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Language Policy and Linguistic Reality in Former Yugoslavia and its Successor States

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Abstract

Turbulent social and political circumstances in the Middle South Slavic language area caused the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the formation of new countries in the 1990s, and this of course was reflected in the demise of the prestigious Serbo-Croatian language and the emergence of new standard languages based on the Štokavian dialect (Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian and Montenegrin). The Yugoslav language policy advocated a polycentric model of linguistic unity that strived for equal representation of the languages of the peoples (Serbo-Croatian, Macedonian and Slovenian), ethnicities (ethnic minorities) and ethnic groups, as well as both scripts (Latin and Cyrillic). Serbo-Croatian, spoken by 73% of people in Yugoslavia, was divided into the eastern and the western variety and two standard language expressions: Bosnian and Montenegrin. One linguistic system had sociolinguistic subsystems or varieties which functioned and developed in different socio-political, historical, religious and other circumstances. With the disintegration of Yugoslavia, the aforementioned sociolinguistic subsystems became standard languages (one linguistic system brought forth four political languages). We will describe the linguistic circumstances of the newly formed countries after 1991 in Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro. We will show that language policies of the newly formed states of former Yugoslavia have encountered many problems, including some elementary issues of standardisation. Finally we conclude that the future will not bring convergence and that language policies will continue to depend on the general political situation in the region.

Keywords: language policy, Serbo-Croatian, Bosnian, Montenegrin, Croatian, Serbian language

要旨

中央南スラヴ語圏における社会的・政治的混乱は、ユーゴスラビアの崩壊を招き、1990年代には各新国家が誕生した。結果は、信望の厚かったセルボ・クロアチア語の「死」と、シュト方言を基盤とする各標準語（ボスニア語、クロアチア語、セルビア語、モンテネグロ語）の出現であった。本稿は、歴史のおよび理論的枠組みの中で、言語統一の多中心的モデルである旧ユーゴスラビアの言語政策、そして諸民族の言語（セルボ・クロアチア語、マケドニア語、スロベニア語）、「民族性」（少数民族）、民族集団等の概念、さらにローマ字とキリル文字の両文字体系の使用を論じる。ユーゴスラビアの73%の人々が話すといわれたセルボ・クロアチア語は東と西のバラエティーと2種の標準方言、ボスニア語とマケドニア語に分割された。つまり、一つの言語体系が社会言語学的には下位体系または変種を持ち、それぞれが違った社会、政治、歴史、宗教などの状況により機能と発展を異にした。ユーゴスラビアの崩壊に伴い、社会言語学的下位体系が各標準語となり、一つの言語体系が四つの政治的言語を生むこととなった。ここではさらに、1991年以降に新しく形成された各国家、クロアチア、セルビア、ボスニア・ヘルツェゴビナ、モンテネグロにおける言語状況を描く。最後に、旧ユーゴ地域の諸国家の言語政策がそれぞれに問題を抱え、なかでも標準化に関する基本的な問題を持つことを指摘する。将来において、これら諸言語の近寄りは見込まれず、今後も言語政策は地域の政治情勢に左右されていくことであろう。

キーワード：言語政策、セルボ・クロアチア語、ボスニア語、モンテネグロ語、クロアチア語、セルビア語

1. Introduction

The relationship between language and politics is always a live issue and it is certainly unavoidable in turbulent social and political circumstances such as those which marked the last twenty years in the Middle South Slavic language area; i.e. in former Yugoslavia¹. The disintegration of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) and the formation of new borders and countries² had a major influence on the changes in language status and on changes in the languages themselves. The turbulent relations of language and society in the area drew the attention of numerous (socio)linguists looking for answers to the following

questions: what caused armed and ethnic conflicts; what role did linguistic nationalism have; why did the Serbo-Croatian language (S-C) disintegrate; and so on? During this period, linguistic issues in the area became extremely politicised or “politically contaminated” (Šipka 2006: 11). Moreover, the disintegration of Yugoslavia began with discussions on language in which different political views, aspirations, and manipulations surfaced. Suddenly, the primary, communicative function of language was replaced with the symbolic function. Words carried emotional and ideological charge, and those involved in language policy (LP) (politicians, dominant groups in society, linguists, etc.) equated language with national identity more than ever.

To explain what was happening to language and around language in the area of former Yugoslavia in the 1990s, why it was a language (Serbo-Croatian) that became an active instrument of conflict and a means of symbolic demarcation, we must go back a hundred years and take a broad sociolinguistic look at the Middle South Slavic language area. Following that, we will present the sociolinguistic picture of former Yugoslavia, its disintegration and the description of linguistic changes in the newly-formed countries after the ‘demise’ of S-C and the emergence of new standard languages based on Neo-Štokavian: Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin, and Serbian (BCMS)³.

In relation to the topic of language policies in former Yugoslavia and in the newly-formed countries, the following issue is still a live one: what has changed since the 1990s to the present day in the standard languages which emerged from the former Serbo-Croatian language? In the narrow, linguistic sense, almost nothing has changed. However, most changes were political in nature, which is reflected in the LP implemented in certain standard languages. The proclaimed LP is often different from linguistic reality or practice, which we will illustrate by a number of examples of former S-C and its successor languages (BCMS).

Although today it is possible to talk about the topic from a historical point of view and without emotion, an entirely objective standpoint is impossible. Among numerous titles by domestic and foreign (socio)linguists (collections of papers, articles, etc.) let us point out the work of R. Bugarski, a sociolinguist from Belgrade, who has been researching the issue for many years and has summed up his work in a collection of papers indicatively titled *Portrait of a Language*

(Bugarski 2012). We also need to point out research programmes and projects⁴ which have been carried out at the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana in the last twenty years in partnership with universities in former Yugoslavia (Zagreb, Novi Sad, Belgrade, Sarajevo, Podgorica, Skoplje), the results of which were presented in a collection of papers published in Ljubljana (Požgaj Hadži, Balažic Bulc and Gorjanc, eds. 2009) and Belgrade (Požgaj Hadži, ed. 2013).

2. Historical and linguistic framework

2.1. The Vienna Literary Agreement of 1850

The Middle South Slavic linguistic area in the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century was marked by national and linguistic renaissance. The renaissance movements had the aim of stimulating national awareness, looking after the culture of their people, and forming a modern nation. At the centre of the renaissance of all South Slavs was the vernacular (the language of the people) as the most important foundation and which enabled ethnic identity to last throughout the centuries of foreign rule. Identity was strengthened by renaissance movements and confirmed by language and orthography reforms, dialect prevalence, the establishment of a standard language, and the fight for the vernacular in schools and state institutions. People of importance appeared, who, in their own way, initiated change in their countries: Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (1787-1864) in Serbia, France Prešeren (1800-1849) in Slovenia, Ljudevit Gaj (1809-1872) in Croatia, and Petar Petrović Njegoš (1813-1851) in Montenegro. Macedonia, too, saw its first generation of renaissance authors, but due to many adverse circumstances the renaissance movement there was somewhat slower than in other countries in Yugoslavia (Barić et al. 1995).

Two documents are significant for our topic: the Vienna Literary Agreement of 1850 (VLA) and the Novi Sad Agreement of 1954 (NSA), as well as two people (Gaj and Karadžić) who believed in the necessity of a common South Slavic language. In Serbia, language reform was initiated by Karadžić who separated the vernacular from the language of the church (Slavoserbian). Under the influence of the Slovenian Slavist Jernej Kopitar, Karadžić first published a grammar book (*Pismenica srpskoga jezika*, 1814) and then a dictionary of the Serbian language

(*Srpski rječnik*, 1818), setting foundations for the future Serbian language for which he chose the widely used Štokavian dialect. Based on the same principle, Gaj started the Illyrian movement in Croatia and engaged in the battle for standard language and orthography with the unrealistic concept of linguistic and literary unity of all south Slavs under the Illyrian name. However, in the middle of the nineteenth century some members of the Illyrian movement realised that Illyrian linguistic concepts of the linguistic and literary unity of all south Slavs were unrealistic and that the only realistic possibility left was to create a common standard language for Croats and Serbs who partly shared the Štokavian dialect and the Ijekavian pronunciation. That is why in 1850 there was a conference in Vienna, called the Vienna Literary Agreement (VLA), which was signed by Croatian and Serbian linguists, among whom was the most esteemed Slavist of the time, Franc Miklošič from Slovenia. Guidelines were set for the development of a designed standard language that would be common to Croats and Serbs. The guidelines were in line with Karadžić's linguistic and orthographic concepts and partly with some features of pre-Illyrian development of the Croatian Neo-Štokavian standard. The signing of the agreement was a surprise because the standard languages of Croats and Serbs had followed divergent courses of development. Before 1850, Croats had prolific literature in different regional centres in which dialects were raised to the level of standard languages: Štokavian in Dubrovnik and Slavonia, Čakavian in Split, Zadar and Hvar and Kajkavian in Zagreb and the surrounding area. However, Gaj chose the Štokavian dialect as the basis for Standard Croatian, continuing in that way the tradition of the renaissance literature of Dubrovnik on the one hand and, on the other hand, coming closer to the reformed Serbian vernacular and to the possibility of the two languages becoming one language, Illyrian. In spite of the different linguistic traditions of Croats and Serbs, the programmes of the two reformers were identical. The VLA of 1850 set the guidelines for the development of a standard language common to Croats and Serbs, and the following was concluded⁵:

- dialects should not be put together to create a new one which does not exist among the people;
- for the standard language of Croats and Serbs, the most appropriate is the Ijekavian speech of the south, i.e. the Herzegovinian Neo-Štokavian type which uses *ije* in long and *je* in short syllables;

- the fricative *h* is to be written everywhere where it should be written from the aspect of etymology;
- the fricative *h* should not be written in the genitive plural noun declension case;
- the vowel *r* is to be written without the accompanying vowels (*a* and *e*).

