

IN SEARCH OF THE CENTER AND PERIPHERY:  
LINGUISTIC ATTITUDES, MINORITIES, AND LANDSCAPES  
IN THE CENTRAL BALKANS

**Maxim Makartsev & Max Wahlström (eds.)**

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Tomi Huttunen, Jouko Lindstedt, Ahti Nikunlassi

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Kukka Pitkänen

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## **Introduction**

This book is an attempt to capture and analyze aspects of multilingualism, the situation of minority languages and their speakers, and non-standard linguistic variation in Albania, Greece, and Macedonia. Most of the contributions to this volume are based on material collected during a field excursion to the border area among these three countries in the Central Balkans, with the Lakes Ohrid and Prespa as its geographical point of orientation, organized by the Helsinki Area & Language Studies (HALS) initiative in June 2015.

### **The Central Balkans today: multilingualism, linguistic minorities, and linguistic variation**

Multilingualism has significant implications for the Balkans. Widespread, stable, mutual multilingualism is widely thought to be one of the preconditions for the rise of the language contact phenomenon known as the Balkan sprachbund or linguistic area, characterized by grammatical convergence among the languages. A key question regarding today's multilingual practices in the Balkans is the extent to which the current situation continues to mirror past linguistic diversity. Of particular interest is to determine whether today's differences between social, ethnic, and linguistic groups in their multilingualism is indicative of the historical sociolinguistic circumstances that gave rise to the linguistic area.

In the Balkans, the regions of Albania and geographical Macedonia resisted modern state-building processes the longest, being the last part of Europe to remain within the multiethnic Ottoman Empire. Only in the early 20th century did the area of the Central Balkans become divided among recently established nation states, with all having one favored or regionally preferred ethnicity and language as their emblems as well as, oftentimes, religion. The state-building processes included, for instance, the population exchange in 1923 between Turkey and Greece. The process involved two million people – Christians in Turkey and Muslims in Greece – and remains one of the largest ethnic cleansings in the history of Europe, approved and endorsed by the international community of the time.

Despite these radical changes to its demographic composition, the Central Balkans remains to this day ethnically and linguistically the most diverse part of the Balkans, as the articles in this book likewise demonstrate. The Central Balkans also displays a particularly high concentration of convergent linguistic features among the languages, which makes it tempting to call the Central Balkans the center of the Balkan sprachbund as well.

Linguistic minority groups do not always coincide with ethnic, religious, or social lines of division in the Central Balkans, but when they do, there are often serious implications for the minority. The wars following the collapse of Yugoslavia in the 1990s epitomized the inter-ethnic intolerance and political chauvinism in the Balkans. The horrors in the Western Balkans nevertheless had the unfortunate effect of causing similar developments in the other Balkan countries to go somewhat unnoticed. A nationalistic upsurge before the collapse of socialism was characteristic of both Romania and Bulgaria, where hostile policies toward ethnic and linguistic minorities led to the persecution of vulnerable groups by the ailing dictatorships.

In the Central Balkans, Greece to this day fails to reconcile the fact that before the early 20th century, modern-day Northern Greece was predominantly ethnically non-Greek. This failure is reflected in the refusal to officially recognize any minorities other than religious ones. Policies aimed at the assimilation of the ethnic and linguistic minorities were implemented throughout the century, and especially the civil war in the late 1940s and the military dictatorship between 1967 and 1974 meant a harsh backlash against minorities. At the same time, socialist Albania was characterized by a policy of isolation vis-à-vis the international community and paranoia about presumed enemies, both external and internal. Only a small number of those in ethnic and linguistic minorities gained recognition and protection under the law, a situation that has been slowly improving since the early 1990s.

Official Macedonia often wishes to portray itself as a Slavic, Eastern Orthodox nation, but has long faced the pressure of coming to terms with the fact that one-third of the population is Muslim, most of them Albanians. The tensions between the Albanian minority and the Macedonian majority culminated in the Macedonian conflict in 2001. In addition, members of another minority, the Slavic Muslim Torbeši, seek recognition as a separate group. However, the recognition of the Torbeši would, in the eyes of some, threaten the status of the Slavic Macedonians as the entitled majority in the country. The Albanian-Macedonian tensions have been aggravated in the 2010s by the economic crisis and the actions of increasingly authoritarian

governments, yet an emerging civic society has begun to show its strength through anti-government demonstrations, unprecedented in scale and often manifestly multi-ethnic in nature.

One “stateless” minority in particular, the Roms, has been and continues to be ostracized throughout the Balkans. Many legislative changes aimed at improving the status of the Roms have often fallen short, since discrimination against the Roms persists in everyday interactions with the majority. Also, in societies characterized by corruption and reliance on social networks for favors, social mobility for the Roms is hampered still further by limited access to the monetary economy and the lack of social capital. Meanwhile, the socio-economic status of the Aromanian minority does not differ significantly from that of the majority population. In addition, in Greece, the Aromanians do not necessarily consider themselves a distinct ethnicity, but rather Aromanian-speaking Greeks.

Against this background, there are several questions related to the linguistic minorities in the Central Balkans. The two strategies used to advance nationalistic agendas throughout the 20th century, namely, assimilation and exclusion, have, in addition to the more general processes of urbanization and emigration, thoroughly changed the linguistic landscape. The resulting situation has meant, on the one hand, that for the younger members of linguistic minorities, the minority language is often no longer more than a heritage language, with varying levels of competence. On the other hand, the widespread mutual multilingualism of the previous centuries has been restricted to the speakers of minority languages, whereas the members of the respective majority languages have become essentially monolingual, excluding the “international” languages taught in school.

Another factor that affects linguistic variation, one that is common to all of the developed world and that blurs traditional dialect boundaries, is the role of standard languages, prescribed through education and the media. Yet in the Central Balkans, the effect of standardized varieties is not necessarily limited to those speakers with access to education in their own language, as the articles in this book demonstrate. The situation is, however, more complex with regard to speakers of Romani and the Balkan Romance languages Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian because of the absence of a kin state, the lack of a widely accepted linguistic norm, and often, only sporadic access to education in their language.

## **The ethnic and linguistic make-up of the Central Balkans**

The participants in the Central Balkans field expedition of the Helsinki Area & Language Studies (HALS) initiative in June 2015 visited twelve villages, towns, and cities in the region surrounding Lakes Ohrid and Prespa.<sup>1</sup> More than 200, mainly multilingual, informants were interviewed in Albania, Greece, and Macedonia.



**Locations visited by the members of HALS initiative in June 2015 around Lakes Ohrid and Prespa.**

<sup>1</sup> The participants in the HALS initiative field expedition were: Borče Arsov, Dušica Božović, Andrei Călin Dumitrescu, Pavel Falaleev, Paula Hämeen-Anttila, Jani Korhonen, Antti Laine, Jouko Lindstedt, Maxim Makartsev, Motoki Nomachi, Milica Petruševska, Justyna Pierżyńska, Kukka Pitkänen, Heini Puurunen, Elizabeta Ralpovska, Janne Saarikivi, Ksenia Shagal, Ljudmil Spasov, Max Wahlström, Johanna Virkkula, and Chingduang Yurayong.

A major part of the tri-border region in Southeastern Albania belongs to the Korça District. The city of Korça is a multiethnic and multi-religious city with an Albanian majority and a significant Aromanian and Macedonian presence. The city is closely connected with neighboring Greece through trans-border migration and economic ties, with an important part of the inhabitants' income coming from money sent by migrants to Greece. The city also hosts major Romani and Egyptian communities (on the Egyptian community, see Korhonen, Makartsev, Petruševska, & Spasov in this volume). The southern shore of Lake Prespa is also part of the Korça District; with its predominantly Orthodox Macedonian population, especially in the municipality of Pustec, the area has strong ties with the Republic of Macedonia. Many of the inhabitants also have Macedonian citizenship. The settlements in the Prespa region are connected with the rest of Albania only by a narrow pass between the mountains near the village of Zvezda.

On the Macedonian part of the tri-border region, the larger urbanized centers include Ohrid and Struga on Lake Ohrid, Resen on Lake Prespa, and Bitola. All four cities or towns are historically multi-ethnic, yet there are striking differences among them. The city of Ohrid continues to be the cultural center for the larger region of the Central Balkans as it has been since at least late Antiquity. The majority of the population is Macedonian, but there is an important Turkish and Albanian presence in the older parts of the city. There are also neighborhoods that are traditionally Aromanian, Romani, and Egyptian. The multilingual and multicultural character of the city was further strengthened by its popularity as a summer vacation destination in Yugoslavia, as it continues to be for tourists from the modern successor states and from the Netherlands, among other places.

The town of Struga has a significant Albanian and Macedonian Muslim presence, although many of these people in fact live in villages outside the town, with the town serving as the center of many of their daily activities. Resen and Bitola are, on first appearance, predominantly Macedonian, but they too have major Albanian and Turkish communities, which appear to be closely connected with each other. Bitola is connected through various trans-border activities with the city of Florina on the Greek side of the border, a distance of only some 30 kilometers. In Greece, the village of Kristallopigi on the Greek-Albanian border has a predominantly Aromanian population. The towns of Kastoria and Florina, situated in northwestern Greece, have significant Macedonian and Aromanian minorities.



## **Disposition**

This book opens with the article ETHNIC AND LINGUISTIC MINORITIES IN THE BORDER REGION OF ALBANIA, GREECE, AND MACEDONIA: AN OVERVIEW OF LEGAL AND SOCIETAL STATUS by Jani Korhonen, Maxim Makartsev, Milica Petruševska, and Ljudmil Spasov. The article offers an updated view of the situation, which is sorely needed because of the rapidly changing political and social landscape. The article can also be read as an introduction to the remaining articles in this book, as it provides background and terminology necessary for understanding the underlying complexities in the region.

Jouko Lindstedt's article MULTILINGUALISM IN THE CENTRAL BALKANS IN LATE OTTOMAN TIMES seeks to contextualize the evidence of the historical sociolinguistic situation in the region. Lindstedt argues for a more fine-grained picture of historical multilingualism in the late Ottoman Central Balkans, one that is characterized by stability and regulated inter-ethnic relations, but with clear-cut differences in the level of prestige assigned to the different languages.

