［講演］

SERBIAN LANGUAGE TODAY: THE MAIN ISSUES[1]

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At the very beginning of this presentation, I would like to underscore that it is a great honor for me to be invited by the Japan Society for the Study of Slavic Languages and Literatures, to give a lecture as a guest speaker to your thrice-yearly scholarly meeting at Waseda University. On this occasion (22 March 2014) I will do my best to fulfill the expectations which such an invitation might imply, and read a paper which gives a review of the main topics relevant for the sociolinguistic picture of the contemporary (Standard) Serbian language, as one of the "central" varieties (= "Neo-Štokavian") in the South Slavic dialectal and language continuum (recognized also as Croatian, Bosnian/Bosniac and Montenegrin in the "new" neighboring countries formed in the 1990s by dissolution of the SFRY – in addition to the previously recognized Slovenian, Macedonian and Bulgarian, going from their North-West to their South-East matrix states across the Balkan peninsula).

The goal of this presentation is thus to examine and present the situation in the Serbian language and around it – having in mind the "questionnaire" for the study of sociolinguistically relevant topics in the Slavic languages in related countries. Therefore, the presentation will be structured according to the main chapters of that "questionnaire", more precisely – according to the order of an earlier elaborated and published *inventory*[2] of possible phenomena. Thus, here attention will be focused on: the (standard) Serbian language, its sociolinguistic situation, language-planning procedures and language policy related to it, its stratification, its contacts with other languages, as well as communication and interaction patterns and networks which it serves and in which it participates. The expected conclusion is that in the (standard) Serbian language and around it (within the selected parameters), the (socio)linguistic picture from before the political, cultural, ethnic and linguistic disintegration of (the Socialist Federal Republic of) Yugoslavia has been preserved in a relatively stable manner.[3] The "inventory/questionnaire" which here serves as a starting point represents mostly the externally, extralinguistically, sociolinguistically oriented list of phenomena and relations which, it was thought, could be significant for the general picture of the circumstances and

changes in the Slavic languages, around them and among them, in the past half-century, as a sort of "picture-frame" of the circumstances and changes. Naturally, I also built my own views into the "inventory", views about the organization of language and functioning of language.

(1) **The Language Situation**: (a) genetically proximate/distant languages; (b) typologically similar/distinct languages; (c) intelligibility between languages; (d) alphabets, orthography, the level of literacy; (e) ethnic (and confessional) proportions and processes; (f) autochthonous position and position of the diaspora type; (g) compact/non-compact linguistic (speech) communities; (h) bilingualism and multilingualism; (i) migrations of the population and ethnic/language proportions; (j) minority vs. majority languages.

The Serbian language is characterized by the fact that it is genetically close to the traditionally recognized Slavic languages in the surrounding environment (within the state borders and beyond them), Bulgarian and Macedonian (naturally, to Slovenian, too), as well as to the "new neighbouring" standard-language entities (those created in the 1990s – derived from "Serbo-Croatian"), i.e. Croatian and Bosnian/Bosniac (and most recently to Montenegrin). At the same time, among these latter languages, at least among their standard-language versions and their realizations, there is a great degree of intelligibility or complete intelligibility. And no crucial typological or grammatical differences! In addition, Serbian standard language functions as official language or the language of public communication in the Republic of Serbia, as well as in The Republic of Srpska (Bosnia and Herzegovina), (along with Montenegrin) in Montenegro, and as a minority language in Croatia. However, in this group, Bulgarian and Macedonian are typologically separated as structurally "innovative", "Balkanized" (this is equally valid for an adjacent "border" part of the Serbian dialect complex). On the other hand, it is a characteristic of Serbian that it is genetically, too, more or less distant from a part of the languages in the environment (within the state borders and beyond them) – from Hungarian, Romani, Albanian, Vlach, Romanian, Slovak, Ukrainian, Ruthenian and others. Moving from the first mentioned to the last mentioned in this list, these genetic and even typological distances become smaller, and the degree of inter-lingual intelligibility increases (from evident non-transparency to relative transparency). As far as the historical perspective is concerned, the Serbian language uses primarily the Cyrillic alphabet. However, functionally, and in practice, the Latin alphabet has recently (in the 20th century) become a rival one (in function), and the dominant one (in practice). This is, on the one hand, a consequence of life in the former Yugoslav political, cultural, communication and speech

community, and on the other, a consequence of Europeanization and globalization in the media and language in general. Legal regulations do not close the door for the Latin alphabet, and public practice does not close the door to the Cyrillic one. Thus, at least for the time being, the Serbian language represents a unique (or at least rare) phenomenon – a language characterized by digraphia, the use of two alphabets. All children acquiring literacy in the Serbian language as a rule grow up in two graphic symbolic systems, which is from the standpoint of cognitive science an entirely specific phenomenon, parallel (but not equal) to the phenomenon of bilingualism at an early age. As for the orthographic norm, the orthography manual of the Matica srpska from 1993-2011 is officially valid for Serbian (in several editions; elaborated on the basis of the famous "orthography manual of the two Maticas" from 1960 which respected the former solutions from the 1954 "Novi Sad Agreement" for "Serbo-Croatian"). The work on updating and unification of the orthographic norm is in progress (its important goal is also to eliminate the negative effect of the appearance of several rival orthographic norms). The general level of literacy of the users of the Serbian language is relatively high, but the functional literacy is a real problem which worries language, cultural and civilizational planners (the number of really and/or functionally illiterate persons is difficult to establish: figures for the really illiterate range, according to different sources and different criteria, from 3% to 11%). As for the language-ethnical relations, one should underline that in the present conditions (according to the 2012 census), the Serbian language in Serbia (without Kosovo and Metohija), as the majority language, includes over 6.3 million speakers who specified it as their primary language; the other languages (officially or not) are classified as minority ones (Hungarian, Slovak, Romanian, Ukrainian, Ruthenian, Romani, Albanian, Vlach, Bulgarian, Macedonian, Bosnian/Bosniac, Croatian and others, approximately 12% of the entire population of Serbia, yielding a total of about 7.2 million inhabitants in Serbia (without Kosovo and Metohija). In addition to these data, we may say that at least 260,000 inhabitants of Montenegro, 1.5 million inhabitants of the Republic of Srpska (and in the rest of Bosnia and Herzegovina), and at least 200,000 inhabitants of Croatia are also native speakers of Serbian.[4] However, the processes of ethnic and language differentiation which had begun earlier in the area are still under way. So are the unfinished migrations of the population, especially the refugee population and the population displaced during and after the political events in the 1990s. In this sense, it would be inappropriate to talk now about compact and non-compact speech (language) communities, except to say, for example, that the Roma community is evidently non-compact and relatively migratory. Among the languages discussed, in the Republic of Serbia only the Serbian language (regardless of how it is named) is in an autochthonous position, while the others remain in a kind of diaspora situation – at

least formally glottopolitically viewed. There are also the usual phenomena of bilingualism and multilingualism, for example in the combinations Serbian – Hungarian, Serbian – Slovak, Serbian – Romanian, Serbian – Ruthenian, Serbian – Albanian, Serbian – Romani, Serbian – Vlach; Serbian – Hungarian – Slovak, Serbian – Hungarian – Romani and the like (clearly, the possibility for a rational discussion of this kind is out of the question when it comes to completely mutually intelligible and structurally almost identical standard-language entities of the Croatian, Bosnian/Bosniac, and Montenegrin type in relation to Serbian).

> (2) **Language Policy** ("status planning"): (a) language/languages in public use (mass media, education, publishing etc.); (b) language/languages in official use; (c) constitutional/legal provisions and language practice; (d) *lingua communis* and similar phenomena; (e) diglossia; (f) conflict (crisis) regions and situations.

