

1. Orthography and phonology

1.1 Orthography

Choice of orthography is often connected with ethnic and political symbolism. The choice among the Arabic, Greek, and Latin alphabets was a key issue in the quest for Albanian unity at the beginning of this century (cf. Skendi 1967:366-90). In Croatia, Franjo Tudjman's decree that bialphabetical Latin-Cyrillic signs be replaced by monoalphabetical Latin ones helped alienate the Serbian population of Croatia on the road to subsequent war (Glenny 1992:14). In Macedonia, the specification of the Macedonian language and its

Cyrillic alphabet as official at the federal level in article 7 of the constitution has led to conflicts over public signs, particularly with the Albanian minority (Nova Makedonija 94.07.28, Rilindja 94.08.03, Flaka e vëllazërimit 94.08.13).

In the case of Romani, there are at present a variety of competing trends in those publications utilizing Romani and aimed at whole or in part at Romani audiences (cf. Friedman 1985, §1.0). The international orthography approved at the Fourth World Romani Congress held in Warsaw in 1990 (Cortiade et al. 1991), which uses the IPA yogh (ɟ) for the voiced dental affricate and the acute for the strident palatals, is currently in use in publications funded by organizations such as the Commission of European Communities (e.g., Hill 1994, and the newsletter *Interface*).⁵ The magazine *Patrin* resembles the Fourth World Romani Congress in its use of the acute accent where most Latin-based orthographies use a haček, but in other respects its orthography resembles the First World Romani Congress (Kenrick 1981) orthography. In the Czech Republic, a Czech-based orthography, similar to that proposed at the First World Romani Congress (Kenrick 1981), is in use (e.g. Hübschmannová et al. 1991), while in Bulgaria there are several orthographies: one based on Cyrillic (e.g. Malikov 1992, Kjučukov 1993b, Marushiakova and Popov 1994), one using English spelling conventions (e.g. Kjučukov 1993a), and one similar to Kenrick (1981; e.g. Marushiakova and Popov 1994). As has been noted elsewhere, the problem with the Fourth World Romani Congress orthography is that in other East European orthographies (notably Polish and former Serbo-Croatian), the acute is used to indicate mellow palatals (cf. de Gila Kochanowski 1994:81, who has proposed an orthography based on the standard transliteration of Devanagari into the Latin alphabet but without diacritics, in which the palatals are represented by sh, zh, c, j). RS follows standard East European practice of using the wedge (*haček*, *čiriklo*) to indicate the strident palatals (š, ž, č, dž). In this it continues the standard Latinization practice for Macedonian and other Slavic languages.

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