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Socio-Political Controversies about the Bosnian Language

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Abstract

The name of the Bosnian language has long been, and continues to be, a sensitive question. The paper focuses on the socio-political events which, fuelled by the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia, led to an alleged dissolution of Serbo-Croatian language into four 'separate' languages. Based on directed readings, this paper will present the history and language of Bosnia and Herzegovina, introduce the linguistic features which distinguish it from Serbian and Croatian, and analyze the linguistic – communicational, political – symbolic, and social – psychological issues that affected and are affected by the standardization of Bosnian as individual language.

1. Introduction

“Yes, Bosnia is a land of hatred... There are few countries in which there is so much hard faith, such a lofty strength of character, so much tenderness and amorous passion, such a depth of feeling, loyalty, and unswerving devotion, so much thirst for justice. Yet, beneath all this, in the murky depths there lie hatreds, whole hurricanes of constrained hate that grows and awaits its hour...”

(Ivo Andrić, in “Letter from 1920”)

This prophetic text of Bosnian born Nobel-prize winning author came to realization in 1992 when that hour finally came and the hate, in a form of a brutal four-year-long civil war, divided not only the land and its people, but their language as well. That land, Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, one of the six republics of former Yugoslavia, does not exist anymore, and its language - Serbo-Croatian, some claim, has also ceased to exist.

I was born and raised in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where I grew up in communism, entered my preteen age in socialism, and searched for my adolescent self-identity in democracy. And all of that happened in the same town! Finally, just as I reached my legal drinking age,

recognizing the fast spreading hatred which I didn't have within me, I left Bosnia at the eve of civil war.

Instead of the binge drinking party, my rite of passage was a one-way ticket out of my homeland, followed by a four-year long game of survival – by learning basic communication skills in the language of any of Western European country I found myself in for longer than a day. I entered my adulthood as a citizen of a faraway country where freedom and human rights are unlike anywhere else. I embraced everything that came with it – I follow the American pop-culture, I vote in my new homeland, and I speak, think, and even dream in English.

My life divided in two parts – pre-Bosnian civil war, when I lived in my old country, knew almost every face in my hometown and spoke my native tongue; and post-war, when I lived in foreign countries, met all the new faces and communicated in languages other than my native one. Such a sharp divide between the two different societal, cultural and political systems resulted in the internal struggle that rages within me in regards to my personal, cultural and national identity. Furthermore, during the last decade, Serbo-Croatian, the name of tongue that I acquired as a child and spoke for more than half of my life (thus far), officially doesn't exist anymore. Now, when people curious about my accent ask what my native language is, I find myself confused, and usually turn to joke about being a multilingual in one language.

But deep within me, I knew I would have to find out the answers for myself and for others who ask about my native tongue. Encouraged and guided by Professor John Bailyn, Ph.D., a faculty member of the Linguistic Department at Stony Brook University, I decided to embark on this project, and through directed readings, search for the roots of socio-political issues that caused the change of appellation Serbo-Croatian into Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian and

Montenegrin; look into if and how does Bosnian differ from other previously mentioned varieties from the linguistic point of view; discover what was the process of and criteria for standardization of individual languages; and find out how did the name change affect individuals and society in Bosnia and Herzegovina as a whole.

2. Bosnia and Herzegovina - Historical Timeline

In order to understand this complicated this socio-politically charged linguistic topic, one first needs to be familiar with the rich socio-political and cultural history which directly that played out on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina over the past fifteen centuries.

1) Map of Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia January 1991 2) Map of Bosnia and Herzegovina, January 1996



Bosnia and Herzegovina is a country located in South-Eastern Europe, bordered by Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro. With its rich landscape filled with centrally located mountains and hills whose underbellies offered plentiful natural resources for once booming industry, fertile flatlands in the northeast, and the Adriatic Sea in the south, Bosnia and Herzegovina has enticed many invaders and conquerors over the centuries.

Dynamic population shifts caused by numerous invasions and epidemics over the past fourteen centuries have had a profound impact on the population make-up, their identity and languages spoken in that region. In order to understand the controversy surrounding the Bosnian language, one needs to be familiar with the history of its people and the language they use.

600 - 958

The Slavs invaded the Eastern Roman Empire during the 6th and 7th centuries, settling the lands of South-Central Europe, where Bosnia and Herzegovina and its surrounding countries are located today (Malcolm, 1996).

958 – 1377

In the late 9th century, as Christianity spread throughout this geographic area, the region of Bosnia was divided between the principalities of Croatia and Serbia. From the end of 10th up until 12th century rule over Bosnia was split between the Kingdom of Hungary and Byzantine Empires.

1377–1463 *The Kingdom of Bosnia*

The Bosnian Kingdom was one of the South Slavs' medieval kingdoms on the Balkans that emerged as a political autonomous entity in the late 12th century, elevating to the kingdom in the late 14th century. Bosnia was a western-oriented Catholic kingdom, which was a buffer state between Catholic Croatia and Orthodox Serbia.

1463–1878 *Bosnia Province, Ottoman Empire.*

The four centuries of Ottoman rule had made a drastic impact on Bosnia's population make-up, which changed several times as result of the empire's conquests, frequent wars with European powers, migrations, and epidemics (Malcolm, 1996). A native Slavic-speaking Muslim community emerged and eventually became the largest of the ethno-religious groups due to the

restriction imposed by the Ottoman Empire, and ‘conversions-for-gain’ (Imamović, 1996). The *Bosnia Province* experiences a prolonged period of welfare and prosperity, with several cities such as Sarajevo and Mostar growing into major regional centers of trade and urban culture.

1878–1918 *Austro-Hungarian Condominium of Bosnia and Herzegovina.*

Bosnia and Herzegovina was given a unique position in the monarchy, thus it was represented as a separate administrative unit called a condominium. Even though it had its own legislative body – the Bosnian Council, whose aim was to ensure a better legal and political position of Bosnia within the monarchy, a direct participation on the level with Austria and Hungary was never allowed. The Austro-Hungarian policy advocated the ideal of pluralist and multi-confessional Bosnian nation. It promoted *Bošnjaštvo*, a policy that aimed to inspire in Bosnia's people a feeling that they belong to a great and powerful nation and viewed Bosnians "*speaking the Bosnian Language and divided into three religions with equal rights*" (Ramet, 1995). The policy attempted to isolate Bosnia and Herzegovina from its irredentist neighbors (the Orthodox in Serbia and Catholics in Croatia) and to negate the concept of Croat and Serb nationhood that had already spread to Bosnia and Herzegovina's Catholic and Orthodox communities from neighboring Croatia and Serbia in the mid 19th century. Nationalism became an integral factor of Bosnian politics with the idea of *unified South Slavic state* becoming very popular (Riedlmayer, 1993). The political tensions culminated on June 28, 1914, when a Serb nationalist youth assassinated the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo; an event that proved to be the spark that set off World War I.

1918–1941 *Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Kingdom of Yugoslavia)*

1918 Following World War I, Bosnia joined the *Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes*. The ideological conflict between Croatian regionalism and Serbian centralization dominated Bosnian region and shifted depending on the overall political atmosphere.

1929 Unitarian policy imposed by King Aleksandar I Karađorđević, changes the name of the *Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes* into the *Kingdom of Yugoslavia*, redrawing administrative regions, which purposely avoided all historical and ethnic lines, removing any traces of a Bosnian entity (Malcolm, 1996).

1939 The infamous creation of the *Croatian banate* encouraged what was essentially a partition of Bosnia between Croatia and Serbia (Imamović, 1996). However, the rising threat by Hitler shifted political attention to Nazi Germany.

1941–1945 *From monarchy to Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.*

After several treaties signed with the attempt to appease Hitler, on April 6 1941 the *Kingdom of Yugoslavia* was invaded by German forces and the royal family was forced into exile. After the Nazi invasion, much Bosnian territory was ceded to the newly-created *Independent State of Croatia*, which became the puppet state of Nazi Germany (Holocaust Encyclopedia, 2010). The state was controlled by *Ustaše*, the governing fascist anti-Yugoslav separatist movement whose ideological aim was an ethnically “pure” Croatia. On the territory of Croatia and Bosnia, they openly led large-scale genocide campaign against Serbs (who were mostly Orthodox Christians), Romas and Jews, which resulted in the near-total annihilation of the latter population; whereas *Ustaše* were tolerant toward Bosnian Muslims, believing that they were actually ethnic Croats forced to convert to Islam during Ottoman rule.

Fighting against the *Ustaše* were the *Chetniks*, a Serb nationalist militia, originally founded as royalist resistance movement loyal to the *Kingdom of Yugoslavia's* government in exile. The *Chetniks* followed Serbian nationalist ideology and aimed towards the creation of a Serb-dominated Yugoslavia's monarchy, claiming the surrounding territories and proposing to accomplish such *Greater Serbia* by “cleansing the lands of all non-Serb elements” (Velikonja, 1992). The acts of the *Chetniks'* ideology yielded to acts of ethnic cleansing against Bosnian Muslims, mostly in Eastern Bosnia (Pinson, 1996).

In 1941, Yugoslav communists organized their own multi-ethnic resistance group (Partisans), who fought simultaneously against Axis' invaders (Germans and Italians) and the resistance forces (Chetniks – militant Serbs and Ustashi – militant Croats). Military successes eventually prompted the Allies to support the Partisans, which at the end of the war resulted in Yugoslavia's Communist Constituent Assembly deposing the Yugoslav monarchy and establishing the *Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia*, making *Bosnia and Herzegovina* one of six constituent republics in the new state (Malcolm, 1996).

1945–1992 *Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (SRBiH)*.

“The Yugoslavian communist doctrine of “*brotherhood and unity*” particularly suited Bosnia's diverse and multi-ethnic society, which due to such an imposed system of tolerance, thrived culturally and socially” (Mesić, 2004). The cultural ascendance of *Bosnia and Herzegovina* culminated with the selection of Sarajevo to host the XIV Winter Olympics in 1984.

With the death of Yugoslav communist leader Josip Broz Tito in 1980, the old communist doctrine of tolerance began to lose its potency, creating an opportunity for nationalists to spread their political influence.

In 1991, the first two states under new nationalist leadership to declare independence from Yugoslavia were Croatia and Slovenia. Whereas the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) after ten day armed conflict pulled out of Slovenia, thus recognizing their independence. However, they were unwilling to do so with Croatian geographically important (access to Adriatic Sea) and natural resources rich territory. Using a large Serb minority in Croatia as an excuse, fueled by the propaganda on both Croatian and Yugoslavian sides, ethnic hatred grew and various incidents escalated into full-scale war in the Serb-majority populated areas.

The year after the Croatian War of Independence began, the international attention shifted to Bosnia and Herzegovina where the promotion of open nationalism resulted in the formation of the national coalition, led by three ethnically based political parties - Croatian, Serbian and Bosnian Muslims (Bosniaks) in 1990. After Croatia's secession, Bosnian Croats and Muslims no longer desired to remain in a completely Serb-dominated federation. On the other hand, Bosnian Serbs were firmly against separation from Serbia. This conflict of interests led to mutually boycotted referendums by the Muslim-dominated Bosnian government and the newly formed Serbian entity, the Republic of the Serb People of Bosnia and Herzegovina (which later became the RS). In October 1991, despite of disagreement with Bosnian Serbs, the Bosnian Parliament declared sovereignty.

1992–1995 *Civil War in Bosnia and Herzegovina.*

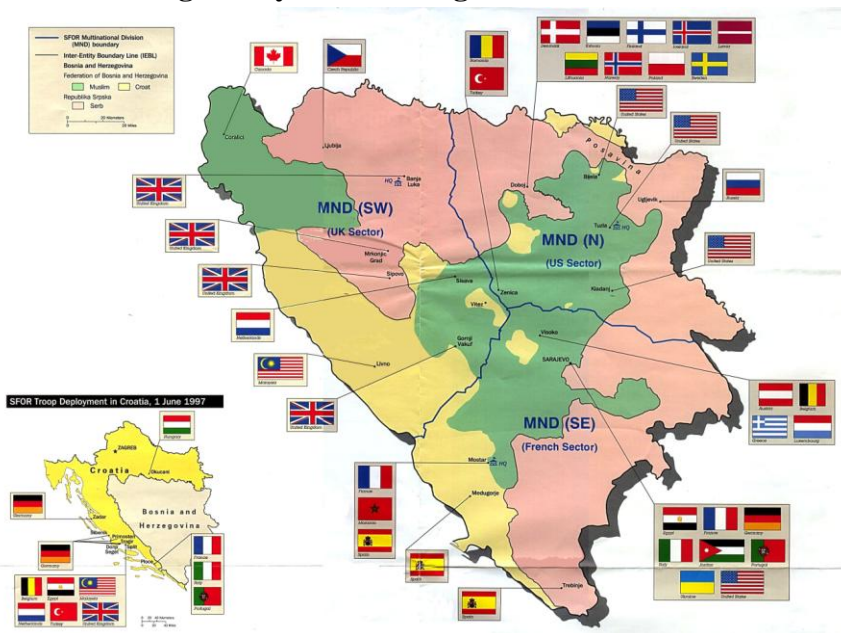
Even though the subsequent referendum for independence from Yugoslavia in February 1992 was boycotted by the great majority of the Serbs, with a voter turnout of 64%, an overwhelming 98% voted in favor of such a proposal, thus ***Bosnia and Herzegovina*** declared independence (Commission on Security & Cooperation in Europe, 1992). Following a period of

escalating tensions and sporadic military incidents, open warfare began in Sarajevo on April 6, 1992 (Malcolm, 1996).

The bloody four-year conflict underlined with the premises of *ethnic cleansing* was brought to an end by the Dayton Peace Accords signed in Paris on December 14, 1995 by the presidents of *Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia* and *Yugoslavia*. This peace agreement provided for a nominally united Bosnian state, effectively divided between decentralized *Federacija Bosne i Hercegovine* ‘*Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina*’ and centralized *Republika Srpska* ‘*Republic of Srpska*’, henceforth **FBiH** and **RS** respectively. In order to bring the peace to the region, all parties have agreed to maintain the cease-fire, to cooperate with all humanitarian and other organizations, and to refrain from any hostile act against or interference with members of United Nations Protection Force (the international force of 60,000 troops deployed to the region), and personnel of humanitarian organizations and agencies (U.S. Department of State, 1995). A Commission on Human Rights was also established and authorized to investigate violations of human rights¹.

¹ On September 23, 2008, the head of Bosnia and Herzegovina’s Delegation to the United Nations’ 63rd Session of the General Assembly issued the following statement: "According to the International Red Cross data: 200,000 people were killed, 12,000 of them children, up to 50,000 women were raped, and 2.2 million were forced to flee their homes. This was a veritable *genocide* and *sociocide*." (Silajdžić, 2008)

3) Map of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1995: Division and SFOR troop deployment distribution according to Dayton Peace Agreement



1995–Present *Bosnia and Herzegovina* is a politically decentralized country comprised of two governing entities: the ***FBiH*** (51% of the territory) and the ***RS*** (49% of the territory). This country is home to three ethnic “constituent groups”: Bosniaks 48%, Croats 14% and Serbs 37%. There is a strong correlation between ethnic identity and religion: Muslims constitute 45%, Roman Catholics 15% and Serb Orthodox 36% (U.S. Department of State, 2008). Tensions among these groups are high and often provoke political disagreements.