Here and now one should underline that many key territorial, political, state, constitutional and legal issues related to the structure and functioning of the present state Republic of Serbia are in the process of redefining or final defining.[5] It also implies the harmonization of the corresponding linguistic part of the constitutional and legal topics with the corresponding rules valid among the members of the European Union, as well as with the international conventions in that section.[6] Still, let us in this place cautiously say the following: for the time being, these issues are regulated by the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia (and the Statute of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina), as well as by the laws related to them concerning the official use of language(s) and alphabet(s). More or less all the legal acts related to them treat rather flexibly the two-alphabet situation and the role of the Serbian language as the official language and the language of public communication (named this or that way, with this or that legal formulation). Furthermore, it is provided that in regions with compact minority communities (for example, in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina) the languages and alphabets of the minority communities can also be used officially; naturally, this is also the case with their broadly understood public use, both in the media and publishing, as well as in education, public transport, naming of settlements and elsewhere. Legal documents regulate these specific issues at different levels: from the state (republic) level, through the provincial level, to that of regions and local government in them (all the way to the level of municipality). Still, one could say that the Serbian language, one way or another, officially or unofficially, in many public and private communications and interactions of various kinds, also plays a role of mediator of the *lingua communis* type (as "Serbo-Croatian" used to be in SFRY). In this role, it is still the main language in the media (on the criteria of

viewer rating, listener rating, circulation, market), but also in the publishing business, higher education, mass culture and elsewhere in public life, where the principles of large numbers often dictate individual and group choices, supported by frequent ethnic and linguistic mixture in families, desire for easier and faster as well as more successful social advancement, educational possibilities, mobility of the population and similar reasons. Therefore, the presence of diglossia is inevitable, naturally in some rational sense, as, by the way, everywhere in the multilingual communities of our world.

(3) **Language Planning** ("corpus planning") – normative (prescriptive) instruments for the planning of standard languages: (a) orthographic norm; (b) orthoepic norm; (c) grammatical (phonological, morphological, syntactic-semantic) norm; (d) word-formation norm; (e) lexical norm; (f) textual norm (organization of text, discourse, speech event); (g) stylistic (genre) norm; (h) pragmatic (interaction) norm.

The current norm of the Serbian standard language, at least the one in Serbia, is being elaborated and updated by the Board for the Standardization of the Serbian Language – who is entrusted with the task of constant care about language planning activities – in co-operation with language planners in the Republic of Srpska (in Bosnia and Herzegovina), as well as with the linguistic planners of Serbian in Montenegro.[7] The president of the Board was Academician Pavle Ivić till his death in 1999; now it is Academician Ivan Klajn. Once a year, the Board publishes *Списи Одбора за стандардизацију српског језика* (Documents of the Board for the Standardization of the Serbian Language). The Board has committees for phonetics and phonology, for morphology and word formation, for syntax, for lexicology and lexicography, for orthography issues, for the history of the language standard, for issues concerning the elaboration of the language corpus, for public relations and solving urgent issues, as well as for the standard language in education, administration, publishing and public media. On behalf of the Board, experts work on the development and updating of the orthographic norm, the one codified by the (currently valid) *Правопис српскога језика* (Orthography of the Serbian Language).[8] Ivan Klajn recently published *Творба речи у савременом српском језику* (Word Formation in the Contemporary Serbian Language), 1-2.[9] Dragoljub Petrović and Snežana Gudurić published *Фонологија српског језика* (Serbian Phonology).[10] Rajna Dragićević published *Лексикологија српског језика* (Serbian Lexicology).[11] Under the auspices of the Board, *Обратни речник српскога језика* (Reverse Dictionary of the Serbian Language) was prepared by Miroslav Nikolić.[12] Under the same auspices, several co-authors prepared the first volume of the book *Синтакса савременога*

српског језика. Проста реченица (Syntax of Contemporary Serbian. The Simple Sentence).[13] Work on the second volume of the Serbian syntax (on the complex sentence) is still in progress. Most recently, Predrag Piper and Ivan Klajn published *Нормативна граматика српског језика* (Serbian Normative Grammar).[14] Synthesizing works in the fields of syntax of the complex sentence, morphology, as well as dictionaries and electronic corpora are being prepared. We also expect updating of work on the large *Речник* САНУ (Dictionary of SASA = *Речник српскохрватског књижевног и народног језика*), as well as the beginning of work on the updating of the six-volume *Речник* Матице српске (Dictionary of Matica srpska = *Речник српскохрватскога књижевног језика*). Miroslav Nikolić published a one-volume dictionary of the Serbian language: *Речник српскога језика* (Dictionary of the Serbian Language).[15] The periodic "Bibliography" from *Јужнословенски филолог* (South-Slavic Philologist) is very valuable. Several thematic bibliographies in Serbian studies were also published. The journal *Наш језик* (Our Language) continued to publish descriptive studies on the language and advice on usage, reviews and bibliographies.[16] Theoretical foundations for explanations and the explanations themselves related to the standard Serbian language and within that language, especially those concerning its path "from Serbo-Croatian to Serbian", are presented in my book *Planiranje jezika i drugi spisi* (Language Planning and Other Texts) from 2004, as well as in my papers written and published to inform the international community, and in the collection of papers *Serbian Sociolinguistics* from 2001 (cf. footnote 3). The most comprehensive review of the issues related to the destiny and status of the Serbian language today was presented by Predrag Piper in the book *Српски између великих и малих језика* (Serbian between Great and Small Languages),[17] including an extensive commented bibliographical review "Српска лингвистичка славистика деведесетих година XX века" (Serbian Linguistic Slavic Studies in the 1990s).[18] A series of books and reference books of advisory linguistic nature was published (primarily by Ivan Klajn, Tvrtko Prćić, Egon Fekete, Milan Šipka, Drago Ćupić, Bogdan Terzić, Rada Stijović, Milorad Telebak, Jovan Ćirilov, Marina Nikolić, and others). The most important of them is certainly the co-authored work by Pavle Ivić, Ivan Klajn, Mitar Pešikan, Branislav Brborić – *Српски језички приручник* (The Serbian Language Reference Book).[19] Milan Šipka published *Правописни речник српског језика* (Serbian Orthographic Dictionary).[20] There are also discussions about the need to redefine the Serbian norm in general, including the orthoepic norm. The preparations for this (sociolinguistic, lexicological and lexicographic, phonological, grammatical, dialectological, functional-stylistic and orthographic) had been carried out even before the foundation of the Board, during the research for and publication of the jointly-authored book *Српски језик* (Serbian Language), also published as *Српски језик на крају века* (Serbian Language at the

End of the Century). As for the concrete activities concerning the reconstruction of the Serbian contemporary standard language norm and the inventory of the details which deserve special attention (from prosody, through morphology, word formation, lexicon, syntax, discourse, to functional styles) – they have been listed several times in my books mentioned above: *Српски језик* (Serbian Language), *Српски језик на крају века* (Serbian Language at the End of the Century), and *Planiranje jezika: i drugi spisi* (Language Planning: and Other Texts).

(2-3) Is language planning being carried out as a continuous process, or only as a gradual one, with interruptions, changes in succession and so on? Have any of the planning phases been omitted, and some of them done simultaneously? **[General inventory of Phases:]** (a) selection; (b) description; (c) prescription (codification); (d) elaboration; (e) acceptance (["official"] recognition); (f) implementation (["real", "practical"] acceptance, that is application); (g) expansion (["horizontal" and "vertical"] extension); (h) cultivation; (i) evaluation; (j) reconstruction. **(Figures 1 – 4)**
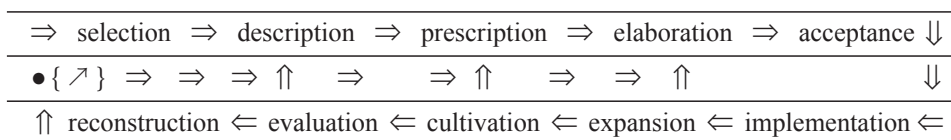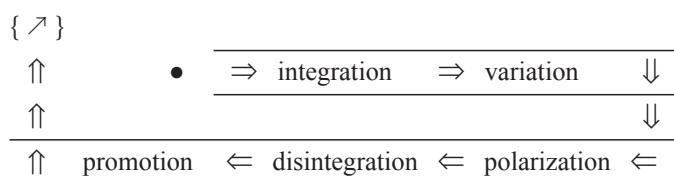
FIGURE 1