Dušica Božović's and Justyna Pierżyńska's article "IT WAS BETTER IN THE PAST:" THE SERBO-CROATIAN LANGUAGE IN MACEDONIA TODAY examines current attitudes toward the Serbo-Croatian language in Macedonia. The authors argue that the former lingua franca of Yugoslavia, now known as Bosnian, Croatian, Macedonian, and Serbian, continues to play a role in Macedonia and that its non-native speakers often view the language positively and with nostalgia.

Paula Hämeen-Anttila and Antti Olavi Laine's article LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPES IN THE CENTRAL BALKANS: THE MAIN COMMERCIAL STREETS IN STRUGA AND OHRID sets out to map written multilingualism in public spaces. The authors conclude that the commonly perceived lines of ethnic division in the two Macedonian towns are attestable also in the languages used in signs, advertisements, and posters along the two streets.

Andrei Călin Dumitrescu's article INTERMARRIAGE AND THE INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF AROMANIAN IN THE CENTRAL BALKANS concentrates on intermarriage within the Aromanian communities and the intergenerational transmission of the Aromanian language. The author identifies several causes for concern regarding the survival of the Aromanian language, which contrasts with the informants' often outspoken optimism.

In his article TURKISH LOANWORDS IN MACEDONIAN: SPEAKERS' AWARENESS AND ATTITUDES, Pavel Falaleev shows that, despite Turkish loanwords being a well-known characteristic of Macedonian, speakers are not

always able to distinguish Turkish words from non-Turkish ones. The author finds that the majority of speakers of Macedonian in Macedonia today view the Turkish loanwords positively, yet the results regarding Macedonian speakers outside the borders of Macedonia are less conclusive.

Borče Arsov's article ON SOME LEXICAL ARCHAISMS IN THE *BOBOSHTICA GOSPEL* AND THE BOBOSHTICA DIALECT examines a layer of South Slavic vocabulary that is absent from the adjacent Macedonian dialects. The author finds that the peripheral dialect, despite being sometimes characterized as innovative, preserves a number of lexical archaisms, a situation also found in the *Boboshtica Gospel*, a late 19th-century manuscript.

Elizabeta Ralpovska's article LEXICAL FEATURES OF THE MACEDONIAN DIALECTS IN THE PRESPA REGION sketches an overview of the lexical layers in the Macedonian dialects around the Prespa Lakes. The author's material, characterized by Albanian, Turkish, and Greek loanwords, also illustrates the historical language contacts in the area.

Chingduang Yurayong's article ADNOMINAL POSSESSION WITH KINSHIP TERMS IN MACEDONIAN DIALECTS AROUND LAKES OHRID AND PRESPA contributes to the study of possession marking, which often displays similarities between the Balkan sprachbund languages. Among other things, the author observes younger speakers' preference for structures that adhere to the standard language instead of structures deemed dialectal.

Ksenia Shagal's article FACTORS REGULATING VARIATION IN MACEDONIAN RELATIVE CLAUSES explores the use of two relativization strategies, a relative pronoun and a *relativum generale*, the latter being a feature of several varieties of Balkan sprachbund languages. The author argues that, despite the often overlapping distribution of the two strategies, their variation is affected by restrictiveness, animacy, and stylistics.

Moscow / Zürich, 17 October, 2016

*Maxim Makartsev & Max Wahlström*

*In search of the center and periphery*



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**Above: Participants of the HALS field expedition together with locals in Asamati.  
Below: The Small Prespa Lake (photographer: Ksenia Shagal).**



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Jani Korhonen (The University of Helsinki)  
Maxim Makartsev (The Institute for Slavic Studies  
of the Russian Academy of Sciences)  
Milica Petruševska (The Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje)  
Ljudmil Spasov (The Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje)

## **Ethnic and linguistic minorities in the border region of Albania, Greece, and Macedonia: An overview of legal and societal status**

This article examines the legal and societal status of ethnic and linguistic minorities and minority politics in the tri-border region of Albania, Greece, and Macedonia. Our goal is to provide a much-needed overview of the current situation, which is characterized by fast-changing political and social landscapes, transformation processes that began with the fall of Socialism in the early 1990s, and the economic crisis of the late 2000s. The present circumstances of minorities in this region are illustrated by contrasting official documents with field data collected by the authors, mainly in June of 2015, and recent academic research on the topic.

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## **1 Introduction: The tri-border region and its ethnic and linguistic minorities**

The borders in the region of the Central Balkans were largely established in the early twentieth century. Drawing these boundaries had the effect of taking territory which had been an amalgam of diverse cultural, religious, and linguistic groups and dividing it into a number of nation states in which only one ethnicity and one language were assigned preferred official status. For instance, in the former Yugoslavia and in the later independent Republic of Macedonia, the Slavic-speaking Orthodox population was given dominant status. Meanwhile, in the nation states of Albania and Greece, the same Slavic population remained a minority, whose rights were often limited in varying degrees of severity over the years. Similar processes took place with the Albanian populations in Greece and Macedonia. In addition, the Aromanians, Roms, Egyptians, and Turks were permanently relegated to an undesirable position in all of the new states.

For purposes of this article, we included in our analysis those groups that speak a language different from the majority language of their respective countries. We also narrowed our analysis to the minority groups that continue to live within the current boundaries of a given country, at least since the end of the Balkan Wars in 1913, when the present borders of the Central Balkans came into existence. Yet there are some small, traditional groups who are not included in this inquiry, for example, the Sephardic Jews and Tsakonian Greeks.

An additional task is the naming and definition of the various ethnic and linguistic minorities. This is a complicated task, since, in the Balkans, these definitions often exist at the point where among national and nationalistic ideologies, short-term political interests, and attempts at self-identification by the minorities themselves collide. In this article, we endeavor to use primarily the names that are based on the self-identifications of those belonging to a given group (see Framework 1995, Art. 3), while acknowledging that there will be some individuals in any community who may have a variety of other, sometimes context-bound, identities and self-identifications.<sup>2</sup> When there were several options available, we preferred a term with the most specificity and established in the academic literature. To avoid ambiguity, we have also

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<sup>2</sup> Cf., for instance, the terms used by members of one and the same community in Golloborda, Albania, for self-identification: Macedonians, Muslims, Turks, *naši*, *sl'avoj*, *bullgarët e lashtë* ("Ancient Bulgarians"), among others (Sobolev & Novik 2013, 177–182).

tried to include the autonoms for the respective groups at first mention if these differ from the term we have chosen to use.

One instance of naming nevertheless requires closer scrutiny here. The Slavic minority in Albania and Greece has been subjected to a decades-old debate between Bulgarian and Macedonian scholars as well as an ongoing Macedonian-Greek political dispute regarding the name of the Republic of Macedonia. In this article, the term “Macedonian” will be applied to members of the respective minorities in Albania and Greece. Our choice is based on the following arguments: 1) the term Macedonian was used by the overwhelming majority of informants during the Central Balkans field expedition of the Helsinki Area & Language Studies (HALS) initiative in June 2015, and also during other surveys conducted in this region by members of our team within the last five years; 2) a variety of initiatives has been launched by members of the minority, promoting Macedonian identity among the local Slavic population, both in Albania and in Greece; 3) Standard Macedonian is the closest possible Slavic *Dachsprache* for the respective dialects; 4) in Albania, the Macedonian minority is officially recognized by the state.

This article is divided into three main sections, each of which addresses the situation in one of the three countries. Each section is divided into two subsections, introducing the groups individually and discussing the status of the minorities and the problems these communities face. We have endeavored to include information about the current legal status of each group, the regions where they are found, their religions, dialects/language(s), and the use of their dialects/language(s) in the media and in education. The size of the minority groups is in general highly contested; official records are either lacking (as in Greece) or show major discrepancies or inconsistencies (as in Albania). For these reasons, reliable, if unfortunately somewhat outdated, statistics could be presented only for Macedonia; for Albania and Greece, we chose to concentrate on describing the areas in which the respective minorities can be found, for instance, by identifying the names of villages and larger regions. We have also attempted to provide an up-to-date list of references for further information. Yet an exhaustive bibliography on the topic is beyond the scope of this article.

## **2 Albania**

The Republic of Albania has a population of 2,886,026 (1 January, 2016, see Popullsia 2016). The official records of minorities, including their number, names, and places of settlement, differ, depending on the account. Moreover,



these data are often politically contested. The latest census, conducted in 2011, was criticized as being unreliable by members of the minorities themselves and by the Council of Europe (Advisory 2012). The main focus of criticism has been the latest amendments to the Albanian legislation, which introduce fines for “incorrect” responses to the census questionnaire, meaning answers that are inconsistent with the identity previously declared by the same person or inconsistent with the information on record in registration offices (Alb. *Gjendje Civile*) (ibid.).<sup>3</sup> The discrepancy between the answers given for “Population according to mother tongue” and those for “Population according to ethnic and cultural affiliation” (Census 2011), together with the large number of people who did not answer the latter question (more than 450,000 chose the options “prefer not to answer” or “not relevant/not stated”), has left a gray area, making it almost impossible to provide reliable figures for minorities. For this reason, the aim here is a qualitative analysis of these communities, providing information about the types of settlements – whether monoethnic or multiethnic, dense or dispersed – and their locations, whether in central or peripheral parts of the country. These data are also reflected in the preservation of the native linguistic varieties.