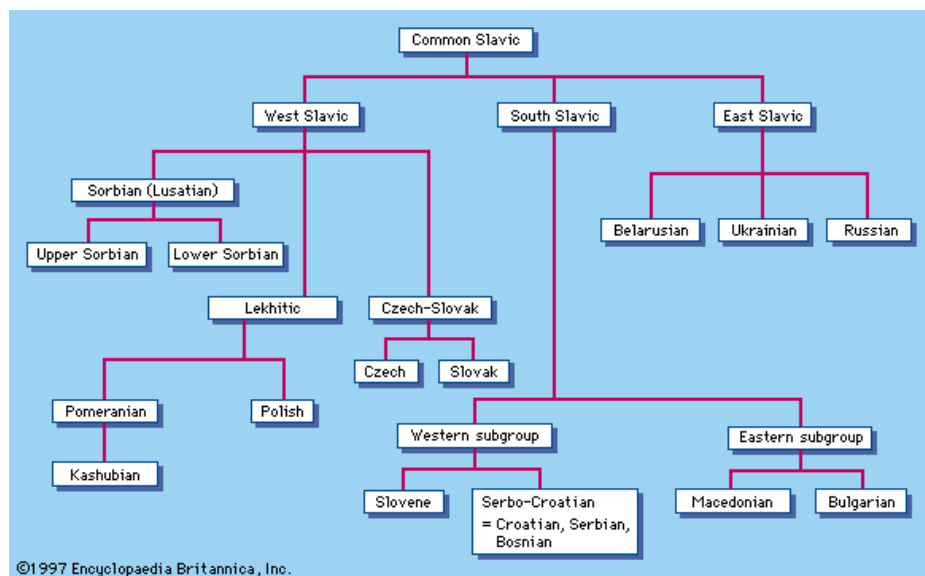
Even though the country has its government, Council of Ministers and Parliament, the highest political authority in the country is, according to Dayton Peace Agreement, the *High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina*, selected by the *Peace Implementation Council* (U.S. Department of State, 1995). International supervision is to end when the country is deemed politically and democratically stable and self-sustaining.

3. Language in Bosnia and Herzegovina

In Slavic studies, the South Slavic language family has been traditionally treated as a genetic node strictly defined by an exclusive set of phonological, morphological and lexical innovations that separate it from the Western and the Eastern Slavic groups (Jahić, Halilović & Palić, 2000). Serbo-Croatian, a language that was standardized, widely accepted and used in the region of Bosnia and Herzegovina for more than a century, is a South Slavic language of the Balto-Slavic language group which belongs to the Indo-European language family.

3.1 Origins and Development

4) Slavic Linguistic Family Tree



As part of Western South Slavic group, Serbo-Croatian language went through three distinct periods during its development:

- **First period:** until the end of the 12th century;

The Western South-Slavic linguistic community moved toward division into Western South-Slavic (Slovenian and the Mid South-Slavic group) and the Eastern South-Slavic (Macedonian, Bulgarian and Old Slavonic language).

- **Second period:** end 12th century – mid 15th century;

During the Late Middle Ages, significant phonological and morphological changes occurred in Western South-Slavic language group. One of the changes - the use of the question word ‘what’ resulted in the formation of five dialects: Western Štokavian used the pronoun *što*, Eastern Štokavian (*šta*), Kajkavian (*kaj* or *kej*), Čakavian (*ča*) and Torlakian which is nowadays classified as a transitional dialect between Štokavian and the Bulgaro-Macedonian (East South Slavic).

5) Distribution of Dialects



- **Third period:** mid 15th century to present;

This period is marked by slow intra-linguistic alterations even though the major socio-political changes take place in the geographic region. Mass migrations triggered by dynamic changes caused the mixing of some dialects with the others, with some dialects barely surviving, and few even ceasing to exist.

By the middle of the 19th century, two distinct Mid-South Slavic groups have formed: Western (spoken in Croatia and Bosnia) and Eastern (spoken in Serbia and Montenegro).

For more than a century and a half (late 19th – end 20th), this Mid-South Slavic language group was recognized and accepted under the name Serbo-Croatian or Croato-Serbian, which was the official language of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1918 – 1929, renamed Yugoslavian language 1929 - 1945), as well as of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1945 – 1991).

3.2 Serbo-Croatian/ Croato-Serbian Language/ Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian (BCS)

3.2.1 A Brief History

The term ‘Serbo-Croatian’ for the language spoken on the territories of former Yugoslavia was mentioned first time in a letter from 1836 written by Slovene philologist Jernej Kopitar. The Vienna Literary Agreement of 1850, signed by Croatian and Serbian writers, was a declaration of the intent to create a unified standard language of the Croatian and Serbian people (Greenberg, 2004). The Eastern Herzegovinian subdialect of the Štokavian dialect was selected as the basis for this unified literary language, thus a complex bi-variant emerged – Serbo-Croatian (officially named in Serbia) or Croato-Serbian (in Croatia). Even though it was deemed a unified language, in practice, however, those two variants, differing mainly in lexical inventory and stylistic devices, served indeed as different literary variants.

With unification of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, the official language became Serbo-Croato-Slovene until 1929 when, under the unitarian politics of King Aleksandar I Karađorđević, the name of the country was changed to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the ethnic denominations were erased, and the official language became the Yugoslavian language.

In 1944, the Anti-Fascist Council of the People’s Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) under the leadership of newly appointed Marshal Tito declared Croatian, Serbian, Slovene and

Macedonian to be equal in the entire territory of Yugoslavia (Greenberg, 2004). However, in 1945, the decision to recognize Croatian and Serbian as separate languages was reversed in favor of a single Serbo-Croatian or Croato-Serbian language (Greenberg, 2004).

The post-war communist Yugoslavia saw a resurgence of optimism about the common culture underlying the triumphant Partisan slogans of ‘brotherhood and unity’ (Okey, 2005). In 1954, every major writer, linguist and literary critic (significantly, none of them was a Bosnian Muslim), backed by cultural institutions *Matica srpska* (Novi Sad, Serbia) and *Matica hrvatska* (Zagreb, Croatia) signed the Novi Sad Agreement, which in its first article stated: "The national language of the Serbs, Croats, and Montenegrins is a single language. And thus, the literary language which has developed on its foundation in two major centers, Belgrade and Zagreb, is a unity with two dialects, Ijekavian and Ekavian." (Wachtel, 1998). This agreement became the basis of language politics, for many signers later asserted that they signed under the political pressure, thus it was more of a political document than it was the agreement about unified language.

The two respective cultural societies proceeded to draft parallel dictionaries of the language and published two volumes in 1967, which were met with sharp criticism in the Croatian press as being ‘artificial, aggressive, over-idealistic, unscientific’ in their glossing over of ethno-linguistic difference (Halilovic, 1991). Immediately after, some 140 Croat intellectuals and societies published a *Declaration on the Name and Status of the Croatian Literary Language*, requesting that the Yugoslav Constitution recognize standard Croatian as one of the official languages, which should be exclusively taught in Croatia’s schools and used in its media (Franolić, 1988). This act set in motion the ‘Croatian Spring’, a mass movement, which by 1970

expanded its goals and called for democratic and economic reforms, as well as for greater rights for Croatia within Yugoslavia.

Matica hrvatska renounced the joint dictionary project with *Matica Srpska*, and three Croatian linguists managed to publish banned spelling and grammar textbook in 1971, called *Hrvatski pravopis (Croatian Orthography)*, rather than the accepted *Srpskohrvatski (Serbo-Croatian)*.

Bosnian intellectuals condemned the Croatian “Declaration” (Baotić, 2005), for such conceptual division between the Croatian and Serbian languages would have left Bosnia linguistically divided, and more importantly, the Bosnia’s Muslim community would have been forced ‘declare a language’, since the extension of full language right to each nation would not have applied to the Muslim population, as at that time they were not recognized as nation.

Croatian "Declaration" perceived as an outburst of Croatian nationalism drew a sharp response from Serbian intellectuals, and triggering a political fallout which ended with personal intervention by President Tito in December of 1971, who personally sacked the Croatian communist leadership for the control failure during the attempt to bring back the Croatian purism. Some two thousand activists, among which was the future Croatian president Franjo Tuđmanj, were detained and some were sentenced to years in prison.

Forty thousand copies of *Croatian Orthography(1971)* were destroyed, *Ten Theses on the Croatian Language(1971)* written by Dalibor Brozović² (1927-2009), one of most influential Croatian

² One of the authors of the *Declaration on the Name and Status of the Croatian Standard Language*, an influential statement against Yugoslavian linguistic unitarianism written from a Croatian national perspective. Instead of Serbo-Croatian, Brozović preferred the term ‘Central South Slavic diasystem’, asserting separate language status for Croatian and Serbian.

linguist of the 20th century, were confiscated, and *Matica hrvatska* itself was banned (1972) and “its thirteen cultural journals thereby discontinued” (Spalatin, 1975).

The major political fallout that ensued after these events resulted in a rewriting of the Yugoslav constitution within which no official languages were named. Each of the constituent republics were allowed to determine which “standard linguistic expression” it would use as its official language (Alexander, 2006). This reflected the arguments that there were not only two, but four different regional idioms of the language corresponding to the cultural centers located in capitals of four republics (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro and Serbia). Thus, Croatian literary language was declared the official language of Croatia.

Fueled by the prevalent use of Serbian-orientated forms in the mass media and state services, discontent about the language continued until the early 1990s, when the ideas of abandonment of a common Yugoslav culture culminated with the disintegration of Yugoslavia, as the republics one after the other declared their independence. In the aftermath of the bloodstained socio-political events that ensued during the last decade of the 20th century, as four new nations were born, their population stopped referring to the language they spoke as Serbo-Croatian/ Croato-Serbian, but rather began using the ethnic/national names for their idiom. Thus, today Bosniaks speak “Bosnian”, Croatians speak “Croatian”, Serbs speak “Serbian” and Montenegrins speak “Montenegrin”. These names are bases on ethnicity/nationality and do not reflect the vast similarities among these languages, which will be discussed later in the text.

Some western linguists have assigned the politically correct acronym BCS which stands for Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian when referring to the language spoken in Serbo-Croatian speaking areas of the former Yugoslavia (Bosnia, Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro). In their opinion, this acronym is a welcome solution, easy to pronounce, compact to write and it communicates all the

necessary information. The alphabetical order of the components allows one to avoid any sort of value ranking, and the use of initial B rather than a full name allows one to refrain from taking position on the Bosnian/Bosniak dispute (Alexander, 2006).

However, native speakers would most likely never use this acronym to refer to the language they are speaking. In fact, in order to avoid any nationalistic or linguistic discussions, they are more likely to use a different politically correct term - *naš jezik* ‘our language’.

3.2.2 Grammar Features

Serbo-Croatian/ BCS is tonal, highly inflected language with flexible S-V-O word order, which features seven cases for nouns and adjectives (nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, vocative, instrumental and locative). Nouns have two numbers – singular and plural, and like in most Slavic languages nouns have three genders (masculine, feminine and neuter).

There are seven tenses for verbs: past, present, future, exact future, aorist, imperfect and plusquamperfect; three moods: indicative, imperative, and conditional; and one of two aspects: perfective or imperfective.

The Serbo-Croatian dialects differ not only by the previously introduced use of the question word *šta*, but also in phonology, accentuation and intonation, minimally in morphology (case endings and tense system) and syntax, and mostly by vocabulary.

6) Dialectal Comparisons

| English | Western Štokavian | Eastern Štokavian | Kajkavian | Čakavian |
|---|--|---|---|--|
| ‘[On a hill,] a sheep that had no wool saw horses, one of them pulling a heavy wagon, one | <i>Óvca kòjā nī imala vùnē vīdla kònje na brīgu. Jedān od nījū vūkō tēška kòla, drùgī nosījo</i> | <i>Óvca koja nīje imala vùnē vīd(j)ela je kònje na br(ij)égu. Jedan je od njih vūkao tēška kòla, drùgī je</i> | <i>ōfca tera nīje imēla vùne vīdla je kòjne na briēgu. Jēn od nīh je vlēkēl tēška kòla, drùgi</i> | <i>Ovcà kâ ni imēla vùni vīdela je konjī na brēge. Jedān je vūkal tēški vōz, drùgi je nosīl vēlu vrēt'u,</i> |

| | | | | |
|---|---|--|---|----------------------------------|
| carrying a big load, and one carrying a man quickly.' | <i>vèlikū vrěću, a trěćī nosījo čovīka.</i> | <i>nòsio vèliku vrěću, a trěćī je nòsio čòv(j)eka.</i> | <i>je nòsil vèliku vrěću, a trějti je nòsil čověka.</i> | <i>a trět'i je nosil čověka.</i> |
|---|---|--|---|----------------------------------|

The basic distinction among the Neoštokavian (western and eastern), Kajkavian and Čakavian dialects is in the reflex of Slavic vowel *jat* /ě/. Depending on the reflex, the dialects are divided into Ikavian (/i/ as a reflex of /ě/) spoken in parts of Croatia, Ekavian (/e/ as a reflex) spoken in Serbia and Ijekavian (with disyllabic /ije/ or diphthongal /je/ as a reflex) used in Bosnia, Croatia and Montenegro. The long and short /ě/ is reflected as long or short /i/ in Ikavian, /e/ in Ekavian dialect, and *ije/je* alternation in Ijekavian dialects.

7) Reflex of Slavic vowel *jat* /ě/

| English | Predecessor | Ekavian | Ikavian | Ijekavian | Ijekavian formation |
|-------------|------------------|----------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|--|
| 'beautiful' | * <i>lěp</i> | <i>lep</i> | <i>lip</i> | <i>lijep</i> | long <i>ě</i> → <i>ije</i> |
| 'time' | * <i>vrěme</i> | <i>vreme</i> | <i>vrimе</i> | <i>vrijeme</i> | |
| 'faith' | * <i>věra</i> | <i>vera</i> | <i>vira</i> | <i>vjera</i> | short <i>ě</i> → <i>je</i> |
| 'crossing' | * <i>prělaz</i> | <i>prelaz</i> | <i>prelaz or prijelaz</i> | <i>prelaz or prijelaz</i> | <i>pr</i> + long <i>ě</i> → <i>prije</i> |
| 'times' | * <i>vrěmena</i> | <i>vremena</i> | <i>vrimena</i> | <i>vremena</i> | <i>r</i> + short <i>ě</i> → <i>re</i> |
| 'need' | * <i>trěbati</i> | <i>trebati</i> | <i>tribat(i)</i> | <i>trebati</i> | |
| 'heat' | * <i>grějati</i> | <i>grejati</i> | <i>grijati</i> | <i>grijati</i> | <i>r</i> + short <i>ě</i> → <i>ri</i> |
| 'saw' | * <i>viděl</i> | <i>video</i> | <i>vidio</i> | <i>vidio</i> | <i>ěl</i> → <i>io</i> |
| 'village' | * <i>selo</i> | <i>selo</i> | <i>selo</i> | <i>selo</i> | <i>e</i> in root, not <i>ě</i> |

In conclusion, the Serbo-Croatian dialects differ not only by the use of the question word *šta*, reflex of Proto - Slavic vowel *jat*, but also in morphology (case endings and tense system), minimally in syntax, and mostly by vocabulary. However, as a tonal language, the clearest

distinction among the speakers of different dialects can be heard in their pronunciation and accentuation of words colloquial speech.

