”.¹⁰¹ He recalls that he spoke it partly to be supportive of a girlfriend and partly in order to be “defiant” toward individuals in his community that were “not being more liberal when it comes to this language” because “not everybody that speaks Serbian as their native language and not everybody that just is Serbian is a bad person. However, at that point in time, it was pretty difficult to make that point.”¹⁰² Today, according to this respondent and to his satisfaction, it is easier to make the point and use the language.

His use of the Serbian language was clearly a challenge, and a very political one at that, to society and his community but it was also a challenge to himself, as indicated by his doubts about whether or not he should continue to speak Serbian in the manner that he was accustomed to, namely, freely. Another respondent from Prishtina recalls that just after the conflict was finished and for some years after he would turn his head when he heard someone speaking Serbian on the street because he was impressed. It was rare. “It was some kind of feeling, ‘how can he talk that language?’, because we know that after [the] war people were a little bit afraid to talk in the Serbian language, even if they were Albanians or the others.”¹⁰³ Therefore, one can challenge one’s own fear and potential prejudice by speaking Serbian, in addition to challenging the intolerance in society. The image then that emerges is of the Serbian language as one of dissent and bravery. In the words of one respondent:

Knowing a language is never a loss, unless you are living in Nazi circumstances of some really awkward society with issues with other cultures. Personally I would, if it takes my whole life and if I see that such problems will occur here, I will fight against them because it is just ridiculous.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Interview with author, Prishtina, 02.05.2012.

¹⁰⁴ Interview with author, Prishtina, 18.04.2012.

This passionate position recognizes the direct link between linguistic oppression or marginalization and deeper societal issues with cultural differences and heterogeneity. To further analyze this stance a discussion of theory and different types of bilingualism is pertinent.

LIBERATORY BILINGUALISM VS. INSTRUMENTAL BILINGUALISM

You can only protect your liberties in this world by protecting
the other man's freedom. You can only be free if I am free.

(Clarence Darrow, U.S. lawyer and reformer, 1857-1938)¹⁰⁵

According to Akkari one can distinguish between two types of bilingualism, liberatory and the far more common instrumental bilingualism. The latter is foreign language learning “without challenging the power relations in society”, whilst the former “includes using the power of mastering several languages and/or dialects to seek cultural, social, economic, and political equality”.¹⁰⁶ This distinction is quite useful and explains two things, that language engages with power relations and is therefore political and that there are two ways to carry out this engagement. Instrumental bilingualism, which consists of learning a language because it is useful or helpful, treats the language as a tool to be used in self-interest, a means to an end, and a language of less import. Liberatory bilingualism strives to equalize power between linguistic communities by valuing the language as an end in itself. It is normative, arguing that on principle this language should be learned and embraced, regardless of whether or not it is practical.

Assuming communication between linguistic communities to be the desirable, there are essentially there are two kinds of messages that can individuals can convey through their bilingualism. The first, associated with instrumental bilingualism, is: ‘you have to learn my language, but your language is optional for me’. The second, associated with liberatory bilingualism, is: ‘we should learn one another’s languages’. The first has no impact on societal organization. The most common example, and the one referenced by Akkari, is that many students in the United States can gain some knowledge of the Spanish language as a foreign language

¹⁰⁵ Clarence Darrow, Critical Multicultural Pavillion, www.edchange.org/multicultural/language/quotes_alpha2.html (accessed 25.05.2012).

¹⁰⁶ Akkari, 115.

without changing the relationship between the English-speaking community and the Spanish-speaking community, Anglophones remain incontestably dominant. Spanish is a nice curriculum vitae ornament, but not considered essential or as a valued part of American culture. Liberatory bilingualism, on the other hand, promotes cultural-linguistic hybridization.

In addition to these two categories, this paper suggests there is a third message that one can convey in regards to another language: ‘you have to learn my language, but I do not have to learn yours’. This can be termed reticent bilingualism. Yet this third message may also seem incongruent with the very concept of bilingualism, since by definition bilinguals have a significant knowledge of two languages, presumably the two in question. However, upon deeper reflection this message is not radically different from the message of instrumental bilingualism, ‘you have to learn my language, but your language is optional for me’. In both cases the other language is seen as a non-priority and thus treated as inferior. Reticent bilingualism is extreme and generally, perhaps even exclusively, occurs in contexts where two linguistic communities share a territory and the linguistic divide is especially pronounced, because of a protracted conflict or because power or affluence are unequally distributed along linguistic lines. Some bilingualism usually exists, either because of imposition, such as certain formal schooling arrangements, or by proximity but it is resented. These bilinguals are hostile toward the other language, are passive bilinguals that may not acknowledge or use their language skills even when it is advantageous to do so, and generally resist further acquisition of language skills or their maintenance.