Official policies that regulate the status of linguistic and ethnic minorities mandate a three-part classification into national minorities, linguistic minority groups, and so-called communities. National minorities (Alb. *minoritete kombëtare*) include groups that can be perceived as having a kin-state outside Albania (cf. Advisory 2012, 9). In socialist Albania, two of these national minorities were institutionalized by introducing so-called minority zones populated by Macedonians (9 villages in the Prespa region) and Greeks (99 villages in the district of Gjirokastra; see Pettifer 2001, 6). However, despite having kin-states, the Serbian-Montenegrin minority was never institutionalized in a similar way. Only within these minority zones were the cultural and educational rights of the minorities recognized and the members of these groups permitted to attend public schools in their own languages. The Lake Prespa region, where the officially recognized Macedonian communities live, was kept isolated from the rest of the country. The only

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<sup>3</sup> Representatives of the Macedonian minority have highlighted this issue on several occasions by providing evidence of intimidation or fines being handed down for “wrong” answers. According to Jani Mavromati (personal communication to Maxim Makartsev), the leader of the Greek cultural organization OMONIA in Tirana, the problem with the census of the Greek minority is the large number of seasonal migrants; the census was intentionally held at a time when many members of the migrant communities were abroad (on these migrant communities, see Cohen & Sirkeci 2011).



road connecting it with the rest of Albania had a check-point through which only those with special permission were authorized to pass. In addition, several villages (including Zaroshkë; Mac. *Zrnosko*) existed as enclaves within an enclave and were surrounded by barbed wire; the dwellers had to obtain a special permit even to approach Lake Prespa (Makartsev et al. [forthcoming]).

Linguistic minority groups (Alb. *pakica gjuhësore*) are those that do not have a kin-state. According to Albanian officials, there is no difference in the treatment of minorities, regardless of whether they constitute a national or a linguistic minority (Advisory 2011, 9). Nevertheless, there is one clear difference that sets minorities apart: they do not receive state-funded education in their own language. The only minority for which the Albanian government takes affirmative action is the Roms, who are defined as a linguistic minority, not a national minority; the government encourages their registration in civil registry offices and supports their enrollment in schools (Third Report 2011, 8).

“Communities” (Alb. *komunitete*) is a vague term that covers smaller groups while excluding them from the legal framework for minorities (Hada 2015). These communities include the Egyptians and Bosniaks (more on this term below). In the following subsection, the minority groups are presented in the same order as here, starting with the national minorities.

### *2.1 Minorities in Albania*

GREEKS (Alb. *grekë*; autonym *Éllines*) live mainly in the southern part of Albania, that is, in Himara,<sup>4</sup> Delvina, Saranda, Gjirokastra, and especially the Dropull area. In nationalist Greek discourse, this region is referred to as Northern Epirus (Gr. *Vorios Ipiros*). Traditionally, the inhabitants are Orthodox Christians. Albania’s Greek community was significantly affected by the opening of the borders in the 1990s, and many of its members left for Greece.<sup>5</sup> Traditionally, the Greek minority settlements are dominated by Greek culture and Eastern Orthodox Christianity, and the communities are closely knit. Every week Television *Gjirokastra* broadcasts a one-hour program in Greek (*Perpatóntas ston tópo mas* or “Walking through our

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<sup>4</sup> This list of settlements is by no means exhaustive; however, in the villages listed here, the existence of a significant number of members of a minority is confirmed by our experience from the field.

<sup>5</sup> According to Hada (2015, 65), many villages in the area of Dropull saw the emigration to Greece of 50–70 % of the population. However, Hada does not provide any sources to support this claim.

Land”), while Radio Gjirokastra airs a daily program in Greek. There are three Greek-language newspapers in Albania: *To órama tou néou aióna*, *I foní tis Omónoias*, and *Krataiós lógos*. For more information on the Greek minority, see Tsitselikis and Christopoulos (2003), Nitsiakos (2010), and Brown and Joseph (2013).

MACEDONIANS (Alb. *maqedonas*; autonym *Makedonci*)<sup>6</sup> live in the municipalities of Pustec, Golloborda, Gora,<sup>7</sup> and Devoll (in the village of Vërník), as well as in larger Albanian cities such as Tirana, Durrës, Elbasan, and Korça (see, e.g., Makartsev 2014). Traditionally, the Macedonians are Orthodox Christians. Two cities are especially important for the Macedonian minority – Korça and Bilisht – and have become centers of gravity for various groups of Macedonians: the Prespans, people from the village of Vërník, and the Aegean Macedonians, who were forced to leave Greece after the fall of the Democratic Army there in 1949 following the Greek civil war.<sup>8</sup> The Macedonians speak various western dialects of the Macedonian language (Vidoeski 1998, 339–352).<sup>9</sup> Standard Macedonian is taught in the schools of the Prespa region. The spoken varieties used include local dialects, standard Macedonian, and regional Macedonian koinés (e.g., a Debar regional koiné), depending on where the speakers obtained their education. In the cities, a large number of heritage speakers with strong proficiency can be found, even though Albanian becomes the primary language as soon as youngsters start school. Since 1989, many of the members of the community have left for

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<sup>6</sup> In the region of Korça, the Macedonians are sometimes called *shule* in Albanian, a term considered derogatory by members of the community.

<sup>7</sup> In the annual report by the office of the people’s ombudsman (*Avokati i Popullit*), the Gorans, who in Kosovo form a group of Slavic-speaking Muslims, are mentioned as holding the status of *komunitet* (Raporti 2014, 89 et passim). It seems, however, that, unlike the Gorans in Kosovo, no further information is available about their status in Albania. The annual report is the only source that acknowledges their separate status in Albania, and we suspect that the author of the report uncritically applied the status of the Gorans in Kosovo to the Gorans in Albania. Cf. the statement, “Im Gegensatz zu den Gorani im Kosovo besitzen die albanischen Gorani keinerlei staatlich anerkannte Minderheitenrechte” [“Unlike the Gorani in Kosovo, the Gorani in Albania do not enjoy any minority rights acknowledged by the state”] in Schmidinger (2013, 99).

<sup>8</sup> There is a Macedonian market in Korça called Shulet. At the beginning of the 1990s, the market’s emergence was supported by a simplified visa requirement for members of the Macedonian community in Albania, which allowed them to control many trans-border activities in the region between Macedonia and Albania, especially trade.

<sup>9</sup> Yet the migrants from Aegean Macedonia are mostly heritage speakers of various southern Macedonian dialects (Nestorion, Kastoria, Florina, etc.). The dialects of Boboshtica and Vërník belong to southeastern Macedonian dialects, according to Vidoeski’s classification.

Macedonia, which means that some of the traditionally Macedonian regions have very few Macedonians left.<sup>10</sup> Many Albanian villages in the Dibra region are connected with the Macedonian town of Debar by weekly visits to its marketplaces, which means that many of the Albanians are able to communicate in Macedonian. Radio Korça airs a daily program in the Macedonian language. There is also a Macedonian-language magazine called *Ilinden*. The publication of the newspaper *Prespa* was recently closed due to financial problems. A project for broadcasting television programs in Macedonian (on Television Kristal in Korça) was launched in 2010, but did not succeed. Recent studies on the Macedonian minority include Mazniku and Cfarku (2009), Sobolev and Novik (2013); in addition, there are Steinke and Ylli (2008) on Golloborda; Dugušina, Ermolin, and Morozova (2012), Steinke and Ylli (2010), Schmidinger (2013), Pleushku and Pleushku (2014) on Gora; and Steinke and Ylli (2007) on Prespa and Vërnik.<sup>11</sup>

SERBS (Alb. *serbë*; autonym *Srbi*) and MONTENEGRINS (Alb. *malazezë*; autonym *Crnogorci*) are treated as one group by the Albanian state (*minoriteti serbo-malazez*). These peoples inhabit the villages on the southern shore of Lake Shkodra. In the villages of the Vraça area and the surrounding areas, the population is traditionally Orthodox, but Fier and the surrounding villages are inhabited by a group of Slavic Muslim migrants, who left the Sandžak region in Southern Serbia in 1924 (for further details, see Makartsev [forthcoming]).<sup>12</sup> From a dialectological point of view, the Vraça area continues the BCMS (Bosnian/Croatian/Montenegrin/Serbian) dialects of the Zeta-Raška region (Okuka 2008, 318). In Fier and the vicinity, migrants from Sandžak use the Novi Pazar-Sjenica dialect. Although in Vraça and its vicinity the village inhabitants still speak dialectal BCMS, in Fier, the third and fourth generations of the migrant community have largely switched to Albanian. They learn Standard Serbian in language courses created by local initiatives, but this is not enough for them to communicate successfully in the language. A recent study of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Vraça and the

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<sup>10</sup> Only two families remain in Herbel, which used to host a large community before the fall of the communism; one person remains in Kërçisht i Epërm; in Kërçisht i Sipërm there are no longer any Macedonians, but the local Albanians can speak the Macedonian dialect, which they learned mostly as children (Maxim Makartsev's field data, 2013).

<sup>11</sup> None of the remaining speakers in Boboshtica and Drenova has a Macedonian (or a Bulgarian) identity. See Makartsev 2016 on the identity of Slavic speakers in Boboshtica.

<sup>12</sup> Note, however, that this part of the community was not present in Albania in 1913, having arrived only later.

vicinity is Steinke and Ylli (2012). On the Serbian minority in Fier and its surrounding, see Makartsev (forthcoming).

AROMANIANS (Alb. pl. *arumunë* or *vllëh*; autonym *rrãmãni* or *armãni*)<sup>13</sup> are located in settlements in the areas between Lushnja, Fier, Berat, Vlora, Korça, Përmet, Gjirokastra, Saranda and their surroundings.<sup>14</sup> An important center for the Aromanians is Voskopoja (Arom. Moscopole), today a village, but in the eighteenth century, the second largest city in the Balkans based on the number of inhabitants and boasting its own university and a printing house. Voskopoja was nearly destroyed in 1788 and was abandoned. Today's rise in the Aromanian population is a recent development, which began in the 1990s. The closing of the borders during Enver Hoxha's regime in Albania and the sedenterization of the Aromanians have led to significant changes in the ethnic make-up of several regions of Albania. In the region of Korça, two different processes took place: a large-scale migration of the Slavic population from Boboshtica and Drenova to Korça and other Albanian cities and the sedentarization of the local Aromanians.<sup>15</sup>

There are two, contradictory, nation-wide discourses regarding the Aromanians. The pro-Romanian discourse holds that Aromanians speak a dialect of the Romanian language, whereas the pro-Greek discourse claims that the Aromanians are *vlachófonoι* (or *latinófonoι*) *Éllines* – “Aromanian/Latin-speaking Greeks.” There is an Aromanian-language newspaper, *Fratia*,<sup>16</sup> and TV Apollon in Fier broadcasts in Aromanian, yet both activities are on hold at the moment.<sup>17</sup> Further information on Aromanians in Albania as well as a more exhaustive bibliography will be found in Andrei Dumitrescu's article in this volume.