4. The Bosnian Language

As the *Ausbausprachen*³, even though all of the standard variants of Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian language are mutually intelligible, as previously mentioned, they differ slightly from one another in various aspects of accentuation, vocabulary, phonetics, morphology and syntax. To point out the differences between Bosnian and Croatian/Serbian, the Bosnian Muslim intellectuals who have been working on post-war language planning have compiled centuries-worth of literary works written in Bosnian in order to formally begin the standardization process of the Bosnian language.

Section 4.1 will present a brief overview the history of the Bosnian literary language through the use of different orthographic scripts, discuss standardization of the modern Bosnian language and present its current use in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

4.1 A History of the Bosnian Literary Language

History of the Bosnian literary language did not begin in the mid 1990s, once the legal distinction of Bosnian language has occurred, but centuries before. With its geographic position, Bosnia had always found itself on the junction of European and Middle Eastern civilizations, countries and religions. As such, Bosnia was predisposed for the arrival of early literacy, but at

³ An *Ausbausprache (language)* is a linguistic variety used autonomously with respect to other related languages, which is regarded as a distinct language for political, cultural, social and historical as well as linguistic reasons. *Ausbau languages* depend on cultural factors for their status because they are associated with geographical dialect continua. In some instances, *ausbau languages* have been created out of dialects for purposes of nation building (Trudgill, 2004).

the same token, it has been constantly exposed to a foreign influence, be it oriental (Turkish Ottoman Empire) or western European (Austrian or Austro-Hungarian Empires).

4.1.1 *Bosančica* ‘Bosnian script’ (10th – 20th century)

The oldest South Slavic document found is the Bosnian statehood charter from 1189, written by Bosnian ruler Kulin Ban in the Bosnian Cyrillic script called *Bosančica* ‘Bosnian script’. Other literacy documents, such as the *Humac tablet*, written in Bosnian Cyrillic, show that the early Bosnian literary language dates back to the 10th/11th century. *Bosančica*, which was abundantly used by the Bosnian medieval monarchy and the medieval Bosnian religion, is of the greatest linguistic and historical significance in Bosnian culture, since it is the one script that is purely native to Bosnia and Herzegovina. *Bosančica*, in different forms that changed over time (formal 10th to 15th centuries, cursive 13th -17th centuries, and shorthand 17th till the end of 19th century) was used for almost ten centuries in the Bosnian region.

8) *Bosančica* ‘Bosnian script’

| | | | |
|---------|--------------|------|-----------|
| Ɱ | A | Ɱ | O |
| Ɱ | B | Ɱ | P |
| Ɱ | V | Ɱ | R |
| Ɱ | G | Ɱ | S |
| Ɱ, Ɱ, Ɱ | D | Ɱ | T |
| Ɱ | E | Ɱ | U |
| Ɱ, Ɱ, Ɱ | Ž | Ɱ | F |
| Ɱ | DZ | Ɱ | H |
| Ɱ | Z | Ɱ | OT |
| Ɱ | I | Ɱ | Ć, ŠT, ŠĆ |
| Ɱ, Ɱ | Đ, Ć (deriv) | Ɱ | C |
| Ɱ | K | Ɱ | Č |
| Ɱ | L | Ɱ | Š |
| Ɱ | LJ | Ɱ | poluglas |
| Ɱ | M | Ɱ, Ɱ | JAT |
| Ɱ | N | Ɱ | JU |
| Ɱ | NJ | | |

The arrival of the Ottoman Empire in 1463 caused two important nonlinguistic processes which have deeply impacted the development of Bosnian vernacular and literary works – Islamization and the migrations. The Islamization imposed on the Christians living in the region affected the development of written and spoken words in the Bosnian language, and the massive migrations that it triggered have caused dialectal shifts and even changes in the basis of the language.

During almost four centuries of Ottoman rule, the Turkish language was the official language in Bosnia – the language of administration, Persian was the choice of language for poetic expression, and the Arabic was used in religion and the sciences. Individuals who wanted to enter the fields of arts, sciences, military or politics, had to have proficiency in all those tongues. Since only people of a higher-class social standing could receive education, those foreign idioms stayed confined to small numbers of population, never spreading to the masses who spoke the native Bosnian language.

Christian religious ceremonies were conducted in the Bosnian language, as the masses had difficulties understanding and connecting to Old Church-Slavonic. The first Bosnian – Turkish dictionary was written in 1631, and is one of the oldest dictionaries within the South-Slavic community.

4.1.2 *Arabica* (15th – 19th century)

The use of Arabic script in the religious schools and houses of prayer attended by the masses spread and Bosnian authors began using it in their writing. However, since the Arabic, Persian or Turkish scripts did not have signs for the Bosnian phonemes /c, ć, đ, lj, nj/ and the vowels, those sounds had to be incorporated, which created an adapted version of Perso-Arabian

script *Arabica* - a true alphabet (unlike both the original Arabic script and the Persian script) (Jahić et al, 2000).

**9) *Arabica* – The Bosnian Alphabet written in adapted Perso-Arabian script
(read right to left)**

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|-------|-----|-----|-----|------|------|-----|------|------|------|-----|-----|---|
| آ | ا | ب | چ | چ | ج | د | د | ج | ه | ف | غ | ح | ای | ی | ق |
| Kk | Jj | Ii | Hh | Gg | Ff | Ee | Dždž | Đđ | Dd | Ćć | Čč | Cc | Bb | Aa | |
| [k] | [j] | [i] | [h/x] | [g] | [f] | [e] | [dʒ] | [dʒ] | [d] | [tʃ] | [tʃ] | [tʃ] | [b] | [a] | |
| ل | ل | م | ن | ن | و | پ | ر | س | ش | ت | ؤ | و | ز | ژ | |
| Žž | Zz | Vv | Uu | Tt | Šš | Ss | Rr | Pp | Oo | Njnj | Nn | Mm | Llj | Ll | |
| [ʒ] | [z] | [v] | [u] | [t] | [ʃ] | [s] | [r] | [p] | [o] | [n] | [n] | [m] | [ʎ] | [l] | |

Used mainly from the 15th to 19th centuries, after efforts led by Bosnian Council to officially accept it as the third alphabet (beside Latin and Cyrillic) were denied, *Arabica* was officially forbidden by the Austro-Hungarian administration in 1911. However, some Bosnian authors continued writing in *Arabica*, with the last book printed in this alphabet in 1941.

4.1.3 The Cyrillic and Latin Alphabets (1878 – 1985)

As the Austro-Hungarian Empire replaced the Ottoman rule of the Bosnian throne in 1878, the idiom spoken in Bosnia and Herzegovina despite being linguistically homogenous, in published works corresponded to a plethora of classifications and standards, each ideologically loaded: Croatian, Serbian, Serbian or Croatian/ Croatian or Serbian, “the language”, Slavic, “the literary school language”, and perhaps most succinctly, *naški* ‘ours’ (Nehring, 2005). For the purposes of formal communication the Austro-Hungarian administration referred to it simply as *zemaljski jezik* ‘language of the land’.

Under the administration of Benjamin Kallay (1882-1903), charged by political climate previously discussed in section 2 (Historical Timeline), *Bosanski jezik* ‘Bosnian language’, accompanied by the publication of its first published grammar in 1890, was standardized and declared as the official language of all Bosnians: Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats in Bosnian protectorate (Kenjar, 2007). By the order of the governing body, the name Bosnian language was abandoned in 1907 and replaced with the name Serbo-Croatian, with the exception of Bosniaks, who were still allowed to call their language Bosnian within the realm of their autonomous national institutions.

Simultaneously with this change in policy, literary works written with *Bosančica* had ceased in the early 1900s, as the Serb and Croat scholars agreed on the unification of the literary language in Vienna literary accord of 1850. This imposed diasystem, ‘Serbo-Croatian’ or ‘Croato-Serbian’, was to be written in Serbian reformer Vuk Karadžić’s Cyrillic (a modified Church Slavonic and Russian ‘one-sound-one-letter’ alphabet) and/or Croatian reformer Ljudevit Gaj’s new Latin script based on Czech diacritical signs. Letters and spelling in these two alphabets map one-to-one to each other.

10) Latin and Cyrillic Alphabets used in Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian

A. Ljudevit Gaj’s Latin alphabet (with Cyrillic equivalents):

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------|-------|-------|-------|-----|-------|-------|-----|-------|
| A a | B b | C c | Č č | Ć ć | D d | Dž dž | Đ đ | E e | F f |
| a | be | ce | če | će | de | dže | đe | e | ef |
| А а | Б б | Ц ц | Ч ч | Ћ ћ | Д д | Ђ ђ | Ђ ђ | Е е | Ф ф |
| [a] | [b] | [t͡s] | [t͡ʃ] | [t͡ɕ] | [d] | [d͡ʒ] | [d͡ʒ] | [e] | [f] |
| G g | H h | I i | J j | K k | L l | Lj lj | M m | N n | Nj nj |
| ge | ha | i | jot | ka | el | elj | em | en | enj |
| Г г | Х х | И и | Ј ј | К к | Л л | Љ љ | М м | Н н | Њ њ |
| [g] | [x/h] | [i] | [j] | [k] | [l] | [ɭ] | [m] | [n] | [ɲ] |
| O o | P p | R r | S s | Š š | T t | U u | V v | Z z | Ž ž |
| o | pe | er | es | eš | te | u | ve | ze | že |
| О о | П п | Р р | С с | Ш ш | Т т | У у | В в | З з | Ж ж |
| [o] | [p] | [r] | [s] | [ʃ] | [t] | [u] | [v] | [z] | [ʒ] |

B. Vuk Karadžić's Cyrillic alphabet (with Latin equivalents):

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|-------|-------|-------|-----|
| А а | Б б | В в | Г г | Д д | Ђ ђ | Е е | Ж ж | З з | И и |
| а | бе | ве | ге | де | ђе | е | же | зе | и |
| А а | В в | Ѵ ѵ | Г г | Д д | Ђ ђ | Е е | Ž ž | З з | И и |
| [a] | [b] | [v] | [g] | [d] | [ǰ] | [e] | [ʒ] | [z] | [i] |
| Ј ј | К к | Л л | Љ љ | М м | Н н | Њ њ | О о | П п | Р р |
| је | ка | ле | ље | ме | не | ње | о | пе | ре |
| Ј ј | К к | Л л | Љ љ | М м | Н н | Њ њ | О о | П п | Р р |
| [j] | [k] | [l] | [ʎ] | [m] | [n] | [ɲ] | [o] | [p] | [r] |
| С с | Т т | Ђ ђ | У у | Ф ф | Х х | Ц ц | Ч ч | Џ џ | Ш ш |
| се | те | ђе | у | фе | ха | це | че | џе | ша |
| С с | Т т | Ђ ђ | У у | Ф ф | Н н | С с | Ї њ | Дž dž | Ѕ ѕ |
| [s] | [t] | [ǰ] | [u] | [f] | [x/h] | [t͡ɕ] | [t͡ʃ] | [d͡ʒ] | [ʃ] |

Although the 1850 Vienna agreement, the unofficially organized meeting where the Croatian, Serbian and one Slovenian writers concluded that Serbs and Croats spoke one language that had one grammar and two different alphabets, they did not specify the name for this one language. It is important to note that the literary language of Bosnian Muslim authors was not discussed at this meeting.

4.1.4 Novi Sad Literary Agreement (1954)

Finally, as named by the Novi Sad literary agreement in 1954, the imposed diasystem ‘Serbo-Croatian’ (eastern variant) or ‘Croato-Serbian’ (western variant) was used in the Bosnian region since post World War I. However, since the rewriting of the new Yugoslav constitution in 1974, as Serbia chose ‘Serbo-Croatian’ and Croatia ‘the Croatian literary language’ as their official languages, Bosnia and Herzegovina defined their official language as ‘Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian’ in Ijekavian pronunciation which includes the “Bosno-Herzegovinian standard linguistic expression” (Alexander, 2006).

The characteristic speech of Bosnia and Herzegovina was a melting pot of vocabulary filled with both the ‘eastern/western’ pairs used as synonyms, and a high number of words borrowed from Turkish (more in colloquial speech, less in formal written forms). Both alphabets, Latin and Cyrillic were equally represented and taught interchangeably in elementary schools in the period between the 1945 (WWII) and 1992 (the start of the Bosnian Civil War).

By using both ‘Serbo-Croatian’ and ‘Croato-Serbian’ as the name of the single official language, and by using both alphabets, Bosnians recognized the existence of both ‘eastern’ and ‘western’ variants within Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, by giving a semi-official name to the mix which had gone unnamed in Bosnia since the late 19th century, they laid the groundwork for an eventual Bosnian language, should it come to a split between Serbian and Croatian (Alexander, 2006).

4.1.5 Bosnian Language Planning (1985 - 1998)

The final years of Yugoslavia were marked by a sharp shift in linguistic politics. With the secession of Croatia, the ‘Croatian’ language became official by their constitution. Serbia followed suit, declaring ‘Serbian’ language to be official by law in 1991. In Bosnia, this period was marked by polemics in the media, where proposals and demands were being made for a declaration of the ‘Bosnian’ language (Mønnesland, 2005).

In 1990, Bosniak linguist Dževad Jahić published an article entitled *On the Vernacular and Literary Language of the Bosnian Muslims*, in which he argued that the name ‘Bosnian’/ ‘Bosniak’ was widely used, and not strictly for the vernacular of the Muslim population of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is worth noting the ambiguity of using Bosnian/Bosniak interchangeably in this article, as this issue resurfaces years later.

The following year, Jahić publishes the book *The Language of the Bosnian Muslims*, and Senahid Halilović, another Bosniak linguist, publishes *The Bosnian Language* in which he argues that if Serbs and Croats had come to renounce Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian, “then it would be too much to expect the Muslims to be more vigorous in advocating a name which did not even contain their own name...In such a situation, it is understandable that Muslims will bring the Bosnian back to usage.” (Halilovic, 1991)

In 1992, the linguist and folklorist Alija Isaković publishes *Dictionary of Characteristic Words in Bosnian Language*, drawing from wide body of literary works published by Bosnian Muslims during the past four centuries, includes primarily orientalisms (loan words of Ottoman Turkish, Arabic and Persian origin).

