

The Romani Language in Macedonia in the Third Millennium: Progress and Problems

Introduction

Romani presents a unique case study for theories of language planning. Stateless, non-territorial, lacking in a native literary tradition, the situation of Romani differs from that of, e. g., Armenian in Cyprus, which is non-territorial but not stateless, or Kurdish, which is stateless but not non-territorial, or Yiddish and Ladino (Judezmo), which are stateless and non-territorial, but have native literary traditions.¹ Of the European languages, Aromanian is stateless, non-territorial or discontinuously territorial (if one counts compact village populations in parts of northwestern Greece, southeastern Albania, and southwestern Macedonia), and has only the interrupted beginnings of native literacy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but it differs from Romani in its status, dispersal, and population.² In terms of social status, speakers of Aromanian are not as marginalized as speakers of Romani (although neither language has prestige outside its own community), but the amount of external support for Romani is considerably greater than that for Aromanian.³ Romani can be counted as »indigenous« (this is the term used in Swedish law in the context of its ratification of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages; cf. Bugarski's 1992 use of »autochthonous«) over a far larger area of Europe, and Romani has a much larger population base and is dialectologically much more differentiated.⁴ Matras (2002: 257) describes the standardization of Romani as decentral and pluralistic. One could also describe the situation as incipiently polycentric, i. e. as efforts at promulgating the use of Romani in public space

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- 1 Strictly speaking, Romani had the beginnings of native literacy in the former Soviet Union in the 1920s. The experiment was short-lived, however, and even at the time had no impact beyond the borders of the USSR.
 - 2 The Dobrudzhan Aromanian diaspora around Tulcea is fairly compact, but is not territorial in the sense understood in European charters. Romani, too, is discontinuously territorial if one counts the Romani-majority neighborhoods, settlements, and villages found all over Eastern Europe.
 - 3 For example, Romani is receiving special attention from the European Union and the Open Society Institute, while Aromanian is not. Interestingly enough, both languages must contend with discourses denying them status as languages, but in different ways. Some Romanian scholars take Aromanian to be a dialect of Romanian, while some west European anthropologists and historians have tried to claim that Romani is a lexicon rather than a language. In the case of Aromanian, we are dealing with a subtle continuum of divergence from a common ancestor and the politics of inclusion versus difference, while in the latter case we have simple ignorance combined with the politics of academic discourse and access to print media. Greek claims that Aromanian is a dialect of Greek are politically motivated and just as untenable.
 - 4 Accurate, reliable figures for the number of speakers of Romani are impossible to determine owing to underreporting and undercounting (cf. Matras 1999), but the number is unquestionably in the millions. Accurate figures for Aromanian are equally impossible to come by for the same reasons, compounded by the fact that the two states with the largest indigenous populations (Albania and Greece) do not census linguistic minorities, but by any estimate the number is in the thousands.

increase in individual nation states and consensus emerge, there is potential centralization at local levels as opposed to each publication constituting its own norm (cf. Hübschmannová/Neustupný 1996). This is not the case yet, however, and even publications in a series funded by the European Commission use different orthographies (e. g., Kenrick/Puxon 1996 versus Lundgren/Taikon 2002). Although Romani taken as a whole does not have the support of a state apparatus that is usually associated with processes of standardization, it has received such state support in the Republic of Macedonia in addition to both international and local funding. As a result of these factors, the kind of local consensus I have referred to is slowly emerging. Since 17 January 2001, the trilingual (Romani, Macedonian, English), tri-weekly newspaper *Roma Times* has been the most ambitious attempt at a mainstream use of Romani in print media in the Republic of Macedonia. Its language usage is a clear indication of the progress and problems in Romani standardization in Macedonia at the turn of the millennium. At the same time, developments in Romani standardization in Macedonia pose challenges to linear models of language planning such as those in Fishman (1972: 56) or Radovanović (1992). This paper will discuss linguistic phenomena in *Roma Times* that relate to an emerging standard as well as their relevance for Romani language planning and theoretical models.⁵