$\Rightarrow$ selection $\Rightarrow$ description $\Rightarrow$ prescription $\Rightarrow$ elaboration $\Rightarrow$ acceptance $\Downarrow$
$\bullet\{\nearrow\}$ $\Rightarrow$ $\Rightarrow$ $\Rightarrow$ $\Uparrow$ $\Rightarrow$ $\Rightarrow$ $\Uparrow$ $\Rightarrow$ $\Rightarrow$ $\Uparrow$ $\Downarrow$
$\Uparrow$ reconstruction $\Leftarrow$ evaluation $\Leftarrow$ cultivation $\Leftarrow$ expansion $\Leftarrow$ implementation $\Leftarrow$

FIGURE 2

$\{\nearrow\}$			
$\Uparrow$	$\bullet$	$\Rightarrow$ integration $\Rightarrow$ variation	$\Downarrow$
$\Uparrow$			$\Downarrow$
$\Uparrow$	promotion $\Leftarrow$ disintegration $\Leftarrow$ polarization $\Leftarrow$		

FIGURE 3

Integration = Inauguration of the Neo-Štokavian standard (first half of the nineteenth century)	
Variation = Inauguration of urban-regional usage to the rank of prestigious standards (second half of the nineteenth century)	
Polarization = Inauguration of territorial / national variants of the standard (the twentieth century to the end of the1960s)	

Disintegration = Inauguration of the variants to the rank of prestigious standards (1970s and 1980s)	
Promotion = Inauguration of the separate standard languages (1990s)	

FIGURE 4

The level of Standard language

X	XY	Y
⇑ Promotion ⇑	⇓ Polarization ⇓	⇑ Promotion ⇑
X		**Y**

The level of Variants (of the Standard language)

[**X** = 'Serbian'; **Y** = 'Croatian'; **XY** = 'Serbo-Croatian']

Planning the standard language, we first choose the language, dialect or sociolect we are going to regard as public language; then we describe and prescribe its orthography, grammar and lexicon; then we elaborate it, developing its means to be "syntactically supple", "terminologically adequate", etc.; after that, we accept it officially and unofficially (in practice); then we expand, spread it both "horizontally" and "vertically", in "space" (dialects) and "range" (sociolects); then we cultivate it in schools, mass media, etc., and evaluate its possibilities concerning new civilisational needs related to "old" and "new" language features. Here the "cycle" "closes" or 'opens", when we reconstruct the language. The phases (steps, procedures) we are talking about represent a continual process of language planning which I proposed back in 1979 as an ideal theoretical model (which varies in reality), and then have been developing till today. Some of them could be classified into corpus planning (in the language itself), and some into status planning (around the language and its destiny). Acceptation, implementation, expansion and cultivation should be included in *status planning*; description, prescription, elaboration, evaluation and reconstruction in *corpus planning*; while selection would be a link, an interface between status planning and corpus planning.[21] It seems to me that this theoretical apparatus (as well as the terminology supporting it) was sufficiently valid to enable the description and explanation and prediction of events in and around the (Serbian/"Serbo-Croatian") language. Its product is always a standard language, including the Serbian standard language today. In this concrete case, some of the phases were condensed into one (description and prescription in the works of Vuk Karadžić and Đuro Daničić in the 19th century: grammars, dictionaries, accentuation etc.). Even Tomo Maretić's famous and highly influential *Gramatika i stilistika hrvatskoga ili srpskoga književnog jezika* (Grammar

and Stylistics of the Croatian or Serbian Literary Language) of 1899 was both descriptive and prescriptive (it was based on the description of the language presented by Karadžić and Daničić, the language of their translations of the Biblical texts, as well as on the language of folk literature, with the aim of making this variety a model norm for the literary language common to the Serbs and the Croats). Some phases changed their order (implementation in Serbia preceded official acceptation, in the course of the 19th century) and so on. The continuous process of language planning was envisaged as a circle of steps, the circle which usually, actually naturally "closes" within the procedures of description, prescription or direct elaboration of new linguistic phenomena or needs (lexical, terminological etc.), but exceptionally "closes" (actually "opens") within the procedure of selection, when a new language is chosen, a new dialect or sociolect, sometimes even some of the variants (developed in the meantime) of the polycentrically normed language standard (as "Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian" used to be treated) – for the basis of a new process or a continuation, but now for the planning of a different language. For example, the latter way was used in the 1990s by the Croats and the Bosniacs (in the 2000s even by some Montenegrins), while the Serbs continued to go along the trodden path. This was the reason for the multiplication and renaming of a standard language, or rather standard languages. These relatively turbulent glottopolitical changes, and those in the internal structure of languages (particularly in the lexicon and terminologies), occurring in one or the other part, did not occur in the third, Serbian part. And – *thus "Serbian" became/stayed "Serbian"* (originally: "тако је `српски` /п/остао `српски`" – M. Radovanović). With both pronunciations ("ekavian" and "/i/jekavian"), with both alphabets, and in addition without purism. Inclined to all kinds of internationalisms, exposed to Balkanization, Europeanization, and globalization at the same time (without "language engineering"). One way or another, political willingness in these activities still overcame linguistic reasons or communicational needs, and the symbolic function of language overcame other (e.g. communicational) functions of language (at least as far as the names of a language or languages were concerned). However, at the same time, after the promotion of the former variants of the ("polycentric") standard Serbo-Croatian language into three (or even four) separate standards – Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian/Bosniac (and most recently Montenegrin), one can now also speak of the formation of three variants of the standard Serbian language today ("eastern" Serbian /in Serbia/, "western" Serbian /in Croatia and Republika Srpska/ and "southern" Serbian /in Montenegro/).[22] (More about this in the next section, on the territorial stratification of language.) Still, let us now take into consideration only the Serbs and the Croats as an illustrative example, and their mutual relation according to this model. In the first half of the 19th century they experienced a standard-language integration, in the second they

faced the standard-language variation (only when one integrates do differences, though always present, become important!); in the first half of the 20th century, till the end of the 1960s, there was a variant polarization, from the 1960s till the end of the 1980s disintegration, and in the 1990s, at the end – promotion of separate standard-language entities (the abovementioned promotion of these meanwhile created variants of the "polycentric" standard into standard languages). Naturally, all this could also be described in a different way now (which, let us admit, in that case would be just a description, and not an apparatus which explains and predicts!).[23]

> (4) **Language Stratification**: (a) in a functional perspective (written and spoken language, functional styles/registers: thematic, situational, professional etc.); (b) in a social ("vertical") perspective (sociolect, jargon, slang, vernacular etc.); (c) in the territorial ("horizontal") perspective (rural/urban dialects, variants of the standard language, their urban-regional realizations and versions, and their inter-relations).