Though Isakovic’s dictionary details a list of *historical* injustices, it does not leave the impression that the language and literary tradition of Bosnian Muslims were under the attack and in need of protection.

In August of that same year (1992), for three long days, Bosnian Serb paramilitary units fired incendiary shells on the Sarajevo National Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina (which also housed much of the University of Sarajevo’s Oriental collection), destroying the building and with it several million books, publications, documents, and manuscripts, many dating from the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian era.

Thus, the political and cultural artifacts that embodied the Bosnian Muslim language and literary tradition *were* under direct attack. Three months later, over one hundred Bosnian Muslim intellectuals issued an open letter to President Alija Izetbegović entitled *For Equality of the Bosnian Muslims in Lanaguage*, demanding constitutional amendment by which Bosnian,

Croatian and Serbian of Ijekavian pronunciation would be the official languages. A half a year later, presidency issued the ruling in favor of Bosniak intellectuals.

Interestingly enough, the 1890 “Grammar of the Bosnian Language”, originally published under Kallay’s administration was re-published in 1994. The timing of this re-publication has left many uninformed readers under impression that this was the new Bosnian standard, and not the source for the history of language standardization. Looking from a language planning perspective, the Bosniak linguistics have provided the continuity in a concept of independent ‘Bosnian language’. Thus, rather than the Bosnian language being seen as a “new language” created out of wartime necessity, it appeared to be a restoration of the language that was continuously used until the 1907 shift in Austro-Hungarian administration’s policy, and the Yugoslav unitarian periods (1929-1941 and 1945-1991).

The legal declaration of a separate Bosnian language occurred in 1993, when the language law declared that there was a single official language for Bosnians: "In the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Ijekavian standard literary language of the three constitutive nations is officially used, designated by one of the three terms: Bosnian, Serbian, Croatian. Both alphabets, Latin and Cyrillic, are equal" (Bugarski, 2004).

Article I.6 of the original 1994 Constitution of the FBiH declared that Bosniak and Croatian were the official languages, but after the socio-political changes that came after the Dayton Peace Agreement in 1995, the 29th Amendment declared: "The official languages of the FBiH shall be: Bosnian language, Croat language and Serb language. The official scripts shall be Latin and Cyrillic" (OHR, 2002).

The language samples below, taken from the Preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (OHCHR, 2010), are translated ‘synonymous texts’ which demonstrate the differences between the standard varieties in a continuous text.

11) Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian Language Variations Samples - Comparison Table

| | |
|---|--|
| Bosnian | <p>Generalna Skupština proglašava, Ovu Opću Deklaraciju o Pravima Čovjeka kao zajedničko mjerilo postizanja za sve narode i sve države radi toga da bi svaki pojedinac i svaki organ društva, imajući ovu Deklaraciju stalno na umu, težili da učenjem i odgojem doprinesu poštivanju ovih prava i sloboda i da bi progresivnim nacionalnim i međunarodnim mjerama osigurali njihovo opće i djelotvorno priznavanje i održavanje, kako među narodima samih Država Članica, tako i među narodima onih područja koja su pod njihovom ingerencijom.</p> |
| Croatian | <p>Opća Skupština proglašava, Ovu Opću Deklaraciju o Pravima Čovjeka kao zajedničko mjerilo postignuća za sve narode i sve države radi toga da bi svaki pojedinac i svaki organ društva, imajući ovu Deklaraciju stalno na umu, težili da učenjem i odgojem pridonosu poštovanju tih prava i sloboda i da bi naprednim nacionalnim i međunarodnim mjerama osigurali njihovo opće i djelotvorno priznanje i održavanje, kako među narodima samih Država Članica, tako i među narodima onih područja koja su pod njihovom sudbenošću.</p> |
| Serbian | <p>Generalna Skupština proglašava, Ovu Opštu Deklaraciju o Pravima Čoveka kao zajednički domet koji treba da postignu svi narodi i sve nacije da bi svaki pojedinac i svaki organ društva, imajući ovu Deklaraciju stalno na umu, težio da učenjem i vaspitavanjem doprinese poštovanju ovih prava i sloboda da bi se postupnim unutrašnjim i međunarodnim merama obezbedilo njihovo opšte i stvarno priznanje i poštovanje kako među narodima samih država članica, tako i među narodima onih teritorija koje su pod njihovom upravom.</p> |
| English | <p>‘The General Assembly, Proclaims this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction’.</p> |
| <p>Key: Blue: choice used in Bosnian and Croatian samples Red: choice used mostly in Serbian, but also found in Bosnian and/or Croatian samples Green: choice used only in Bosnian sample Black: choice in all three varieties</p> | |

4.2. Standardization of the Bosnian Language

The constitutional declaration and public recognition by the 1995 Dayton Peace Agreement and bodies such as United Nations and UNESCO prompted the need for discussion about the further development of the Bosnian language. In 1998, at the “The Symposium on the

Bosnian Language”, the first language planning conference, which brought together scholars throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina, including top linguists from every university in FBiH (not all of which were Bosniaks). Thus official declaration, public recognition and language planning process opened the doors for the official standardization of the Bosnian language.

The *International Organization for Standardization (ISO) 639* is the official body that assigns codes for representation of names of languages, and “whose goal is to provide an identifier for every distinct human language that has been documented, whether living or extinct, and whether its modality is spoken, written or signed” (SIL, 2010).

The ISO 639 states the following norms for assigning individual names to languages in their *Codes for the Representation of Names of Languages (2004)*:

“There is no one definition of "language" that is agreed upon by all and appropriate for all purposes. As a result, there can be disagreement, even among speakers or linguistic experts, as to whether two varieties represent dialects of a single language or two distinct languages. For this part of ISO 639 judgments regarding when two varieties are considered to be the same or different languages are based on a number of factors, including linguistic similarity, intelligibility, a common literature, the views of speakers concerning the relationship between language and identity, and other factors. The following basic criteria are followed:

- **Two related varieties are normally considered varieties of the same language if speakers of each variety have inherent understanding of the other variety** (that is, can understand based on knowledge of their own variety without needing to learn the other variety) at a functional level.
- Where there is enough intelligibility between varieties to enable communication, the existence of well established **distinct ethnolinguistic identities** can be a strong indicator that they should nevertheless be considered to be **different languages.**” (SIL, 2010).

ISO 639 provides **two** sets of language codes, one as a two-character code set (**639-1**) and another as a three-character code set (**639-2**) for the representation of names of languages.⁴

⁴ **ISO 639-1**, *Codes for the representation of names of languages--Part 1: Alpha-2 code*, was devised primarily for use in terminology, and includes identifiers for major languages of the world for which specialized terminologies have been developed. The maintenance agency for ISO 639-1 is the International Information Centre for Terminology (Infoterm).

The process of language standardization consists of several applications with the requirements listed below:

ISO 639-1

“The following criteria for defining new languages in **ISO 639-1** has been established by the ISO 639 Joint Advisory Committee:

- **Relation to ISO 639-2.** Since ISO 639-1 is to remain a subset of ISO 639-2, it must **first satisfy the requirements for ISO 639-2** and also satisfy the following.
- **Documentation**
 - a significant body of existing documents (specialized texts, such as college or university textbooks, technical documentation manuals, specialized journals, subject-field related books, etc.) written in specialized languages
 - a number of existing terminologies in various subject fields (e.g. technical dictionaries, specialized glossaries, vocabularies, etc. in printed or electronic form)
- **Recommendation.** A recommendation and support of a specialized authority (such as a standards organization, governmental body, linguistic institution, or cultural organization)
- **Other considerations**

the number of speakers of the language community; the recognized status of the language in one or more countries; the support of the request by one or more official bodies.” (Library of Congress, 2010).

ISO 639-2

“The primary applications for which ISO 639-2 is intended include libraries, archives and other documentation applications. Thus, the general criterion for inclusion of a language in ISO 639-2 is that there is a significant body of literature in the language or describing the language. In order to establish this, the following objective and subjective metrics will be applied.

- **Number of documents.**

The request for a new language identifier shall include evidence that one agency holds 50 different documents in the language or that five agencies hold a total of 50 different documents among them

ISO 639-2, *Codes for the representation of names of languages--Part 2: Alpha-3 code*, was devised primarily for use in bibliographic documentation and terminology. It includes identifiers for all of the languages represented in part 1, as well as for many other languages that have significant bodies of literature. It also provides identifiers for groups of languages, such as language families, that together indirectly cover most or all languages of the world. The maintenance agency for ISO 639-2 is the Library of Congress..

ISO 639-3, *Codes for the representation of names of languages - Part 3: Alpha-3 code for comprehensive coverage of languages*, is a code list that aims to define three-letter identifiers for all known human languages. At the core of ISO 639-3 are the individual languages already accounted for in ISO 639-2. The large number of living languages in the initial inventory of ISO 639-3 beyond those already included in ISO 639-2 was derived primarily from Ethnologue (15th edition). Additional extinct, ancient, historic, and constructed languages have been obtained from Linguist List.” (Library of Congress, 2010)

in the language. Documents include all forms of material and are not limited to text. This is a necessary requirement, but not sufficient in and of itself. In addition the following requirements will be considered.

- **Size and variety of literature.**

The size and variety of the literature in the language, be it written or oral, will be considered and should be documented in the proposal. The documentation may be in the form of reference to library holdings or bibliographies or more general statements quantifying the literature and its variation.

- **National or regional support**

The proposal should preferably be explicitly supported by a national or regional language authority or standardizing body. If such support for some reason is unobtainable, a recommendation from another authority or language organization will be taken into account.

- **Formal or official status**

If the language in question has some sort of “official” status, documentation of this status will greatly support the proposal. The assignment of formal status to languages is in no way consistently practiced throughout the world, and the lack of such status is not a negative argument if other requirements are met.

- **Formal education**

If the language is used as a means of instruction in formal education on any level, documentation of this use will support the proposal. Teaching of the language is also relevant, in particular if the teaching is extensive.

Other considerations

- **Collective codes.**

If the criteria above are not met the language may be assigned a new or existing collective language code. The words *languages* or *other* as part of a language name indicates that a language code is a collective one.

- **Scripts.**

A single language code is normally provided for a language even though the language is written in more than one script. [ISO 15924](#) *Codes for the representation of names of scripts* provides coding for scripts.

- **Dialects.**

A dialect of a language is usually represented by the same language code as that used for the language. If there are multiple names for the same language each will be included with a single code. If the language is assigned to a collective language code, the dialect is assigned to the same collective language code. The difference between dialects and languages will be decided on a case-by-case basis.

- **Orthography.**

A language using more than one orthography is not given multiple language codes.” (Library of Congress, 2010)

ISO 639-3

The creation of a new code element, either through the splitting and retirement of an existing code element or the creation of a new code element for a previously unidentified language, requires the completion of a second form, the [Request for New Language Code](#)

[Element in ISO 639-3 form](#)⁵. “The New Code Request” form asks the applicants to supply the following information describing the language associated with the proposed new code element:

- preferred and alternate names and desired identifier (subject to availability)
- location and temporal frame
- modality and linguistic affiliation
- state of language development and use

Additional sources of information supporting the information given on the specific language are also requested.” (SIL, 2010).

By the early 2000s the ISO assigned new individual language codes to Bosnian (ISO 639-1:bs with the identifier *bos*), Croatian (ISO 639-1:hr, identifier *hrv*) and Serbian (ISO 639-1:sr, identifier *srp*), while Serbo-Croatian (ISO 639-1:sh, identifier *hbs*) is considered a deprecated macrolanguage⁶ (SIL International, 2010). Montenegrin, even though it is not standardized, is considered the official language in Montenegro.

4.3 Language in Bosnia and Herzegovina Today

As previously discussed, *Bosnia and Herzegovina* is a politically decentralized sovereign state comprised of two governing entities: the *FBiH* (51% of the territory) and the *RS* (49% of the territory). Each entity has its own constitution in which, among other rights, the official language is also declared.

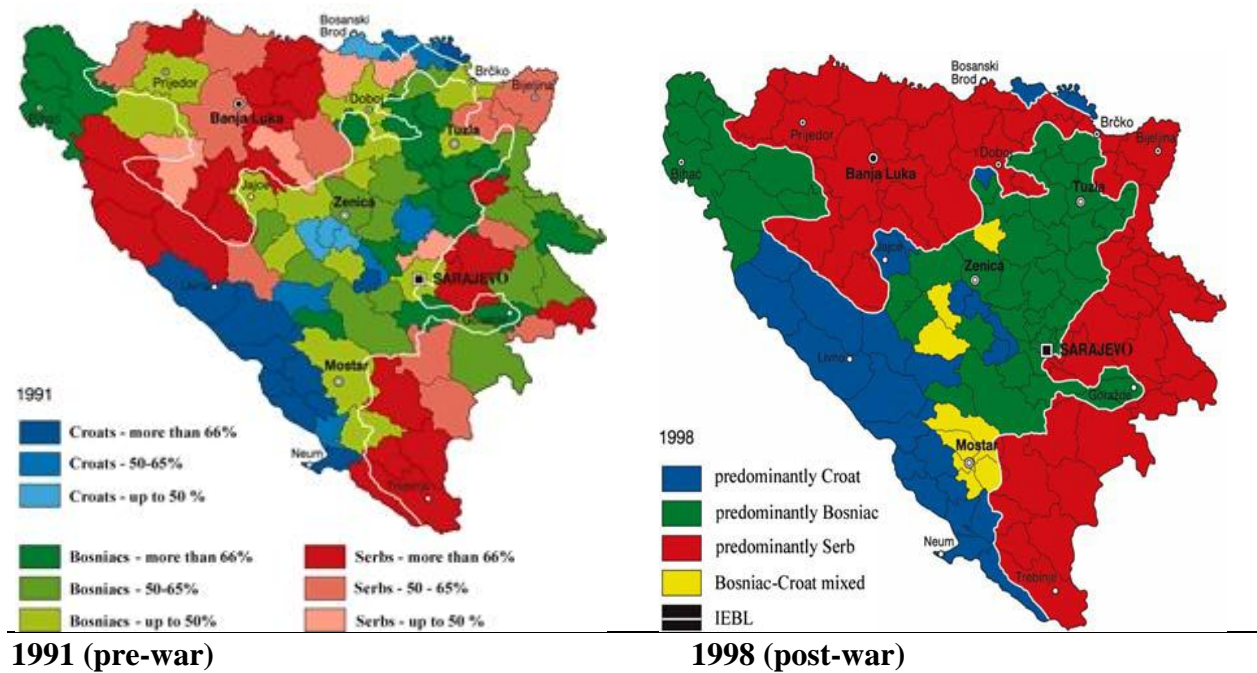
⁵ Please follow the link to view the form, as it could not be copied from the SIL website.