Examples of reticent bilingualism include an Anglophone Canadian refusing to use French to communicate; a Francophone Canadian refusing to use English to communicate; the subjects of Phil Collins film *Zašto ne govorim srpski (na srpskom)*,¹⁰⁷ who are Kosovars expressing their reservations about speaking Serbian; a Welsh-speaker refusing to communicate in English; a

¹⁰⁷ Translation: *Why I do not speak Serbian (In Serbian)*.

Spanish-speaker refusing to communicate in Basque; and so on and so forth. This can even be seen on the level of dialects. Reticent bidialectism would be the unwillingness of an upper class individual to learn the slang of the streets, or the unwillingness of a Croatian to communicate in Serbian, or the unwillingness of a Francophone to communicate in Haitian Creole or Québécois. Just as liberatory bilingualism demands reciprocity, ‘we will speak *one another’s* languages’, reticent bilingualism is often reciprocal. The natural response to the message of ‘you have to speak my language, but I do not have to speak yours’ is, rather childishly and circuitously, ‘no, *you* have to speak *my* language, but *I* do not have to speak *yours*’. In many of the examples mentioned this is visible. In practice, few Anglophones would learn Welsh to communicate, few Serbians Albanian, and those deeply embedded in marginalized urban subcultures may express resentment towards the upper class ‘proper’ variant of their language.

Having defined and established these three kinds of bilingualism, reticent, instrumental, and liberatory, it is necessary to apply them to the case of Serbian/Albanian bilingualism in Kosova. They correspond well with the previous sections describing negative images, ‘neutral’ images, and progressive images of the Serbian language, respectively. An individual heavily caught up in negative images of the Serbian language is likely to be a reticent bilingual; such was the case in instances of boycotting the Serbian language during the 1990s. Adem Demaçi, while in prison, would often refuse to speak Serbian even if it meant forfeiting visits:

Almost every two months, Demaçi was visited by his sister, Ajshe, who sold a variety of her own handicrafts in order to visit her brother in prison. On her first visit, even though she had travelled hundreds of kilometers to visit her brother, Ajshe had to return without having seen him at all because Demaçi wouldn’t follow the guard’s orders to speak to his sister in Serbian.¹⁰⁸

Similarly, a respondent in Prishtina described how in the seventh or eighth grade he and his fellow classmates would attend school and “put our heads down and say, ‘We refuse to study Serbian.’”

¹⁰⁸ Gashi, 73.

And the Serbian teacher basically looking at us making a political statement.”¹⁰⁹ Reticent bilingualism can be a form of civil resistance, as in these instances, but displayed by the Kosovar Albanian community today it can more deeply divide Kosovar society along an ethno-linguistic cleavage since it provokes a similar attitude from Serbian-speaking communities, which causes a spiral of isolating and centrifugal tendencies. At least in the urban centers of Prishtina and Prizren, however, this form of bilingualism seems largely to be a relic of the past. Although, as there are contemporary instances of violence associated with the Serbian language, so too is there a response of reticent bilingualism, even to the point of erasing the Serbian language from the public space through graffiti.

Instrumental bilingualism seems to dominate the bilingual space in the Albanian community of urban Kosova, probably symptomatic of both the inversion of language dominance in society and the transition toward a liberal free-market economy, which emphasizes rational choices based on equations of utility. This underlies a worrying trend of normalizing current language use patterns and foreshadows the complex interactions that Kosovar society will have with the ideology of liberal capitalism, in the linguistic sphere as well as many others. Yet, by a wide margin, it is the phenomenon of the creation of these positive images of the Serbian language and emancipatory, liberatory bilingualism that is the most important for the future of Kosova. The images in the previous section are consistent with liberatory bilingualism because they embody the value of the Serbian language, which challenges tacitly or explicitly its undervaluation in Kosovar society. Since language contributes to both constituting and expressing one’s identity, by valuing a language in such a way these bilinguals choose to acknowledge the dignity of the culture and collective identity of a linguistic community.