Since Karadžić was considered an expert in Štokavian, he was assigned the task of designing “the main rules for the southern dialect”. As for the name of the language, it is interesting to note that the name of the new common standard language is nowhere to be found in the 1850 Agreement. That is why the name of the language became a stumbling block from then on and all the way to the dissolution of the common S-C in 1991 (Greenberg 2004, Glušica 2009).

2.2. The Novi Sad Agreement of 1954

After a hundred years, Croatian and Serbian linguists met to discuss the “issues of Serbo-Croatian language and orthography”, which resulted in the signing of the Novi Sad Agreement of 1954 (NSA). The signatories agreed on ten conclusions that could be summed up in the following way⁶:

- the vernacular of Croats, Serbs and Montenegrins is one language which has developed around the main centres of Zagreb and Belgrade; it is unitary, but with two pronunciations: Ekavian and Ijekavian;
- the name of the language in official use should indicate both constituent parts;
- both scripts, Latin and Cyrillic, are equal; that is why Croats and Serbs should equally learn the two scripts;
- both pronunciations, Ekavian and Ijekavian, are also equal;
- the need for a common dictionary, orthography handbook, and terminology is highlighted;
- unhindered development of Serbo-Croatian standard language should be allowed with the help of three universities (Zagreb, Belgrade, Sarajevo), two academies (Zagreb, Belgrade), and Matica srpska in Novi Sad and Matica hrvatska in Zagreb.

It seemed that the dilemma over the name of the common language (which was not mentioned in VLA) had finally been resolved; the language should be called Serbo-Croatian in its eastern variety and Croatian-Serbian in its western variety.

The Novi Sad Agreement was based on a model of polycentric linguistic unity with two varieties (eastern or Serbian and western or Croatian), and with time two more varieties appeared (Bosnian and Montenegrin). In 1960, a common orthography handbook⁷ in Latin and Cyrillic script was published and accepted implicitly. This was not the case with the dictionary. The dictionary was published in Serbia in six volumes in Cyrillic script⁸, but when published in Croatia in 1967⁹, it caused such discontent that only the first two volumes were published before it was discontinued. This was because it neglected specific features of the Croatian variety, especially the corpus of literature written in the Kajkavian and Čakavian dialect, and also because of issues of terminology. Creating a common terminology proved to be an insurmountable challenge at the very beginning of the process and it was not continued. As was then realised, Croatian terminology is very different from Serbian because each is the result of different civilizational and cultural orientations. Displeasure with the linguistic unity of Croats and Serbs resulted in the *Declaration on the status and name of Croatian standard language*¹⁰ published in 1967, asking for an amendment to the Constitution of the SFRY which would establish the equality of the four standard languages in the SFRY: Slovenian, Croatian, Serbian and Macedonian. The request was rejected and the *Declaration* was politically denounced. The Novi Sad Agreement was the foundation of inequality among languages and it played an important part in the denouncement. This is why the Matica hrvatska waived the Novi Sad Agreement and the common orthography handbook and started to work on its own handbook, published in 1971 as the *Croatian orthography handbook* (Babić, Finka and Mogoš 1971). The handbook was banned for political reasons but it appeared as a phototype edition in London in 1972, and has from then on been called *the Londoner (Londonac)*. The *Croatian orthography handbook* was published in full form in 1990 (see 5.1.5).

2.3. Dialects of the Middle South Slavic area

The Middle South Slavic area is traditionally divided into three dialects¹¹: Štokavian, Kajkavian and Čakavian. In the past several hundred years, the Štokavian dialect has spread at the expense of Kajkavian and Čakavian. It was used by four nations in Yugoslavia (Croats, Serbs, Montenegrins and Muslims¹²) who could understand each other as speakers of Štokavian. On the other hand, Kajkavian and Čakavian were used only by Croats.

The Štokavian dialect derives its name from the relative-interrogative pronoun *što/šta*. It is one of the most widespread dialects spoken in Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro. Many different dialects developed within the Štokavian dialect because it is spread over a very large area (for more see Lisac 2003). The Čakavian dialect derives its name from the relative-interrogative pronoun *ča* or *ca* (so-called Cakavian). The area where Čakavian is used today is much smaller than before; it is spoken in some parts of Istria and Lika, in Kvarner, on islands reaching Lastovo, and outside Croatia it is spoken by Burgenland Croats in the Austrian and Hungarian part of Burgenland. The beginnings of Croatian written language are tied to Čakavian from the eleventh century, many works of early (Middle Ages) Croatian literacy and literature were written in Čakavian. From the fifteenth century on, many Croatian authors wrote in standard Čakavian (e.g. Marulić, Hektorović, Lucić, Zoranić, etc.), and in the twentieth century a prolific Čakavian dialectal literature developed, especially poetry (Nazor, Gervais, Balota, etc.) which is still popular today. The Kajkavian dialect derives its name from the relative-interrogative pronoun *kaj*. It is spread in the greater part of northwest Croatia and in Gorski kotar. Kajkavian is also spoken outside Croatia, in Hungary and Romania. The Kajkavian dialect has many common features with Slovenian which is why it was once thought that it originated from Slovenian. Many literary works, grammars, and dictionaries were written in Kajkavian from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. Older lexical treasures of Kajkavian literature can be found in the *Dictionary of Croatian Kajkavian standard language* which started coming out in 1984 (Vajs 2011). Many poets and authors have used both Kajkavian and Čakavian.

As was mentioned before, Kajkavian and Čakavian dialects were used exclusively by Croats and at some point in history they were standard languages with a prolific literary tradition. However, these dialects did not participate in the formation of the standard language which, according to the VLA of 1850, was formed exclusively on the Neo-Štokavian foundation of the Herzegovinian type which developed in Ekavian and Ijekavian varieties. It was a common language to Serbs (mostly Ekavians and in some part Ijekavians) and Croats (Ijekavians) and later to Montenegrins and Muslims (Ijekavians) (Bugarski 2002).

2.4. Scripts of the Middle South Slavic area

Croatian is written in Croatian Latin script which is also called *Gajica* (according to Gaj who set the foundations of the script in the nineteenth century). The graphemes of the Latin script have a set order, called *abeceda* according to the names of the first three graphemes in the script. It is made up of letters or graphemes: 27 single-letter graphemes and 3 two-letter graphemes (*dž, lj, nj*).

Alongside Latin script, which has been the main Croatian script for over half a millennium, Croatian used two other scripts in the Middle Ages: Glagolitic and Cyrillic.¹³ Glagolitic script is a Slavic script created by Saint Cyril before he came to the Slavs in 863. The script spread until the end of the ninth century among most of the Slavic nations and left its greatest impact on Croatian culture. At first, it was used to write Old Church Slavic, which was used for all cultural needs, but from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century it was used for writing texts in the vernacular (mostly Čakavian). It was used in writing the oldest Croatian Glagolitic texts, the best known being *Bašćanska ploča*.

Cyrillic script has a special order of letters. It is called *azbuka* according to the names of the first two letters in Glagolitic script and Old Cyrillic (*az* and *buky*). It is made up of 30 single-letter graphemes, and, unlike Latin script, it has a different order of letters: *a, b, v, g, ...*, (for example, *v* is found at the end in Latin script).

As for the scripts, it is interesting to note that in the early phase of standardisation there was no agreement on the use of a unique script for a unique language. As we have seen, the VLA of 1850 signed by Croats and Serbs did not have an explicit stipulation concerning the script; it was implied that both scripts would be used, Latin and Cyrillic. No middle ground was found in the Novi Sad Agreement of 1954. The language policy of former Yugoslavia always highlighted the equality of scripts, both Latin and Cyrillic, but it should be pointed out that the linguistic reality was nonetheless different. Cyrillic script was dominant in Serbia, as Latin was in Croatia, while in Bosnia and Herzegovina people had to have a command of both scripts. How that worked in practice is best illustrated by the example of the Sarajevo journal *Oslobođenje* which was alternately published in Latin and Cyrillic. With time, the polarization began to

change due to internationalization (for more discussion on the relation between Latin and Cyrillic see 5.2.4).

3. A sociolinguistic look at former Yugoslavia

3.1. Social context of language policy in Yugoslavia

When the linguistic situation in Yugoslavia was discussed it was usually seen as very complex. The complexity was explained by the multinationality and multilingualism of the Yugoslav society and by the federal establishment, which affected the application of LP at a number of levels which were difficult to coordinate. However, what made the linguistic situation in Yugoslavia really complex was the heterogeneity of the social context of LP from the historical, cultural, social and linguistic aspects. To present the complex linguistic situation in Yugoslavia more easily, first let us take a look at some of the elements of the social context of LP (based on Škiljan 1988).