⁶ “In various parts of the world, there are clusters of closely-related language varieties that, based on the criteria previously discussed, can be considered individual languages, yet in certain usage contexts a single language identity for all is needed. Typical situations in which this need can occur include the following:...

- There is a transitional socio-linguistic situation in which sub-communities of a single language community are diverging, creating a need for some purposes to recognise distinct languages while, for other purposes, a single common identity is still valid. For instance, in some business contexts it is necessary to make a distinction between Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian languages, yet there are other contexts in which these distinctions are not discernable in language resources that are in use.

Where such situations exist, an identifier for the single, common language identity is considered in this part of ISO 639 to be a macrolanguage identifier. Macrolanguages are distinguished from language collections in that the individual languages that correspond to a macrolanguage must be very closely related, and there must be some domain in which only a single language identity is recognized.” (SIL, 2010).

12) Ethnic Composition of Bosnia and Herzegovina - Comparison Maps



In the FBiH whose demographics consist of 52% Bosniaks, 21% Croats and 17% Serbs (Federal Office of Statistics, 2006), Bosnian is one of three official languages (with the other two being Croatian and Serbian).

However, the constitution of RS, whose population is 88% Serbs, 8% Bosniaks and 4% Croats, (RS Institute of Statistics, 2009) with the 71st Amendment declared that the official languages are “the language of Serb people, the language of the Bosniak people and the language of the Croat people” (OHR, 2002). Written in this context, the government of the RS avoided the formal recognition of any idiom that was standardized as an individual language after the ‘dissolution’ of Serbo-Croatian.

In 2002, sixty leading Bosniak intellectuals (including linguists, poets and authors) issues *Declaration on Bosnian Language* in which a combination of complex sociolinguistic and linguistic arguments, each one regarding the relationship between “nation”, language” and “name” was clearly found (Povelja, 2002). However, the right of the nation to use the name it

chooses, and the right to not have a name imposed on it, is specifically outlined. Thus giving Bosniak nation leeway to refer to their language as Bosniak/ Bosnian interchangeably.

Referring to the argument of right not to impose the name on the nation, and the official names declared by Constitutions of FBiH and the SR, it is interesting to note that it is the SR that is in accordance with the demands made by the Bosniak intellectuals.

4.4 Distinct Linguistic Features of the Bosnian Language

In the period following the 1954 ‘Novi Sad agreement’, new normative forms of standard Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian were written. A six-volume dictionary was published between 1967-1976, with the last two volumes being published by *Matica srpska* (Serbia) alone⁷ following “the rules of new unified grammar of Serbo-Croatian literary language from 1960” (Rečnik, 1959).

According to those rules, considered substandard, turkisms and many words that had a phoneme /h/, which were commonly used in vernacular speech and literary works in Bosnia and Herzegovina, were underrepresented within the six-volume dictionary. Such a curious deletion or the replacement of the phoneme /h/ by other phonemes in many oriental and Slavic words was noted by the Bosnian intellectuals (Halilović, 1991). Unfortunately, with the Yugoslav communist leadership focused on trying to squash the political fallout in Croatia, the argument of Bosnian linguists fell on deaf ears.

⁷ As previously mentioned,[where was this mentioned?] the Croatian counterpart *Matica hrvatska* pulled out of the collaborative project openly criticizing “artificial, aggressive, over-idealistic, unscientific glossing over ethno-linguistic differences” (Halilović, 1991) in the lexicon used in the first four volumes. The public dissatisfaction that ensued triggered political fallout, and *Matica hrvatska* was subsequently shut down by the communist leadership.

After patiently waiting several decades, in the late 1980s, Bosniak (Bosnian Muslim) intellectuals decided to reignite the fire on the issue of ‘Bosnian language’, by calling for an update of the modern normative form of language used by all ethnicities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which should be conjunctive (lexical varieties used by all ethnicities) and not disjunctive (excluding one or the other variety) (Baotić, 1984).

4.4.1 Dialects Based on Phonological Variation

Before 1992, the Bosnian language spoken in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina consisted of 5 dialects (and 14 sub-dialects) distinguishable by the previously mentioned reflex of Proto-Slavonic vowel *yat* /ě/. Even though the ‘Ikavian’ (western) and ‘Ijekavian’ (eastern) speech is prevalent, there are some regions along the border with Serbia, where the mix of old ‘Ekavian’ for long vowels and ‘Jekavian’ for short vowels is being used.

However, the four-year-long Bosnian civil war (1992-1995) caused massive migrations and a tragic loss of population, which left major shifts in the dialectal mapping and also resulted in the death of some eastern Bosnian and eastern Herzegovinian sub-dialects⁸. The process of ‘ethnic cleansing’ of certain parts of the territory by the means of physical destruction or forced migration of native speakers of the language variety was termed *linguicide* (Jahić et al., 2000). This term can be only loosely applied to migrations that occurred during Bosnian war, due to the fact that some dialects died out and not the language per se.

On a formal level, the Bosnian language began to take a distinctive shape post civil war: lexically, Islamic-Oriental loan words are becoming more frequent; phonetically: the phoneme /h/ has been reinstated in many words (e.g., *mahrāma* instead of *marama* (scarf), *lahko* instead of

⁸ Please note the population shift in eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina on the Ethnic Composition of Bosnia and Herzegovina - Comparison Maps in (12).

lako ‘light, easy’, *mehko* instead of *meko* ‘soft’, etc.) as a distinct feature of vernacular Bosniak speech and language tradition.

4.4.2 Lexical Distinctions

Encouraged by the fact that by the early 1990s Croatia and Serbia abandoned the term “Serbo-Croatian” and began using the terms “Croatian” and “Serbian” respectively, and fueled by the atrocities committed during the Bosnian war which left the country in shambles on all socio-political levels, Bosnian intellectuals took steps toward the standardization of the Bosnian language. In order to demonstrate that Bosnian is not just a mix of Croatian and Serbian lexicon and grammar, some Bosniak linguists compiled a long list of what they call their “characteristic lexicon accompanied by the correct Bosnian pronunciation” (Halilović, 1991). The majority of these words are archaisms which were borrowed from Turkish during almost four centuries of Ottoman rule (1483-1878), and “whose integration and active use is highly variable, especially given the multivalent nature of Bosnian society” (Alexander, 2006). Many Bosnians (Muslim or not) use Turkish-derived words (*turkisms*) when they are talking about Muslim religion and secular concepts rooted in the Ottoman times, some of which are family relationships, clothing items and food preparation.

Even though the *Turkisms in Serbo-Croatian/ Croato-Serbian Language* (Škaljić, 1973) was the most comprehensive dictionary of *turkisms* which included over 8,700 words and phrases, “it is estimated that there are over 10,000 *turkisms* in the Bosnian language” (Halilović, 1991).

Turkisms with Slavic Equivalents

Many of the Turkish-derived words have a native **Slavic** equivalent, which is considered the more neutral one in an everyday speech, whereas “the Turkish word imparted a sense of local coloring which, depending on the context, connoted either a sense of nostalgia and warmth or an ironic, provincialist point of view” (Alexander, 2006).

13) Turkisms with Slavic Equivalents

| English | Bosnian | Slavic |
|------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| tools | <i>alat</i> | <i>oruđe</i> |
| towel | <i>peškir</i> | <i>ručnik</i> |
| scissors | <i>makaze</i> | <i>škare</i> |
| bed sheet | <i>čaršaf</i> | <i>plahta</i> |
| watermelon | <i>bostan</i> | <i>lubenica</i> |
| soup | <i>čorba</i> | <i>gusta supa</i> |
| coffee mug | <i>fildžan</i> | <i>šoljica</i> |
| table | <i>hastal, astal</i> | <i>sto</i> |
| no | <i>jok</i> | <i>ne</i> |
| party (outdoors) | <i>teferič</i> | <i>zabava</i> |
| time | <i>vakat</i> | <i>vrijeme</i> |
| oil | <i>zejtin</i> | <i>ulje</i> |

Since both variants of such words are used interchangeably, its use depends on the speaker’s choice. However, it is worth noting that after disintegration of Yugoslavia, speakers in Croatia and Serbia, as well as many Croats and Serbs in Bosnia consciously choose not to use turkisms, using words of Slavic origin instead, whereas Bosniaks are using Turkisms in a greater frequency.

Turkisms with no Slavic Equivalents

During the last century, some of these turkisms fell out of use, some became restricted to certain stylistic contexts, and yet some entered the vocabulary of non-Bosnians while still retaining their Bosnian cultural color. Some examples of Turkish-derived terms that do not have a native Slavic equivalents would be: *bubreg* ‘kidney’, *čekić* ‘hammer’, *džep* ‘pocket’, *kutija* ‘box’, *jelek* ‘vest’, *tepsija* ‘baking sheet’, *čakija* ‘pocket knife’, *džezva* ‘coffee pot’ Thus, it is important to note that as such, those words are being used by the speakers of all variants of former Serbo-Croatian language.

Turkisms Exclusively Used in Bosnia and Herzegovina

One of the changes Bosniak linguists proposed in the mid 1990s was to “expand the number of Turkish-derived words by reintroducing words which revive ties with the Islamic cultural heritage” (Alexander, 2006). These words, which were used by the elderly, and transferred to younger generations in a natural way through vernacular spoken in everyday life, as well as by reading classic Bosnian literature, are today also being taught exclusively to Bosniaks in the school system (since Serbs and Croats do not teach Bosnian language in their school curricula), and are not being used in RS, Croatia and Serbia. However, as majority of non-Bosniak residents in the entity of FBiH understand those words due to the fact that they are constantly exposed to it, many Croat and Serb speakers use it in their vernacular. Some of those turkisms that express various lexical definitions such as, but not limited to, greetings, family relationships, weather, and feelings, which are solely used in Bosnia and Herzegovina can be found in the table below.

14) Some turkisms exclusively used in Bosnia or by Bosniak speakers around the world, and its equivalents used by the majority of non-Bosniaks.

| English | Bosnian | Croatian | Serbian |
|-----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| night | <i>akšam</i> | <i>noć</i> | <i>noć</i> |
| until next time | <i>alaj manet</i> | <i>doviđenja</i> | <i>doviđenja</i> |
| please, welcome | <i>bujrum</i> | <i>izvolite</i> | <i>izvolite</i> |
| father | <i>babo</i> | <i>otac</i> | <i>otac</i> |
| brother | <i>buraz</i> | <i>brat</i> | <i>brat</i> |
| misfortune | <i>baksuz</i> | <i>nesreća</i> | <i>nesreća</i> |
| street | <i>mahala</i> | <i>ulica</i> | <i>ulica</i> |
| glasses (for wearing) | <i>džozluka</i> | <i>naočale</i> | <i>naočale</i> |
| toilet bowl | <i>ćenifa</i> | <i>zahod</i> | <i>klozet</i> |
| anxiety | <i>bihuzur</i> | <i>neuroza</i> | <i>nervosa</i> |
| sick, ill | <i>hasta</i> | <i>bolestan</i> | <i>bolestan</i> |
| gift, present | <i>miraz</i> | <i>dar</i> | <i>poklon</i> |
| for free | <i>mufte</i> | <i>besplatno</i> | <i>besplatno</i> |
| bad weather | <i>kijamet</i> | <i>nevrijeme</i> | <i>nevreme</i> |
| joy | <i>merak</i> | <i>užitak</i> | <i>užitak</i> |
| love | <i>sevdah</i> | <i>ljubav</i> | <i>ljubav</i> |
| dawn | <i>sabah</i> | <i>zora</i> | <i>zora</i> |
| well done | <i>sevap</i> | <i>dobro djelo</i> | <i>dobro delo</i> |
| to be 'fresh' | <i>pohasiti se</i> | <i>uzjoguniti se</i> | <i>postati drzak</i> |
| good | <i>plaho</i> | <i>fino</i> | <i>dobro</i> |

However, based on the small survey I have conducted among my friends who reside in different regions of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and based on the language use in current media (TV, radio and printed samples), which I follow on a weekly basis, it is important to note that there is not apparent attempt to prescribe the use of turkisms, thus it can be concluded that fifteen

years after the proposal to reintroduce turkisms into Bosnian variety, there seems to be no rise in frequency of use of Turkisms in Bosnia today.

During my directed readings, I have encountered a very interesting article about troubles the translators are facing while trying to translate turkisms found in Bosnian literary works. Turkisms are considered to be the part of phenomenon of the “third language” (which are all loan words in all languages) by translators, many of whom suggest that during translation, one must take in consideration that Turkish (and German) language material has been socio-linguistically important in Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian artistic literature. And that is “because for native speakers it has been *powerfully evocative of the position(s) of the lands of the erstwhile Yugoslav state in world civilization*, relative to Austro-Hungarian culture) and the Near East (Ottoman Turkish culture). Thus, such words clearly contribute to the “linguistic dynamic” of the text, lending it its Ottoman Turkish/Bosnian historical ‘feel’.” (Dickey, 2009).

In summary, even though the languages of all Balkan inhabitants (Christian and Muslim alike) had absorbed Turkish words during the time of Ottoman rule, due to the fact that the language used in Bosnia has always differed from Serbian and Croatian varieties in greater frequency of these words, turkisms are viewed as a distinctive Bosnian feature.

4.4.3 Phonetic Distinctions

As previously mentioned, there are many words commonly used in vernacular speech and literary works in Bosnia and Herzegovina that have the phoneme /h/ which was considered substandard by the planners of the unified Serbo-Croatian language who failed to recognize Bosnian as a representative of a unique culture within the six-volume dictionary,. However, in

those same words used in Croatian and/or Serbian varieties the phoneme /h/ is deleted or replaced by a different phoneme.

The phoneme /h/ is a voiceless glottal fricative (O'Grady, et al., 2009) which with its voicing, manner and the place of articulation is predisposed to weakening and the process of deletion. Over the past century, and especially after the standardized 'new' grammar of 1960, in many Štokavian dialects (Ekavian, some Ijekavian, most of Kajkavian and even some Čajkavian), the phoneme /h/ went through a process of deletion, thus is not pronounced in certain words (e.g. *haljina-aljina* 'dress'), or is replaced by other phonemes /v/ (e.g., *uho-uvo* 'ear'), /j/ (e.g., *promaha-promaja* 'drafty') and /k/ (e.g., *dodoh-dodok* 'I just arrived').

Yet, the use of phoneme /h/ persevered in all Bosnian dialects, primarily due to the fact that it is commonly used in Turkish and Arabic, both of which have left traces on Bosnian dialects - Turkish through culture and Arabic through Muslim religion.

Historically, the phoneme /h/ shows up in turkisms at the beginning, in the middle and at the end of some words (e.g., *hajvan* 'wild person', *snaha* 'daughter-in-law', *sabah* 'morning'). It is also found in all three places within some words of Slavic origin (e.g., *hrđav* 'rusty', *plahovit* 'angry', *suh* 'dry'). Some of those examples are not used in Croatian and Serbian variants, whereas in others they are used, but the phoneme /h/ is deleted or replaced.