In the books *Српски језик* (Serbian Language) and *Српски језик на крају века* (Serbian Language at the End of the Century) (chapters – M. Radovanović: "Предговор" /"Preface", 1-16; M. Luković, "Специјални стилови" /"Special Styles", 143-157) and *Planiranje jezika: i drugi spisi* (Language Planning and Other Texts); chapter "Kontekstualna lingvistika i lingvistika javne komunikacije"/"Contextual Linguistics and Linguistics of Public Communication", 171-181), the authors opened essential issues and gave the basic lists of problems related to language stratification, as well as lists of the most important publications, especially on the functional stratification of the standard Serbian language (where one can see that relatively much has been done and published in the fields of legal, political, radio, journalistic, television, colloquial, administrative-bureaucratic and scientific styles). Branko Tošović published two relevant theoretical and descriptive books related to functional styles: *Funkcionalni stilovi* (Functional Styles)[24] and *Stilistika glagola. Stilistik der Verben* (Stylistics of Verbs).[25] As for the sociolectal stratification of the Serbian language (from both theoretical and descriptive points of view), it is most comprehensively presented in Ranko Bugarski's book *Žargon* (Jargon).[26] On bureaucratization of some functional styles of Serbian the most important source is an extensive article by Duška Klikovac in the volume *Serbian Sociolinguistics*.[27] When it comes to the rural and urban dialectal stratification of the Serbian language, extensive dialectological and dialectographical researches are traditionally carried out at the Institute for the Serbian Language (of SASA) (the series *Српски дијалектолошки зборник* /Serbian Dialectological Journal/ is of primary significance) and at the Department

of Serbian Language and Linguistics of the Faculty of Philosophy in Novi Sad. The last-mentioned institution has recently started significant research specifying and describing the linguistic features of the speech of Novi Sad (and its surroundings) (cf. the series *Говор Новог Сада* /Dialect of Novi Sad/, 1-2).[28] Here we should mention that demographic, political and glottopolitical events in the 1990s also caused a change in the understanding and defining of the Serbian dialectal area. Pavle Ivić wrote most comprehensively about that in an extensive, (mostly) posthumously published study: *Српски дијалекти и њихова класификација* I-III (Serbian Dialects and Their Classification 1-3).[29] In addition to the Čakavian, Kajkavian and all Ikavian dialects, Ivić also clearly excludes Slavonian "Starinački" ("Old-type") and East Bosnian dialects from the Serbian dialectal area. Moreover, East Herzegovinian speech-types are renamed "Herzegovinian-Krajina" ones. It is pointed out that, even though all Štokavians are not Serbs, all Serbs are Štokavians. In this sense, from the standpoint of Serbian dialectology, Pavle Ivić believes that the term *Štokavian* is irrelevant synchronically. Ivić describes the remaining Serbian dialectal area with a new delimitation: Balkanized/non-Balkanized, that is structurally innovative/structurally conservative speech-types. (I presented an interpretation of Ivić's recent views on these topics in the already mentioned book *Planiranje jezika: i drugi spisi*, in the chapter: "Ivićeva klasifikacija srpskih dijalekata"/ "Ivić's Classification of Serbian Dialects", 195-203). For this field, too, Predrag Piper offered a good survey in the book *Српски између великих и малих језика* (Serbian between Great and Small Languages), in a detailed and annotated bibliographic review "Српска лингвистичка славистика деведесетих година XX века" (Serbian Linguistic Slavic Studies in the 1990s).[30] And when it comes to the stratification of the standard language, as I have already said, I think that the former variants of the ("polycentric") standard Serbo-Croatian were promoted into separate standard languages (= glottopolitical promotion) and that the present standard Serbian language in this sense stratifies into three new variants (former subvariants of the Serbian variant of "Serbo-Croatian"): "eastern", "southern" and "western" (cf. footnote 22). This standpoint was well developed by the Munich Slavicist Miloš Okuka, and I discussed it in the contributions "Standardni jezik, njegove varijante i podvarijante" (Standard Language, Its Variants and Subvariants) and "Jezičke prilike u Bosni i Hercegovini" (Language Circumstances in Bosnia and Herzegovina) at scholarly meetings in Neum and Sarajevo in 2001 and 2003 (cf. footnote 3 and the corresponding chapters in my book *Planiranje jezika: i drugi spisi* from 2004, 137-152, 153-170). Okuka's book *Eine Sprache viele Erben. Sprachpolitik als Nationalisierungsinstrument in Ex-Jugoslawien* (One Language – Many Successors. Language Policy as National Instrument in ex-Yugoslavia) is also very useful and informative.[31]

(5) **Languages in Contact**: (a) contacts with the so-called "major world languages"; (b) contacts with the languages in the surroundings (neighbouring languages); (c) contacts with the language of the *lingua communis* type; (d) contacts in the situations of diglossia, diaspora etc.; (e) specific contact topics: lexical borrowings, loanwords, syntactic calques from the current international/global culture and language corpus, from the current European culture and language corpus, from the Balkan, Carpathian, Middle-European, Oriental and Mediterranean culture and language corpus, from Church Slavonic, from English, French, German, Russian, Turkish (Arabic, Persian), from Ancient Greek and Latin (and others); (f) attitude to "purism" (versus "internationalism").

The best contemporary studies about lexical borrowings in Serbian were written by Ivan Klajn. Some were dictionaries, some were discussions of lexical innovations structured according to the source languages and thematic fields: the chapters "Leksika" (Lexicon), in the books *Српски језик* (Serbian Language) and *Српски језик на крају века* (Serbian Language at the End of the Century), 37-86 and "Neologisms in present-day Serbian", in the book *Serbian Sociolinguistics*, 89-110; the book *Речник нових речи* (Dictionary of New Words), and a dictionary by Ivan Klajn and Milan Šipka: *Велики речник страних речи и израза* (The Great Dictionary of Foreign Words and Expressions).[32] Numerous facts about inter-lingual borrowing are presented in Klajn's abovementioned reference book: *Творба речи у савременом српском језику* (Word Formation in the Contemporary Serbian Language), 1-2,[33] as well as in the collection of articles *О лексичким позајмљеницама* (On Lexical Borrowings).[34] Since English is the main source language today, as a global international mediator in all kinds of communication, in science, in professional terminologies, media, mass culture, on the Internet and elsewhere, its influence, i. e. Anglicisms as internationalisms, was discussed in several books, too, like the ones by Tvrtko Prćić: *Engleski u srpskom* (English in Serbian),[35] *Englesko-srpski rečnik geografskih imena* (English-Serbian Dictionary of Geographic Names),[36] *Novi transkripcioni rečnik engleskih ličnih imena* (New Transcriptional Dictionary of English Personal Names);[37] (with Vera Vasić and Gordana Nejgebauer) *Du yu speak anglosrpski? Rečnik novijih anglicizama* (Du Yu Speak Angloserbian? Dictionary of New Anglicisms).[38] The degree to which the phonological structure of the standard Serbian language (prosodic structure, but also the inventory and complexity of vowel and consonant clusters, for example) is changed under the influence of loan words borrowed into Serbian, was discussed by Dragoljub Petrović in the articles: "Фонетика" (Phonetics), in the book *Српски језик / Српски језик на крају века*, 87-110 and "Languages in contact: standard Serbian

phonology in an urban setting", in *Serbian Sociolinguistics*, 19-40 (cf. footnotes 3 and 27). The main, and the only rational, scientifically and civilizationally justified message about that issue would be: today to be against the influence of English on the languages of the world, including Serbian, is futile and meaningless, but, at the same time, leaving this trend to chaos and accidents is dangerous and irrational.[39] Therefore, this topic in Serbian, too, is becoming an essential one, with special emphasis on the fact that the Serbian language as a whole, including its standardized version, is not characterized by purism, but actually by internationalism, that is – like the entire culture it represents – it simply lives in the intersection of Balkanization, Europeanization, and globalization, and not isolation![40] It is dependent upon the entire set of events which we generally call languages in contact, that is cultures in contact (certainly, one should also include here the consequences of inter-dialectal, inter-sociolectal and inter-variant contacts, but this is a story for some other occasion). Naturally, what in this respect holds for lexicon and phonology, also holds for all other language domains, though the inevitable phenomena of this kind are less noticeable in them and more difficult to observe scientifically. Therefore, one could present a review of the inventory of language change which should be studied again from the standpoint of standard-language norm,[41] the inventory developed from the list from the works published earlier, here and there and in some form (most of these topics belong to contact issues, at least indirectly or partly): endangered quantitative and qualitative features in prosody (loss of unstressed quantity, weakening of the tone contrast in short stressed syllables, weakening of the quantitative contrast even in the stressed syllable), promotion of place-of-stress to the most prominent prosodic feature, weakening of patterns of stress shift to proclitics, enlargement and complexity of vowel and consonant groups (most often as a consequence of recent lexical borrowings: radioaktivnost 'radioactivity', koautor 'co-author', neeuklidski 'non-Euclidean', transplantacija 'transplantation', kapitulantstvo 'defeatism', angstrom 'angstrom' et al.), the (un)stable two-alphabet situation, the (un)stable dualism of the (i)jekavian and ekavian spoken versions of the standard, productivity of indeclinable adjectives and nouns (taze 'fresh', solo 'solo', fer 'fair', super 'super', maksi 'maxi', mini 'mini', seksi 'sexy', instant 'instant', roze 'pink', oranž 'orange' et al.),[42] recent productivity of noun+noun formations (Savva Centar 'Savva Center', diskurs analiza 'discourse analysis', internet strana 'internet website', rok muzika 'rock music', Balkan ekspres 'Balkan Express', Dunav osiguranje 'Danube insurance', poklon paket 'gift package', Kontakt grupa 'contact group', šatl diplomatija 'shuttle diplomacy' et al.),[43] broadening in the distribution of the construction <u>da</u>+present instead of the infinitive (when these two are interchangeable: želim *da radim* – želim *raditi* 'I want to work'), weakening of productivity in the formation and distribution of the aorist and pluperfect