3.1.1 Demographic elements

According to the census¹⁴ of 1981, the SFRY had 22.427.585 citizens and eighteen ethnic groups with more than 10,000 members. In terms of ethnic structure, the list shows there were twice as many Serbs as Croats (36.3% Serbs and 19.7% Croats), whereas there was no significant difference among other nationalities in the SFRY (8.9% Muslims, 7.8% Slovenians, 7.7% Albanians, 6.0% Macedonians and 2.6% Montenegrins). It is also interesting to note that 5.4% of the population declared themselves as Yugoslavs and 1.1% as other nationalities. Ethnography shows that Serbs, Croats, Muslims, Slovenians, Macedonians and Montenegrins had the status of nationalities in the SFRY. Others had their majorities outside Yugoslavia, most often in the neighbouring countries where Albanians, Bulgarians, Czechs, Italians, Hungarians, Romanians, Rusyns, Slovaks, Turks, Ukrainians had the status of nationalities¹⁵. Jews, Vlachs and the Roma people had the status of ethnic groups¹⁶. It should also be noted that according to the same census, S-C was the native language of 73% of the population (Bugarski 2012: 29) in Yugoslavia, which clearly had an influence on public communication. By the very number of speakers, S-C places other languages in the position of less used languages (Škiljan 1988).

3.1.2 Economic elements

Unequal development of some parts of Yugoslavia affected not only the difference in the application of language policy, but also the level of literacy and education of the people, social structure, economic migrations, and so on. It is interesting to note that in Yugoslavia economic (under)development did not play an important part, because then we would expect for example, that Slovenian (Slovenia was always the most developed republic in Yugoslavia) would have been more present in public communication in Yugoslavia than it actually was (Škiljan 1988)¹⁷.

3.1.3 Cultural elements

The richness of the Yugoslav area stemmed from the fact that certain parts belonged to rather different cultures. However, cultural differences in synchronic dissection also showed as major differences in cultural standards, especially in terms of being prepared for public communication. In this context several problems appear. The first round of problems is related to the functional illiteracy of the Yugoslav population¹⁸, the second to the relation between the dialects and the standard language, the standard language and the substandard, etc., and the third to the issue of the relation of certain languages of nations and nationalities from the aspect of proclaimed total equality and actual practice (Škiljan 1988, Bugarski 1986).

3.1.4 Social elements

Basic social stratification in the Yugoslav society was reflected as the relation between the “working class, seen in the wider sense as manufacturers of material and spiritual goods, and the bureaucracy (technocracy)” (Škiljan 1988: 76). The latter was more present in public communication and had absolute control of it.

3.1.5 Political elements

The political framework of language policy was made up at the theoretical level of fundamental political orientations: socialism, self-management, the delegate system, federalism, and at the practical level their realisation. Of these

determinants, federalism had the greatest influence on language policy because all the important elements of language policy were transferred to republics and provinces, and language policy in the federation was realised in ways that the federal units defined. In Yugoslavia, pluralistic policy of language equality is carried out through a 'demographic filter': S-C, Slovenian, Macedonian, Albanian, Hungarian, Romany, Turkish, Slovak, Rumanian, Bulgarian, Rusyn, Czech, Italian and Ukrainian (Škiljan 1988: 80).

3.1.6 Legal elements

The political aspect of the social context of language policy is most clearly reflected in legal regulations, which were very prolific in all fields in Yugoslavia. The use and status of the language was defined in a number of acts, laws and regulations at all levels: federal, republic, municipal and provincial. The SFRY Constitution (1974)¹⁹ stated that the languages of the nations were in official use and that the languages of the nationalities were to be used according to the Constitution and federal laws. The Constitution also prescribed, and this was realised in practice, that authentic legal and federal texts be published in the languages of the nations and in Albanian and Hungarian, and that members of different nationalities in the republics and provinces had a right to attend classes in their languages. These were rather high standards even for today. The Constitution stated the equality of scripts, Latin and Cyrillic, and the right to use any script was guaranteed. As we can see, the documents were rather comprehensive in terms of language status, but they do not provide an answer to the important question of how rights were realised in practice. Constitutional concepts, as pointed out by Škiljan (1988), see language more as an expression of national and cultural identity than as a means of communication.

3.1.7 Geolinguistic elements

In an overview of languages in Yugoslavia, Kovačec (1988) listed twenty seven languages, the language communities of which had been present in the Yugoslav territory for at least a hundred years. Some of them had practically disappeared, while others were limited to several small villages and were about to disappear themselves. Some were spoken by very few, while others had an undefined status.

The remaining fourteen languages were relevant to the LP of Yugoslavia²⁰. As we have already mentioned, national languages covered the entire area of SFRY and matched the republic borders. Among those languages, S-C had the most speakers and covered the largest, central area which gave it a prestigious position; that is why LP needed to decide whether it would support or neutralise this prestige. The languages of the nationalities were usually concentrated in smaller areas (Mikeš 1990), but in some areas there were so many speakers of a certain language that it had become the basic language of the area, e.g. Albanian²¹. Moreover, it should be taken into account that three languages of the nations (S-C, Slovenian and Macedonian) were genetically related and belong to the South Slavic language group, which affected not only their relations, but also the position of other languages. Slavic languages had an advantage because speakers could understand them with less effort, but on the other hand this made them more open to the influence of the more 'powerful' Slavic languages. Non-Slavic languages (Albanian, Hungarian, Turkish, Italian, Rumanian, etc.) were less subject to interference from Slavic, which put non-Slavic language communities in a sort of increased communicative isolation. All languages in the former Yugoslav territory had an influence on each other, with S-C having the strongest influence (mostly one-way) on all other languages, especially at the level of lexis (Škiljan 1988).

3.1.8 Sociolinguistic elements

If we look at the Yugoslav territory as a whole, S-C certainly had the widest communicative range and also served as a means of communication outside the republics in which its language community lived. Slovenian and Macedonian had a similar relation towards speakers of other languages, but their communicative range did not cross republic borders. From a sociolinguistic standpoint, the problem of multilingualism is also interesting, speakers of other languages, those whose native language was not S-C, were mostly multilingual. This was certainly true for male speakers serving in the Yugoslav National Army (YNA) where public communication was formally carried out in S-C, but in practice was in Serbian, whereas in private communication people spoke the language of their choice. In other words, speakers of the languages of nationalities and ethnic groups whose second language was S-C used that language in public communication and their native language (mother tongue) as a means of private communication. A big problem of LP in Yugoslavia was the phenomenon of

“semilingualism” or “unsuccessful bilingualism” highlighted by Škiljan (1988: 93). The terms refer to the incomplete acquisition of two language systems which appears in economic migrants, especially in the third generation.

3.1.9 Psycholinguistic elements

Different cultural contexts in language communities and their other languages influence the diversity of psycholinguistic models which are the backbone of attitudes toward a language. In Yugoslavia, at the individual and group level, Škiljan (1988) points out that there were two models: the self-centred model (which places one’s own idiom at the highest level) and the egalitarian model (which allows for several idioms to be of equal value). The appearance of the latter was connected to the idea of Yugoslav unity and it gained momentum as Yugoslavia and a self-managing socialist society came into being.

In conclusion, we can say that all the aforementioned elements of social context of LP (demographic, economic, cultural, social, political, legal, geolinguistic, sociolinguistic, and psycholinguistic) have a direct influence on the non-uniform social language awareness. If we were to look at social language awareness in Yugoslavia in terms of traditional relations among language, nation and state, we would have to agree that the 1:1:1 ratio was not achieved either at the state level or at the level of the republics, nor even at the level of provinces (Slovenia came closest to this ratio and Serbia was the farthest, especially Vojvodina). We can immediately notice that linguistic and ethnic borders did not match; that which came the closest was found in speakers of Slovenian, Macedonian or Albanian, and that which presented the greatest mismatch was found in speakers of S-C, the language with the largest number of speakers (used by Montenegrins, Croats, Muslims and Serbs), and to these we should also add those who declared themselves as Yugoslavs.

3.2. A polycentric model of linguistic unity

The basic postulate of Yugoslavian LP legislation was the equality of all languages and scripts, with certain limitations. The postulated equality meant that there was no national language, nor a generally accepted *koine*, but that S-C often served as an informal *lingua communis* (Radovanović 2004: 47). On the other

hand, the languages of nations and nationalities were implicitly, and sometimes explicitly, considered the national languages of ‘their’ ethnic groups. As for formal and legal status, on the one hand the policy of language equality was acknowledged as the polycentric model of linguistic unity in various fields (education, media, law, YNA, federal institutions, etc.), and on the other hand there was individual freedom in the choice of language, variety, pronunciation and script, which is best illustrated by the legendary Yugoslavian commercial for Slovenian mineral water *Radenska - tri srca*²².

3.2.1 On varieties of the Serbo-Croatian language

Serbo-Croatian was not unified but was stratified in territorial/national varieties²³. It was primarily divided into the western (Croatian) and the eastern (Serbian) variety, and they could be spoken in Ijekavian or Ekavian pronunciation, which was founded on polycentric linguistic unity and accepted by the Novi Sad Agreement of 1954. The western and eastern varieties were polarised along the Zagreb-Belgrade axis (centres of language policy), and with time other centres (Sarajevo and Titograd, now Podgorica) were affirmed. From the middle of the 1970s the term Standard Bosnian has been promoted, trying to incorporate the particularities of the language used in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The main feature of that language is the neutralisation of variety bipolarisation and the inclusion of elements of both eastern and western variety into the corpus. In the republic constitutions of Montenegro (1963 and 1974), S-C was in use until 1992 when the constitution of Montenegro proclaimed the “Serbian language of Ijekavian type” to be the official language (Lakić 2013).