1 Romani in Macedonia

Although Romani has functioned in written use with state support in public in the Republic of Macedonia at least as early as the 1960s (in the titles of songs on Romani phonograph records),⁶ the emergence into the public sphere of a movement for a Romani standard language in Macedonia dates from the publication of Jusuf's (1978) translation and Jusuf/Kepeski's (1980) grammar, which was actually ready for publication in 1973 (see Friedman 1985a). The 1980s saw a very slow increase in the use of Romani in print (see Friedman 1999), but the 1990s produced a significant upsurge in activity. This can arguably be related to the political independence of the Republic of Macedonia and the official recognition of Romani on a par with other minority languages in the Macedonian constitution.⁷ In 1991 state sponsored television programming began in Romani. In November 1992 the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Macedonia and the Philological Faculty of the University of Skopje sponsored a conference for the purpose of reaching an agreement concerning the codification of Romani for the purpose of introducing it as a subject of study in Macedonian schools (see Friedman 1995). The first attempt at a Romani-language newspaper in Macedonia appeared in 1993 (see Friedman 1997). In 1994 Romani functioned as one of the six official languages of the extraordinary Macedonian census (see Friedman 1996). Jusuf (1996), which was completed in September 1995, represents the first attempt at a textbook for use in elementary schools in Macedonia. In 1997, the municipality of Šuto Orizari began publishing its official gazette in both Macedonian and Romani (*Oficialnikani Patrin ki Komuna Šuto Orizari, 8 April 1997 Vol. 1, No. 1 Republika Makedonia – Komuna Šuto Orizari Skopje*), and Petrovski/Veličkovski (1998) was the first Macedonian-Romani/Romani-Macedonian dictionary. In the course of 1999–2000 several bilingual (Romani and Macedonian) youth-oriented monthlies began pub-

5 The corpus utilized was the first 50 issues plus samples up to number 200.

6 Since the official economy was almost completely controlled by the state prior to 1991, any such public uses of language by definition had to receive state support.

7 For an analysis of the politics of Macedonian support for Romani, see Friedman (2002).

lication (e. g. *Čirikli, Amalipe – Drugarstvo, and Ternipe*). Throughout this period, publications of original and translated poetry and prose aimed both at adults and at children have appeared with increasing frequency (e. g. Petrovski 1989, 1992; Demir 1996a, 1996b, 1996c, 1996d; Demirov 1998; Demir 2000a, 2000b, 2000c; and ten slim volumes of poetry in the series *Hadmi ko vakti* 'A step in Time' [J. Sulejman, general editor, 2001]). More pedagogical materials (e. g. Demir/Demir 2000) as well as religious works (e. g. Serbez 2002) have also begun to appear. In addition to state support, two other important factors in the development of the use of Romani published materials in the Republic of Macedonia have been the attention paid to Romani issues since the so-called fall of communism by international organizations, especially the Open Society Institute, and the opening of the economy to privatization. In the case of international NGO activities, the funding of translations and original publications has been a motivating factor in the production of Romani print resources. The development of a private economy has also permitted the funding of Romani language materials by Roms themselves. *Roma Times*, which is part of an individual's (Zoran Dimov's) media enterprise, is an example of this last type. Its language thus represents independent Romani usage in the context of a society in which Romani standardization has also received state support.

In contrast to Matras' (1999: 499) basically accurate generalization that the »choice of the immediate spoken variety of the author« is a salient feature of Romani codification, the process of standardization in Macedonia has seen conscious efforts at dialectal compromise almost from its inception. Although Jusuf (1978) was based on the author's native Džambaz, Jusuf/Kepeski (1980) was purposefully based on Arli with a mixture of different sub-dialects as well as Džambaz and Burgudži features. The choice was dictated by the fact that the great majority of Romani-speakers in Macedonia use some form of Arli.⁸ At the 1992 codification conference for Romani in Macedonia (the only one of its kind to be sponsored by a national government), one of the first issues of discussion was whether Romani in state-sponsored publications was to be strictly in Arli (basically Vuk Karadžić's principle for a single dialectal base for Serbo-Croatian) or Arli with elements from other dialects (the model of a modified dialectal base followed for both Macedonian and Albanian, cf. Friedman 1985b; Byron 1976). This question had become instrumentalized as a source of contention between the two Romani ethnopolitical parties that were in competition in Macedonia at that time. Without much difficulty, however, the second principle was agreed upon in the following words:

»In view of the fact that the majority of Roms in the Republic of Macedonia use the Arli dialect, this dialect shall serve as the basis of the Romani literary language in the Republic of Macedonia, but with certain grammatical, phonological, and especially lexical additions (and modifications) from all the Romani dialects of the Republic of Macedonia such as Džambaz, Burgudži, Gurbet, and others.« (Friedman 1995: 181, translation mine).