¹⁰⁹ Interview with author, Prishtina, 23.04.2012.

Images of the Serbian language as a language of identity or of dissent press even further, they initiate the concept of cultural hybridization. Bilingual individuals imbued with these images incorporate the Serbian language into their own personal identity and use it, through a critical challenge, to influence and shape the collective identity of their community. Kosova, through the precarious and unresolved nature of its current position in the international community, its ongoing project of developing capacity, and the process of nation-building, is at a crucial point of collective identity formation and self-definition as a society. Petrit Selimi warned of this as early as 2006:

Very soon questions will be asked, what kind of society are we creating? Is it a society in which... and that word—freedom... Are we going to allow for that Albanian who is gay, or that lost Serb who is in Gračanica to be free? Because if he is not free, we are not free either.¹¹⁰

One respondent unconsciously replied to Selimi's line of questioning when answering a question about how he feels when he hears Serbian spoken on the streets of Prishtina:

You do not hear a lot of people speaking Serbian in Prishtina, but it is a sign of freedom. I think if you hear people speaking Serbian in Prishtina, same as if you would hear Albanians speaking in Serbia somewhere, it is that somehow Kosovo is more free.¹¹¹

The ultimate image of a free Kosova then, is one that respects, embraces, and frees the Serbian language. There is recognition that Kosova loses nothing by wholeheartedly supporting the linguistic rights of others, rather it increases its own freedom. Society is only free when it encourages the emancipation of all its citizens, rather than being enslaved to the constant self-inflicted repression of marginalizing, ignoring, or silencing a part of the whole.

Thus far a normative hierarchy of kinds of bilingualism has been implied in the fashion and order in which they have been described. Namely, that reticent bilingualism is more antiquated than instrumental bilingualism, which is in turn inferior to enlightened liberatory bilingualism. In terms of

¹¹⁰ Petrit Selimi, in *The way between Belgrade and Prishtina has 28000 un-proper build objects. So, never it will be an autobahn!*, Prishtina: Stacion Center for Contemporary Art, 2008, 68.

¹¹¹ Interview with author, Prishtina, 03.05.2012.

promoting positive, inclusive social change in Kosova today, this is largely the case. However, this paper does not intend to deny the enormous advantage and sense in instrumental bilingualism, nor does it deny that reticent bilingualism can be a legitimate and powerful form of protest or civil disobedience that can also promote social change. Yet powerful forms of activism, like media blackouts, hunger strikes, or shows of reticent bilingualism, do not last indefinitely. Chronic and widespread, as opposed to time-bound and targeted, demonstrations of reticent bilingualism aggravate or create tensions between linguistic communities. Likewise, instrumental bilingualism may have its personal benefits, but in isolation it is unlikely to bring about social change.

Yet therein lies the knot, are different forms of bilingualism mutually exclusive? Is it possible for one to practice both instrumental and liberatory bilingualism? The answer is overwhelmingly affirmative because power relations are fluid and humans are sufficiently complex and self-contradictory to flexibly respond to changes in power relations. Akkari elucidates that the “power relationships among languages are quite contextually and historically situated. A language that is dominant in one context may be dominated in another.”¹¹² Serbian may be marginalized in the urban life of Prishtina, decently equal in Parliament, and dominant in Gračanica or north of the Ibar river. Thus, because humans rarely ever embody an ideology in its purest form—many vegetarians or vegans buy shoes with leather detailing, many feminists buy products despite the fact that their marketing campaigns objectify women, and many pacifists listen to music with violent messages—bilinguals can easily justify shifting between practicing different ideologies of bilingualism depending on their context. One might insist on receiving a service in Albanian when in a dominantly Serbian speaking area in Kosova, but use the Serbian language to apply for a certain grant. This individual is thus exhibiting both reticent and instrumental bilingualism in vastly different contexts. Or one may improve his Serbian language skills both in order to better enjoy his

¹¹² Akkari, 108.

vacation in Dubrovnik and in order to defy the language's marginalization in his local context. In this instance he is inhabiting the sphere of instrumental bilingualism and liberatory bilingualism simultaneously.