ROMS (Alb. pl. *romë*; Rom. *rroma*; other exonyms include *gabelë* in the north of the country, *arixhinj* in the south, and *kurbatë* in Korça; see Gëdeshi & Miluka 2012). Many Roms used to be nomads and became sedentary only

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<sup>13</sup> The exonym *çobanë* (*çobançë* for the language; in Standard Albanian *çoban* means “shepherd”) is considered pejorative by some members of the group, although some of our informants used it as an autonym.

<sup>14</sup> See the map in T. Kahl (2009).

<sup>15</sup> Similar processes took place in Northern Greece: after many Macedonians were forced to leave the vicinity of Kastoria at the end of the 1940s, owing to the fall of the Democratic Army, their private estates were used as land for settling Aromanians.

<sup>16</sup> The magazine *Arumunët / Vllëhët Albania* published by Valentin Mustaka was closed for financial reasons (Valentin Mustaka, pc.).

<sup>17</sup> The television channel is currently planning to continue.

relatively recently (Hasluck 1938).<sup>18</sup> The Roms traditionally share the religion of their surrounding community, which in Albania means mostly Islam or Orthodox Christianity. Their religious practices sometimes include elements of syncretism. A good recent sociological study of the Roms (and Egyptians; see below) in Albania is by Gëdeshi and Miluka (2012). The Roms in Albania speak various Romani dialects, and they live in several, often closely located, settlements, yet the dialects display relatively little intermixture due to a prevalent endogamous tradition. The distribution of Romani dialects in Albania has not yet received an exhaustive study. TV Kristal in Korça has a bilingual (Albanian and Romani) half-hour television program, *Na njihni, pastaj na paragjykoni!* (“First get to know us and only then judge!”), broadcast every week by a local station and transmitted to several other towns in the region. More information on Roms in Albania can be found in Gëdeshi and Miluka (2012) and Koinova (2000).

EGYPTIANS (also (*h*)*ashkali*; Alb. *egjiptianë*;<sup>19</sup> other terms include *magjypë* in Shkodra, *evgjitë* in Korça and Berat, and *jev gj* in Elbasan; see Gëdeshi & Miluka 2012, 16) live in the bigger Albanian cities such as Shkodra, Berat, Elbasan, and Korça (Hada 2015, 118). In a recent study, Gëdeshi and Miluka (2012, 18) characterized the religion of the Egyptians as syncretic, with a combination of elements of Islam, Orthodox Christianity, and animism. The Egyptians speak Albanian exclusively and are distinguished from the rest of the population by their perceived physical characteristics and their social status, being, along with the Roms, the most marginalized group in Albanian society. Traditionally, Egyptians are blacksmiths and musicians. Earlier in the Balkans, the group was not generally considered separate from the Roms, and only after the war in Kosovo when their suffering and large-scale migration from Kosovo into neighboring countries gained attention did they become known internationally as *Ashkali* (Marushiakova & Popov 2001). The

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<sup>18</sup> Gëdeshi & Miluka (2012, 17) give a list of Albanian NGOs that deal with Romani and Egyptian issues. Unfortunately, there is no information about whether the organizations are currently active. These groups include *Amaro Dives*, *Amaro Drom*, *Rromani Baxt*, *Alb Rrom*, *Shoqata e Romëve për Integrim*, *Rromani Kham*, *Unioni Demokratik i Egjiptianëve*, *Kabaja*, *Gratë Rome*, *Romët e Veriut*, *Zemra e Nënës*, and *Roms Active Albania*. The organization *Disutni Albania* is currently active in the region of Korça.

<sup>19</sup> This group does not speak any language other than Albanian, which is why their name in Albanian is also an autonym. We decided to include this group in our survey because of its special status, even though they cannot be considered to have the status of a linguistic minority. Until recently, Egyptians were (and sometimes still are) considered a distinct group of Roms, and since the latter are a separate linguistic minority, it is important to acknowledge this difference between the groups.

endonym “Egyptians” is based on an ethnogenetic myth, still upheld by the community (cf. the etymology of “Gypsy” and related terms). For more information about the Egyptians, see Gëdeshi and Miluka (2012) and Koinova (2000).

BOSNIACS (Alb. pl. *boshnjakë*; autonym *Bosanci*) inhabit the village of Borakaj (also known as Borake) near Durrës and its satellite settlement Koxhas, the people having migrated from there to the larger region of Shijak. According to oral tradition, the Bosniacs arrived in 1875 from the region of Mostar in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In recent decades, the Bosniacs of Borakaj have developed a range of economic activities connected to Highway SH2, the state road between Durrës and Tirana, the village of Borakaj being located only a few hundred meters from the highway. Relations between the Bosniac and the Serbian and Montenegrin communities are contentious, with the name of the Bosnian language and the autonym *bosanci* being in dispute, as is the case for all languages that emerged out of the common Serbo-Croatian standard language of the former Yugoslavia. Various activities in the village of Borakaj are sponsored by a local businessman, who was given the title of honorary consul of Bosnia and Herzegovina. More information on the Bosniacs in Albania can be found in the recent publication by Steinke and Ylli (2012).

## 2.2 Minority rights and challenges in Albania<sup>20</sup>

Currently, legislation on the status of linguistic and ethnic minorities in Albania is being harmonized within the European framework.<sup>21</sup> The three most important authorities regulating minority issues are the Commissioner for Protection against Discrimination (Alb. *Komisioneri për Mbrojtjen nga Diskriminimi*; see Law 10221, Ch. 5, passed on 4 February, 2010); the people’s ombudsman (Alb. *Avokati i Popullit*; see Law no. 8454 [4 February 1999], amended by Laws no. 8600 [10 April, 2000], no. 9398 [12

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<sup>20</sup> Here, we would like to express our gratitude to Mr. Nikolla Gjurgjaj, head of the Macedonian Cultural Organization *Ilinden-Tirana*. During our interview with him, he provided important information on the current status of the minorities and the legal framework that affects them. Here it is possible to give only an outline of the legal situation.

<sup>21</sup> An important milestone was the signing of the “Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities” (ratified by Law 8496 on 3 June, 1999). According to the Albanian Constitution (Art. 122/2), every international agreement ratified by the parliament becomes part of the national legislative framework. Nevertheless, Albania has not yet adopted the European Charter for regional and minority languages (Enlargement 2015, 60).

May, 2005], and no. 155/2014); and the State Minority Council (Alb. *Komiteti Shtetëror i Minoriteteve*, a consulting body to the Council of Ministers, created on 11 November, 2004 by VKM 127 (*Vendimi i Këshillit të Ministrave* “Decision of the Council of Ministers”).

THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION in minority languages is based on Article 20.2 of the Albanian Constitution and several legal acts.<sup>22</sup> Yet in practice, organizing classes for minorities is very complicated.<sup>23</sup> There are currently 60 elementary schools offering education in the Greek language on various levels in the districts of Gjirokastra, Saranda, and Përmet (Hada 2015, 66). Eight schools offer education in Macedonian, all in the municipality of Pustec (op. cit., 75). To the best of our knowledge, there are no state-financed schools offering education in Serbian and/or Montenegrin, Bosnian, Aromanian, or Romani. There are three private Albanian–Greek schools: *Arsákeio* in Tirana, *Ómiros* in Korça, and *Ómiros* in Himara.<sup>24</sup> Yet in several places, extracurricular courses in the minority languages have emerged as public initiatives with no state support. For instance, Macedonian is taught in Korça by members of the Macedonian Alliance for European Integration (Alb. *Aleanca e Maqedonasve për Integrim European*); Serbian is taught in Rreth Libofsha by a local society, *Jedinstvo*; Bosnian is taught in Borakaj by a local teacher of Albanian with the support of a local Bosniak initiative; and Aromanian is taught in Korça with the support of the Romanian Cultural Center (Maxim Makartsev’s field data, 2012–2016). Romani is taught in the *Naim Frashëri* School in Korça (Korça: HALS field data 2015). Information regarding these initiatives is scarce, since the activities are usually not officially registered anywhere and depend solely on volunteers.

Albania’s minorities were REPRESENTED POLITICALLY in the latest municipal elections (June, 2015) by the following parties: *Aleanca e Maqedonasve për Integrim European* (a Macedonian party, winning a total of 7 mandates); *Minoriteti Etnik Grek për të Ardhmen* (a Greek party, 8

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<sup>22</sup> See especially Art. 18.2, no. 10 221 (4 February, 2010) and VKM 396 (22 August, 1994), amended by VKM 502 (5 August, 1996).

<sup>23</sup> See the Instructions of the Ministry of Education and Science: Udhëzimi no. 14 (3 September, 1994). See also laws no. 69 (21 June, 2012), no. 8872 (29 March, 2002), no. 9741 (21 May, 2007), replaced by law no. 9832 (12 November, 2007 and VKM 396 (22 August, 1994). See also “National Strategy for Education 2004–2015,” VKM 538 (12 August, 2004).

<sup>24</sup> The schools were established by ministerial decisions VKM 404 (1 July, 1998), VKM 868 (30 September, 2004), and VKM 266 (5 May, 2006), respectively. We cannot be certain whether these schools are included in Hada’s statistics.

mandates); *Partia Bashkimi për të Drejtat e Njeriut*<sup>25</sup> (PBDNJ; a Greek party, 16 mandates); and *Aleanca për Barazi e Drejtësi Europiane* (an Aromanian party, 2 mandates).<sup>26</sup> Yet the only representative of any minority party in the parliament after the latest elections of 2013 was PBDNJ, which has one MP.