8 According to Demir/Demir (2000), Burgudži speakers are a majority (80 %) only in Tetovo and make up 10 % of the Romani-speakers in Kumanovo, 5 % in Skopje, 2 % in Veles, and 1 % in Gostivar. Džambaz speakers are 5 % in Skopje, Tetovo, and Kumanovo and 1 % in Gostivar. The remainder speak Arli. According to the 1994 census 43.707 people in the Republic of Macedonia declared Romani nationality, 35.120 declared Romani mother tongue, and 1.376 declared knowledge of Romani in addition to some other mother tongue (Antonovska 1996). Owing to problems of undercounting and underreporting due to social stigma, it is generally assumed that the actual figures are higher. Unofficial estimates range from twice to five times these numbers. The most recent Macedonian census was conducted in November 2002, having been postponed owing to insurrection. The results have not yet been released as of this writing (July 2003).

2.1 Orthography, phonology, and morphophonology

The basic principles of Romani orthography have remained consistent in almost all published literature, and at the same time certain details of realization continue to display inconsistencies. Thus, for example the use of the Latin alphabet, hacheks to mark strident palatals, <j> to mark palatality elsewhere, and <h> to mark aspiration are all features that have been used in Macedonian Romani orthography since the first efforts at standardization. It so happens that these conventions are both consistent with the bi-alphabetical tradition of former Yugoslavia, inherited by the Republic of Macedonia, and with the type of orthography used in most academic writing and also in many other countries. At the same time, issues such as the representation of final devoicing (a phenomenon limited to some Romani dialects in contact with territorial languages having this feature, e. g., Macedonian, Turkish, some dialects of Albanian), schwa, /i/ vs /j/ after vowels, and the palatalization of dentals before jot and of velars before jot and front vowels, continue to be problematic. Thus, for example we find *čhip* and *čhib* 'language', *haz'keribe* 'preparation' but *hazri* 'ready', *s'kldiba* [s'k'ldiba] 'concern', and *kskanluko* [k'skanluko] 'jealousy', *leibe* 'permission' but *hajbe* 'food' both *soj* and *soi* (<so i[si] 'which is'), the PL of *buti* 'work, thing, matter' as *bukja*, *buka*, *buća*, the 3SG of 'to do' as *kerela* and *kjerela*, and in the 3PL simple preterite we find *kerde*, *kerge*, *kergeje*.

These are all features that figure in past or present problems of Macedonian orthography as well (cf. Friedman 1993). Thus, for example, while there are now clearly established rules for when to spell devoicing phonetically and when to use morphophonemic spelling in Macedonian, this is still a phenomenon with which native speakers have problems in the acquisition of literacy. The representation of schwa is also problematic in Macedonian, where a letter for its representation was excluded from the standard orthography and the use of an apostrophe was prescribed and limited to its use in dialectisms for poetic effect. In actual usage, e. g. in the press, the apostrophe is sometimes present and sometimes absent. In Romani, as in Macedonian, schwa is a marginal member of the vocalic system, and *Roma Times* reflects exactly the same situation.⁹ In Macedonian, as in the Romani dialects of Macedonia, unstressed /i/ is reduced to /j/ after vowels in normal speech, leading to homonymy in all but careful pronunciations, e. g. western Macedonian *leboi* (from earlier *lebovi* 'loaves') is normally pronounced [leboj], and until 1950 this was represented phonetically rather than morphophonemically in Macedonian spelling. The jotation of dentals is one of those aspects of Romani phonology in which Arli and Džambaz/Gurbet are influenced by the contact territorial languages (cf. Boretzky 1999: 31; Friedman 2001), the results being mellow palatal or dorso-palatal stops or affricates as in Serbian, Albanian, or Macedonian.¹⁰ In the case of velars, there is automatic fronting before front vowels, which in Arli merges with the effects of jotation of both velars and dentals. The palatalization of dentals before front vowels is a Džambaz/Gurbet (and generally Vlax) phenomenon. Macedonian has a similar merger of dorso-palatal stops from earlier dental+jot and velars before front vowels. In Macedonian, the spelling of these phenomena is rule governed. Thus, for example, the letter for the dorso-palatal stop is not used before