In addition to these hypothetical scenarios this can be supported more concretely. When speaking about the Serbian language, individual respondents were never wholly consistent in the set of images or narratives that they produced, they did not all correspond to a single modality of bilingualism. Instead, each participant made statements and produced images that were affiliated with aspects of two or all three kinds of bilingualism. This indicates the complex web of potentially contradictory narratives that individuals experience in regard to language and, perhaps unsurprisingly in light of the previous deduction, that it is not only possible, but also common to live multiple kinds of bilingualism. When a specific form of bilingualism is embraced is dependent on internal factors and external context.

CAN BILINGUALS ACT AS INTERCOMMUNITY BRIDGES?

Në breg lidhur është një barkë/ një barkë e harruar/ që kalbet në shira.
Me sa duket/ ne s'kemi ndërmend ta përdorim kurrë/ për t'u kthyer.¹¹³

(Luljeta Lleshanaku, *Ishulli*)¹¹⁴

If, then, bilingualism has an impact on social change, can bilinguals act as intercommunity bridges? The Kosovar Bosniak respondent in Prizren told a story about how the Bosniak community traditionally acted as a bridge between the Albanian and Serbian communities in the city. The Bosniak community was poised in between: bonded to the Albanian community by religion and to the Serbian community by language. He spoke of how the Bosniak community had

¹¹³ Translation: A boat is moored on the shore/ a forlorn boat/ rotting in the rain.

It seems/ we'll never be able to use it/ to sail home.

¹¹⁴ Luljeta Lleshanaku, www.neuesirene.de/e6llesh.htm (accessed: 25.05.2012), translation from Words Without Borders, wordswithoutborders.org/article/the-island-you-and-i (accessed: 25.05.2012).

always felt outside the conflict between the two linguistic communities, despite sharing a privileged language with one of the parties. Thus, as Pelinka states:

The mere existence of difference alone does not create political conflicts. Differences must be interpreted, must be perceived in a specific way to be able to mobilize societal segments in a politically significant way.¹¹⁵

Divisions or cleavages in society are not natural; they are socially constructed. The social fact that two people have different native languages means nothing until it is ascribed meaning. Divisions rapidly become normalized and then perceived as natural, hiding the fact of their fabricated nature in daily life. Yet, because they are mere constructions, social categories are imperfect and there are always individuals that fall slightly outside the imagined boundaries and by their existence challenge the whole system of classification or identification, which in turn challenges the relationships, institutions, and norms built upon this system.

For instance, intersex and transgender individuals, as well as those with alternative sexualities, challenge the male-female gender dichotomy, which in turn means rethinking everything from traditional gender roles to sex education. These individuals have a high potential for catalyzing paradigm shifts in thinking and radical social change because they reveal the current system as a human construction that can be questioned and changed. This is only, however, a potential and not a certainty because the tendency is for these individuals to be socially pressured to conform to the system. Children born to mixed parents challenge rigid definitions of ethnicity and race, for example, but frequently identify with one ethnicity or race based on proximity criteria like skin color or paternal identification. When intermarriage is common sometimes societies create new categories, such as mulatto or métis, but this is simply a mechanism that saves and reinforces the current system and its power relations.

¹¹⁵ Pelinka, 135.

In the case of language, the division between two languages is often blurry, to say nothing of the division between linguistic communities. In Kosova, Albanian and Serbian are not very pure languages. Differences can be heard in the Serbian spoken in Belgrade and Gračanica, the linguistic cross-fertilization in Prizren has already been mentioned, and one respondent mentioned that “Albanians from Kosovo do not speak a very clean Albanian. If you ask someone from Albania they would say your language is not very regular.”¹¹⁶ The languages in the region have influenced each other to the point of altering or ‘contaminating’ grammar and vocabulary. The bilingual community acts similarly to the intermediate nature of local dialects, they demonstrate the artificiality of the divide between linguistic communities. As speakers of both languages they are not a part of either community and simultaneously are a part of both.

When embracing reticent bilingualism individuals come closest to eschewing their awkward position and assimilating into a single linguistic community. When practicing instrumental bilingualism individuals can exist uneasily within the system; their incongruent skills can be extraordinarily justified as necessary for professional or travel reasons. Actions of liberatory bilingualism are fundamentally revolutionary and a bilingual community of critical mass espousing this attitude could play a definitive role in reshaping society and recrafting its boundaries of inclusion and exclusion. Here, the metaphor of a bridge is inappropriate; these individuals would act more like the force that breaks the barrier between chemicals in a glowstick, producing an entirely new substance. These individuals can shape new hybridized societies. In Kosova, however, there seems to be a lack of awareness about this potential within the bilingual community itself. Few respondents demonstrated a realization of their potential agency. Among other factors, the presence of internationals and with them the so-called global English language may complicate this process of understanding and activating potential.