Exceptionally, during the 2015 elections, the Central Electoral Commission of Albania issued voting instructions in some of the minority languages (800 copies were made in Greek, and 400 in Macedonian, Aromanian, and Romani each; see SEZ 2015, 11). In addition, posters explaining the election process were available in minority languages (1,400 copies in Greek for the Vlora and Gjirokastra districts, 50 in Macedonian for the Korça district, 50 in Aromanian for the Fier district and 50 in Romani for the Tirana district; *ibid.*). Nevertheless, the Commission of Europe's report on the elections did not regard these means as sufficient for insuring inclusion of the minorities.<sup>27</sup>

NATIONALISM as a political ideology is not widespread in Albania, and political movements based on a nationalist agenda (like *Aleanca Kuq e Zi*) do not receive much support. Recently, there have been several cases of hate crimes against minorities.<sup>28</sup> A serious incident took place in February of 2011 in the form of an arson attack on Romani dwellings inhabited by some 40 families in central Tirana (Advisory 2012, 2). Widespread anti-minority violence also broke out during the electoral campaign in 2013. The attacks included an arson attempt on the office of the Serbian initiative *Jedinstvo* in Fier<sup>29</sup> and an attack on the municipality of Pustec, during which the members of *Kuq e Zi* rode through the streets bearing slogans "This is Albania" and "Get out" and vandalized signs in the town, at the hospital, and at the school

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<sup>25</sup> This party is the political successor to *Bashkimi Demokratik i Minoritetit Grek* or *Omonia*, which currently functions as a cultural organization.

<sup>26</sup> Another party with a strong regional identity is *Partia Drejtësi, Integrim dhe Unitet*, which mainly represents the Çams, a group of Muslim Albanians in Southern Albania and South-Western Greece, distinct from the majority population.

<sup>27</sup> "Despite endeavors to provide a legal framework conducive to the inclusion of national and other minorities, their participation in the electoral process has not been fully achieved, mainly because of linguistic problems, illiteracy and non-accessibility of polling stations" (COE 2015).

<sup>28</sup> The official representatives of some minorities (Aromanian, Greek, Macedonian) have expressed to us in private conversations the view that hate crimes targeting the members of their minorities are not an issue. However, discrimination against Roms and Egyptians is still a concern, noted both by representatives of these minorities and by official EU documents (see further).

<sup>29</sup> Ekrem Dulević, *pc.*



with inscriptions in Macedonian.<sup>30</sup> Yet it is important to note that *Kuq e Zi* received only 0.59 percent of the total vote in the parliamentary elections of 2013. There have also been reports of discrimination against Roms and Egyptians in everyday life,<sup>31</sup> although in 2012 Albania was said to have shown significant progress in this regard (Advisory 2012).

### **3 Greece**

The Greek state does not collect information on the ethnicity or mother tongues of its population, and therefore there are only estimates of the actual number of the various minorities in Greece. The estimates vary, depending on whether they are based on language or ethnicity, and all numbers must be regarded with caution. The last census to record information on the population's mother tongue was conducted in 1951. At that time, according to the census, there were 7,297,878 Greek speakers (95.6 % of the total population), 179,895 Turkish speakers (2.4 %), 41,017 Slavic speakers (0.5 %), 39,885 Vlach speakers (0.5 %), and 22,736 Albanian speakers (0.3 %) (Clogg 2002, xi).

A report by the Greek Helsinki Monitor in the year 1999 (HM 1999) states the following about minorities in Greece:

Local authorities have acknowledged the presence of some 100,000 "Slavophones," while researchers have given twice as high an estimate (200,000). However, those with a Macedonian national identity can be estimated between 10,000–30,000. [...] The Greek state has acknowledged the presence of some 300,000 Roms (independent estimates put them at 350,000), while researchers estimate the number of those who grew up in Arvanite or Vlach families up to as many as 200,000<sup>32</sup> for each group. [Edited for grammatical errors.]

According to the official estimate, in 1991 there were 98,000 Muslims in Thrace. Fifty percent of them were "of Turkish origin," thirty-five percent were "Pomaks," and fifteen percent were "Roms" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1999). The total number of the Romani population depends on estimates ranging from 180,000 to 365,000 people. Bakker and Rooker (2001, 21) estimate that there are 160,000 speakers of the Romani language in

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<sup>30</sup> Nikola Gjurgjaj, pc.

<sup>31</sup> Arben Kostrui, pc.

<sup>32</sup> Note, however, that Winnifrith (2002, 113) estimates that there are 20,000 Vlachs in Greece.

Greece. According to the Society for Orphaned Armenian Relief (SOAR 2016), there are 20,000–35,000 Armenians in Greece.<sup>33</sup>

### 3.1 Minorities in Greece

MACEDONIANS (Gr. *Slavomakedónes*<sup>34</sup>), one of the two large Slavic groups in Greece, live mostly in the northern part of the country. The main towns for the Slavic-speaking population with Macedonian identity are Kastoria (Mac. *Kostur*), Florina (*Lerin*), Nestorion (*Nestram*), and Edessa (*Voden*). Although these towns appear to be completely monolingual in Greek, even occasional encounters with the locals show that many speak Slavic. The issue of identity is complicated, since many people have only a limited command of Macedonian, yet they take part in Macedonian cultural and political activities in the region. At the same time, there are people for whom the Slavic dialects are their first languages, yet hold to a Greek identity, avoiding any association with the *Skopianoí*, “people of Skopje,” a term often used in Greece for Macedonians.<sup>35</sup> There are also members of other groups (Greeks, Greeks with Pontic roots, Aromanians, and so on) who have learned Macedonian as children, having heard the language on their neighborhood streets. The name for the Republic of Macedonia in everyday communication in the Macedonian dialects of Northern Greece is *Republikata*, “The Republic” (Florina, Kastoria: HALS field data 2015). This use is connected to the issue of names (taken up below in this section).

Many settlements in the Florina region are connected through means of trade to the Macedonian town of Bitola across the border. There are some Macedonian cultural associations in Greece, but these have difficulty being officially recognized by the Greek authorities (see below). There is also an underground Macedonian church in Greece (YLE, 27 October 2014). The Macedonian political party Rainbow publishes a Macedonian-language monthly newspaper, *New Dawn* (Mac. *Nova Zora*). For more data and a bibliography on the various Slavic groups in Greece, see Christian Voß (2013).

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<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, the Armenians are not discussed further here, since the overwhelming majority arrived in Greece only after the Armenian genocide between 1915–1923.

<sup>34</sup> The term is also found in the literature in English. Many Macedonians consider it offensive; cf. a narrative recorded in Florina: “I could easily be offended when they would say to me, ‘You are Slavomacedonian.’ But later I realized that it would mean ‘Glorious Macedonians,’ *doxasménoi Makedónoi*, and I accepted it. Now I always explain to them what they really mean when they say ‘Slavomacedonian’” (Florina: HALS field data 2015, male, born 1946). Several similar accounts were recorded during the field work.

<sup>35</sup> Some Macedonians consider the term derogatory.

POMAKS (Gr. *Pomákoí*; Bulg. *pomaci* and *bǎlgari-mohamedani*; Tr. *Pomaklar*, and various autonyms depending on the dialect and identity, among them *pomaci*, *ahrjane*) is a label used to denote the Slavic-speaking Muslim population of Western Thrace<sup>36</sup> (mainly in the vicinity of Xanthi [Tr. *İskeçe*, Slav. *Skeča*], Komotini [Tr. *Gümülcine*, Bg. *Gjumjurdžina*], Didymoteicho [Tr. *Dimetoka*, Slav. *Dimotika*]). Education is available in Greek and in Turkish. Knowledge of Turkish opens up many job opportunities and also means inclusion in the Western Thracian community, which is why many Pomaks embrace the Turkish language and Turkish identity. There is also a community in Turkey made up of descendants of Pomaks who have migrated there, some of whom still retain connections with relatives in Western Thrace. There have been attempts in Greece to codify the Pomak language using the Greek alphabet and to teach Pomak in the schools of the region, but these attempts have been unsuccessful. A Pomak newspaper, *Zagálisha* (published since 1997, with issues up to 2012 accessible online), is mainly in Greek, with occasional articles in a Pomak linguistic variety and Turkish. There is also a television channel (*Kanáli 6 – Anatolikí Makedonía – Thráki*) that broadcasts a news program in Pomak three times a day. For more literature on the Pomaks, see Adamou (2010, 2012), Kanevska-Nikolova (2014), Mitrinov (2014), Steinke and Voß (2007), and Voß (2013).

The TURKISH (Gr. *Tourkoi*; autonym *Türkler*) minority is concentrated in Western Thrace, where the people enjoy minority rights as Muslims, guaranteed by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 (Papademetriou 2012, 2). There is also a small Turkish minority on the Dodecanese Islands. The recognition of the Muslim minority in Western Thrace has the benefit of allowing the Turkish language in education (Papademetriou 2012, 34–45). There are several Turkish cultural associations, but they have difficulty being officially recognized if their names contain the ethnonym “Turkish.” For example, since the year 1983, the Xanthi Turkish Union, one of the most important of these associations, has not had official status, despite several attempts to obtain it (OSCE 2012). There are four newspapers, three monthly magazines, and four radio stations in the Turkish language (WTMUGA 2013, 1). There is also education in Turkish in schools. According to the U.S. “Country Report on Human Rights Practices” of 2001 (CRHRP 2001), 8,000 children were receiving education in Turkish, of whom 700 pupils attended Turkish-

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<sup>36</sup> The official opinion of the Bulgarian dialectologists is that the Slavic varieties spoken by Muslims in the region are Bulgarian dialects (see Kanevska-Nikolova 2014 and Mitrinov 2014, including bibliography).

language secondary schools, while 1,300 Muslim pupils attended Greek-language secondary schools. For further information on the Turks in Greece, see Cin 2009 and Kaurinkoski 2012.