9 Jusuf/Kepeski (1980) propose the grapheme <ä> for schwa, but the 1992 Romani conference opted for the same convention as in Macedonian.

10 In Burgudži these reflexes have gone on to become dental affricates. In Romani dialects in contact with territorial dialects that neutralize the mellow/strident distinction in palatals in favor of the strident (č/dž), the same type of neutralization takes place, e. g. Gilan Arli (as in Kosovar Northeast Albanian and Torlak Serbian).

<i> except when the spelling is the result of inflection or derivation, e. g. *vreka* 'bag', *vreki* 'bags', *vrekice* 'little bag', but *kilim* 'carpet', while the spelling before <e> is by prescription, e. g. *gevrek* 'pretzel' but *gemija* 'ship' (both from Turkish). The variant spellings in *Roma Times* for velars before front vowels were generally morphophonemic, although occasionally phonetic with <k>, but the spelling of jotated dentals was subject to considerable variation. Morphophonemic spelling (dental+jot) was never used, although in the case of 3 plural simple preterites spellings with unjotated <d> and <g> occurred. In general, jotated dentals were spelled phonetically (<kj/gj>) although at times plain velars were used (*buka*, *šungum* 'I heard'). On occasion Serbian <ć> was used for the voiceless dorso-patal stop, but the Serbian grapheme <đ> was only used where <dž> would have been the expected form, e. g. *đal* for *džal* 'goes' or *Đambazov* for *Džambazov*.

Although /h/ from etymological /x/ is consistently spelled <h>, /h/ from original /h/ is sometimes spelled and sometimes not: *Erdelezi* ~ *Herdelezi* 'St. George's Day', *maala* ~ *mahala* 'neighborhood, quarter'. This lability of /h/ is also found in the co-territorial Balkan languages. In Arli, aspiration is lost pre-consonantly and word-finally, but the representation in *Roma Times* is especially inconsistent and extends to other contexts, where variation occurs in the speech of some speakers, e. g. *jekh* ~ *jek* 'one', *dikhlja* ~ *diklja* 'he saw' *thaj* ~ *taj* 'and'. Distinctively aspirated consonants is an Indic feature that is unique to Romani in its European context, and its restriction in some Balkan dialects could be related to language contact.

Word division with negators and object pronouns is also inconsistent, e. g. *nadžanena* 'they do not know' *na mangena* 'they do not want', *kerelpe* 'it is done', *sikljovena pe* 'they are taught', *anavkerenalen* ~ *anavkerena len* 'they call them', *vakergelenge* 'they said to them' etc. Such problems of word division in the verb phrase were also characteristic of Macedonian before and during standardization and still need to be taught in the acquisition of literacy.

Among the most salient dialect-specific morphophonemic phenomena is the treatment of intervocalic and final /s/ in grammatical inflections. As Matras (2002: 69 f.) has shown, the elimination of non-final and final /s/ in Romani dialects is a complex of morphophonological changes that spread analogically and hierarchically starting with intervocalic /s/ in the 2nd person singular present to 1st plural present and instrumental singular, to the copula (first 3rd person present, then 3rd person past, then 1st and 2nd persons) and then in final position from athematic masculine nominative singular -s/ to 3rd person singular simple past, to reflexive pronominal accusative, masculine substantival accusative, adverbial -e[s], short form 2nd person singular and 1st person plural present, ending with native lexical items in general.¹¹ This is a feature in which Skopje Arli differs from other Balkan dialects insofar as its variants have eliminated /s/ in most or all of these positions. Macedonian publications have tended to favor s-less variants in all positions since the earliest publications, with two exceptions: The accusative reflexive pronoun (*pes* ~ *pe*), which tends to show variation, and the copula, in which the Barutči Arli forms that keep initial /s/ (1SG.PRS *sijum*, 3SG/PL.PRT *sine*) are consistently used rather than, e. g., *Topaanli* forms that lack initial (but etymologically intervocalic) /s/. The 3rd person present copula shows a fairly full range of Arli possibilities (*i*, *si*, *isi*). The remoteness or past tense marker -as, which is added to the present to form the imperfect and to the simple preterite to form the pluperfect in most dialects, is replaced by the analytical use of the 3rd person preterite in Arli (*sine* in Barutči and most other dialects). This formation is consistently used. *Roma Times* also shows consistency in the representation of the Skopje Arli