¹¹⁶ Interview with author, Prishtina, 03.05.2012.

ENGLISH: UNIVERSAL OR NEOCOLONIAL LANGUAGE?

Unfortunately a thorough discussion of the English language as a hegemonic global language and the consequences of that do not fall within the scope of this paper. However, since it has such a high presence in Kosova, this is a relatively recent development, and it introduces an interesting dynamic, this section aims to briefly and tangentially discuss its role and raise crucial questions. So, in Kosova, alongside the two official languages at the federal level, Serbian and Albanian, English has a *de facto* official status. Reports are largely filed in English, primary legislation must be translated into an equally authoritative English version, and in the capital it is not extremely difficult to live one's life solely in the English language. This is, presumably, to facilitate the work of the international offices that continue to help administer and govern the young and internationally contested country. Additionally, English is rapidly becoming the preferred second language in the country. "English has long been taught in Kosovo schools, from the fourth grade on. In 2010, Kosovo mandated English be taught beginning in the first grade through the university level."¹¹⁷ English is the language of working with international organizations, the language of opportunity, and has a degree of international recognition and prestige that the state itself, in this present moment of status uncertainty, can only envy.

There are two main questions that, in the context of Kosova, should be asked. Firstly, what is the power relationship between the English language and native languages, notably Albanian and Serbian? Secondly, what impact does this have on the community of Serbian/Albanian bilinguals? In response to the first, it is clear that English is a hugely privileged and powerful language and this reflects the position of the international community inside the country. It is important to remember the language's current global status and historical legacy of imperialism. Its high presence and visibility is not merely practical. One could argue it is a necessary evil, but it certainly represents a

¹¹⁷ Investment Promotion Agency of Kosovo, "Invest in Kosovo", 2010, 3.

show of power and influence and, to a degree, the usurpation of native languages. On that point, the Serbian/Albanian bilingual community is both shrinking and is facing new language acquisition pressures. As the Serbian/Albanian bilingual community ages, the new generation is not learning the same languages as their parents and these parents face pressures to learn English rather than improve or expand their use of Serbian. Young Kosovars are creating new English/Albanian or English/Serbian bilingual communities.

On one level this allows for an opportunity to increase intercommunity communication because of a shared language. Essentially these individuals have added a fourth option to the kind of relationships possible between the Serbian-speaking and Albanian-speaking linguistic communities, that of: ‘I do not have to learn your language and you do not have to learn mine, we both should learn language C’. This neatly sidesteps the roots of the issue by grafting on a significant element of a third-party culture. There may be exciting possibilities within this process. For instance one respondent argued that when Kosovar Serbs and Albanians spoke English it was easier because “you do not see any politicization of talk between people.”¹¹⁸ Despite this, the English language brings new dynamics of power into the context and both internationalizes and complicates the linguistic power hierarchy within the country.

CONCLUSIONS

Mahound, any new idea is asked two questions. When it is weak: will it compromise?
We know the answer to that one. And now, Mahound, on your return to Jahila,
time for the second question: How do you behave when you win?
When your enemies are at your mercy and your power has become absolute: what then?

(Salman Rushdie, *The Satanic Verses*)¹¹⁹

It is a small portion of these linguistic power dynamics in Kosova that this paper has aimed to examine in more depth. Overall, the objective of this paper was to examine the narratives and

¹¹⁸ Interview with author, Prishtina, 26.04.2012.

¹¹⁹ Salman Rushdie, *The Satanic Verses*, Picador (2000): 382.

images surrounding the Serbian language within the Serbian/Albanian bilingual Albanian community in Kosova and furthermore to assess the political intent and consequences of these individuals' use of their Serbian language skills. Three broad groups of narratives were identified: those that share a negative image, those that share a professedly 'neutral' image, and finally those that are connected by their positive image of the Serbian language. These three images correspond to three theoretical kinds of bilingualism, reticent, instrumental, and liberatory, respectively. As the different images and narratives that an individual holds in his head about the Serbian language can be multiple and conflicting, so too can he espouse different forms of bilingualism. Normally this is done at different times and in different contexts, although this can sometimes occur simultaneously.