tenses and specially the imperfect, as well as weakening of productivity in the formation of *Aktionsarten*, reduction of adjectival and numerical declension patterns (weakening or even loss of one of the two adjectival declensions, and weakening or loss of the declension for the numerals dva 'two', tri 'three' and particularly četiri 'four'), appearance and productivity of lexical surrogates of article morphemes (jedan 'one', neki 'certain', nekakav 'some', izvesni 'certain' et al.), combining, linking and cumulation of prepositions and conjunctions (za na 'lit: for on', za pod 'lit: for under', za u 'lit: for in', do u 'till in', do pod 'till under', u za 'lit: in for' et al.), linking and cumulation of free genitives, suppression of the "genitive of negation", increase in the productivity of passive structures, anonymizing and impersonalizing verbal constructions and the corresponding sentence constructions, increase in the productivity of nominalization processes (iz mržnje – zato što mrzi 'because of hate', iz neznanja – zato što ne zna 'because of ignorance' et al.) and verb/predicate decomposition (vrši nadzor 'lit: perform supervision' – nadzire 'supervise', vrši razmenu 'lit: perform exchange'– razmenjuje 'exchange' et al.), productivity in the formation of abstract nouns (deverbal and deadjectival) and their decomposition, as well as the decomposition of nouns in general (zimski period 'winter period' – zima 'winter', planinski predeo 'mountain landscape' – planina 'mountain', snežni pokrivač 'snow cover' – sneg 'snow', toplotna energija 'thermal energy'– toplota 'warmth' et al.), also in the decomposition of adjectives and adverbs (njegova brada je *crvene boje – crvena* 'his beard is *of red color – red*' et al.), increase in the productivity of periphrastic formations in morphology, syntax and phraseology, more and more frequent analyticization of the comparison of adjectives (više beo 'lit: more white' – belji 'whiter', najviše zadovoljan 'most satisfied' – najzadovoljniji 'most satisfied'), increasing objections to purism, growth in the openness toward internationalism, the current flooding of the general lexicon by "Europeanisms" (particularly by "Anglicisms" from American English, also "Latinisms" and "Grecisms"), and the high productivity of prefixoids and suffixoids of the type meta- 'meta-', mikro- 'micro-', makro- 'macro', mega- 'mega' et al. / -grafija 'graphy', -fobija '-phobia', -manija '-mania', -logija '-logy' et al.),[44] a tolerant attitude to so-called "Croatisms" in the lexicon (originating from the former "western variant of the standard Serbo-Croatian": jezikoslovac (lingvista 'linguist'), jezikoslovni (lingvistički 'linguistic'), jezikoslovlje (lingvistika 'linguistics') stupanj (stepen 'degree'), napokon (konačno 'at last'), nakon (posle 'after'), razina (nivo 'level') et al.);[45] along with internationalization of terminologies, dynamic development of functional styles (legal, political, administrative, scientific, journalistic) etc.

(6) **Speech (Language) Interaction**: (a) the choice of language and (or) variety; (b) attitudes to languages and their varieties; (c) language prestige; (d) prestige of

standard language; (e) principles of code-switching and speech strategies; (f) types of interaction choices and patterns.

As has already been mentioned, in public, and even in many private communications and interactions, in Serbia standard Serbian language has the prestigious role of mediator, reserved for the languages of the *lingua communis* type. It is also clear that the sociolinguistcally motivated prestige raised the standard Serbian language above both the dialectal and sociolectal varieties of the Serbian language in public interactions of different kinds. Furthermore, the urban language varieties (especially those representing the eastern variant of contemporary Serbian standard, in its Belgrade and Novi Sad realizations) are in principle more prestigious than the rural ones, particularly if one has in mind that language practice in prestigious media often serves as a model. Knowledge of the standard language is important both for education and for various kinds of social advancement. Therefore, urban realizations of standard language (specifically those from Belgrade and Novi Sad) are prestigious both in the inter-dialectal and inter-sociolectal sphere of linguistically realized interactions. In some domains of public life, true, a certain measure of prestige could also be attached to the urban substandards like stage, fashion, sport, youth or similar urban jargons, specially achieved through the mass media like television, local radio, tabloids, subculture and the like. Language planners are occasionally worried by the phenomena of "code-mixing" or "code-confusing", wrong use of codes (as opposed to "code-switching", which implies the proper use of codes), as well as by the appearance of a negligent attitude to language practice in general. Tvrtko Prćić, in his study-chapter "Nemarni 'funkcionalni stil': u potrazi za zagubljenim značenjem" (Negligent 'Functional Style': in Search of the Lost Meaning)[46] states that "the 'negligent functional style' is actually by far the most frequent language variety in our official use" (297). Here, I do not share this strict opinion completely, because I am in principle more inclined to believe that even this language negligence, relaxed manner, inertia, represents a factor of language change in many respects. I wrote about this in greater detail in the work: "Metaforizacija 'uživo'" (Metaphors 'on the fly').[47] There, I also elaborated the theoretical standpoints and offered many facts to support them.

To conclude by repeating one of the introductory sentences: the [expected] conclusion is that in the (standard) Serbian language and around it (within the selected parameters), the (socio)linguistic picture before the political, cultural, ethnic and linguistic disintegration of Yugoslavia has been preserved in a relatively stable manner. As far as standard Serbian is concerned, in the course of the 1990s both external and internal developments have been of

remarkable relevance – as a consequence or at least the continuation of several earlier and current glottopolitical and linguistic processes and tendencies (predicted and explained by Radovanović's theoretical proposals and language inventories published in the1980s and 1990s). On the **external level** (the level of status planning) the most distinctive (and relatively turbulent!) has been the glottopolitical promotion of already existing variants of standard Serbo-Croatian into separate standard language entities (in our specific case, it is promotion of the "eastern variant" of standard Serbo-Croatian into Serbian standard language). On the **internal level** (the level of corpus planning) the most distinctive (but not turbulent; without so-called "language engineering") have been changes resulting from the fact that standard Serbian is simultaneously exposed to the influence of cultural and language Balkanization and Europeanization/globalization (especially to the influence of English language and American culture). Both in the field of grammar and lexicon, these processes at times coincide and at others diverge, as they do in the corpus of culture in general.

【Notes】

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[1]   The previous, much shorter version of this contribution was published in Serbian: "Српски језик данас: главне теме" ("Serbian today: The main topics"), *Глас САНУ* CDV, Одељење језика и књижевности 23, САНУ, Београд, 2006, 59-78. Its more recent, revised, enlarged, corrected and final version is presented here. This contribution is formally part of the project Standard Serbian Language: Syntactic, Semantic and Pragmatic Aspects (178004), financially supported by the Department of Education, Science and Technology of the Republic of Serbia.