¹¹ Etymologically, the /s/ of the copula was intervocalic, although it (or its reflex) is now initial in most Romani dialects.

forms of the long 2nd person singular present, 1st person plural present, and the instrumental singular, without intervocalic /s/; the hiatus is always represented with <j> after <a> but only sometimes after <e>, e. g., *-ea* ~ *-eja* but consistently *-aja*. Short form present tense 2nd person singular lose final /s/ consistently: *-e*, 1PL *-a*.

2.2 Morphology

The Arli of Skopje is distinguished by a number of subdialects whose names go back to pre-earthquake (pre-1963) divisions in Skopje, including Topaanli, Barutči, Gilanska, Prištivačija, Madžurja, and Kovačija.¹² In terms of morphology and lexicon, *Roma Times* utilizes a number of Arli – at times specifically Barutči as opposed to Topaanli – features.

In the simple preterite, *Roma Times* like other publications uses the most common Arli paradigm with a jotted stem consonant and first person singular in /w/, e. g. *kerĝjum* 'I did'. In the 1st plural simple preterite, however, the Topaanli Arli ending *-em* rather than the more common *-am* is used, as was also the case in the first Romani newspaper in Macedonia, *Romani Sumnal* (see Friedman 1997). The stem vowel in /e/ instead of /a/ is presumably by analogy with /e/ in the 2nd and 3rd plural; it is interesting to note that the occurrence of this desinence has not been noted in any of the dialectological literature.¹³ On occasion, however, *Roma Times* also uses the more common 1st plural *-am*, e. g. *vakergjam* 'we said'.

Consistently and markedly Arli are the following features:

- Instrumental plural in *-car*, e. g. *bukencar* 'things, matters'
- Third person nominative personal pronouns: masculine *ov*, feminine *oj*, plural *ola*
- Short singular possessive pronouns with /l/ from earlier /xl/: *mlo* 'my', *ilo* 'your', *plo* 'one's own' (M.NOM.SG)
- Reflexive possessive pronoun base *pumar-* (by analogy with *amar-* 'our' and *tumar-* 'your PL')
- Nominative plural definite article *o*, e. g. *o manuša* 'the people'
- Imperfect and pluperfect in *sine*, e. g. *kerela sine* 'he was doing'

On the other hand *Roma Times* also mixes Balkan and Vlax forms in negation (*nane* and *na[j]je* for the third person negative existential), Vlax *khanči* 'nothing' where Balkan uses borrowed elements, e. g. *niso* cf. Macedonian *ništo* (both literally 'no-what'), adjectival gradation (*maj-* vs *naj-* for the superlative). A feature of *Roma Times* that differs from previous publications is the introduction of variation between Balkan and Vlax forms in the alternative equative copula, which inflects like an adjective agreeing with the subject. In the Balkan dialects, the forms are *tano*, *tani*, and *tane*, but in the Vlax dialects the shape is *talo*, etc.

2.3 Lexicon

In certain lexical choices, *Roma Times* uses specifically Arli forms, e. g. *agjaar* for 'thus' (this is Barutči Arli, Topaanli is *akhal*), and *oja* 'yes'. There is considerable variation in other lexi-

12 Topaanli < Topaana name of the old Gypsy quarter of Skopje < Turkish *tophane* 'arsenal, canon factory', Barutči < Turkish *barutçu* 'gun powder maker', Prishtina and Gilan/Gnjilane are the names of towns in Kosovo, madžur < Turkish *muhacir* 'migrant', Kovač is Slavic for 'blacksmith'.