15) Comparison chart: phoneme /h/ historically found in words, and its replacements (deletion, substitution, etc.)

| English | Bosnian | Croatian | Serbian |
|----------------|----------------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| a wild person | <i>hajvan</i> | <i>divljak</i> | <i>ajvan, divljak</i> |
| coffee | <i>kahva</i> | <i>kava</i> | <i>kafa</i> |
| to neigh | <i>hrzati</i> | <i>njištati, rikati</i> | <i>rzati</i> |
| horse (male) | <i>pastuh</i> | <i>ždrijebac</i> | <i>ždrebac, pastuv</i> |

Beside the difference in using words where the phoneme /h/ is historically found, in Bosnian variety there are some words where the epenthesis (insertion) of /h/ is applied within the word which historically does not have the phoneme /h/ (e.g., *sahat* instead of *sat* ‘hour’, *hastal* instead of *astal* ‘table’).

16) Comparison chart: epenthesis (insertion) of phoneme /h/ in words where it is not historically found, and its replacements (deletion or use of different word)

| English | Bosnian | Croatian | Serbian |
|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| hour | <i>sahat (sat)</i> | <i>ura</i> | <i>sat</i> |
| rotten | <i>truhlo (trulo)</i> | <i>trulo</i> | <i>trulo</i> |
| horse halter | <i>horma (orma)</i> | <i>orma</i> | <i>orma</i> |
| ‘in a good mood’ | <i>horan (oran)</i> | <i>oran</i> | <i>oran</i> |
| soft | <i>mehak – mek</i> | <i>mek</i> | soft |
| light | <i>lahka</i> | <i>laka</i> | <i>laka</i> |

In summary, even though it was considered substandard by the 1960 literary norm, and as such underrepresented in six volumes of the Serbo-Croatian dictionary (1967-1976), use of the phoneme /h/ in Bosnian is stable due to fact that “Bosnians adapted the loan-words from other languages (Turkish, German, Hungarian, Greek...) with more loyalty to their pronunciation”

(Halilovic, 1991). Such an approach has also helped preserve the use of phoneme /h/ in words of Slavic origin.

Furthermore, the same norm did not recognize many lexemes of oriental origin which historically included the phoneme /h/, and published them in the dictionary with /h/ deleted (e.g., *kava/kafa* instead of *kahva* ‘coffee’, *mamuran* instead of *mahmuran* ‘hangover’, *marama* instead of *mahrma* ‘scarf’...), thus prescribing the ‘norm’ to all speakers of former ‘Serbo-Croatian’. However, this prescribed language failed to penetrate such deeply ingrained oriental culture in Bosnia, thus the language expressing it (even though deemed substandard) continued to be used by the masses (Bosniak and non-Bosniak) resulting in preservation of orientalisms, and as such, giving language in Bosnia unique flare and distinction.

5. Controversies - Linguistic vs. Cultural Reality of Bosnian Language

“Languages don’t live in a vacuum. They live, breathe, proliferate, change, and die according to the vicissitudes of the lives of their speakers” (Peregoy & Boyle, 2008). However, the classification of languages is an issue which linguists worldwide disagree over. One point of view is that where there are minor or no systematic differences in phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics among several varieties, which show mutual intelligibility, then we are dealing with one language with minor differences reflected in distinct varieties or dialects (e.g., English).

The criterion of mutual intelligibility as a test for determining whether language varieties are dialects of the same language is contested by the linguists who point out the examples of not mutually intelligible dialects of Chinese, and on the other hand mutually intelligible Spanish and Portuguese which are classified as two different languages. The latter point of view is the one which argues that socio-political issues rather than mutual intelligibility play the deciding role in

distinguishing language from dialect, thus asserting that a language is “a dialect with an army and a navy”.

The official international recognition of Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian as separate languages in the early 1990s culminated with the standardization of these variants of former Serbo-Croatian as individual languages. Official recognition and standardizations have triggered many controversies within the linguistic, political, and social circles with regard to whether the language spoken in Bosnia, Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro (sovereign countries formed after the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia) is one language (Serbo-Croatian/ BCS), or four different languages (Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian, Montenegrin respectively).

To answer this question, one must address several issues viewed from different perspectives (linguistic or non-linguistic). In order to organize a discussion of controversies surrounding the appellation Bosnian language, I have resorted to Bugarski’s (2004) levels of identifying issues that affect and are affected by the appellation and the use of language.

These levels are: (i) linguistic-communicational, which viewed from a scientific perspective offers an explanation for why this should be considered one language with several variants; (ii) political-symbolic, which addresses the socio-political issues that were the reasons for division of this one language into four standards, and (iii) social-psychological, which pertains to the consequences individuals and society deal with in the aftermath of the unprecedented socio-political shifts which occurred in a very short period of time.

5.1 Linguistic – Communicational Issues

The linguistic-communicational level explains why Serbo-Croatian should be a single standard language (BCS), incorporating several variant norms which are highly similar and often

identical in structure, with the only differences among those varieties being the use of some different lexicon items based on different cultural backgrounds. This section will try to present the case for BCS as one language and offer an overview of the differences found in varieties whose governments have used as the excuses for separate standard languages.

5.1.1 One Language - (BCS?)

As mentioned in the introduction of this section, one way some linguists view the classification of the language is that where there are minor or no systematic differences in phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics, thus exhibiting mutual intelligibility, then the language is one where minor differences are considered to be dialects of the standard.

Based on Neo-Štokavian dialect of the South-Slavic dialect group, Serbo-Croatian was unified in the 19th century in order to unify the population who were divided under separate foreign rulers but spoke essentially the same language. The common Serbo-Croatian grammar features presented in section 3.2, can apply to all standards (Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian and Montenegrin) created after Serbo-Croatian, which is now considered macro-language, disintegrated. Viewing the new standards from a purely grammatical perspective, it is clear that there are few minimal differences among them. This fact is recognized by the vast majority of linguists (including those from Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia).

In order to justify the politically (mis)guided international recognition and official standardization of those varieties, many articles and books which support the ‘one-name-for-all-varieties’ point of view have been written by linguists such as Kordić (2005, 2006, 2008), Brown & Alt (2004), Alexander (2006) and Bailyn (2010).

While Kordić argues the point through critiques of the ideologies of nationalists permeating the language and dividing it according to their own plans, the other two argue

through the descriptive approach, presenting the Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian Grammar, and highlighting shared features prevalent through all three varieties. However, the latter one, Bailyn, takes a constructive approach by presenting the Single Language Hypothesis, conducting a pilot Translation study, and analyzing the data collected using a comparative approach, whose results support his Single Language Hypothesis.

The Single Language Hypothesis (SLH), according to Bailyn (2010) is as follows: “The degree to which 2 language varieties can be considered the same linguistic system correlates with the degree to which their building-blocks are the same, that is, the degree to which their internal linguistic systems employ the same grammatical components.”

Furthermore, the author introduces the grammatical components relevant to the SLH in the case of BCS:

“1. Phonology: the same phonemic inventory

2. Morphology

i. Derivational Morphology: identical derivational morphological devices for the same kinds of derivations

ii. Inflectional Morphology:

- identical distinctly represented morphological categories (case, number, gender for nominals; person, number and tense for verbal categories, etc.)
- identical form of the actual bits of inflectional morphological for the same inflectional categories

3. Syntax: identical settings of major syntactic parameters

4. Lexicon - degree of identity in:

- i. lexical categories (N, V, Adj and their combinatory requirements – case, selection, etc)
- ii. functional/grammatical categories (P, C, D, Neg, T, adverb,...)
- iii. functional/grammatical combinations (PP temporal and special modifiers; verbal government, selection, etc.)” (Bailyn, 2010).

Bailyn then examines all of these grammatical components by conducting a pilot Translation Study in which 16 adult native speakers of Croatian variant are asked to “translate” various short texts written in Serbian *Ekavian* variant. The analyzed data clearly show that BCS is “a single language with a single grammatical system”, thus strongly upholding the author’s Single Language Hypothesis.

In conclusion, while most linguists define the concepts of nation and identity through language, only very few decide to look at the language from the ‘cool-headed’ scientific perspective, which, when one leaves feelings and emotions aside, clearly shows that the varieties of this one language (Serbo-Croatian/ BCS), which are mutually intelligible, are all truly one and the same.

5.1.2 Individual Languages

A handful of linguists (on all three sides), blinded by nationalistic ideologies (which is obvious from reading their emotion filled ‘historical’ arguments) are fast to point out minimal differences among BCS varieties, and claim that they are reason enough to create individual languages. Unfortunately, those few are the ones who initiated, and were involved with the language planning process of the newborn nations and languages in question.

Demands for translators for Croatian and Bosnian may have seemed outrageous in 1991, but in 1995 at the Dayton peace talks, each party requested translators at the talks. The Serbs, Croats, and Bosniaks suddenly could not understand each other! Dayton Peace Agreement delivered more than just translators, it rewarded each nation with the official international recognition of their own national language.

So, the fact that these standards share grammatical structures (with some minor exceptions) meant nothing looking at the face of war and peace. Standardization of all three

national languages is truly just political appeasement. It did not take into consideration that instead of bringing true peace in that ‘hotbed of hatred’, it will just, now officially, further divide people unaccustomed to suddenly given human rights such as the freedom to choose what language to speak and how to call it. For the people living in these lands always had difficulty with separating nationality from religion, and such difficulty bred deep hatred, and now that the names of the nations/religions are reflected in the name of the languages. With public recognition, some linguists began to deny the existence of SC/BCS as one language, claiming that each of the standards represents a distinct Slavic language (Bugarski and Hawkesworth, 1992).

Croatian Purity – Novogovor ‘newspeak’

The existence of a unified Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian language was contested as soon as it was proposed and officially accepted. In the first unified state the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (1918-1929), which was renamed to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1929-1941) language controversies contributed to an atmosphere of ethnic animosity between the state’s Serb and Croat communities. Slovenes, perhaps due to use of their own language, were not involved in these controversies. The period of extreme purism in Croatia was during the Croatian Fascist state (1941-1945) after the Ustaše government leader in 1941 declared Croatian a separate language from Serbian. The “Legal Decree: On the Croatian Language, Its purity and Spelling”, consisted of 10 articles among which the first two read:

“The language spoken by Croats, by its pronunciation, by its historical development, by its prevalence in the Croatian national area, by the style of pronunciation, by spelling rules and by the meaning of certain words, is the primary and peculiar language of Croatian people, and therefore not identical with any other language, nor it is a dialect of any other language, nor related to any other nation’s common language. That is why it is called the “Croatian language” (Art. I)

*The Croatian language is the public welfare of the Croatian people, and therefore nobody should distort or deform it. That is why it is **forbidden** in pronunciation and in spelling to use words which do not conform with the spirit of the Croatian language, usually foreign words, borrowed from other, even similar languages. Exceptionally, words with special meanings can be used when it is difficult or impossible to find domestic equivalents (Art. II), (Pavelić and Budak, 1941)*

This policy was overturned by the arrival of the Tito’s communist regime in the 1945. However, Croatian purism tried to resurface again in 1967, when, as previously discussed, dissatisfied with the first published Serbo-Croatian dictionaries, Croatian intellectuals issued their *Declaration on the Name and Position of the Croatian Literary Language*. Yet again, the communist regime squashed the Croatian Spring movement that arose based on the principles of *Declaration* in the late 1960s, deeming it to be Croatian nationalism.

In the 1990s, Croats, whose variant of Serbo-Croatian differed from the Serbian one only by the use of alphabet, and slight differences in vocabulary and syntax, initiated yet again a campaign of language purification, “purging forms deemed to be “Serbian” and replacing them with old Croatian forms or by crafting new ones from “pure” Croatian roots” (Kenjar, 2007). The third time was a charm, since such purification was approved by the newly elected nationalist government. During the *Symposium on Bosnian Language* in 1998, Bosnian linguist Muhamed Šator cautioned against the influence of *newspeak* ‘novogovor’, referring to terms that have been coined in Croatia during the 1990s.

17) Examples of *novogovor* ‘newspeak’ found in Croatian language:

| English | Croatian | Serbian |
|----------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| helicopter | <i>zrakomlat</i> | <i>helikopter</i> |
| airport | <i>zračna luka</i> | <i>aerodrom</i> |
| airplane | <i>zrakoplov</i> | <i>avion</i> |

| | | |
|------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| belt | <i>pantolodržac</i> | <i>kaiš</i> |
| linguist | <i>jezikoslovac</i> | <i>lingvist(a)</i> |
| university | <i>sveučilište</i> | <i>univerzitet</i> |

Šator also criticized new linguistic practice in the Croatian standard language - the use of nouns with the suffix */-telj/* instead of */-lac/*. (e.g., *prevoditelj* instead of *prevodilac* ‘translator’), (Čedić,1999).

While Croatian linguists work hard to distinguish their language from Serbian by coining new words from ‘pure Croatian roots’, the situation in Bosnia was even more complex.

Bosnian Language Planning

While Bosnian Croats and Serbs claimed that their mother tongue were Croatian and Serbian respectively, Bosniaks held the first Symposium on Bosnian Language in 1998, where 28 papers represented a range of disciplines including linguistics, pedagogy, philosophy, history and religion.

Several approaches to the future of a Bosnian standard language were evident at the conference (Čedić, 1999). One group, best represented by Dževad Jahić and Senahid Halilović, both currently professors at the University of Sarajevo, sought to emphasize the independent nature of the Bosnian language by taking an active, prescriptive approach to language planning. It is important to note that Jahić and Halilović have been some of the most prolific and prominent advocates of a separate Bosnian standard language.

Different point of views were offered by Josip Baotić of the University of Sarajevo and Ibrahim Čedić of the Institute for Language and Literature, who were “more cautious regarding the wisdom of active intervention in the development of the language” (Ford, 2002). Though the

second group did not openly oppose a separate Bosnian standard, they were more skeptical of the need to codify a new norm that would contrast with Serbian or Croatian.

Josip Baotić, also of the University of Sarajevo, confronted one of the basic questions posed by many observers: how is it possible to speak about three (or even four) languages despite acknowledged mutual comprehension, when each of the standards is even based on the same dialect. He addressed this paradox by distinguishing between language as an “*organic idiom* that is, spontaneous, everyday speech, and *inorganic idiom* that is language's ‘prestigious’ standard realization” (Ford, 2002). The inorganic idiom is not a typological category, but rather a sociological category; for this reason, in Baotić's view, there is no need to take steps to increase the number of differences between closely related standards.

Finally, he also confirmed that the *organic idioms* spoken by Serbs, Croats, Muslims, and Montenegrins are one language, but stated that historical and cultural factors have made possible the realization of several standards based on the one organic idiom. Baotić underscored that the use of separate names - Bosniak or Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian, and perhaps Montenegrin is possible only when applied to the standard languages; whereas on the level of the organic idiom they have no meaning (Ford, 2002).