[2]   Primarily "the inventory" was the basis of a text published internally in Poland (Opole University), during the work on the international project about the changes in the Slavic languages in the second half of the 20th century (as a reminder for the sociolinguistic part of the theme during that work). Later it was published in two versions: "Инвентар тема важних за приказивање социолингвистичких прилика у словенским земљама" ("An inventory of issues important for the presentation of linguistic circumstances in Slavic countries"), *Зборник Матице српске за филологију и лингвистику* 37, Нови Сад, 1994, 529-532; "An Inventory of the Important Themes in the Presentation of the Sociolinguistic Situation in the (South)Slavic Countries", *Die Sprachen Südosteuropas heute. Umbrüche und Aufbruch*, Hrsg. Barbara Kunzmann-Müller, Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang, 2000, 209-212 (Berliner slawistische Beiträge, Band 12). As a series of publications of The Opole University in Poland (Instytut Filologii Polskiej), the following monographs from the project were published: Serbian (ed. M. Radovanović, 1996), Bulgarian (ed. S. Dimitrova, 1997), Russian (ed. E. Širjajev, 1997), Sorbian (ed. H. Faska, 1998), Czech (ed. J. Kořenský, 1998), Slovenian (ed. A. Vidovič-Muha, 1998), Slovak (ed. J. Bosák, 1998), Croatian (ed. M. Lončarić, 1998), Byelorussian (ed. A. Lukašanec, M. Prigodzič, L. Sjameška, 1998), Macedonian (ed. L.

Minova-G'urkova, 1998), Ukrainian (ed. S. Ermolenko, 1999), Polish (ed. S. Gajda, 2001), Kashubian (ed. E. Breza, 2001), Ruthenian (ed. P.R. Magocsi, 2004).

[3] The main sources of data for this presentation were my articles and chapters previously published in: Милорад Радовановић (ред.), *Српски језик на крају века* (Serbian Language at the End of the Century), Институт за српски језик САНУ – Службени гласник, Београд, 1996; Milorad Radovanović (red.), *Najnowsze dzieje języków słowiańskich: Српски језик* (The Most Recent History of the Slavic Languages: The Serbian Language), Uniwersytet Opolski – Instytut Filologii Polskiej, Opole, 1996; Milorad Radovanović, *Spisi iz kontekstualne lingvistike* (Essays on Contextual Linguistics), Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića, Sremski Karlovci – Novi Sad (Series Theoria, 40), 1997; Milorad Radovanović, "Planiranje jezika i jezička politika: Principi i tendencije (Na primeru srpsko-hrvatske relacije)" ("Language Planning and Language Policy: Principles and Tendencies /On the Example of the Serbo-Croatian Relation/"), *Jazykovedný časopis* 49/1-2 [=Venované XII medzinárodnému zjazdu slavistov (Krakov 27. 8.-2. 9. 1998)], Bratislava, 1998, 57-74; Milorad Radovanović, "From Serbo-Croatian to Serbian", *Multilingua* 19/1-2 [= Special double issue *Language Contact in East-Central Europe*, (ed.) Miklós Kontra], Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin – New York, 2000, 21-35; Milorad Radovanović and Randall A. Major (eds.), *Serbian Sociolinguistics* [= *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 151], Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin – New York, 2001; Milorad Radovanović, *Sociolingvistika. Treće izdanje* (Sociolinguistics, Third Edition), Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića, Sremski Karlovci – Novi Sad (Series Theoria, 63), 2003 [second edition: 1986]; Milorad Radovanović, "Srpski jezik na početku milenijuma: Inventar eksternih i internih pitanja" ("Serbian Language at the Beginning of the Millennium: An Inventory of External and Internal Issues"), *Bosanski – hrvatski – srpski. Bosnisch – Kroatisch – Serbisch*, ed. Gerhard Neweklowsky, Wiener slawistischer Almanach 57, Wien, 2003, 245-253; Milorad Radovanović, *Planiranje jezika: i drugi spisi* (Language Planning and Other Essays), Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića, Sremski Karlovci – Novi Sad (Series Elementi, 56), 2004; Milorad Radovanović, "From Serbo-Croatian to Serbian: external and internal language developments", *Language in the Former Yugoslav Lands*, (eds.) Ranko Bugarski and Celia Hawkesworth, Slavica Publishers, Bloomington, Indiana, 2004, 15-23; Milorad Radovanović, "Kako je 'srpski' (p)ostao 'srpski'" ("How 'Serbian' Became/stayed 'Serbian'"), *Анали Огранка САНУ у Новом Саду* 1, Нови Сад 2006 [for 2004-2005], 17-28; Milorad Radovanović and Nataša Bugarski, "Serbian Language at the End of the Century", *Lexical Norm and National Language. Lexicography and Language Policy in South-Slavic Languages after 1989*, (ed.) Radovan Lučić, Verlag Otto Sagner, München, 2002, 164-172 (Die Welt der Slaven, Sammelbände – Сборники, Band 14).

[4] Not to mention Serbs and their native language (preserved in various degrees) in the distant diaspora situations (USA, Europe, Australia, etc.; approximate estimates: 3 to 4 million emigrants). About issues related to the differences between the ethnic and linguistic facts in the results of the censuses, as well as to opting for the "Serbo-Croatian" language, see: Ranko Bugarski, *Jezik i kultura* (Language and Culture), XX vek, Belgrade, 2005 (VIII "Nacionalnost i jezik u popisima stanovništva"/"Nationality and Language in Population Censuses", 103-114). See also Dubravko Škiljan's text about "new language minorities" and, I would add: new diasporas: "Stara jezična prava i nove manjine" ("Old Linguistic Rights and New Minorities"), *Jezik i demokratizacija. (Zbornik radova). Language and Democratization. (Proceedings)*, (ed.) Svein Mønnesland, Institut za jezik u Sarajevu, Sarajevo, 2001, 179-190.

[5] About the judicial and factual unsolved status of Kosovo and Metohija in every aspect, including the political one, which influences the issues concerning language policy and language planning – here, at this

moment, one cannot provide any rational final conclusion.

6 For this, it would be worth checking the following sources of data: Boris Krivokapić, *Službena upotreba jezika u međunarodnom pravu i novijem zakonodavstvu nekih evropskih država* (Official Use of Language in International Law and Recent Legislation of Some European Countries), Centar za antiratnu akciju, Belgrade, 2003; Ranko Bugarski, *Evropa u jeziku* (Europe in Language), XX vek, Beograd, 2009.

7 In 1997, the founders of the Board were the following institutions: the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SASA), the Montenegrin Academy of Sciences and Arts (CANU), the Academy of Sciences and Arts of the Republic of Srpska (ANURS), the Matica srpska, the Institute for the Serbian Language (of SASA), the Faculty of Philology in Belgrade, faculties of philosophy in Novi Sad, Niš, Priština, Nikšić, Srpsko Sarajevo, Banja Luka, the University of Kragujevac and Srpska književna zadruga (the Serbian Literary Union). Cf.: *Српски језик у нормативном огледалу* (Serbian Language in Normative Perspective), ред. Б. Брборић *et al*., Београдска књига, Београд, 2006.

8 Матица српска, Нови Сад, 1993, compiled by Mitar Pešikan, Jovan Jerković and Mato Pižurica; revised edition in 2011.

9 *Прилози граматици српскога језика* (Contributions to the Grammar of the Serbian Language), 1-2, Завод за уџбенике и наставна средства – Матица српска – Институт за српски језик САНУ, Београд – Нови Сад, 2002-2003.

10 *Прилози граматици српскога језика* (Contributions to the Grammar of the Serbian Language), Институт за српски језик САНУ – Београдска књига – Матица српска, Београд – Нови Сад, 2010.

11 Завод за уџбенике, Београд, 2007.

12 Матица српска – Институт за српски језик САНУ – Палчић, Нови Сад – Београд, 2000.

13 "Edited by Academician Milka Ivić"; [= Прилози граматици српског језика / Contributions to the Grammar of the Serbian Language]; authors: Predrag Piper, Ivana Antonić, Vladislava Ružić, Sreto Tanasić, Ljudmila Popović, Branko Tošović; published by: Институт за српски језик САНУ – Београдска књига – Матица српска, Београд, 2005. This is a syntax which has theoretical, descriptive and normative pretensions. Independently of the Board, an extensive syntax, more descriptively-stylistically oriented, was published by the authors Radoje Simić and Jelena Jovanović: *Srpska sintaksa*, I-IV (Serbian Syntax, 1-4), Јасен – Научно друштво за неговање и проучавање српског језика, Београд, 2002.