13 It is also worth noting that Topaanli Arli, like Prilep, has non-jotted stems for the simple preterite.

cal items, however, especially those borrowed from different languages in different dialects, e. g. for 'only' *sal* (Albanian *sall*) ~ *salde* (probably contamination with Turkish *sade*) ~ *samo* (Macedonian) ~ *numa* (Romanian *numai*).

For the most part, the expansion of vocabulary is taking place through neologisms, Balkan colloquialisms (which entered the various Balkan languages most often via Turkish), and so-called internationalisms, e. g. *Maškardžijaneskoro monetarnikano fondi* 'International Monetary Fund', (Romani *maškar* 'between' Turkish *cihan* 'world') but *Internacionalno dive e romengoro* 'International Day of the Roms' (also older *maškarthemengoro* or *maškarthemutno* 'international' [Romani *them* 'country']), *finansisko hardžiba* 'financial costs' (Turkish *harc* 'expenditure, debt'). Calquing or semi-calquing on Macedonian is also a common practice, e. g. *maškardizutno maribe* 'civil war' (*diz* 'town' cf. Macedonian *građanska* 'civil' < *grad* 'town'). Although Jusuf/Kepeski (1980) favored the massive importation of Indicisms for the purpose of vocabulary expansion, in practice such borrowing has been limited. It is interesting to note, however, that in *Roma Times* the most important Indicisms are connected with the political sphere: *raštra* 'state', *sansara* 'peace', *radža* 'government', *biradžakoro kedin* 'NGO' (Romani *bi-* 'without' and *ked-* 'gather, collect').

In Friedman (1989) I argued that Romani has fewer ideological reasons for eliminating Turkisms, which elimination is a tendency seen in all the Balkan literary languages at certain periods, and so Romani could admit a larger component of Turkisms in its formal register as the standard is created. For the most part, this prediction has been born out, as seen in the use of colloquial Turkisms for vocabulary expansion in the 1994 census documents (Friedman 1996) as well as numerous examples in *Roma Times* (most of the examples with schwa, including all those cited in 2.1, are in fact Turkisms). Nonetheless there is also evidence that *Roma Times* has an editorial policy that occasionally favors native words over Turkish. Thus, for example, the native conjunction *thaj* 'and' is used consistently in articles and editorials, while the Turkism [*h*]em occurs only in quotations from people being interviewed. This policy, however, seems to be restricted to situations where there are already existing doublets.

2.4 Demographics and Dialects

The examples in section 2 can be taken as the most salient markers of the relative emerging stability of a Romani norm in Macedonia. To a certain extent, especially in the lexicon, the dialectal mixture in *Roma Times* is arguably a reflection of the Romani dialectal situation in Skopje. Of the 35,120 people in Macedonia who declared Romani as their mother tongue in 1994, 19,799 lived in Skopje, and of these 11,234 in Šuto Orizari (Antonovska 1997). In other words, more than half the Romani-speakers in Macedonia live in the capital, and more than half of these in a single district. This concentration of the Romani speaking population is due to several factors. In Macedonia, as in many other countries, there has been a significant migration from village to town and from towns to the capital, bringing together speakers of different dialects of all the languages of Macedonia, Romani included. A specifically Macedonian factor, however, is the terrible earthquake of 26 July 1963, which destroyed most of Skopje, including the traditional Romani neighborhoods. When the capital was rebuilt, a suburb was constructed in Šuto Orizari on the northern edge of Skopje to accommodate much of the Romani population. Regardless of the politics of this decision, in linguistic terms the result was the bringing together of Romani speakers who had previously lived in different quarters. This combined with urban influx has resulted in significantly more interdialectal exposure and, consequently, influence (see also note 8).