3.2.2 On differences among varieties

Serbo-Croatian was considered to be one language, but not a unitary language, and that is why differences among varieties were not big, but with time they gained a lot of symbolic charge illustrating ethnic distinctiveness. Although eastern Herzegovinian Štokavian was chosen as the basis for S-C, the eastern and western varieties developed in different social, political, historical, and religious contexts and under the influence of different languages. The western variety, i.e. Croatian, was influenced by Latin, Italian, Czech, Hungarian, and the eastern, i.e. Serbian, by Old Church Slavic, Russo-Slavic, Romainian, Turkish, Russian, French.

Serbian remained closest to the foundation from which it developed, and Croatian moved further from this basis. The differences brought forth differences between the two languages which are reflected at all linguistic levels, especially at the level of lexis. These differences refer to the differences in the *jat* reflex between Ekavian (Serbia) and Ijekavian (other republics), morphological differences (*informisati, diplomatija* - eastern; and *informirati, diplomacija* - western), lexical differences (*vlak* - western; and *voz* - eastern) and so on. We could also mention here some of the particularities such as *sjutra* and *nijesam* (Montenegro as opposed to other republics) or, for example, *kahva* (Bosnia and Herzegovina where *kava* and *kafa* are also used).

The biggest difference between the eastern and the western variety was at the level of lexis, which is understandable given that lexis is most susceptible to change coming from external factors; besides which, politics can have a significant influence and ‘impose’ new words, which was especially the case in Croatia (see 5.1.2-5.1.4). Lexical differences between the two varieties are primarily conditioned by contact with other languages: due to the influence of Latin on the western variety, Croatian has the words *opći, svećenik*, and the eastern variety, Serbian, due to the influence of Old Church Slavic and Russo-Slavic, has the words *opšti, sveštenik*. Different history, literature, culture, and religion left their trace on the lexis: the Catholic Church uses different (standard) language than the Orthodox Church, for example, Croatian has *biskup, samostan* and Serbian has *episkop, manastir*. Croatian and Serbian also had a different relationship with national and international lexis. Whereas language purism is a feature of Croatian, Serbian has a far more liberal attitude toward foreign lexis (Croatian *deva, ljekarna*, Serbian *kamila, apoteka*)²⁴.

As an illustration of the differences between the eastern (Serbian) and the western (Croatian) variety, let us look at a recipe found in the HAZU (Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts) statement on Croatian as a special Slavic language²⁵:

Recipe in Serbian:

Čorba od kelerabe sa pečenicom

Sitno *iseckati crni* luk, pa ga propržiti u Zepter posudi. Dodati kelerabi *supu* i *kuvati* 15 minuta. Propasirati čorbu. Dodati *pavlaku*. Ukrasiti pečenicom, *isečenom* na rezance, kao i listićem *peršuna*²⁶.

Recipe in Croatian:

Juha od korabice s pečenicom

Sitno *isjeckati crveni* luk, pa ga propržiti u Zepter posudi. Dodati korabici *juhu* i *kuhati* 15 minuta. Propasirati *juhu*. Dodati *vrhnje*. Ukrasiti pečenicom, *izrežanom* na rezance, kao i listićem *peršina*

Table 1: Differences between the eastern and the western variety

Serbian (eastern variety)	Croatian (western variety)
<i>Čorba, supa</i>	<i>juha</i>
<i>keleraba</i>	<i>korabica</i>
<i>iseckati</i>	<i>isjeckati</i>
<i>crni luk</i>	<i>crveni luk</i>
<i>kuvati</i>	<i>kuhati</i>
<i>pavlaka</i>	<i>vrhnje</i>
<i>iseći</i>	<i>izrezati</i>
<i>peršun</i>	<i>peršin</i>

The authors state that out of thirty five words there are twelve differences, i.e. 35% (as shown in Table 1) and that no combination “can make the text both Croatian and Serbian, that is, ‘Serbo-Croatian’”. Besides, there would be other changes in Croatian (imperative instead of infinitive, *u Zepteroj posudi* or *u posudi Zepter* instead of *u Zepter posudi*, etc.), but “seeing that the above is still found in the Croatian text, such examples are not stated as differences”²⁷.

3.2.3 Variance and corpus planning

In terms of variance, LP in Yugoslavia was the weakest where corpus planning was concerned; both linguistic and political views came into conflict on this matter. The problem is whether corpus was being planned at the level of standard language as a whole, or at the level of individual varieties. Some believed that varieties should be planned (this is why Croatia had its orthography handbook *Londonac* in 1971, see 2.2), while others believed that the object of planning was the whole standard language (this is how the Novi Sad orthography handbook was created in Serbia in 1965, see 2.2), some believed in the idea but also left room for their variety in the handbook (Bosnia and Herzegovina), and then there were others who did not express their stand (Montenegro) (Škiljan 1988). Seeing that S-C was one standard language it was expected that the planning of its corpus would be unitary, and that is when it would be possible to talk about a unique LP. In the Yugoslavia of the 1980s we can talk about two language policies: a) convergent - aiming for unitary corpus planning and eliminating varieties; and b) divergent - aiming for separate corpus planning for varieties and giving them the status of languages, which is what happened in the 1990s. Any LP is an instrument of general politics and ideology, and so it was in the case of Yugoslavia, which was reflected in, for example, Croatian nationalism that nurtured the divergent model in its outlook, while Serbian nationalism aligned itself to the convergent model (Škiljan 1988). This is why LP in Yugoslavia was marked by incoherence instead of rational and institutionalised processes. It can be concluded that within the federal and republic framework there was a paradigm of choice but with a strong tendency to move towards the paradigm of adaptation. In republics, choice came down to the language of the nation, and at the federal level it came down to S-C.

4. The disintegration of Yugoslavia and language change

4.1. Serbo-Croatian - one language or more?

The disintegration of Yugoslavia in 1991 was marked by turbulent social and political change which was reflected in language as a sociolinguistic fact. In the newly-formed states what changed was not just language status but the perception of language as well. We can say that Slovenia and Macedonia did not face many

changes because they already had their languages (Macedonian and Slovenian) in Yugoslavia, and that most changes were related to the common and prestigious S-C which was succeeded in the newly-formed states by four languages (BMCS).

Regarding the dissolution of Serbo-Croatian in the 1990s, the most debated question (not only among linguists but also in the general public) was: Serbo-Croatian, how many languages is that?²⁸ The answer to that question depends on the level at which we explore the issue and which level is given priority: linguistic/communicative, political/symbolic, or sociopsychological (the latter reflects speaker attitudes, values, and use with regard to language identity). Furthermore, the answer depends on the general politics and language policy of a certain community, and for individuals it depends on factors such as patriotism, political views, profession, and so on. (Bugarski 2002). Concerning the linguistic-communicative sphere, S-C was a single language. We can substantiate this with criteria for establishing language identity. According to genetic and typological criteria, it is impossible to claim that Croatian and Serbian are two different languages. In the genetic sense, they are both South Slavic languages, and in the typological sense, they do not have significant differences at any linguistic level, from phonology to lexis, that would allow us to call them different languages. Besides, they are almost completely mutually comprehensible, which of course depends on the tolerance of the speaker. The third, attitudinal criteria, is most easily affected and when language policy aims to separate the two languages it uses this criteria (Škiljan 2002)²⁹. S-C was regarded in Yugoslavia as one linguistic system the sociolinguistic subsystems of which functioned as separate varieties - eastern and western, leaving out Bosnian and Montenegrin varieties. It is these reasons that led to the differences between the two languages we mentioned in 3.2.1 above.

In linguistic theory and practice of language policy, the dissolution of S-C is explored (Škiljan 2002, Greenberg 2004, Filipović 2009, etc.) in terms of autonomy issues of individual languages. The first type of autonomy is called *Abstand Autonomy* (found in languages which are typologically and genetically sufficiently apart so there is no danger that they would interfere with each other). It refers to languages which separated from each other 'naturally' (for example English and German). The second is *Ausbau Autonomy* which is built, and this is the case with BMCS which formed separate standard languages in the 1990s; in

some, the process of standardisation is still going on, for example Montenegrin (Škiljan 1995). *Ausbau* languages have been separated by active intervention of language planners as a result of rising ethnic awareness, such as Hindu and Urdu or Scandinavian languages which are mutually comprehensible but which were separated upon the establishment of independent contemporary national states in the region (Greenberg 2004). The criteria of “mutual comprehensibility” did not influence the debate on the status of S-C as a single language or four languages because LP aimed to separate the languages. S-C officially ceased to exist from 1991 to 1993 in Yugoslavia successor states which agreed they needed to abandon the language; and successor languages, Bosnian, Montenegrin, Croatian, Serbian, were in different kinds of *Ausbau* relations. In that period S-C was “at the same time one language and three languages - one ‘linguistic’ language in the form of three ‘political languages’” (Bugarski 2002: 17)³⁰.

4.2. Serbo-Croatian in the last decade of the twentieth century

In the last decade of the twentieth century, linguistic engineering came into effect, first in Croatia, where there was already a tendency to separate Croatian from Serbo-Croatian in the 1970s (e.g. *Declaration*, see 2.2). In Croatian, there came:

(...) a wave of purification and Croatisation, public language was cleansed of everything that smelled of Serbian or Yugoslavia, and substitute words were found by bringing archaisms back to life, institutionalizing regionalisms and creating neologisms (Bugarski 2009: 163).

Bosnian started emphasising its Near Eastern features of local linguistic and cultural tradition; Montenegrin started looking for its special identity in the Montenegrin dialectal base, history, and folklore, that is, in the Montenegrin language as it was spoken a hundred years ago. On the other hand, Serbian was “standing still and observing its related languages taking leave” (Bugarski 2005: 164). Because Serbia was the centre of all variants of Yugoslavia, Serbian or S-C did not need to emphasise or prove its identity.