Now that we have been able to observe language use in Bosnia for over a decade since the Bihać Symposium, it is obvious that, ignoring Šator's 1998 words of caution against Croatian influence, Bosniaks' linguistic preference indeed shifted away from Serbian. The reasons for such move might be the reaction to decades of Serbian-oriented centralism, as Šator noted with dismay: “Bosnian lexical items have often been labeled *provincialism* and *barbarism* in Serbo-Croatian, so that the sharing of lexical items is not a two-way process” (Čedić, 1999).

The reintroduction of many Turkish words which have been unjustly classified as archaic or provincial, according to Šator and several other Bosniak linguists Jahić (1999), Halilović (1991) and Isaković (1995) is only observable in moderation among Bosniaks. The phoneme /h/, whose use was previously discussed as one of the characteristic features of the Bosnian language, is also heard in moderation, but is noticeable enough, since it is a novelty for the majority of pre-war generations.

However, one must not assume that all Bosniaks use these prescribed changes in their speech. One clear counterexample to standard Bosnian is that Bosniaks in Sarajevo are inclined to use more Croatian words because they experienced Serb aggression during the brutal siege on Sarajevo during the Bosnian war. Yet, Bosniaks in Mostar who fought against Croats during the war use more Serbian words. Ironically, these intra-Bosniak linguistic differences have become a reason for intra-ethnic tension (Harms, 2009).

Finally, the most noticeable differences among the four language standards (and even within them) are in the intricate distinctions that can only be heard in colloquial speech - the way speakers use the language in unofficial communication. This colloquial speech can be further divided into dialects (i.e., rural vernaculars, which is the manner of speaking in the countryside), and slang (i.e., urban vernaculars of distinct social groups), but also according to the ethnic background. The factor of ethnicity is most often interwoven with that of territory. Some words are thus used exclusively by Serbs in Serbia (such as *bre*, *neuter* intensifier), while others are used by most inhabitants of Bosnia (e.g., *bolan/ bona/ ba*, which are the intensifiers used to address a single male/female/neuter in direct informal communication), no matter of their ethnic background. The distinctions in colloquial speech are not always consistent with either dialectal

or administrative borders, but more frequently reflect historic and/or cultural circles and influences, as is typically the case with dialects, despite what people often want to be true.

5.2 Political – Symbolic Issues

“There is no doubt that it is the state makes an idiom respectable by politicizing it - by transforming a dialect into a language, ...” (Safran, 1999)

5.2.1 Language Planning

When political powers shifted in Bosnia and previously subaltern Bosnian Muslims were empowered and appeased by the international community through the Dayton Agreements, their linguistic classifications gained official acceptance, and the new educational system adjusted, while the old institutional carriers of language (state, education, media) had to prove flexible or faced elimination.

A shift in status is usually accompanied by discrediting the previous linguistic classifications. Intellectual shifts of such magnitude come with linguistic planning, which aims to dissimilate the new national language from the old standard, as well as neighboring standards that may have been included under the classification (Kenjar, 2007). Given the authority, the official language change is often “conducted under the pretext of ‘revival’ or ‘purism’, which usually consists of reintroduction of archaisms or introductions of neologisms” (Kenjar, 2007).

There are several proposed models for the creation of a national language, one of which views it as a multiphase project, comprised of three separate phases: (Hroch, 1985).

Phase A) *“a period of scholarly interest, in which antiquarians and folklorists delimit an ethnic group’s extent through the collection of oral literature and identification of its material culture.”*

In 1990, the Bosnian linguist Dževad Jahić published an article entitled *On the Vernacular and Literary Language of the Bosnian Muslims*. The following year, Jahić published

a complete book, *The Language of the Bosnian Muslims*; and Senahid Halilović, another Bosnian linguist publishes *The Bosnian Language*. In 1992, Bosnian folklorist Isaković published *A Dictionary of Characteristic Words in the Bosnian Language*.

Phase B) “a period in which a handful of scholars decide what dialects/creoles are to be used as the basis for the standard national language and how its codified form⁹ should look”

In 1998, the first Symposium on Bosnian Language was held in Bihać, where 28 papers were presented from a range of disciplines including linguistics, pedagogy, philosophy, history and religion (Ford, 2002). In 1994, the first contemporary Bosnian language textbook *A Grammar of the Bosnian Language* was published by Vajzović and Zvrko, Political Science faculty members at the University of Sarajevo. 1994 also saw the re-publication of the *Grammar of the Bosnian Language* originally published in 1890.

Phase C) summed up by *Kamusella* as the phase “[marking] the rise of the mass national movement spearheaded by the hard-core activists of phase B; the ethnic group becomes a nation; and the national language gains widespread acceptance among the members of the nation and it is gradually elaborated” (Kamusella, 2001)

In 1993, a constitutional amendment was ratified to officially change the appellation of the Muslim nation to be known as the “Bosniak” nation. Bosnian was standardized as the individual language and was declared one of three official languages in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but acknowledged as ‘the language spoken by Bosniak people’ in Serb Republic.

5.2.2 Language Politics

When brought to the position of having to justify their promotion of Bosnian language as a separate language, many Bosniak linguists defended their decisions based purely on the history

⁹ The “codification of form” involves the standardization process itself, involving the production of grammars, dictionaries, and key translations, such as holy texts and literary classics (Kenjar, 2007).

of socio-political inequality. During my research, I have come across the *Dictionary of Characteristic Words in Bosnian Language (1992)* written by Alija Isaković. In the introduction to his book, the author discusses the reasons why Bosniaks should have the right not only to their own language, but also to their own history.

Deeming many of this author's statements a reflection of language politics among all Bosniak linguists (a conclusion made after reading their works), and perhaps even the Bosniak nation as a whole, I have decided that the most appropriate way to discuss language politics through which language planners present linguistic and political inequalities, which then become the reasons for the language change, would be by presenting most of this section in Isaković's own words:

“Although at the Literary Conference (of Vienna, 1850) nobody represented Bosnian language interests, Vuk Karadžić practically legalized that (Ijekavian standard) which, in purified form, had been given by the [...] Bosnian and Herzegovinian oral tradition. [...] The social situation in Yugoslavia, the correlation between national and linguistic excommunication, was the reason why not a single Muslim participated in the ‘Novi Sad Agreement’, or in the making of the orthographic manual of 1960, or in any subsequent orthographic manuals. Thus, it is not strange that the joint orthographic manual of ‘Matica srpska’ and ‘Matica hrvatska’ completely ignores the basic characteristics of the Bosnian language, that is – the place of the Bosnian language in our common language. At that time, there already existed good and trained linguists among the Muslims...

Also, when the six-volume ‘Dictionary of Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian Literary Language’ was published by both ‘Maticas’ (1967-1976), Muslim literary sources were almost entirely omitted (only 1.8 % were included), and their characteristic lexis was marked only here and there, and was proclaimed unliterary, provincial, odd.

In this way, numerous generations of Muslims, especially in the past fifty years (1945-1992) have been brought up linguistically in the unitarian conception of a common standard language Serbo-Croatian; brought up in contradiction to their own literary heritage, their mother tongue, its warmth, softness and refinement” (Isaković, 1992).

To support that statement, Isaković argues the Bosnian language had its own course of development until the beginning of the 20th century, when political circumstances changed its public status. The Bosnian Muslims, as a separate cultural group in the centuries-old Bosnian society, acquired with time different experiences from their neighbors.

“Thus, when the natural right to their mother tongue and its name is in question, the degree of difference is not essential. [...] For, the disappearance of the Bosnian language from the linguistic terminology of the 20th century did not occur for linguistic reasons, just as the disappearance of the Bosnian Muslims from Yugoslav 20th century sociology was not a biological process, but the consequence of political games...”(Isaković, 1992).

Thus, Isakovic believes that languages are to be classified not by linguistic criteria, but the *natural right* of a nation to use the name of its choice as a matter of national-preservation. This belief echoes the Croatian “Declaration” of 1967, which argued that the language does not define the nation, but rather the nation defines the language. Moreover, Isaković recognizes that a nation has a right, not so much to a language, but to a history. *“The negation of the nation, consequently language, to the negation of the national language, are the consequence of political manipulation which is something that can be set right”* (Isaković, 1992). Even though he agrees that the language spoken in Bosnia, regardless of what it is called, has been the language of all Bosnians and Herzegovinians of all religions and nationalities, but within it, he argues, are four different ‘national languages’ defined in a purely sociolinguistic sense.

In conclusion, based on the political oppression of the Muslim nation and the language they use, now that they are in the ruling position, their goal was to fix what was not right by standardizing their own language and being able to teach their students their own history. So, while thanks to the newly given power and authority, one nation hopes to make all of inequalities

they were facing for almost one century right, at the same time, they seem to be creating an ‘Us/Them’ concept, which will through teaching ‘their’ history in schools only further spread the hate and animosity already barely contained among the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina, no matter which nationality they belong to.

5.2.3 Bosniak/ Bosnian

Before discussing the Bosnian/Bosniak controversy, the historical development behind the appellation Bosniak needs to be clarified.

- At the beginning of the 20th century Bosnian Muslims, along with Macedonians and Montenegrins were not acknowledged as a distinct ethnic group like Serbs, Croats or Slovenes (Klemenčić and Zagar, 2004).
- In the 1948 census, under the communist leadership’s unitarian rule, the Muslim population was classified as a sub-national group, recognized as muslim Serb or muslim Croat, or undeclared muslims¹⁰. “Out of 875,000 Muslims, 778,000 registered as undeclared.” (Clancy, 2007)
- In 1953, the Muslims were re-conceptualized as a ‘sub-nation’, yet recognized as a sub-division of the supra-national classification, under the appellation “indeterminate Yugoslavs” (Kenjar, 2007).
- In 1971, there was a re-classification of the Muslims, with the state “upgrading” them to a full sub-national group: “Muslims in the sense of nationality”. (Bringa, 1995)
- In 1981, after Tito’s death, the Muslim population was reclassified as a full “nation”. (Clancy, 2007)

¹⁰ During the communist regime, Muslim in , religious sense was written *musliman* ‘muslim’ with a lower case letter, whereas in the sense of nationality, it was written with a capital letter *Musliman* ‘Muslim’.

In 1993, during the Bosnian war, by ratification of constitutional amendment, the appellation of the Muslim nation was changed to the “Bosniak nation” (Imamović, 1996). This constitutional change ended up being the reason for yet another controversy with regard to the distinction between the terms ‘Bosnian’ and ‘Bosniak’, which many, due to lack of understanding of the implications of each term, use interchangeably. The term *bosanski* (‘Bosnian’) refers to the *territorial* setting and as such, many inhabitants of FBiH use it, regardless of their ethnic identity. *Bosnjački* (‘Bosniak’), on the other hand, is used to refer to the Bosnian Muslim population, and as such, it implies that only people of that nationality (religion) use it. Frequent references to Bosnia's Islamic past as a source of distinct features in the Bosnian language imply the creation of a separate language standard for Bosnian Muslims only; yet the use of the term Bosnian projects the idea that Bosnian is to be the language of all Bosnians, regardless of ethnicity.

Many Croatian and Serbian linguists insist that the official language be renamed Bosniak, because of fears that *Bosanski* (‘Bosnian’) undermines the ethnic identity of Croats and Serbs in Bosnia, and furthermore, that the term ‘Bosnian’ will attempt to ‘Islamize’ Croatian and Serbian under the guise of a joint literary language. It is this view that prompted Croatian linguist Brozović to state that “The Croatian language already exists, it is the standard language of all Croats, and the Bosnian-Herzegovinian portion of the Croatian people will under no circumstances abandon it for any other language.” (Jurić and Stojić, 2002). Thus language continues to serve as a crucial symbol of national identity, with recognition of a language implying recognition of a people.

Ironically, while the Bosnian language received formal international recognition in 1995, and today, it is a standardized individual language, it is still not recognized within the entire

territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Before making the constitutional change for the entity of Republic of Srpska (RS), in 1998, the Committee for the Standardization of the Serbian language, citing socio-linguistic arguments that each nation has a language of the same name, and applying it to the 1993 recognition of the Bosniak nation, ruled that as such, the proper name for that nation's language would be the 'Bosniak language' (OSSJ, 1998). This ruling clarifies why the Constitution of RS declared its official languages to be "the language of Serb people, the language of the Bosniak people and the language of the Croat people" (OHR, 2002).

5.2.4 Language as a Marker of National Identity

There has been a continuous, centuries-long debate regarding the relationship between the two concepts – a 'nation' and a 'language'. The 19th century Slavic linguists did not consider nation or language as fixed entities, and as such, their approach was that in order to have a nation, they had to have a language which was then created through the classification [agreeing on Serbo-Croatian as the unified language of Serbs and Croats; the nation becoming later based on that unifying trait] (Kenjar, 2007). But less than two centuries later, for some 21st century sociolinguists, language was a classification, however, not according to its features, but rather according to the groups (nations, ethnic groups, etc.) from which data was collected, thus treating these concepts as fixed entities. Whereas on the other hand, the speakers themselves regard both nation and the language as basic concepts of their existence - the essence of who they are.

In the mid 19th century, as Bosnia and parts of Serbia were under the Ottoman Empire, and Croatia under Austro-Hungarian rule, Vuk Karadžić's reform and standardization of the Serbian language, even though it stated "Serbs, all and everywhere!" (Okey, 2005), represented his vision of all speakers of the Štokavian dialect being one nation, whether under Serbian, Ottoman or Austro-Hungarian rule, and regardless of religious affiliation. What all those

speakers shared was “Volksgeist” (spirit of people), and as such, it is clear that even Karadzic thought that language and nation should be one (Kenjar, 2007).

In late 19th century, “Bosnian Friend”, a literary journal printed by Croatian Ljudevit Gaj’s publishing house, was circulated not only in the portions of Austrian Empire but in Ottoman Bosnia as well. One of the copies was edited by a Bosnian-born Franciscan monk, whose introduction to journal read: “Almost every country of the spacious Turkish Empire in Europe has woken up from the deep sleep of ignorance and indolence, only Bosnia still sweetly sleeps! All around us, kin nations are enjoying the pleasantly fragrant flowers of national literature, and we don’t want to smell?” (Jukić, 1850). But that might have been the case because Vuk and Gaj’s reforms were widely accepted in Bosnia, since they only confirmed existing Bosnian written tradition - use of the Ijekavian dialect, and simplified orthography which dropped graphemes that did not exist in the living speech.

During the early 1920s , as the “Bosnian nationality (and language) has been completely starved of institutional carriers since 1907” (Banač, 1993), there was increasing pressure on the Muslim community to “declare” Croat or Serb nationality in what came to be known as the “Muslim question”. In the article “Are we Serbs or Croats?”, published by the Yugoslav Muslim Organization (JMO,1920), Muslims did not declare which side to chose, instead calling for loyalty to whichever side offers better chances for economic development, and equality in social relations. The unified Yugoslav nation in the period of the Yugoslav kingdom (1929 – 1941) was based on “*inverse relationship*”¹¹ of language and nation, where the nation’s existence was predicated on a common language” (Kenjar, 2007).