14 Матица српска, Нови Сад, 2013, 1914. A very popular complementary descriptive manual: Pavica Mrazović, Zora Vukadinović, *Gramatika srpskog jezika za strance* (Serbian Grammar for Foreigners), Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića, Sremski Karlovci – Novi Sad, 2009 (second, revised edition, "u saradnji sa Zorom Vukadinović").

15 Матица српска, Нови Сад, 2007, 2011.

16 Both journals are published by the Institute for Serbian Language (of SASA).

17 Београдска књига, Београд, 2003, 2004, 2010.

18 First published in the journal: *Зборник Матице српске за славистику* 54-55, Нови Сад, 1998, 9-44.

19 Београдска књига, Београд, 2004; first edition 1991.

20 Прометеј, Нови Сад, 2010.

21 That was suggested to me by Dubravko Škiljan in the book *Jezična politika* (Language Policy), Naprijed, Zagreb, 1988, 47-50. In addition to the general linguistic reception, as by Škiljan, the proposed model also met a positive reception from other important theoretical and descriptive sources: Drago Unuk, *Osnove sociolingvistike* (The Bases of Sociolinguistics), Pedagoška fakulteta, Maribor, 1997; Victor A. Friedman,

"The implementation of standard Macedonian: problems and results", *The Sociolinguistic Situation of the Macedonian Language*, (ed.) Zuzanna Topolinjska [= *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 131], Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin – New York, 1998, 31-57; Henryk Jaroszewicz, *Nowe tendencje normatywne w standardowych językach chorwackim i serbskim* (New normative tendencies in Croatian and Serbian standard languages), Uniwersytet Opolski, Opole, 2004 (1.3 "Standaryzacja", 1.4. "Etapy standaryzacji", especially pp. 15-20, but also in other parts of the book); Gerd-Dieter Nehring, "Razvoj standardnog jezika za vrijeme Austro-Ugarske Monarhije" (The Development of Standard Language During the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy), *Jezik u Bosni i Hercegovini* (Language in Bosnia and Herzegovina), ed. Svein Mønnesland, Institut za jezik u Sarajevu – Institut za istočnoevropske i orijentalne studije, Oslo, 2005, 303-319; Robert D. Greenberg, *Jezik i identitet na Balkanu. Raspad srpsko-hrvatskoga*, Srednja Europa. Zagreb, 2005, 117 (= *Language and Identity in the Balkans. Serbo-Croatian and its Disintegration*, Oxford University Press, 2004, 107); Miloš Okuka, *Srpski na kriznom putu* (Serbian language and its crisis), Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, Istočno Sarajevo, 2006, 379-381; Peter M. Hill, "The codification and elaboration of Slavonic standard languages", *Australian Slavonic and East European Studies* 13/2, Melbourne, 1999, 21-29; Gerhard Neweklowsky, "1. Einleitung", *Die südslawischen Standardsprachen* (South Slavic standard languages), Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, 2010 (Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Schriften der Balkan-Kommission, 51), 11-14; Władysław Lubaś, *Polityka językowa. (Komparacja systemów i funkcjonowania współczesnych języków słowiańskich. 4)* (Language policy. Comparison of systems and functioning of contemporary Slavic languages), Uniwersytet Opolski – Instytut Filologii Polskiej, Opole, 2009 ("Koncepcja Milorada Radovanovicia", 85-87).

[22] Cf.: Бранко Тошович, "Особенности боснийского/бошняцкого языка по отношению к сербскому и хорватскому", *Slavica Islamica. Language, Religion and Identity*, eds. Robert D. Greenberg and Motoki Nomachi, Slavic Research Center – Hokkkaido University (Slavic Eurasian Studies, 25), Sapporo, 2012, 9-64; Miloš Okuka, *Srpski na kriznom putu* (Serbian language and its crisis), Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, Istočno Sarajevo, 2006; Gerhard Neweklowsky (ed.), *Bosanski – hrvatski – srpski. Bosnisch – Kroatisch – Serbisch* (Bosnian – Croatian – Serbian). Međunarodni skup "Aktuelna pitanja jezika Bošnjaka, Hrvata, Srba i Crnogoraca. Beč 27.-28. sept. 2002". Internationale Tagung "Aktuelle Fragen der Sprache der Bosniaken, Kroaten, Serben und Montenegriner". Wien 27.-28. Sept. 2002, *Wiener Slawistische Almanach* 57, Wien, 2003; Gerhard Neweklowsky, *Die südslawischen Standardsprachen* (South-Slavic standard languages), Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Schriften der Balkan-Kommission, 51), Wien, 2010; Miloš Okuka, *Eine Sprache viele Erben. Sprachpolitik als Nationalisierungsinstrument in Ex-Jugoslawien* (One Language – Many Successors. Language Policy and National Policy in ex-Yugoslavia), Wieser Verlag, Klagenfurt – Wien – Ljubljana – Sarajevo, 1998; Svein Mønnesland (red.), *Jezik i demokratizacija (Zbornik radova). Language and Democratization (Proceedings)*, Institut za jezik u Sarajevu, Sarajevo, 2001; Герхард Невекловски, *Српске и јужнословенске теме* (Serbian and South Slavic topics), Завод за уџбенике – Матица српска – Вукова задужбина, Београд – Нови Сад, 2010 (Библиотека Студије о Србима, 18).

[23] Thus, for instance, Branislav Brborić distinguishes six phases in these standard-language occurrences (among the Serbs) behind us: 1. the period till 1810 = the time of various traditional versions of the literary language ("Srpskoslovenski", "Ruskoslovenski", "Slavenosrpski", "Dositejevski"); 2. the period from 1810 or 1818 (Mrkalj's *Сало дебелога јера* and Karadžić's *Српски рјечник* (Serbian Dictionary) = the

time of standard-language integration with the Croats; 3. the period from 1868 = the time of victory of the Vukovian standard Serbian variant in Serbia, as well as Maretić's and Iveković-Broz's Croatian standard-language variant in Croatia (*Gramatika i stilistika hrvatskoga ili srpskoga književnog jezika* /Grammar and Stylistics of Croatian or Serbian Literary Language/ and *Rječnik hrvatskoga jezika /Dictionary of Croatian Language/*); 4. the period from 1918 = the time after Belić's *Правопис српскохрватског књижевног језика* (Orthography of the Serbo-Croatian Literary Language) (1923) and others, as well as other integrating, and then radically disintegrating standard-language processes; 5. the period from 1945 = the time of growth of good will, compromise and "agreement", as well as their weakening and failure after 1967, and of *Deklaracija o nazivu i položaju hrvatskog književnog jezika* (Declaration on the name and position of the Croatian literary language, Zagreb, 1967); 6. the period from 1991 = the time of standard-language disintegration (Branislav Brborić. "К projektu istorije srpskoga jezičkog standarda"/"Toward a Project on the History of the Serbian Standard Language"), *Jezik danas* 7, Novi Sad 1998, 1-7; reprinted in Бранислав Брборић, *С језика на језик (Социополитички огледи II) /From Language to Language (Sociopolitical Essays II)*, ЦПЛ – Прометеј, Београд – Нови Сад, 2001, 131-137). Robert Greenberg, in a recent study about these issues (cf. footnote 21), writes about four such key periods: 1. from 1839 to 1899, when the Neo-štokavian dialectal base and the Ijekavian pronunciation were implemented as the standard language in the west and south Štokavian regions, 2. from 1913 to 1939, when the Neo-štokavian dialectal base and the Ekavian pronunciation were implemented in that same role in the east of the Štokavian region, 3. from 1954 to 1974, when the "west" and "east" variants of the standard were established, and 4. from 1991, when the successor languages to this (these) standard(s) begin to appear.