If we use Bugarski’s (2005: 166-167) culinary comparison, we can talk about “the same Serbo-Croatian salad with various national dressings”. According to the Theory of Markedness (see Fig. 1), the author regards Serbian as S-C leaning

towards the Serbian side, Croatian as S-C leaning towards Croatian expression and Bosnian as S-C in the Bosnian way.

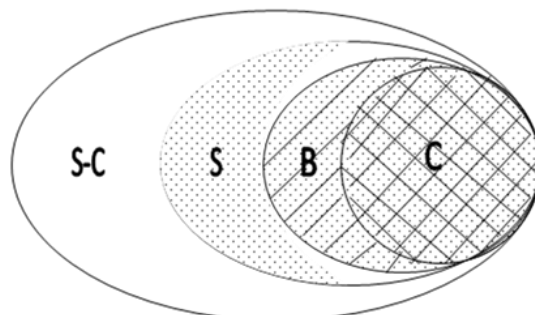


Fig. 1: The relation of Serbo-Croatian and Serbian, Bosnian and Croatian according to the Theory of Markedness

(Bugarski 2005: 168)

The widest unmarked base is S-C, followed by Serbian (that which is less specific, which is neutral), then Bosnian (more specific in terms of pronunciation, orthography and lexis) and finally Croatian (the most marked) - which is in line with the general Theory of Markedness which predicts that marked members of the opposition tend to separate themselves from the system. These idioms are not separated by clear boundaries, rather, they enter into each other: the features of one language can often be recognized in other languages (Bugarski 2005).

5. Linguistic situations in newly-formed countries after 1991

Language changes in normal social circumstances occur rather slowly and speakers of a certain language are not even aware of them. However, if some areas, like the Middle South Slavic area we are considering, are marked by turbulent social and political periods, then the turmoil reflects on the language, too. The war of the 1990s, the disintegration of the SFRY, the formation of new countries, migrations, and search for national identities led to sociolinguistic and linguo-political changes regarding former Serbo-Croatian and finally to its dissolution in 1991. In the narrow, linguistic sense, little has actually changed. Most changes were political in nature and they of course were reflected in LP in the area. The official 'demise' of S-C was conditioned by constitutional changes in newly-formed states. The appearance of successor languages on the Neo-

Štokavian foundation³¹ led to the standardisation of individual languages and different language policies in contrast to the former, centralised, LP of Yugoslavia. The following section will give a description of the sociolinguistic situations in Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro, which are conceptually different, in order to present that which is typical and particular for each individual standard.

5.1. Croatia

5.1.1 How does Croatian prove its independence and its identity?

As we have seen, after 1850 and the Vienna Literary Agreement, linguistic issues of the S-C language were resolved among Croats and Serbs. It is possible to talk about the relationship between Croatian and Serbian from several standpoints (for example, structural, genetic, sociolinguistic, historical, dialectological, contrastive, etc.), but it seems that the political aspect was always in the limelight. This is obvious if we look at the interest that the general public has in this relationship, and the general public is never overly interested in linguistic issues. In the relationship between the language of Croats and the language of Serbs, the general public saw:

(...) the relationship between the nations, between unitarianism and so-called separatism, between Orthodoxy and Catholicism, between Latin and Cyrillic script, between Ustashas and Chetniks, between east and west, etc. This was the case especially because in the first and second Yugoslavia it was not allowed to openly discuss national issues, particularly Croatian issues, so language, as so many times before (in Croatian history the word *language* was used to mean *people*) gained greater significance and a more important role than it actually has.

(Pranjković 2008: 56)

Let us mention just some of the more important events: the 1960s brought the *Declaration* (which demanded equality among the four languages in the SFRY, i.e. Slovenian, Croatian, Serbian and Macedonian, see 2.2); the 1970s was the time of the Croatian Spring (a cultural and political movement which demanded greater rights for Croatia within Yugoslavia) when the agreement from Novi Sad

was abandoned; the 1980s saw the fight against nationalism in the language of textbooks; and the 1990s were tumultuous, marked by discussions on the Croatian language which most often proved its independence and identity in relation to Serbian.

5.1.2 Do you speak pure Croatian?

The 1990s in Croatia were characterised by a strong and negative type of linguistic identity which showed itself in the form of aggressive linguistic engineering, that is, in directing linguistic development towards what the government saw as politically desirable (Bugarski 2002). The model of Croatian purist language planning from the end of the twentieth century meant reinforcing national identity, highlighting the symbolic and disregarding the functional level of language, introducing archaisms, attacking loan-words and quasi-Serbian words, singling out opponents, and so on (for more on that, see Lučić 2007 and Granić 2013). In short, Croatian men and women were prescribed the nationally-appropriate use of the Croatian language, and those who did not speak in such a way were said to be speaking Serbian or impure Croatian. It is also interesting to note the appearance of lexical stereotypes - words that are ‘in’. At the top of the list which shows the frequency of occurrence in the language of the media three words were “without competition: *Croatia, Croat, Croatian...*” (Tafra 2005: 205). In this context it is worth mentioning *Croatisms* defined by Škarić (2005) as lexemes of high symbolic charge that illustrate Croatia’s independence, such as the very popular *glede* (in regard to), *u svezi* (in connection with), *nazočno* (present, adj.), *zamolba* (request, n.), *preslika* (copy, n.), *nadnevak* (date, n.), and so on. Most interventions took place in military, legal and administrative terminology, with media aiding to spread the trend (Opačić 2004). In those times it was not unlikely to correct people as they were speaking, or for people to correct themselves because their speech labelled them politically. It was therefore justified to talk not only of the fear of a foreign language, but also of the fear of the native language (Mihaljević Djigunović, Opačić and Kraš 2005). Besides *Croatisms*, it is worth noting the appearance of neologisms known as *New Croatian*. Besides the classic *zrakomlat* (helicopter), which came to symbolize the identity of the Croatian language (Lučić 2007), there were neologisms suggested by Babić in 1994 in accordance with his own model: *kopnica* (for AIDS; it means to melt away), *mamutnjak* (jumbo jet), *mondenci* (the rich), and

so on, which did not find their place in language use (Lučić 2009, Granić 2013). Such *New Croatian* was seen both in Croatia and abroad as something strange and unknown and many Croats outside of Croatia simply could not recognize their own language. Besides, such purist tendencies of Croatian language policy were seen abroad as “an expression of nationalist and separatist aspirations, or at least as a persistent attempt at proving one’s culture among the savage Balkanians” (Lučić 2007: 343).

5.1.3 Competition for the best Croatian word

For twenty years, the journal *Jezik (Language)* has been organising a competition with financial reward for the best new Croatian word which has not been recorded so far in any Croatian dictionary; bearing in mind that substitutes for words borrowed from English will have an advantage (for more on that see Granić 2013). In 2006 there were 500 entries, forty seven words were shortlisted, and the word *uspornik* (speed bump or sleeping policeman) won first place (alongside *smecnjak* for dumpster and *raskružje* for roundabout). In 2007 the winner was *naplatnica* (toll booth); the first runner-up was *opuštaonica* (wellness) and the second runner-up was *borkinja* (female fighter). This is how the choice of the first runner-up was explained:

Opuštaonica, a substitute word for the English *wellness*. It belongs to the group of words ending in *-onica*, e.g. *čekaonica*, *kupaonica*; the longest is *propovjedaonica* (seven syllables). The advantage of *opuštaonica* is that it is inventive. Following the analogy of *opuštaonica*, *fitness* could be called *jačaonica* (*vježbaonica*)³².

We agree with Kovačec (2006: 95) who says that such “amateurish individual making-up of new words, often unsystematically and purposelessly, is just bad folklore”.

5.1.4 On the relation towards other languages

Another type of negative linguistic identity is seen in relation to other languages, especially towards Serbian words which “represent the enemy who pose a risk not only to manifesting national identity but also to the nation itself” (Lučić 2007: 338).

This was a favourable period for publishing dictionaries of differences, handbooks on language use and dictionaries of redundant words in the Croatian language. In these works the issue of Croatian and Serbian differences in lexis and semantics was approached with little expertise and a lot of inexpert and partly tragicomic exaggeration (for more on this see Peti 2006). Alongside Brodnjak's *Dictionary of Differences between Serbian and Croatian* (Brodnjak 1993) there appeared a lot of dilettante dictionaries which offered lists of 'forbidden' words (for more on this see Pranjković 1997) or categorised words as either 'good' or 'not good' in handbooks on use. Although those dictionaries were, unfortunately, met with praise by some linguists (such as Babić and Težak), they have generally done more damage than good and caused numerous misunderstandings, not just in Croatia but at departments and institutes of Slavic Studies abroad.