Each of these forms of bilingualism is not only a theoretical abstraction but dictates concrete actions and a manner of behaving. It is hardly possible to speak of bilingualism without choices being involved: where, why, with whom, and to do what should language skills be used or not used? These decisions are also inherently political. Decisions that are consistent with a particular kind of bilingualism imply a certain political message. This is the case whether intended or not—and people are often careless with what they say or do, much less do they critically engage with why they speak or act—because the message conveyed is the same. Reticent bilingualism is a form of linguistic protest against real or perceived conditions of unequal treatment of native language compared to the language of another community. Instrumental bilingualism supports the status quo, the linguistic hierarchy, and set of power relations that this implies. Finally, liberatory bilingualism is revolutionary and seeks to undermine the definitions that underlie the current linguistic hierarchy in order to achieve equality.

In Kosova, reticent bilingualism was part and parcel of a movement of civil resistance that objected to the oppression by the Serbian regime of the Albanian language and the Kosovar Albanian people. The Serbian language was effectively boycotted and it became commonplace to

associate negative imagery with it. Indeed, the actions of the Serbian regime in the 1990s, which were physically, institutionally, and verbally violent only contributed to this attitude. In the post-conflict situation as it stands today, this kind of bilingualism is less common, at least in larger urban areas. It can be inferred that this is primarily due to the fact that there has been a reversal in the power relations between the Serbian and Albanian languages; the Albanian language is now dominant, despite sharing nominally equal status at a federal level, due to the sheer number of speakers and the language's importance in the Albanian project of nation-building. Where reticent bilingualism does still exist it tends to enhance tension and further separate the ethno-linguistic societies, although in some instances it could arguably be considered a legitimate protest against bilateral politics between Serbia and Kosova or local level hierarchies where power relations are structured counter to the federal norm. In the wake of this general inversion of language dominance, a success of reticent bilingualism, it remains to be seen if the Albanian language will maintain the position of power it usurped or live up to the principles and standards of fairness and equality that the movement it rose to power with originally espoused.

The former option is the more tempting and, as it simply requires a maintenance of the current situation where the Albanian language dominates the Serbian language, it is easier. Instrumental bilingualism treats the Serbian language as trifling, optional, or an accessory. Individuals practicing this form of bilingualism are not hostile to the language, in fact they can list a few practical reasons why it is good to know, but they do not engage with issues related to language use or level of presence. This lack of critical engagement reinforces the status quo behind a veil of neutrality. In other words, the best way to argue for the current system of language relations is to avoid questioning it too deeply and act as though it is normal, rather than the manifestation of a problematic power inequality. This form of bilingualism seems widespread, and many factors contribute to this, including but not limited to the current post-conflict and precarious nature of

Kosovar society today, the introduction and rise of English, and the transition to a liberal free-market economy. Nevertheless there is some embracing of liberatory bilingualism, which is fundamentally revolutionary. Underpinning this lived form of bilingualism is the idea that divisions between linguistic communities are artificial and their destruction would bring about an equality of language in a new hybridized community. Prizren illustrates this beautifully, although there is little enthusiasm for or recognition of the possibility to work to scale-up this social model for the rest of the country. Perhaps conditions are unfavorable at the present moment, in the midst of nation-building, to conceive of or implement such a project. The future may hold promise, but there is also the sobering reality that the more time spent normalizing the current patterns of inequality in society, the more institutionalized and resistant to change they become. This holds long-term implications for the development of a sustainable peace between ethno-linguistic communities.