4 Conclusion: Romani in Macedonia and Models of Language Planning

The process of standardization of Romani is not conforming neatly to the patterns of language planning identified by sociolinguistics over the course of the past several decades, although the basic categories of the models remain applicable. Romani's stateless and non-territorial status puts efforts at standardization in a more complex context. Although many issues are not qualitatively different from those that have faced other languages during standardization, the fact that Romani is non-territorial, stateless, and a widely dispersed minority language without an earlier literary tradition contributes to its current de-central, pluralistic course of standardization. At the same time, support from the Macedonian state for Romani as spoken on its territory combined with indigenous developments among Romani elites suggests a move from de-central to pluricentric. Although Matras' (1999) characterization of the author's spoken variety as the determining factor in publications – a strategy with antecedents in, for example, Vuk's dialect choice for Serbo-Croatian – is also still manifest in some Macedonian publications such as the newspaper *Gostivareso Avazi* 'Voice of Gostivar' or in the poetry series *Hadmi ko vakti – Ćekor vo vreme* 'A step in time' (Sulejman 2001), both of which show local specificities, the language usage in *Roma Times* represents a combination of dialectal compromise and choice that is gradually achieving stability in some sections of the grammar while remaining labile in others. Early models of language planning such as Fishman's (1972: 56) reconciliation of Neustupný (1970) with Haugen (1966), seen in Figure 1, is basically a linear approach:

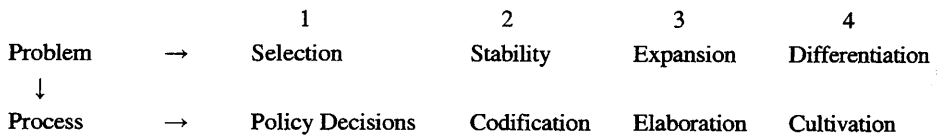


Figure 1

Radovanović (1992) posits a ten-stage cyclical schema that represents the phenomena associated with standardization in a more nuanced fashion, as seen in Figure 2:

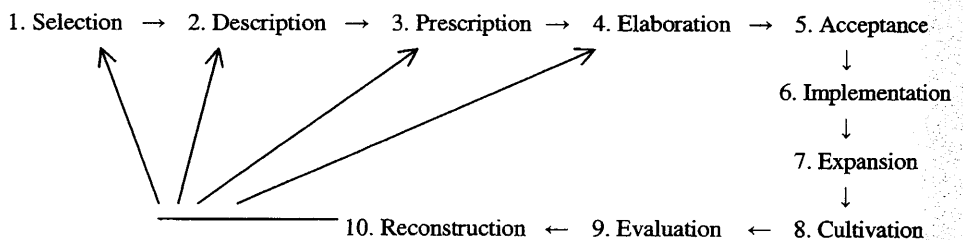


Figure 2

The last four of Radovanović's stages concern the fate of that standard once it is in place. In the case of Romani in Macedonia, it can be argued that the first three stages of Figure 1 are taking place simultaneously, while with regard to Figure 2 we can suggest that each arrow should be pointed at both ends. Thus, while selection (the Arli base), which has been realized de facto but was also explicitly discussed, has been more or less agreed upon, expansion/elaboration are receiving more attention than Stability/Codification. Neither description nor prescription is as important as elaboration and expansion. At the same time, acceptance is a

partial phenomenon as illustrated by the grammatical consistencies and inconsistencies in print media such as *Roma Times*.

A study of language use in *Roma Times* suggests that the portrayal of linguistic standardization as linear or cyclical misses stochastic elements in the process (cf. Hübschmannová/Neustupný 1996). In terms of models of language planning, the example of Romani demonstrates clearly that the various stages identified in such models are not necessarily discrete but can also be overlapping. Thus, for example, while the process of selection in Macedonia is not fully complete, the production of texts such as school books, dictionaries, newspapers, and literature, as well as non-print media, are contributing to stability/codification and expansion/elaboration. At the same time, formalized description remains predominantly on the level of academic articles and dialect studies, and explicit prescription is barely nascent. Aside from the orthography conference of 1992, norm selection is proceeding in Macedonia de facto rather than de jure. In this sense, the process of Romani standardization in Macedonia is following patterns seen for Romani in other countries which is to say that consensus is emerging through usage. A specific feature in Macedonia, however, is that writers are not necessarily using their own dialects. Rather, certain markedly Arli (especially Barutči Arli) features are becoming emblematic of the norm regardless of the dialect of the producer.

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