5.1.5 The Croatian orthography issue

Vehement and politically-based discussions have been held (and are still being held) on the Croatian orthography issue³³. At the end of 1992 the Language Committee of the Central Croatian Cultural and Publishing Society (whose president at that time was Babić) 'requested' certain institutions to give their opinion on whether they support etymological or phonological orthography. Radical interventions in orthography were suggested (for example writing *ie* instead of *je* and *ije*, and so on) with the intention of destabilising existing orthography practice (based on the orthography guidebook by Anić and Silić 1990) especially where it was not necessary. Babić openly led a battle for creating as many differences between Serbian and Croatian as possible, especially at the level of lexis and orthography (for more on this see Pranjković 2008). Unfortunately, the battle of Croatian and Serbian has today turned into the battle for an official orthography guidebook, under the guise of caring about the legal protection of the status of the Croatian language. Today, there are three orthography guidebooks in Croatia: the one by Babić, Finka and Moguš (2006) openly strives to be the only official guidebook because it "promotes actual Croatian orthography tradition" (Badurina and Pranjković 2009: 36), and the other two (by Anić and Silić 2001 and by Badurina, Marković and Mićanović 2008) are under attack, even though they have done a better job in prescribing orthographic norm in terms of both methodology and content. Clearly the three

orthography guidebooks which compete professionally, politically, commercially and financially, and none of which were ‘prescribed’ by the ministry in charge, only ‘recommended’, were not sufficient - in April 2013 the new *Croatian Orthography Guidebook* was presented by the working group from the Institute of Croatian Language and Linguistics in Zagreb. The discussion on the Croatian orthography issue was concluded by Badurina and Pranjković (2009: 308) by saying that it is:

(...) unnecessary to question contemporary Croatian orthographic norm in relation to that prescribed by the Novi Sad Agreement (and to try to push away from it as far as possible), and the real task for (future) specialists in Croatian orthography is to find a way to prescribe the existing norm in a better way.

In conclusion, we can say that Croatian LP is marked by various misunderstandings (generational, political, clan-related, financial). Some believe that LP should be implemented by adhering to basic parameters of general normativity, others are still dealing with the past, with the relationship with Serbian, with cleansing Croatian from any signs of former linguistic unity, with eliminating anything that entered the language by force, etc.; and this indeed is unproductive (Pranjković 2008). Let us hope that in the near future there will be more of those who primarily care about professionalism and that Croatian linguistic issues will not be as politically contaminated as they have been.

5.2 Serbia

Following the disintegration of the SFRY in 1991, Serbia and Montenegro entered the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia which lasted until 2003 when the separate states of Serbia and Montenegro were formed. The political turmoil of the 1990s, the disintegration of former Yugoslavia, and the great changes caused by language policies in the region (in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina) did not bring radical changes in Serbian, apart from the change in the name from *Serbo-Croatian* to *Serbian* and some forms of language engineering. It is in this sense that we present and describe the linguistic situation in Serbia and Serbian LP.

5.2.1 Serbian - on its turf

Serbian is closely tied with Croatian not just structurally and genetically, but also in a sociolinguistic way because the two languages shared periods of coexistence and standardisation. The difference in the processes of standardisation was that the standardisation of Croatian lasted a long time (from the sixteenth to the end of the nineteenth century), and in Serbia the process was rather abrupt, starting in the nineteenth century. Besides, the two languages are almost completely mutually intelligible. Today, Serbian is the official language in two countries: Serbia and the Republika Srpska³⁴. Until 2007 it was also the official language of Montenegro (Okuka 2009). Serbian also has the role of mediator, as the *lingua communis*, at all levels of communication, not only for native speakers but for speakers of other related or less related languages (Hungarian, Albanian, Turkish, Rusyn, Slovak, Czech, etc.) (Radovanović 2009). Changing the name of the language following the disintegration of Yugoslavia was not seen in Serbia as something imposed or unrealistic because the single-word name (Serbian) had unofficially been in use. In the Serbian Constitution, from 2006, the change was justified (by tradition and political events) unlike the change of script. The Constitution³⁵ specifically states that the only official script is Cyrillic. This article of the Constitution not only diminishes the status of Latin script as an alternative script of the Serbian language, but it also directly opposes linguistic reality (for more on that see Bugarski 2013 and 5.2.4).

Unlike the changes to S-C in Croatia (and as we shall see later in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in Montenegro), Serbian was not tampered with from without and it remained just as it was when it was called S-C. Unlike the state of the language in Croatia, Serbian in Serbia was seen as being “on its turf”³⁶ as a language that was the basis of the former S-C. Because of that, Serbian does not need to confirm its identity and justify its single-word national name by lexically and structurally moving away from Croatian (Bugarski 2013: 98).

5.2.2 Keepers of the language

Whereas Croatia was the stage of organised campaigns of linguistic engineering (organised, unfortunately, by key institutions such as the academy), Serbia was a home to individuals and informal groups that took upon themselves the role of

“keepers of the language”³⁷. For example, there were some popular ideas that the “endangered Serbian language” should defend itself from anything foreign and return to the “spiritual backbone” of the Serbian people, i.e. to Orthodox tradition, like writing “banal texts such as bar menus and beer bottle labels in a crude imitation of fancy medieval script that was used in the writing of Miroslav’s Gospel” (Bugarski 2013: 99). The document that caused quite a commotion was *A word on Serbian* (Marković, ed. 1998), published in six languages and 300,000 copies, proclaiming an outrageous thesis that all speakers of Štokavian are Serbs, only of different religion, and that all their languages are variants of Serbian. Fortunately, the document was not acknowledged by experts and was soon forgotten; however, what we do remember are the names of those who signed it and of those who opposed it (Pranjković 2008).

5.2.3 Overnight Ekavian

Another form of language nationalism with similar motivations as *A word on Serbian* was a resolution of the Republic of Srpska leadership from 1993 on using Ekavian pronunciation in official and public communication under threat of sanction. This was the crudest form of language engineering because it forced Serbs to switch to Ekavian virtually overnight, in the name of Serbian unity, and the Serbs in that region speak Ijekavian more than any other speakers of Štokavian. Such a move was entirely in contradiction to linguistic reality (which was highlighted by Serbian sociolinguists like Bugarski, Klajn). The entire population of the Republic of Srpska, including the political leaders who passed the resolution, have always spoken Ijekavian and the resolution caused insecurity and confusion among people and complete chaos in public use. The resolution was revoked when the leadership changed in 1998, and history will remember it as “a bizarre example of extreme language nationalism, but also as a symbol of the victory of despised ethnicity over arrogant nationalism” (Bugarski 2002: 75).

5.2.4 For Cyrillic and against Latin script

Serbian linguistic nationalism was most obvious in the relationship between the Cyrillic and the Latin scripts. Although Serbian is historically a language of Cyrillic script, the rise of the Latin script was the result of coexistence within a multinational, political, cultural community, and the result of modernisation,

media growth, linguistic Europeanization, globalisation, and so on. Serbian is a unique phenomenon in the world because of its digraphia (Radovanović 2009). Despite the fact that public and private use of Latin script has been on the rise from the 1970s, despite Ivan Klajn's research results from 2002 (39.8% Serbian participants use Latin script, 21.9% use Cyrillic script and 38.3% use both scripts), Cyrillic script has become "an object of folklore rendering, not to say idiocy, in popular plays in the field of so-called folk linguistics" (Bugarski 2013: 101). Some of a number of reasons for Cyrillic as against Latin script, most of which are dubious and comical, are: aesthetics (it is the most beautiful script); pragmatics; history; common sense; biology - Cyrillic script is a national treasure which must be defended at all cost, especially because we know that its extinction would mean the extinction of the Serbian language and people from the face of the planet. Things got serious when public figures and members of cultural and political elite engaged in the game; those who advocated the Cyrillic script were patriots, whereas those who advocated digraphia were seen as traitors. In short, it was impossible to professionally discuss the exclusion of Latin script from the Serbian language without strong emotion and various stereotyping and manipulation under the guise of "caring for the Serbian language and Serbian people" (Bugarski 2013: 101).

We can conclude that Serbian has not changed much, but it has been marked by crude language nationalism entirely in contradiction to linguistic reality (for example, the relation of the Cyrillic and the Latin scripts, and introducing Ekavian in the Republic of Srpska). Serbian linguistic nationalism left its trace in the public language of Serbia during and following the war; different authors wrote, for example, on exaggerated discourse, the language of war, hate speech, language bureaucratisation, and so on (see for example Klikovac 2008, Bugarski, 2002, etc.). We can also talk of numerous misunderstandings regarding LP among Serbs. Unlike Croats, they are not concerned with orthographic issues. Instead, misunderstandings here refer to disagreement among linguists and groups of linguists; we can even talk about conflicts among certain institutions (Pranjković 2008). Discussions on the future of Serbian are led by three linguistic fractions (more on that in Greenberg 2004). It seems that a group of linguists advocating the *status quo* will manage to maintain the dominant position and will continue to guide Serbian LP as part of the Committee for Standardisation (established in 1997).

5.3. Bosnia and Herzegovina

Unlike the situations in Croatia and Serbia, the linguistic situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H) is rather complex. A particularity of B&H is that language policy has in the last fifty years been led, and is still being led, from ‘without’ (from Belgrade and Zagreb). Until the 1990s, official language policy advocated the use of *Bosnian and Herzegovinian standard language expression* as part of S-C, with the aim of keeping the unity of the Bosnia and Herzegovina communication area (Katnić-Bakaršić 2013). In the context of Yugoslav LP the main feature of Bosnian and Herzegovinian expression was the neutralisation of variant bipolarisation and the implementation of all elements from both eastern and western variety. Apart from that, the particularity of B&H was the equality of Latin and Cyrillic scripts proclaimed by Yugoslav LP in all varieties but which was most present in B&H (see 2.4).