¹¹ Unlike in the case of Yugoslavia where the common language was the basis for the nation, already formed nation makes decision about the language spoken on its territory.

In Tito's Yugoslavia (1945-1980), Serbo-Croatian as an official language was one of the foundations for maintaining ethnic unity throughout Yugoslavia. Under the communist regime, all forms of nationalism, including linguistic nationalism were suppressed. However, in the 1980s after Tito's death, the correlation of language and ethnic identity became very strong with the rise of nationalism in ex-Yugoslavia. Ethno-linguistic nationalism aroused emotional reactions, not logical ones.

The abandonment of Serbo-Croatian outside of Bosnia and Herzegovina resonated with Bosnia's Muslim population, which was shown in a dramatic shift in the conceptualization of the language in the official census taken in 1991. Carried out for the first time since the nationally oriented political parties were allowed to participate in elections, the census left the question of language open (with participants being allowed to fill in a space regarding their mother tongue).

18) Correlation of Concepts of Nationality and Language in 1991 Census in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Mønnesland)

| NATIONALITY | | MOTHER TONGUE | |
|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| Muslim | 43.7 % | Bosnian | 37.5 % |
| Serb | 31.3 % | Serbo-Croatian | 26.6 % |
| Croat | 17.3 % | Serbian | 18.8 % |
| Yugoslav | 5.5 % | Croatian | 13.5 % |
| Other | < 1 % | Croat-Serbian | 1.4 % |

After the war and the creation of the new nations, each post-Yugoslav successor state went down its own path of separation from the concept of 'brotherhood and unity'. The growing influence of myth (every nation teaching the version of their own history) and religion persuaded some people to believe that the new was better than the old. Culturally very close, but seeking the way out of the fifty year old 'Yugoslavian dream', the new countries focused on finding the old or coining the new features that make their variation of language distinct – different from the others. The new post war identities were formed on the basis of religious and cultural factors,

while the conflict itself started as a consequence of much broader set of issues: economic decay and unsustainable political system (Kenjar, 2007).

The emergence of four successor languages in 1991 after Serbo-Croatian ‘dissolved’, suggests that language birth in that region of the Balkans came as a direct result of the explosive nationalist policies in Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro. Of the three peoples/nations of post-Dayton Bosnia-Herzegovina, only the Bosniaks have truly embraced the name Bosnian language. The creation of Bosnian (and Montenegrin) languages as a consequence of the much broader political situation can definitely be considered contemporary sociopolitical phenomena (Ljubojević, 2009).

In general, one language is developing through either *Abstand* or *Ausbau* processes. The former refers to languages that drifted apart “naturally”, while the later occurred due to the external non-linguistic factors. In conclusion, every standard language can be described as a result of a strong correlation between politics (nation) and linguistics (language).

5.3 Social – Psychological Issues

“Education is a key institution to the modern nation state. Apart from the task of producing new and competent members of society through transmitting knowledge, it is a major socialization agent. Through a standardized curriculum, it plays a central role in the reproduction of society’s ideology and normative systems. As such, it is also at the heart of the formation of national identity and the constructing an ‘imagined community’ especially in periods of active nation-building.”

(Anderson, 1983)

5.3.1 Segregated Education in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina

As the war in Bosnia started in 1992, education was one of the first institutional victims that fell to it. During the first year of the war, schools were divided according to the military positions and frontlines so that the army in control of the area also regulated the curriculum used.

In reality, Bosnian Serb-controlled areas used Serbian curriculum, Bosnian Croat-controlled areas used Croatian curriculum and areas under the control of the Bosnian state army quickly developed a new Bosnian curriculum. Of course, many schools were also closed and most of them functioned under extremely difficult conditions.

The Dayton Peace Agreement institutionalized the war-time educational divisions. The division according to war-time borders meant that schooling would continue to be divided into three different systems, curricula, and textbooks (Torsti, 2003). The current education system of Bosnia and Herzegovina exhibits three types of systematic practices of segregation: (1) “two schools under one roof,” (2) busing children to monoethnic schools, (3) and the teaching of so called “national subjects” (history, geography and literature) (Božić, 2006). Three parallel education systems are in place, each with its own curriculum and textbooks, promoting its own language and version of history, including that of the recent war.(Lindvall, 2003).

Education also reflects the contradictions and tensions that exist between political levels in Bosnian society. Multi-ethnic or integrated education is the official policy adopted at State and Federal levels, and is actively promoted by the international community (OHR), however, in the decentralized state structure, administration of each Canton is in charge of its education. The ten cantons in the Federation reflect, (as does Republika Srpska), the ethnically restructured demography, five are Bosniak, three are Croat (Kostić, 2003) and the remaining two are mixed (Croat-Bosniak). Following the ethnic structure, three cantons have adopted the Croat curriculum and the five with Bosniak majority have adopted the Federal curriculum. The two mixed cantons use both Croat and Federal curricula, but offer them through separate schools or in separate classrooms in so called ‘two schools under one roof’ (Eastmond and Ćukur, 2004). Thus, not only separate curricula, but also the social and spatial segregation into separate classrooms,

school entrances, breaks and teaching shifts symbolically underline and promote differentiation. Minorities who do not accept to enter the majority program in their area sometimes resort to bussing children to another canton, or may seek private schooling where available (Russo, 2000)

The education system, reflecting these political and ethnic divisions, is a hotbed of nationalism. In the words of the Bosnian division of the Operation of Security and Co-operation in Europe: “In many post-war societies, schools serve as an ideological battleground, providing an opportunity to spread the values of division, intolerance and fear of the other.” (OSCE, 2010) “Schools teach nationalism in ethnically homogenous schools to young children who were not born before the 1992 war to be able to understand the animosities. Textbooks contain both subtle and blatant hate speech, and schools display religious symbols of the majority prevalently in schools” (OSCE, 2010).

Linguistic Divisions

The situation regarding languages and the differences between languages in BiH is rather stunning. Although, as previously discussed, the idiom spoken by all the people in Bosnia and Herzegovina, from the linguistic point of view, is in fact one language with a number of variants and dialects, Bosnians use different names for their languages (Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian respectively). Based on the material covered before, it is clear that the names of the languages in this region are based on nationalities and politics. It is then obvious that in the mixed cantons the strict insistence on separating children by sending them to schools where they can learn “their own” language in the FBiH is politically and not linguistically motivated.

This reality is reflected in the fact that education system supports such policies by teaching each language separately and corresponding to the ethnic majority in the region, thus there are textbooks on ‘Bosnian language, ‘Croatian Language’ and ‘Serbian Language’. Sadly,

the only difference in these books is mostly “substitution of one letter for another – using /o/ instead of /a/ (e.g., *što* ‘what’ (Croatian) instead of *šta* (Bosnian), can be deemed a nationalistic act and cause a problem” (Pašalić-Kreso, 2002).

5.3.2 Speakers' Attitudes and Feelings about the Name of Their Tongue

“The fact itself that an objective, unemotional, scientific term is necessary in relation to ‘one kind of language’, is in itself an indication that the term ‘language’ often carries a value judgment, that it is a term indicative of a certain emotion or opinion, and that at the time it is a term that generates emotion and opinion.”

(Fishman, 2010)

Constantly struggling with my emotions which go haywire when I think about my native tongue, (which I do not even know what to call anymore), I have decided to find out how others feel out this issue. Since I have not been back to Bosnia and Herzegovina since I left in 1992, with the help of modern day technology, I have gotten in contact with my childhood friends, as well as friends from my school days. In order to find out about the language situation in Federacija and SR, I asked my friends for help by answering questions I put together. My survey took everyone by surprise, since no one really thinks about the name of the language they speak on an everyday basis. However, by trying to answer the questions I posed, they have found themselves delving into depth of their own souls (as many of them expressed this search for the answers). Many could not even bring themselves to think about it stating that they gave up on that subject and have no words left to describe how they feel about it. Some said that if they have to answer my questions, they might as well write their own thesis, for what I asked required so much more than eleven answers.

Out of those who responded, the majority of my friends who live in different cantons in the Federation, stated that everyone uses the language they choose. Since education has to adhere to constitutional rights, the same goes for schools and textbooks. The parents of the student have the right to choose which language the student will learn and be assessed in, as well as which language their recognitions and graduation diplomas will be written in.

However, the majority of the “lost generation” (born 1950-1980) speaks pre-war ‘Serbo-Croatian’ and still identifies with the ‘unity’ concept (Russo, 2000). When I asked my friends who indeed do belong to the ‘lost generation’ what language they speak today, almost two decades after the onset of civil war, they said, “The same one we spoke growing up!” When asked how they refer to language they speak, some said ‘**our** language’. When I asked, who are we? I got different answers ‘Ex Yugoslavs’, ‘Yugoslavs’, ‘Bosnians’, but most of them used expletives I would not dare trying to translate and pen in this paper.

However, the majority stated they speak *Bosnian*. Confused, I asked if they are using more turkisms, phoneme /h/ insertion or more Croatian lexemes, most answered “That is how Bosniaks speak! I am not Bosniak. So, what else could I call my language? Serbo-Croatian doesn’t exist anymore. I speak Bosnian, because I am Bosnian, which supposedly doesn’t exist, even though I was born, raised and lived my whole life in Bosnia.”

Thus, based on these answers, it is logical to conclude that the majority of the “lost generation” speakers continue using the language they have spoken their whole lives, with no intention of adapting to the ‘new’ politicized standards.

Only the generations who were born and are educated during the post war period identify with the appellation of ‘new standard’ they learn, since they never knew the previous (BCS)

standard. In such situations, unlike before when we spoke the language our parents taught us, in 21st century Bosnia, linguistic variation is found in the same household!

The most important lesson that I and all of the participants in my survey learned is that the question of the name of the language and its use in Bosnia and Herzegovina is a very sensitive and painful subject, not only in the sense of discussing it, but even when thinking about it, however natural the concept of a language in a scientific sense is, it carries a lot of luggage behind. For, when one who has lived through drastic political, social and cultural changes, thinks about language, they don't think about the processes of acquisition, or grammatical rules, but rather about everything nonlinguistic that is weaved through the language – our past, history, economic situation, social relationships and affiliations, religion (or there-lack of), our personal and national identity, and finally our own existence

While nationalist regimes work on prolonging nationalist euphoria, more and more people are experiencing 'Yugo-nostalgia', which is term given to psychological and cultural phenomenon that's occurring among citizens of the former Yugoslavia (Volčič, 2007). One website went as far as organizing a "virtual nation", without a territory, existing only in cyberspace and bringing together all those who had left the country to live abroad, or who still live on the territories of former Yugoslavia, but share nostalgic sentiments for the old times of brotherhood, unity and dignity. This 'virtual nation', which even has its own constitution is called 'CyberYugoslavia' (www.juga.com).

In conclusion, people identify themselves by the language they speak, and not by its appellation which carries political connotations.

To support my beliefs of how intricately one's language is connected to one's identity, I will use the quote from an article on topic of "Black English" written by James Baldwin in 1979,

“Language is the most vivid and crucial key to identity: It reveals the private identity, and connects with, or divorces one from the larger public, or communal identity...To open your mouth...is (if I may use Black English) to *put your business on the street*: You have confessed your parents, your youth, your school, your salary, your self-esteem and, alas, your future.” (Peregoy and Boyle, 2008). With so few words, Baldwin crystallizes what has taken me so many pages to try to explain.

6. Conclusion

The name of the Bosnian language has long been, and continues to be, a sensitive question. The language with its own script “Bosančica” was referred to as Bosnian as early as the Middle Ages, reflecting the power of Bosnian kingdom and was used until the beginning of 1900s. During the 20th century use of the term Serbo-Croatian as a language which unified Serbian and Croatian literary standards under unitarian regimes, first Yugoslav monarchy, then Tito’s communist party era, reflected the uncertain status of Bosnian Muslims first as a people then as the nation in the former Yugoslavia. The irony of the Bosnian language is that its speakers, on the level of colloquial idiom, are more linguistically homogeneous than either Serbs or Croats but they failed, for the historical reasons discussed throughout the paper, to standardize their language in the crucial 19th century.

The revival of the name Bosnian after the fall of communist regime expressed the demand for recognition of equality alongside the Croatian and Serbian standards. However, by 1990s, as Yugoslavia began disintegrating, there was an unusual situation: two nations whose names have given Serbo-Croatian language its name, no longer want to deal with the “black

sheep”, leaving it to the third nation whose name or culture was never taken into consideration when the language was being named.

Linguistic distinctions in the form of archaic turkisms and reintroduction of phoneme /h/ in words where it was historically found before unified Serbo-Croatian standard, as well as its insertion in the words where it was never found before, were the only features that Bosniak linguists came up with while digging through the centuries old literary work during their language planning phase. That nation language building became obvious only after process of standardization took place.

With memories of the Bosnian war still fresh for the adults in Bosnia, each ethnic group clouded by old grievances, interprets the past differently. Politics of difference and discrimination expressed through ‘us vs. them’ attitudes, fueled by religious freedom and segregated education, have permeated all levels of society and its culture(s). Sadly, even the name of the language fell victim to segregation based on the names of the nations that comprise territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

So, today Bosnia consists of three nations, who speak three (mutually intelligible) languages, and remember three different versions of the history they made. Incredibly enough, people are the ones who pay the steepest price, for the pre-war generations who knew life in peace and unity are left with nothing they can relate to – segregation based on different histories, names of languages majority doesn’t even know how to refer to, and even artificial differences among the languages that goes against the innateness of Universal Grammar they were born with. Thus, those generations deal not only with the Post Traumatic Stress Syndrome, poverty as a result of post-war economic depression hit hard by the worldwide economic crisis, but they also have to deal with loss of personal, cultural and national identity.

On the other hand, post-war generations, whose ‘segregated’ identities seem to be strong through the institutions of education and religion, will never know the life of peace and unity.

So, are the idioms spoken in on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro one or four separate languages? I guess the right answer is that looking from the linguistic point of view, by analyzing the organic idiom that people speak, it is one language. But, from the non-linguistic perspective, by looking at the inorganic idiom, which is politicized standard, it is clear to see that “a language is a dialect with an army and a navy”.

Embarking on this journey I was not surprised to find so many controversies, linguistic and non-linguistic, that evolved from the language name change. However, I was completely unprepared for the shocking findings that simple administrative change of language appellation could promote such deep inter-ethnic divide within new Bosnian nation build on the shaky, hatred-filled grounds.

I have found out more than I expected about the language of my native country and its history. And just like in any other social spheres, what is on the paper seems to be much more important than how it impacts everyday lives. So, I guess for once in my lifetime, I can benefit from the ignorance behind such attitude, for, now on paper, I am considered a multilingual – since I can fluently speak Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian and Montenegrin. But really, given everything presented in this paper, I cannot help but ask myself, “Does the **name** of language I speak truly define who I am and where do I come from?”

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