CAVEATS AND LIMITATIONS

When discussing power dynamics it is important to be aware of whose stories are not told, whose voices are not heard. This paper focuses almost exclusively on Kosovar Albanian narratives and perceptions of the Serbian language. Only one individual of mixed parentage and one member of the Bosniak community were interviewed. Narratives from the Serbian, Roma, Turkish, and other minority communities in Kosova have been entirely excluded. It is difficult to get a clear conceptual picture of the position of the Serbian language in Kosova without these pieces. Additionally, all formal respondents and the project advisor are male. Even a female author cannot be a substitute for the female narrators' stories and experiences, which are absent from this project. Bilingualism can be analyzed from the perspective of gender, yet this paper does not attempt to analyze Serbian/Albanian bilingualism as a gendered experience. Finally, this project has been carried out with only superficial knowledge of the two languages under discussion and most of the research has been conducted in English. The English language enjoys a certain hegemony in the

production of academic knowledge, so this paper contributes to reinforcing that by augmenting the body of literature on the Serbian and Albanian languages in English. Additionally, the limits imposed by a lack of proficiency in either Serbian or Albanian includes the inability to be a full participant observer within the linguistic community and an inability to grasp or comprehend certain internal linguistic dynamics or nuances.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER INQUIRY

To understand a part and extrapolate to the whole is to commit the fallacy of composition. While this paper offers an interesting glimpse into a specific instance of language politics in Kosova from one perspective, much more research should be done on the topic. Discussing a different language or set of languages, highlighting the perspective of a different linguistic community, a different gender, or those individuals from rural settings would all expand on the research presented here. A few hypothetical examples would be Serbian/Albanian bilingualism from the perspective of Kosovar Serbian bilinguals, non-Serbian-speaking Kosovar Albanian perceptions of the Serbian language, Turkish language from the perspective of Kosovar Albanians, English/Albanian bilingualism in Kosova, or Serbian and Albanian languages from the perspective of Kosovar Roma. A gendered analysis of the politics of language in Kosova would also contribute to a more profound understanding of the issue of language rights and use in the country. The political implications of language is also not an issue limited to Kosova, interesting work could be done on the connection between the nation-building processes of Croatia, Bosnia, and Montenegro and the development of the official Croatian, Bosnian and Montenegrin languages. All these and related topics contribute to a fuller comprehension of language politics in the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abazi, Enika. "Kosovo Independence: An Albanian Perspective". *SETA Policy Brief* 11 (April 2008): 1-5.
- Akkari, Abdeljalil. "Bilingual Education: Beyond Linguistic Instrumentalization". *Bilingual Research Journal: The Journal of the National Association for Bilingual Education* 22.2-4 (1998): 103-125.
- Baldwin, James. "If Black English Isn't a Language, Then Tell Me, What Is?" *The Black Scholar* 27.1 (1997): 5-6.
- Clark, Howard. *Civil Resistance in Kosovo*. London: Pluto Press, 2000.
- Darrow, Clarence. Critical Multicultural Pavilion. www.edchange.org/multicultural/language/quotes_alpha2.html (accessed 25.05.2012).
- Devetak, Silvo. "Minorities and autonomy in Central and Eastern European Countries". *Federalism, Regionalism, Local Autonomy and Minorities*. Council of Europe, 1997.
- Di Lellio, Anna and Stephanie Schwandner-Sievers. "The Legendary Commander: the construction of an Albanian master-narrative in post-war Kosovo". *Nations and Nationalism* 12.3 (2006): 513-529.
- Doli, Dren, Ketrina Cabiri, and Fisnik Korenica. "Equalizing the Use of Language: A View to Kosovo Law's Guarantees Upon Minority Languages". *The Open Law Journal* 3 (2010): 6-14.
- Eastman, Max. Critical Multicultural Pavilion. www.edchange.org/multicultural/language/quotes_alpha2.html (accessed 25.05.2012).
- Fridman, Orli. "Structured and Unstructured Daily Encounters in Kosovo". Manuscript in preparation: 01.11.2011.
- Galtung, Johan. "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research". *Journal of Peace Research* (1969): 167-191.
- Gashi, Shkëlzen. Trans. Elizabeth Gowing. *Adem Demaçi: Biography*. Prishtina, Kosova: Rrokullia Publishing House, 2010.
- Greenberg, Robert. *Language and Identity in the Balkans: Serbo-Croatian and Its Disintegration*. Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Heta, Albert and Vala Osmani (Eds.). *The way between Belgrade and Prishtina has 28000 un-proper build objects. So, never it will be an autobahn!* Kosova: Raster, 2008.