5.3.1 The name of the language: *Bosnian, Bosniak, Bosnian/Bosniak*

Social and political changes following 1991 caused the disintegration of *Bosnian and Herzegovinian standard language expression* so that today there are three standard languages: Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian, which are used in various degrees in different parts of B&H. The equality of the three standard languages is prescribed by the Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (2002, amendment 29). Most discussions have centred around the name *Bosnian language* which is still being called into question by some, but most accept it as an inalienable right of a people to name its language (e.g. Pranjković or Neweklowsky)³⁸. That is why in 2002 the *Charter on the Bosnian Language* was published, a document signed by sixty Bosniak intellectuals emphasizing that “Bosnian language is the language of Bosniaks and all those who feel it as theirs under such name”³⁹. It is interesting to note that there are three terms for the name: *Bosnian, Bosniak* (politically influenced) and *Bosnian/Bosniak*⁴⁰.

5.3.2 Three standard languages in coexistence

In terms of communication, B&H does not have many challenges, and little has changed in relation to the time when there was one standard language. However, the fact that one country is a home to three standard languages opens a lot of

questions and requires the government to respect the linguistic rights of all communities and individuals (Palić 2009). Unfortunately, experts and politicians do not see the problem, and language users, i.e. the people, are completely confused (Lovrenović 2002). Apart from members of other ethnic groups and minorities, many users of the three standard languages had to learn the norm of ‘their’ language once again, which is an ongoing process. Some users do not accept the norm because they see it as imposed, while those with less formal education never acquired it. So, following the line of least resistance, *Bosnian and Herzegovinian standard language expression* is kept “alive” (Palić 2009). From today's point of view, the coexistence of the three standard languages is the starting point and it is obvious that the idea of a *General Bosnian Language* will probably never come to life (Mønnesland 2005: 519).

5.3.3 Three approaches to standardisation

The standardisation of each of the three languages faces serious problems because the centres are still outside B&H so Bosnian Croats and Serbs (especially Croats) have no influence on LP created in their name. The standardisation of Bosnian is a result of enthusiasts rather than institutional concern. In the last fifteen years, we have seen three different approaches: a) radical, which advocates exaggerated, non-functional archaisms (mostly from the Near East) in Bosnian; b) moderate, which holds a steady natural course between the Croatian and Serbian norm but advocates Bosnian linguistic particularities (Muratagić-Tuna 2005); and c) conformist, which sees Bosnian just as a new name for *Bosnian and Herzegovinian standard language expression* - the norm is completely open and without a special stance towards the national and the regional (Palić 2009).

5.3.4 Two schools under one roof

To show all the complexity of the linguistic reality in the coexistence of three standard languages, let us look at education (with similar problems occurring in judicial practice, the media, private use, and so on). In B&H, pupils often belong to different cultural and historical traditions and they have a right to learn about it, so curriculums and textbooks must take this into account. On the one hand, in communities where members of a nationality are a majority (and there are a lot of

such communities in B&H) and members of another are a minority, those who are a minority are not allowed to express their language particularities. On the other hand, under the guise of protecting pupils' language rights, pupils of different nationalities are separated in special schools and classes based on ethnicity - here we are talking about nationally divided classes (Palić 2009). Two schools under one roof⁴¹ is a phenomenon specific to education in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is of course a negative phenomenon because it leads to a withdrawing into one's own culture and language without knowing the *other* (Katnić-Bakaršić 2013, Pašalić Kreso 2008). At the University of Sarajevo Faculty of Philosophy, the name of the department is the *Department of Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian* (without *and*), emphasising the fact that it is a single 'three-standard' language; students take the exam in one language of their choice (usually the one they wrote down in their matriculation books), but they can also take the exam in the other two languages.

In short, nobody is particularly pleased with the linguistic situation in B&H: neither language policy creators, nor the users or the community. Policy creators are not pleased because their norms are not being upheld; users cannot seem to finally *speak* "their standard language which lives only in handbooks on language use" (Palić 2009: 118) and both groups blame each other. The community is left with "dealing with the 'inability' to attend integrated schools, watch common TV programmes, read common books, in a word, with the 'inability' to function in a common way" (ibid.). Let us conclude with the thoughts of Katnić-Bakaršić (2013: 124) who says that speakers in B&H are more afraid of the influence of a "neighbouring standard ('their' language and 'our' language) than of the influence of the geographically removed but powerful English language". It seems there is still no desire to understand *other* and *otherness*, to promote any intercultural communication.

5.4. Montenegro

In the time of Serbo-Croatian, the name of the language in Montenegro was not discussed, and the name S-C was accepted as the most appropriate. In addition, in everyday use people, just like in Serbia, used the shorter name *Serbian*. This was the case until 1992 when political circumstances caused the language in the Montenegro Constitution to be renamed as the *Serbian Language of Ijekavian Pronunciation* (Lakić 2013).

5.4.1 The subject *native language*

Because Montenegrins were denied the right to name their language (although the Novi Sad Agreement from 1954 says that the language of “Serbs, Croats and Montenegrins is unique...”⁴²), some linguists and writers started to lead the fight for Montenegrin in the 1990s. The heat created by political debates on the Montenegrin language increased in 2004 when the Montenegrin Ministry of Education and Science decided to rename the subject *Serbian Language* into *Native Language* (BMCS). Deciding on the name was left to parents and children who had to choose what to write down as the name of the language for the subject *Native Language*. This intervention caused uproar in some groups of the Montenegrin society, mostly in pro-Serbian parties which claimed that the name Serbian language was annulled. Again, the linguistic question became political.

5.4.2 Montenegrin

The declaration of independence in Montenegro (2006) created the necessary conditions to change the name of the language. In the Montenegro Constitution from 2007, article 13 on *Language and Script* says that the official language is Montenegrin; that the Latin and Cyrillic scripts are equal, and that Serbian, Bosnian, Albanian and Croatian are in official use (it is obvious that the ‘official language’ and ‘language in official use’ are legally two different kinds of ‘official’, more on that in Lakić 2013).

5.4.3 The problems of standardisation

Montenegrin is just beginning the process of standardisation and faces many problems which has led to “a great chaos in language”, primarily the language of the media, the uncritical use of English words and the use of ekavisms (Lakić 2007: 333). For that reason, in 2008, the Government of Montenegro established a Committee for the Standardisation of the Montenegrin Language which had the task of codifying Montenegrin. The Committee split into two streams at its first session. The first, literary stream, felt that Montenegrin should go back to its roots, to the language of Njegoš and archaisms (introducing *ś* and *ź*). They advocated Ijekavian change in pronunciation; *sjekira* would be *śekira*; *tjerati* - *ćerati*; *djeca* - *đeca*. The second, linguistic stream, did not agree with the first one

in terms of archaisms; they believed that S-C should be the basis of Montenegrin. Introducing *ś* is seen as somewhat justified due to its frequent use and for writing toponyms, but they advocated doublets: *sjekira* and *śekira*. Disagreement at the thirteenth session (August 2008) brought the work of the committee to a halt. However, the different viewpoints resulted in two versions of orthography handbooks, dictionaries and grammars which were then turned over to the Ministry in January 2009. What followed was a period of “silence in the Ministry” (Lakić 2013: 147) until July 2009 when the *Orthography of the Montenegrin Language* (Perović, Silić and Vasiljeva 2009) was published. The team of authors itself (with two people from abroad) is somewhat strange. Based on the reaction by the people, the handbook will most likely remain a dead letter. In 2010 the *Grammar of the Montenegrin Language* (Čirgić, Silić and Pranjković 2010) was published, and Croatian authors were on the team. Some experts refused to accept the grammar, claiming that it had too many archaisms and that it relied too much on Croatian grammar. To the question of whether Montenegrin grammar relies on Croatian, Silić answered the following:

(...) Montenegrin grammar and Croatian grammar are the same (both are facts of the Štokavian system which as a single system has a single grammar). However, methodology, or adaptation of that grammar, is different. The particularities of Montenegrin call for a particular approach to their grammar. Therein lies the problem - in the methodology of approach to grammar, and not in grammar itself.⁴³

In conclusion, we can say that establishing the Montenegrin norm should be based on linguistic principles (as advocated by the linguistic stream), without emotion and patriotism, which have already proved to be counter-productive. It seems that Montenegrin will remain the object of discussion and disagreement on its way towards resolving important issues of standardisation.

6. Conclusion

In conclusion we can say that the LPs of newly-formed states are marked by numerous misunderstandings and wanderings, even on the basic issues of standardisation. Re-standardised languages became important national symbols in all countries, as well as a means of national identification and even political

conflict (Pranjko \acute{c} 2008a). In Croatia there is discord (political, generational, clan-related, financial) between those who believe LP should be led by upholding the parameters of general standardology, and those who are fighting ghosts from the past and cleansing Croatian from anything that entered it (obvious linguistic engineering when it comes to orthography). In Serbia, the radicalisation of LP does not concern language material so much; rather, it refers to conflict among informal groups and certain institutions about the general view of language, especially about the relation between language and the nation. A drastic example was set by *A word on Serbian* and the introduction of Ekavian in the Republic of Srpska (where speakers are hard-core Ijekavians). The linguistic situation is most complex in Bosnia and Herzegovina, even from a worldwide perspective. There are three standard languages, which is according to Mønnesland (2005: 519) the “starting point”, and judging from the current situation, there will be no convergence - even greater divergence will ensue. Montenegro is marked by two standardisation concepts: the first, to put it simply, is the Ijekavian variety of the Serbian standard language in which nothing needs to be changed; and the other is the re-standardisation of Montenegrin forced by Vojislav Nikčević with phonological inventions - allophones *s* and *z* gain the status of phonemes. It seems that Nikčević’s attempt at creating a radically new standard has failed. In Montenegro, where language is concerned, discourse is still at the “level of national romanticism” (Mønnesland 2009: 135). Therefore, constructive work on language standardisation and resolving related issues is yet to happen.