The AROMANIANS (Gr. *Vláchoi*, *Armánoi*, *vlachófonoι* (or *latinófonoι*) *Éllines*) reside in several regions of Greece. The largest concentration is found in the area around the Pindus Mountains (Vlachochoria or the country of Vlachs), with the main center being Metsovo (Arom. Aminciu). Other areas with Aromanian villages are the lowlands along the Axios (Mac. Vardar) and Aliakmon Rivers. One group of villages is found in Thessaly near the Pineios river, and another a group of villages in the Serres area. The coastal area in the vicinity of Igoumenitsa hosts 6 villages along the Acheloos River in the Aetolia-Acarmania region (Kahl 2009). As mentioned, many Aromanians in Greece identify themselves primarily as Greeks and only secondarily as Aromanians (Winnifrieth 2002, 113).

The MEGLENO-ROMANIANS (Gr. *Vláchoi*, *Moglenítes*, *vlachófonoι* (or *latinófonoι*) *Éllines*; autonym *Vlaš*) populate Meglena, the historical region on the border between Greece and the Republic of Macedonia. Both the Aromanians and Megleno-Romanians are Orthodox Christians (the Muslim Megleno-Romanians were sent to Turkey during the population exchange in the 1920s; Friedman 2001, 28). There are no political organizations representing the Aromanians or Megleno-Romanians, but there are several cultural associations, such as the Panhellenic Federation of Cultural Associations of the Vlachs (Gr. *Panellínia Omospondía Politistikón Syllógon Vláchon*). Basic education is not available in the Aromanian or Megleno-Romanian languages, although some private initiatives for teaching the language have emerged. For more information on Aromanians in Greece and for bibliography, see Andrei Dumitrescu's article in this volume (see also Kahl 2009 and on Megleno-Romanians Kahl 2014).

The ALBANIANS of Greece (Gr. *Alvanoí*) consist of three groups that arrived in several waves of immigration. The most recent of these groups emigrated only after the collapse of socialism in Albania. The other two groups are the Arvanites (Gr. *Arvanítes*; autonym *arbëreshë*, *arbërorë*) and the Cham Albanians (Gr. *Tsamídes*; Alb. *çamë*). The Arvanites speak Albanian Tosk dialects, with further subvarieties that differ significantly from each other (in Greek, all varieties are covered by the term *Arvanítika*). Arvanitika can be heard occasionally on the radio in the singing of folk songs (GHM 1995). In several Albanian villages in Epirus (e.g., Plikati in the Ioannina district), the people of Albanian origin are sometimes called

Arvanites, although there is an essential difference between them and the Arvanites of central and southern Greece. The Arvanitika-speaking villages form language island(s), as they are not connected geographically to the main Albanian-speaking area, whereas the villages in Epirus border Albanian-speaking territory and thus share more linguistic traits of the type that emerged later in the more extensive Tosk-inhabited territory.

The other Albanian minority group, the Cham Albanians, live in a part of Epirus that is adjacent to southern Albania, called in Albanian *Çamëria*. Epirus became part of Greece only after the First Balkan War during the years 1912–1913. Because of their real or suspected allegiance to the occupying Axis powers, many Cham Albanians fled or were expelled to Albania toward the end of World War II, with atrocities committed against civilians allegedly by both parties. Although the Cham Albanians constitute a distinctive regional ethnolinguistic minority, no trustworthy statistics can be found on their number and or on the other Albanian groups in Greece. Nor are there public schools in Greece that offer education in Albanian (Xhaferi, Xhaferi, & Rredhi 2014, 68). For further details on the Albanians in Greece, see Elsie and Destani (2012).

The ARMENIANS (Gr. *Arménoi*; autonym *hajér*) form a small minority in Greece. Armenians migrated to Greece over the course of many centuries (Hassiotis 2002, 94–95), including in the wake of their persecution in Ottoman Turkey in 1915, a migration which culminated in the Armenian Genocide. There are several Armenian schools in various cities and towns in Greece, maintained by such organizations as the philanthropic Armenian Blue Cross (Gr. *Armenikós Kyanoús Stavρός*; Armenian Blue Cross 2016). There are twelve Armenian churches in Greece (Badalyan 2010), and the Armenian community publishes its own newspaper, *Azat Or*. For more information on the Armenians in Greece, see Schwalgin (2004).

The ROMS (Gr. *Romá*) live in almost all parts of Greece. A notable Romani community, consisting of emigrants from Turkey, is found in Agia Varvara, a suburb of Athens (Matras 2004, 60). Ninety-five percent of Roms in Greece are believed to speak the Romani language (Liégeois 2007, 50), but according to Ziomas, Bouzas, and Spyropoulou (2011, 2), Romani organizations tend to view the Roms as a social group rather than an ethnic minority. A Romani-Greek dictionary has been published with private funding (Bakker & Rooker 2001, 21).

### 3.2 Minority rights and challenges in Greece

The only minority officially and fully recognized in Greece is the Muslim minority of Western Thrace, their rights guaranteed by the Peace Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, which provides the group with linguistic and religious rights. Elementary and secondary education is available partly in the Turkish language, and there is a 0.5 percent quota in universities for members of the Muslim minority (Papademetriou 2012, 34–45; OSCE 2008, 4).

Greek LEGISLATION on minorities (including linguistic minorities) and its implementation are objects of constant criticism from human rights monitors. Although Article 5 of the Greek Constitution (2008) states, “All persons living within the Greek territory shall enjoy full protection of their life, honour and liberty irrespective of nationality, race, or language, and of religious or political beliefs,” the terms *Éllinas* (“Greek”) and *politís* (“citizen”) are used synonymously in the text, thereby equating citizenship with Greek ethnicity. Greece has ratified several international agreements meant to provide rights to ethnic, religious, and linguistic minorities.<sup>37</sup> Many court cases involving the rights of the ethnic minorities have been brought to the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR).<sup>38</sup> In its annual report on hate crimes in Greece, the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR 2014) mentioned several cases of hate crimes toward the Turks of Thrace, often motivated by a bias against Muslims. According to the report, in recent years there have been no cases of hate crimes against Macedonians in Greece (see below, however, for an incident regarding the promotion of a Greek-Macedonian dictionary in Athens in 2009). There also continue to be reports of racist attacks and hate speech against Roms (Covenant 2015).

There are no governmental organizations protecting the minorities, but there are NGOs that deal with minority issues, such as the Greek Helsinki Monitor and the Minority Rights Group–Greece. The UN Human Rights Committee in its annual report on human rights in Greece expresses its concern that there are insufficient guarantees for the equal and effective

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<sup>37</sup> However, the European Charter for Regional and Minority languages has still not been signed by Greece.

<sup>38</sup> Consider, for instance, *Sidiropoulos and Others vs. Greece* in 1998 on the name of the non-profit association “Home of Macedonian Civilization.” Initially, Greece refused to register the association officially, but the ECHR decided in favor of the applicants (ECHR 26695/95, 10 July, 1998). Yet the registration was still denied by a court in Florina, sparking a further international court case against the Greek state. ECHR concluded that there had been a violation of the complainant’s right to register an association (ECHR 1295/10, 9 July 2015).

enjoyment of one's culture, profession and practice of one's religion and use of one's language by all persons, including those claiming to belong to ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities. The Committee also expresses concern about the lack of statistical data demonstrating the ethnic and cultural composition of the State party and the use of mother tongues and languages that are commonly spoken (Covenant 2015).

In POLITICS, the situation of minorities is not readily discernible. Some members of the Greek Parliament from Western Thrace have a Muslim background. The Macedonian party, Rainbow, is part of the European Free Alliance. The so-called Friendship, Equality, and Peace Party (Tr. *Dostluk Eşitlik Barış Partisi*; Gr. *Kómma Isótitas, Irínis kai Filías*) represents the interests of the Turkish minority of Western Thrace. Neither of these parties has representatives in the Greek parliament.

The existence of a Macedonian minority is categorically denied by the Greek state. Nor does the state recognize the Republic of Macedonia under its constitutional name, thereby underlining the existence of a separate regional Greek identity in relation to the geographical area of Macedonia. Greek officials feel that is necessary to repeat from time to time their stance on the non-existence of a Macedonian minority within Greece's borders:

[W]e totally disagree with the remarks made in the report and its recommendations that Greece promotes a singular national identity and citizens who wish to freely express their ethnic identities face government blockages and in some instances, intimidation from other individuals or groups. These remarks are based on information emanating from a handful of Slav-oriented individuals living in Greece who in the past few years, particularly after the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia, have embarked on an unprecedented political propaganda to discredit Greece for denying to recognize a "Macedonian" national (or linguistic) minority in the region of Greek Macedonia. Their real intention is to promote the existence of a "Macedonian" identity in Greece, to foster irredentism stemming from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, which through the exclusive use of the "Macedonian" name as a state appellation, tries to appropriate for itself everything and anything derived from or pertaining to the entire geographic region of Macedonia, including Greek Macedonia. (Comments 2009, 3).

These attitudes have led to antipathy to the Rainbow party. Its representatives report hostility toward them because of the party's desire to have the Macedonian minority recognized. Tensions between the Greek state and the Macedonian minority in Greece have increased since the break-up of Yugoslavia and the creation of the Republic of Macedonia. (HALS field data 2015.)

The discrimination against Roms has led to much criticism, mainly having to do with issues of education and housing (Papademetriou 2012, 68). Furthermore, many Roms in Greece do not have citizenship or are not registered in local municipalities (Ziomas, Bouzas, & Spyropoulou 2011, 2; see also the recent report in Covenant 2015, 3).

Another worrying development regarding the minorities in Greece is the rise of the political far-right in the country. The political party Golden Dawn (Gr. *Chrisí Avgí*), which received 18 seats out of 300 in the Greek parliament after the elections in September 2015, has been connected to several violent, xenophobic attacks. In addition, there have been several minor xenophobic and anti-minority incidents, such as the disruption of the unveiling of a Greek-Macedonian dictionary in 2009 in Athens (*Skai News*, 3 June 2009). Golden Dawn MEPs also disrupted a conference in the European Parliament in March, 2016 addressing the issues of freedom of association in Greece and the Turkish minority in Western Thrace (FUEN, 7 March, 2016).