[24]   Beogradska knjiga, Belgrade, 2002.

[25]   Lindenblatt, Wuppertal, 1995.

[26]   Ranko Bugarski, *Žargon. Lingvistička studija* (Jargon. A Linguistic Essay), XX vek, Belgrade, 2003, 2006; see also some chapters in the same author's *Jezik i kultura* (Language and Culture), XX vek, Belgrade, 2005, 209-241, as well as the new, enlarged edition of *Dvosmerni rečnik srpskog žargona i žargonu srodnih reči i izraza* (Bi-Directional Dictionary of Serbian Jargon and Jargon-like Words and Expressions) by Dragoslav Andrić (Zepter Book Publishing, Belgrade, 2006).

[27]   Duška Klikovac, "On bureaucratization of Serbian", in: Milorad Radovanović and Randall A. Major (eds.), *Serbian Sociolinguistics* [= *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 151], Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin – New York, 2001, 111-164.

[28]   Филозофски факултет у Новом Саду – Одсек за српски језик и лингвистику, Нови Сад, 2009, 2011 (Лингвистичке свеске 8-9).

[29]   *Зборник Матице српске за филологију и лингвистику* 41/2, Нови Сад, 1998, 113-132; 42, 1999, 303-354; 44/1-2, 2001, 175-209. Also as a book: *Српски дијалекти и њихова класификација* (Serbian Dialects and Their Classification), ред. С. Реметић, Издавачка књижарница Зорана Стојановића, Сремски Карловци – Нови Сад, 2009 (Series Елементи, 81).

[30]   Београдска књига, Београд, 2003, 2004, 202-250. First published in the journal *Зборник Матице српске за славистику* 54-55, Novi Sad, 1998, 9-44.

[31]   Wieser Verlag, Klagenfurt – Wien – Ljubljana – Sarajevo, 1998.

[32]   Матица српска, Нови Сад, 1992; Прометеј, Нови Сад, 2006 (and later, in several editions).

[33]   *Прилози граматици српскога језика* (Contributions to the Grammar of Serbian Language), 2, Завод за уџбенике и наставна средства – Институт за српски језик САНУ – Матица српска, Београд – Нови Сад, 2002-2003.

[34] Градска библиотека Суботица – Институт за српски језик САНУ, Суботица – Београд, 1996 (ред. Јудита Планчак).

[35] Zmaj, Novi Sad, 2005, Filozofski fakultet, Novi Sad, 2011. See also: Sonja Filipović, *Izgovor i pisanje računarskih anglicizama u srpskom jeziku* (Pronunciation and Writing of Computer Anglicisms in the Serbian Language), Zadužbina Andrejević, Belgrade, 2005.

[36] Zmaj, Novi Sad, 2004.

[37] Prometej, Novi Sad, 1998.

[38] Zmaj, Novi Sad, 2001.

[39] See critical discussions of theoretical and practical aspects of language globalization in: *Language in a Globalising World*, (eds.) Jacques Maurais and Michael A. Morris, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003.

[40] I have written about this several times, especially in the book: Milorad Radovanović, *Planiranje jezika. I drugi spisi* (Language Planning and Other Essays), Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića, Sremski Karlovci – Novi Sad, 2004 (Series Elementi, 56). Pavle Ivić wrote very clearly about it; cf. his posthumously published study: "Балкански језички савез и лингвистичка географија" (Balkan Sprachbund and Linguistic Geography), *Зборник Матице српске за филологију и лингвистику* 45/1-2, Novi Sad, 2002, 7-11, which reasonably considers that, from the structuralist point of view, "one could in a way place an equals sign between the notions 'Europeanization' and Balkanization'" (10). As for recent works, the most comprehensive synthesizing study about Balkanisms in the Serbian language is Prvoslav Radić, "О два аспекта балканизације српског књижевног језика. Резултати и перспективе" (About Two Aspects of Balkanization of the Serbian Literary Language. Results and Perspectives), *Јужнословенски филолог* 59, Београд 2003, 105-52. Cf. also Милорад Радовановић, *Увод у фази лингвистику* (Introduction to Fuzzy Linguistics), Издавачка књижарница Зорана Стојановића, Сремски Карловци – Нови Сад, 2009, § 7 (Series Елементи, 82); Howard I. Aronson, *The Balkan Linguistic League, "Orientalism", and Linguistic Typology*, Beech Stave Press, Ann Arbor – New York, 2007 (The Kenneth E. Naylor Memorial Lecture Series, 4); Zuzanna Topolińska, "The Balkan Sprachbund from a Slavic Perspective", *Зборник Матице српске за филологију и лингвистику* 53/1, Нови Сад, 2010, 33-60; Andrej N. Sobolev, "On Some Aromanian Grammatical Patterns in the Balkan Slavonic Dialects", *The Romance Balkans. Collection of Papers Presented at the International conference The Romance Balkans, 4-6 November 2006*, eds. Biljana Sikimić and Tijana Ašić, SASA (Institute for Balkan Studies, Special Editions, 103), Belgrade, 2008, 113-121; Sofija Miloradović and Robert D. Greenberg, "The border between South Slavic and Balkan Slavic: Key morphological features in Serbian transitional dialects", *Of all the Slavs my Favorites. In Honor of Howard I. Aronson. On the Occasion of his 66th Birthday*, eds. Victor A. Friedman and Donald L. Dyer, Indiana Slavic Studies 12, Bloomington, 2001, 209-322

[41] Cf. the most recent such publication: Предраг Пипер, Иван Клајн, *Нормативна граматика српског језика* (Serbian Normative Grammar), Матица српска, Нови Сад, 2013.

[42] Detailed lists are presented by Miroslav Nikolić in his works: "Недеклинабилне именице у српском језику" (Indeclinable Nouns in the Serbian Language), *Наш језик* 30/1-5, Belgrade, 1995-1996, 15-34; and "Nepromenljivi pridevi u srpskom jeziku" (Indeclinable Adjectives in the Serbian Language), *Наш језик* 31/1-5, Београд, 1996, 35-54.

[43] See a recent work, actually a theoretical discussion of the problem, with a typology of examples: Milivoj Alanović, "Antepozicija deteminatora imeničkog tipa" (Preposing of Determiners of the Noun Type),

Прилози проучавању језика 36, Нови Сад, 2005, 147-155; Tvrtko Prćić, *Engleski u srpskom* (English in Serbian), Filozofski fakultet, Novi Sad, 2011.

[44] Cf. the detailed lists in: Иван Клајн, *Творба речи у савременом српском језику* (Word Formation in the Contemporary Serbian Language). *Прилози граматици српскога језика* (Contributions to the Grammar of the Serbian Language), 1-2, Завод за уџбенике и наставна средства – Матица српска – Институт за српски језик САНУ, Београд – Нови Сад, 2002-2003,140-165), with nuances and divisions into classes according to their behaviour, frequency, origin, currentness and functional-stylistic dispersion. Klajn also writes on this in: Павле Ивић, Иван Клајн, Митар Пешикан, Бранислав Брборић, *Српски језички приручник. Друго, допуњено и измењено* (The Serbian Language Reference Book. Second, enlarged and revised edition), Београдска књига, Београд, 2004 ("Варијантна Лексика" (Variant Lexicon), 166-169).

[45] Cf. Ivan Klajn, "Лексика" (Lexicon), in *Српски језик* and *Srpski jezik na kraju veka*, (ed.) Milorad Radovanović (39-42), with nuances and divisions into word classes according to their (un)usualness and (im)possibility of alternation.

[46] *Naučni sastanak slavista u Vukove dane* 32/1, MSC, Belgrade, 2004 [for 2002], 297-305; reprinted in Tvrtko Prćić, *Engleski u srpskom*, Zmaj, Novi Sad, 2005, Flozofski fakultet, Novi Sad, 2011.

[47] *Глас* CDI, Одељење језика и књижевности 21, САНУ, Београд, 2005, 97-116.