After presenting the complex linguistic situation of S-C and successor languages (BCMS), we can say that there is no easy answer to the questions of what can be expected in the future - the answer relies on the general political situation in the region of former Yugoslavia, becoming or not becoming members of the European Union, the status of the Republic of Srpska, the general political status of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Kosovo issue, the political situation in Montenegro, and so on (Pranjko \acute{c} 2008a). We also agree with Pranjko \acute{c} who concludes that intense convergence should not be expected. On the contrary, divergence will remain strong in some areas, and this will not be the result of internal language change, but rather of extralinguistic factors, primarily political.

- ¹ The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) was formed on the territory of the former Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1943 under the name of the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia and it disintegrated in 1991. It was divided into six socialist republics (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia) and two socialist autonomous provinces which were part of Serbia: Vojvodina and Kosovo and Metohija. The SFRY is known as *socialist* or *communist Yugoslavia* because it was governed for the most part of its history by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and its official ideology and socioeconomic system was socialist self-management. It was also called *Tito's Yugoslavia* because of the long rule of Josip Broz Tito.
- ² The newly-formed states are: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, Kosovo, and Macedonia.
- ³ The languages are listed in alphabetical order. We must point out that there are still some linguists who believe that BCMS are not distinct standard languages but rather varieties of a polycentric standard language (e.g. Kordić 2010). We are not concerned with this question; we focus on the fact that the standardisation and the codification of standard language in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, and Montenegro has been an ongoing process from the 1990s and that each newly-formed state has been carrying out its LP.
- ⁴ The programme *Slovenian language - basic, contrastive and applied research* is funded by the Slovenian Research Agency (the head of the research programme is Vojko Gorjanc), as are several other bilateral projects. See <www.ff.uni-lj.si/1/Raziskovanje/Programi-in-projekti.aspx> (2014.02.27).
- ⁵ See text on VLA in Greenberg 2004: 183-186.
- ⁶ See text on NSA in Greenberg 2004: 187-189.
- ⁷ *Pravopis hrvatskosrpskoga književnog jezika s pravopisnim rječnikom* [Standard Croatian and Serbian Orthography Handbook with an Orthography Dictionary] (1960) Zagreb - Novi Sad: Matica hrvatska (MH) - Matica srpska (MS).
- ⁸ *Rečnik srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika* [Dictionary of Standard Serbo-Croatian Language], 1-6 (1967-1976) Zagreb - Novi Sad: MS - MH.
- ⁹ *Rječnik hrvatskosrpskoga književnog jezika* [Dictionary of Standard Croatian and Serbian Language], I-II, A-K (1967) Zagreb - Novi Sad: MH - MS.
- ¹⁰ For more on the *Declaration* see <<http://krlezijana.lzmk.hr/clanak.aspx?id=274>> (2013.12.1) and journal *Kolo* 1-2 (2009) dedicated to the 40th anniversary of the *Declaration*.
- ¹¹ Some authors, e.g. Lisac (2003), mention the fourth, Torlak dialect used mostly by Serbs in the far southeast of the Middle South Slavic area.
- ¹² The term Muslim as an ethnicity was created in Yugoslavia following World War II; with the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the foundation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the term Bosniak replaced the term Muslim. To see how the name of the ethnicity has been changing in censuses from 1945 until today, see Mrdjen (2002).
- ¹³ On Glagolitic and Cyrillic scripts as historical Croatian scripts see [Glagoljica i ćirilica - povijesna hrvatska pisma] <http://www.hrvatskiplus.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=522:glagoljica-i-irilica-povijesna-hrvatska-pisma&catid=38:jezik-lingvistika&Itemid=72> (2013.12.1).
- ¹⁴ Data taken from *Atlas svjetske povijesti* [Atlas of World History] (The Times) (3rd 1987: 315) Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba and Škiljan (1988: 65).
- ¹⁵ Note that in Yugoslavian literature the term *nationality* is used instead of the usual term *minority*. The “terminological discrepancy” is pointed out by Brozović (1990: 17).
- ¹⁶ For more on the languages of ethnic groups in SFRY see Kovačec (1990).
- ¹⁷ Slovenians, unlike Macedonians, were less inclined to *switch* to S-C. Unlike Slovenians and Macedonians, Croats and Serbs never even tried speaking Slovenian or Macedonian.
- ¹⁸ According to data from 1981, every tenth citizen of SFRY was illiterate (Bugarski 1986: 36).
- ¹⁹ See <[http://hr.wikisource.org/wiki/Ustav_Socijalističke_Federativne_Republike_Jugoslavije_\(1974\)](http://hr.wikisource.org/wiki/Ustav_Socijalističke_Federativne_Republike_Jugoslavije_(1974))> (2013.10.26).
- ²⁰ For more on ethnic group languages see Kovačec (1990).
- ²¹ We point out the overview map of the distribution of languages in *Atlas svjetske povijesti* [Atlas of World History] (The Times) (3rd 1987: 315) Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba.
- ²² See <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=anB_1_malmM> (2014.02.27). The ad shows typical and stereotypical situations in which Yugoslav nations and nationalities are recognized by catchphrases in different languages (Slovenia: *Krepi združuje in osvežuje*, Croatia: *Radenska nas spaja*, B&H: *Oj, krijepi dušu*, Vojvodina: *Furtom osvežava*, Serbia: *Бре ова Раденска све нас редом снаја*, Kosovo: *Të vjet na që na për shkon*, *Radenska që na bashkon*, Montenegro: *Krijepi dušu, osvježava* and Macedonia: *Раденска чојва*).
- ²³ Along with the term *variety*, the terms *expression* and *idiom* were also used.
- ²⁴ For more on differences between the eastern and the western variety at particular linguistic levels Požgaj Hadži and Balažić Bulc 2004 and Pranjković 2001.
- ²⁵ See *Hrvatski jezik - poseban slavenski jezik* [Croatian - Special Slavic Language] (1996) <http://hjp.novi-liber.hr/index.php?show=povijest&chapter=34-poseban_jezik> (2013.12.05).

- ²⁶ *Kuvar* (1991) Linz: Zepher International, Linz: 55.
- ²⁷ <http://hjp.novi-liber.hr/index.php?show=povijest&chapter=34-poseban_jezik > (2013.12.05).
- ²⁸ Title taken from Bugarski (2002: 9)
- ²⁹ A good example is Croatian LP which has striven from 1991 onwards to detach itself from old times and to differentiate Croatian from Serbian as much as possible.
- ³⁰ When the paper was written, Montenegrin had still not achieved the status of Montenegro's official language; it gained the status in 2007.
- ³¹ The fact that one language brought forth four standard languages is considered by some a unique phenomenon in sociolinguistics (e.g. Greenberg 2004).
- ³² See Završen natječaj za najbolju novu hrvatsku riječ u 2007 [Competition for the best new Croatian word in 2007 is closed], *Jezik* (Zagreb), vol. 55, no 2: 73.
- ³³ Part of a title: Croatian orthography issue: *Novi Sad* and Croatian orthography today (Badurina and Pranjković 2009). When talking about the *Croatian orthography issue*, the authors refer to the *Novi Sad orthography* which grew into the Croatian orthography issue.
- ³⁴ One of two entities in B&H which encompasses 49% of B&H territory (the other one is the Federation of B&H), established by the Dayton Agreement. Its population are mostly Serbs.
- ³⁵ *Serbian language and Cyrillic script are in official use in the Republic of Serbia. The official use of other languages and scripts is regulated by the law based on the Constitution.* See Ustav Republike Srbije, Kancelarija za saradnju s medijima Republike Srbije, Beograd, oktobar 2006, 5. <<http://www.ustavni.sud.rs/page/view/sr-Latn-CS/70-100028/ustav-republike-srbije>> (2013.11.04).
- ³⁶ Quote taken from Bugarski (2013: 98).
- ³⁷ Quote taken from Bugarski (2013: 99).
- ³⁸ There have been several conferences on the linguistic situation in B&H, the results of which have been published in the collections of papers by eds Čedić 1999 and Monnesland 2001 and 2005.
- ³⁹ See Povelja o bosanskom jeziku [Charter of the Bosnian language] <<http://bichamilton.com/web/wp-content/themes/calvary/docs/Povelja%20o%20Bosanskom%20jeziku.pdf> > (2013.12.05).
- ⁴⁰ The official term *Bosnian* is not accepted by some Serbian linguists because it is derived from the term Bosnia, and it thus aims at representing itself as the official language of all three nations in the country. *Bosniak* is derived from Bosniaks, the name of the people previously called Muslims (Klajn 2006).
- ⁴¹ The phenomenon has been given a lot of attention by B&H media, for more see A. Numanović's paper <www.academia.edu/2925907/Reprezentacija_fenomena_dvije_skole_pod_jednim_krovom_u_bosanskohercegovackim_stampanim_medijima > (2013.12.05).
- ⁴² See the text on NSA in Greenberg 2004: 187-189.
- ⁴³ Interview with J. Silić: Crnogorsku gramatiku nisam kroatizirao jer su, čudit ćete se, naša i njihova - identične! [I didn't make the Montenegrin grammar Croatian because, you won't believe it, our grammars are - identical!], *Jutarnji list* (2011.09.10: 69).

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