#### **4 Macedonia**

The population of the Republic of Macedonia is around two million. According to the most recent official census, conducted in 2002, 65.1 percent of the population identified themselves as Macedonians, 25.1 percent as Albanians, and 3.8 percent as Turks. (Census 2002.) In addition, 2.6 percent declared themselves Roms, 0.5 percent as Aromanians, 1.7 percent as Serbs, and 0.8 percent as Bosniaks (Census 2002, 34). The languages spoken in Macedonia include Macedonian, Albanian, Turkish, Romani, Aromanian, Serbian, and Bosnian. The official language of the country is Macedonian, but other languages (Albanian, Turkish, Aromanian, Romani, Bosnian, and Serbian) have been given limited official status (Bliznakovski 2014).

The foundations for the current minority policies in the Republic of Macedonia were laid following the insurgency in 2001, an armed conflict in the northwestern parts of the country between government forces and ethnic Albanian rebels. After significant pressure from the international community, the conflict ended with the signing of the Ohrid Framework Agreement by the main Macedonian and Albanian political parties. Among other things, the Ohrid Framework Agreement envisioned mechanisms that would ensure the full participation of the national minorities on issues concerning their cultural, educational, and language rights and make provisions for their education and the official use of their languages. One of the most important changes in regard to minorities after 2001 was a new preamble to the Constitution. The



minority nations explicitly mentioned in the preamble are Albanian, Turkish, Aromanian, Serbian, Romani, and Bosniak. (Brunnbauer 2002).

Another constitutional amendment stemming from the Ohrid Framework Agreement elevated Albanian to an official language of the Macedonian state. Along with the Macedonian language, any other tongue spoken by more than 20 percent of the country's population was considered official (op. cit., 5). However, the use of a co-official language was still limited to 1) citizens' personal documents, 2) communications with state authorities in communities where the speakers of the language comprise more than 20 percent of the population, 3) certain state organs defined in other parts of the legislation, and 4) municipalities where the speakers of the language comprise more than 20 percent of the population (Petruševska 2014b, 66). On road signs and in other public contexts, a co-official language could never be used exclusively, but only in addition to Macedonian and had to be written in the Macedonian Cyrillic alphabet (see, e.g., Gruevska Madžoska 2012, 229–230). Municipalities were given the authority to decide the official status of other languages spoken in their communities not surpassing the 20 percent threshold. These changes to the legislation resulted in Albanian becoming an official language together with Macedonian in 27 municipalities; along with Macedonian, Turkish became official in 8 municipalities, Serbian in 3, Romani in 2, Bosnian in 1, and Aromanian in 1 (Bliznakovski 2014, 25).

#### *4.1 Minorities in Macedonia*

ALBANIANS (Mac. *Albanci*) are the largest minority in Macedonia. According to the census of 2002, 509,083 individuals stated that they spoke Albanian as a mother tongue, a number constituting 25 percent of the country's total population. This number is a point of disagreement between the Macedonian and Albanian political parties, whose figures range from less than 20 percent (Macedonian estimates) to more than 30 percent (Albanian estimates) of the total population. The Albanian community is mostly concentrated in the western and northwestern regions of the country, mainly in the municipalities bordering Albania and Kosovo. In seven of the municipalities (Želino and Saraj within the City of Skopje, Vrapčište, Tearce, Aračinovo, Bogovinje, and Lipkovo), Albanians make up over 75 percent of the population; in another eight cities (the Čair district within the City of Skopje, plus Kičevo, Struga, Debar, Brvenica, Gostivar, Studeničani, and Tetovo), Albanians account for between 50 and 75 percent of the people. In eight further municipalities (Šuto Orizari and Butel within the City of Skopje, Dolneni, Kumanovo, Zelenikovo,

Sopište, Čaška, and Jegunovce), the proportion of the Albanian population is between 25 and 50 percent, and in five other municipalities (Kruševo, Petrovec, Čučer Sandevo, Gazi Baba, Mavrovo and Rostuše) it is between 15 and 25 percent. (Adresar 2010.) Most of the Albanians in Macedonia practice Islam. There is also a small community of Catholic Albanians.<sup>39</sup>

Most of the native dialects of the Macedonian Albanians belong to the Gheg dialectal zone. Several villages in the southwest of the country belong, however, to the Tosk dialectal zone. In Albanian schools (mainly Tosk-based) standard Albanian is taught; in official communication standard Albanian is used, with a significant number of dialectal features, sometimes under influence from the Prishtina Gheg koine. Albanian is a co-official language of the country along with Macedonian, albeit not on equal footing. As described in more detail above, the official status of Albanian is limited, both in terms of the territory and of the institutions in which it is considered official. State education in the Albanian language is provided at all levels, from primary to tertiary education. Macedonian national television broadcasts programs in Albanian. In addition, numerous nationwide and regional private television stations and newspapers address the Albanian-speaking public.<sup>40</sup> Albanian political parties have regularly participated in all governments of the country since its independence. However, the possible escalation of ethnic tensions is a regular topic in public discourse, and whenever a related issue becomes acute, it sparks public action under nationalist mottos.<sup>41</sup>

The opening of institutions of higher education with Albanian as the language of instruction (the private trilingual University of South East Europe in 2000 and the State University of Tetovo in 2004) was a significant development for the Albanian minority. Previously, Albanians in Macedonia who wished to obtain a university degree in their own language, had largely pursued studies in Prishtina, Kosovo, and less often, in Albania (Ortakovski

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<sup>39</sup> There used to be a group of Orthodox Albanians in the Debar Reka region, but it seems to have disappeared. Several people have publicly claimed to be descendants of this group and have Orthodox Albanian identity.

<sup>40</sup> One of the television stations, *Alsat-M*, is a special case; it is to a large extent bilingual. If the program is in Albanian, it has Macedonian subtitles, and vice versa; the channel also organizes talk shows with both Albanian and Macedonian participants with simultaneous translation in the studio and subtitles during the broadcast.

<sup>41</sup> A recent example is the struggle over emblems: a monument with a two-headed eagle, the national symbol of the Albanians, was erected in Topansko pole, a neighborhood in the municipality of Čair, Skopje, in February, 2016. In reaction, an attempt was made to erect a huge Orthodox cross nearby as a symbol of Macedonian identity. Both actions led to violent clashes among the local populations (see, e.g., B92 4 March 2016).

2001; Deskoska-Treneska & Spasov 2012; Bliznakovski 2013). As a result of the new institutions, the number of Albanian university students in Macedonia increased; although in 1992–1993 Albanians represented only 3.4 percent of the total student population, by 2004–2005, had reached 15.5 percent (Atanasovski 2008, 258).

The Albanian community of Macedonia has strong ties with Prishtina, which in Yugoslav times was a center for higher education for several generations of Macedonian Albanians. Literature in the Albanian language was largely published in Prishtina, from where it spread to the other Albanian-speaking areas (parts of Montenegro, Preševo, Macedonia, and other, smaller regions) of Socialist Yugoslavia. Although the circulation of literature is more difficult today with the emergence of the new borders, many Kosovo radio and television channels as well as newspapers are available in Macedonia. The audience for Albanian media that originate in the Republic of Albania is much smaller, and newspapers from Albania are usually available only through the Internet, but not in print. Yet contemporary Albanian popular music from all countries is available everywhere in the region, encouraging some scholars to speak about an “Albanosphere” as an analogy to the “Yugosphere” (see below; on “Yugosphere,” see Božović & Pierżyńska in this volume).<sup>42</sup> More on the current status of the Albanian language in the Republic of Macedonia as well as on the Albanian minority can be found in Iseni (2013, with bibliography) and Markov (2015).

ROMS and EGYPTIANS have been able to identify themselves as such for a relatively short time. Until recently, Roms (Mac. *Romi*) and Egyptians (Mac. *Ĝupci*) were both called Gypsies (Mac. *Cigani*), and Egyptians in particular chose various appellations in the censuses (Toskari, Yugoslavs, Muslims, etc.; see Marushiakova & Popov 2001 for further details). In the census of 2002, 53,879 individuals or 2.66 percent of the total population of the country claimed Romani nationality (Census 2002). Despite their recognition as a minority since Socialist times, many people are unwilling to identify themselves as Roms because of the continuing stigma, encapsulated in the pejorative term *Cigan* (“Gypsy”) by which they were and are still widely known. Most of the Roms in Macedonia are Muslim (Trix 2013, 202).

There are three main Romani dialects in Macedonia: Arli, Džambaz, and Burgudži. The most widespread is Arli, which is spoken mainly in Skopje, Štip, Kocani, and Kumanovo. An estimated 80 percent of Macedonian Roms speak Romani as their mother tongue with the remainder speaking

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<sup>42</sup> Armanda Hysa, pc.

Macedonian, Albanian, or Turkish as their mother tongue (Friedman 1999). However, there is great dialectal diversity of Romani in Macedonia, and communities that speak different dialects sometimes exist side-by-side in the same neighborhoods. The majority of Egyptians in Macedonia speak Albanian as their mother tongue (yet some of them speak only Macedonian, e.g., the Egyptians of Kičevo; see Marushiakova & Popov 2001, 471).

There are numerous associations and parties representing the Romani minority in Macedonia, among them the Union of the Roms in Macedonia (with one representative in the current parliament), the Party for Unity of the Roms, the Party for Complete Emancipation of the Roms of Macedonia (PSERM), the Alliance of the Roms in Macedonia, and the Cultural Association of the Roms (the mayor of Šuto Orizari comes from this party). Egyptians have several associations: the Union of Balkan Egyptians in Macedonia, the Association for the Defence of the Cultural Identity of the Egyptians “Izida 41/21,” and the Coalition of Egyptians.

The Romani language was introduced as a subject in primary schools in the 1993–1994 academic year, and the first primer was published in 1996. Today, Romani is a co-official language with Macedonian in the municipalities of Šuto Orizari, and Kumanovo. In addition to the state-sponsored Macedonian Radio and Macedonian Television, two private television stations broadcast in Romani: BTR Nacional (since 1993) and TV Šutel (since 1994). A first attempt at a Romani-language newspaper took place in 1993 (the bilingual Macedonian and Romani *Romani Sumnal*). Since 1997, the municipality of Šuto Orizari has published its own newspaper in Romani. The periodicals *Romana* (for women), *Čivili* (for children), and *Vilo* (for teenagers) were discontinued in 2008 (see Trix 2013, 203). For further information on the Roms and Egyptians of Macedonia, see Friedman (1999), Marushiakova and Popov (2001) and Trix (2013).