- Human Rights Watch. "Justice for Kosovo Massacre". 21.05.2010. www.hrw.org/news/2012/05/21/justice-kosovo-massacre (accessed 28.05.2012).
- Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre. "Internal Displacement in Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia". *Global Overview* (2011): 61-71.
- International Commission on Missing Persons, Kosovo. www.ic-mp.org/icmp-wordwide/southeast-europe/un-administered-kosovo (accessed 28.05.2012).
- Investment Promotion Agency of Kosovo. "Invest in Kosovo: Opportunities in Business Processing and Information Technology Outsourcing". 2012.
- Jovanović, Ivana. "Rock school mixes sound, ethnicities in Mitrovica". *Southeast European Times in Belgrade*. 22.02.2012.
- Karadaku, Linda. "Kosovo's Vetëvendosje movement works to block border crossings with Serbia". *Southeast European Times*. 14.01.2012. www.setimes.com/cocoon/setimes/xhtml/en_GB/features/setime/features/2012/01/14/feature-01 (accessed 28.05.2012).
- Kelmendi, Migjen. Interview with Omar Karabeg on Radio Free Europe. "Belgrade is a faraway place for Kosovo Albanians". 27.12.2008. Translation by the Bosnian Institute. 05.01.2009. www.bosnia.org.uk/news/news_body.cfm?newsid=2533 (accessed 28.05.2012).
- Kosovo 2.0. Press Release. 26.04.2012. www.kosovotwopointzero.com/en/blog/8th-box/press-release-26-04-2012 (accessed 25.05.2012).
- Lederach, John Paul. *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington DC: USIP, 1997.
- Lleshanaku, Luljeta. www.neuesirene.de/e6llesh.htm (accessed 25.05.2012). Translation from Words Without Borders. wordswithoutborders.org/article/the-island-you-and-I (accessed 25.05.2012).
- Milošević, Slobodan. "Govor Slobodana Miloševića na Gazimestanu, 28. Jun 1989". *Vreme*. 25.06.2009. www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=872091 (accessed 25.05.2012).
- Obućina, Vedran. "A War of Myths: Creation of the Founding Myth of Kosovo Albanians". *Contemporary Issues* 4.1 (2011): 30-44.
- Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe: Mission in Kosovo. "Multilingual Legislation in Kosovo and its Challenges". February 2012.
- Pelinka, Anton. "Language as a Political Category: The Viewpoint of Political Science". *Journal of Language and Politics* 6.1 (2007): 129-143.
- Ron, James. *Frontiers and Ghettos: State Violence in Serbia and Israel*. California: University of California, 2003.

Rushdie, Salman. *The Satanic Verses*. Picador, 2000.

Sneddon, Raymonde. "Magda and Albana: Learning to Read with Dual Language Books". *Language and Education* 22.2 (2008): 137-154.

Tolstoy, Lev Nikolayevich. Leo Tolstoy Quotes.
www.goodreads.com/author/quotes/85.Leo_Tolstoy (accessed 25.05.2012).

Zašto ne govorim srpski (na srpskom). Dir. Phil Collins. 2008.

ANNEX 1.0: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Can you introduce yourself?

Name, age, occupation, where you are from, what is your first language, and what other languages do you speak?

When did you start learning Serbian/Bosnian/Croatian?

In what context? For how long? Why?

How would you rate your Serbian language skills today?

(reading, writing, speaking, and comprehension)

How did you feel about learning Serbian initially?

Did your feelings shift over the course of the learning process?

Do you speak, read, write, or listen to Serbian at all in private/at home?

Are there things that you automatically think about in Serbian?

(i.e. Mental math, prayers, songs, conversations) If so, how do you feel about that?

Do you ever dream in Serbian? If so, how do you feel about that?

Do you speak, read, write, or listen to Serbian in public?

If so, where? Why? How do other people react?

Do other people know you know Serbian?

Do you tell people that you speak, read, write, or understand Serbian?

How do you feel about knowing Serbian today?

During the conflict in the 1990s? Post-independence?

What are your thoughts when you hear Serbian spoken on the streets (of Prishtina)?

What is your reaction?

What kind of presence do you think the Serbian language has in Kosova today?

(Illegitimate? Tolerated? Legitimate? Welcomed?)

What language would you prefer to converse with Serbians in?

(Albanian? Serbian? English? Other?)

What do you associate the Serbian language with?

The Albanian language?

Is it important to you to know both the Serbian and Albanian languages? Why or why not?

ANNEX 2.0: JOHAN GALTUNG, *A TYPOLOGY OF VIOLENCE*

Figure 1. *A Typology of Violence*