TURKS (Mac. *Turci*) made up 3.9 percent of the population in Macedonia according to the most recent census (Census 2002). Their standard language is Turkish, and traditionally, they are Muslim. They are mostly urbanized, with significant groups of Turks found in Gostivar, Skopje, Struga, and Resen. “Turkish” is not always an ethnic or a linguistic label, but is sometimes used by Macedonian Muslims as well (Ohrid: HALS field data 2015).<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> The Macedonian Muslims are not included as a separate ethnic minority in this analysis; the Macedonian state regards them as Macedonians of Muslim faith. The situation is, however, far from simple. There have been serious attempts among some members of the community to gain recognition as a nationality under the name Torbeši, separate from the majority Macedonians (see, e.g., Ajradinoski 2011 and the Introduction to this volume).

Turkish is an official language in eight municipalities in Macedonia: Centar Župa, Plasnica, Mavrovo, Rostuše, Vrapčište, Dolneni, Gostivar, Studeničani, and Čair (Bliznakovski 2014, 25). On the dialectal level, so-called Western Rumelian Turkish differs clearly from the Yuruk dialects spoken in about 65 villages in Southeastern Macedonia (Friedman 2002).

There is a Turkish language newspaper, *Yeni Balkan*, although it is distributed only in Skopje (Trix 2013, 198). There is also a Turkish theater, successor to the Minority Theater, established as early as in 1949 (op. cit., 199). There are also several parties, among them *Türk Demokratik Partisi* the “Democratic Party of Turks” (aligned with the major VMRO-DPMNE party, it has one representative in the current parliament), *Türk Hareket Partisi*, the “Party of Movement of Turks in Macedonia,” (one representative in the current parliament), and *Türk Milli Birlik Hareketi* the “Movement for Turkish National Union.” Only one mosque in Skopje has sermons in Turkish, although in Gostivar there are several (op. cit., 197). There are also primary and secondary schools with education in Turkish. An important educational institution is the Tefeyyüz School in Skopje, along with the Yahya Kemal network of colleges and primary schools.

The strengthening of Turkey as an important regional power has led to growing economic ties with Macedonia: regularly operated direct flights to Istanbul connect Skopje to the most important cities in the world, and a surge in Turkish banking has poured into the country. The increasingly prominent role of Turkey in the Balkans can also have implications for personal ethnic identity: several interviewees in Struga during the HALS field trip in June 2015 reported a tendency of ethnic Turks (as well as Macedonian Muslims and Albanians) to prefer Turkish banks for the simple reason that they are Turkish (Struga: HALS field data 2015). For further information on the Turks of Macedonia, see Trix (2013).

AROMANIANS and MEGLENO-ROMANIANS are Balkan Romance-speaking groups in Macedonia. The data from the 2002 census do not differentiate between these two groups, but use the label *Vlasi* (Vlachs) for both: a total of 9,695 or 0.47 percent of the population (of which 6,884 declared Vlach as their mother tongue). Yet the linguistic varieties of these two groups clearly differ, as do the autonyms (*armân* or *râmân* for Aromanians, *vla* for Megleno-Romanians) and the regions the people inhabit (Aromanians are mostly found in urban centers, such as Štip, Skopje, Kruševo, and Struga, whereas the Megleno-Romanians inhabit villages around Gevgelija). The question remains: to what extent do the Megleno-Romanians possess an ethnic identity

separate from the Aromanians? To our knowledge, there are no dedicated media outlets for the Megleno-Romanians. Nor is Megleno-Romanian taught in schools.

There are, however, Aromanian classes in public schools. In Kruševo at the beginning of August, a seminar in the Aromanian language and culture takes place annually. Courses in the Aromanian language are available at the Evrobalkan University in Skopje. Aromanian is even an official language in one Macedonian municipality (Kruševo). The Aromanian parties are the Democratic Union of Vlachs from Macedonia and the Party of Vlachs from Macedonia (with one representative in the parliament). In addition to the broadcasts in Aromanian (Mac. *vlaški*) on Macedonian national radio and television (MRT 2, MRA 3), a program in Aromanian is aired on Super Radio in the Ohrid region.

It is worth pointing out that, although the number of Aromanians in Macedonia is smaller than in the neighboring countries, in Macedonia they occupy “a unique position to engage in identity-preserving language planning” and are officially recognized on the state level (Friedman 2001, 44). Frances Trix (2013, 209) observes that Aromanians have the lowest unemployment rate of any ethnic group in the Republic of Macedonia. For further information on the Aromanians in Macedonia, see Friedman (2001), Trix (2013), and Šatava (2013).

SERBS (Mac. *Srbi*) and BOSNIAKS (Mac. *Bošnjaci*) are both Slavic-speaking groups in Macedonia. The groups are scattered throughout the country, most of them living in urban centers. According to the 2002 census, there are 35,939 Serbs (of whom 24,773 declared Serbian as their mother tongue) and 17,018 Bosniaks (8,560 declared they spoke *bošnjački* “Bosniak”). Three municipalities, Čučer-Sadevo, Staro Nagoričane, and Kumanovo, have Serbian as one of their official languages. One municipality, Dolneni, uses Bosnian (Bliznakovski 2014, 25).

The relationships among the Serbian, Bosnian, and Macedonian languages reflect Macedonia’s recent Yugoslav past, when the single name, Serbo-Croatian, was used. After 1991, this pluricentric language was separated into standard Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin, and Serbian (for further information, see Božović & Pierzynska in this volume). Serbo-Croatian had been the lingua franca for the whole territory of Yugoslavia; it heavily influenced standard Macedonian, especially the colloquial varieties in Skopje and Ohrid. The autonyms for the Bosnian language and the Bosniak ethnic

group (*bošnjački* vs. *bosanski*, *Bošnjaci* vs. *Bosanci*, etc.) reflect the ongoing debate in Bosnia over the name of their language and ethnicity.<sup>44</sup>

Bosniaks are traditionally Muslim, and Serbs are traditionally Orthodox. The Serbian Orthodox Christians in Macedonia are part of a political struggle between the Macedonian Orthodox Church (Ohrid Archbishopric) and the Serbian Orthodox Church, which does not recognize the autocephalic status (independence) of the former. The Serbian position is supported by the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, which considers canonical only the churches under the Autonomous Ohrid Archbishopric (not to be confused with the Ohrid Archbishopric) belonging to the Serbian Orthodox Church. There are several Serbian and Bosniak parties: the Serbian Progressive Party in Macedonia and the Democratic Party of Serbs in Macedonia (with one representative in the current parliament), the Democratic League of Bosniaks in the Republic of Macedonia, and the Party of Democratic Action of Macedonia (a Bosniak party, with one representative in the current parliament).<sup>45</sup>

Macedonia can be still considered part of the “Yugosphere” (Judah 2009): Serbian and Croatian (and to a lesser extent, Bosnian) printed media are readily accessible in the country; the audience for radio and television from Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia continues to be large, as it does for the music and film industries of these countries (for further details, see Božović & Pierzynska in this volume). Yet there are also local programs in Serbian and Bosnian on Macedonian national television (MRT 2) and Macedonian national radio (MRA 3). Education in Serbian is offered in three elementary schools in Macedonia: in Kučevište, Tabanovce, and Staro Nagoričani. However, there are no secondary public schools with education in Serbian, a situation that has persisted since the mid-1980s (Obrazovanje 2016).<sup>46</sup> There is no education in Bosnian in public schools in Macedonia.<sup>47</sup> For further information on Serbs and Bosniaks in Macedonia, see Trix (2013).

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<sup>44</sup> The name “Bosniaks” is also sometimes used as an ethnic label by Macedonian Muslims (together with *Muslimani*, *Torbeši*, and *Turci*).

<sup>45</sup> See also the list of Serbian cultural organizations and initiatives in Macedonia on the website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Serbia (<http://www.mfa.gov.rs/en/> ; see Klubovi 2016). There are also Bosnian initiatives and organizations: *Edu Nisa*, Bosnian Cultural Unity, the Organization of Citizens *Mekteb*,” the Organisation for Culture, Education and Sustainable Development *Divan*, the Association of Bosniaks *Šadrvan*, and the Association of Citizens “The Voice of Orizari.”

<sup>46</sup> The data concern the years 2014 and 2015.

<sup>47</sup> On 24 April 2010, the Ministry of Science and Education of Macedonia initiated an experiment in teaching in Bosnian (*bosanski*). On 30 November 2015, MP Avdija Pepik

#### 4.2 Minority rights and challenges in Macedonia

The Ohrid Framework Agreement of 2001 and the resulting constitutional and legal provisions successfully managed to move the Macedonian-Albanian conflict from the battlefield back to the arena of political debate. Yet certain provisions in the Agreement could be used (or misused) to accomplish either of two conflicting goals: the integration of society vs. social disintegration along ethnic lines (Atanasovski 2008, 252). The Macedonians fear that the Agreement may be misused for further division of society along ethnic lines, potentially leading to dissolution of Macedonian cultural identity. The Albanians, on the other hand, perceive the Agreement as a realization of their legitimate right to participate fully in the political, economic, and cultural life of the country on an equal footing with their Macedonian fellow citizens (Petruševska 2014a, 116–201). In practice, the Agreement has largely failed to contribute to building interethnic trust or to prevent the further ethnic fragmentation of all aspects of society (Mladenovski 2011). Furthermore, interethnic relations still remain a powerful means in the hands of Macedonian and Albanian politicians to mobilize voters (Mladenovski 2011, 26), as has been the case in almost all elections since 2001.

The changes in the Macedonian constitution and the laws regarding the official use of languages, particularly in the domain of education, has had a positive impact on access to education in the mother tongue for all national minorities in the country. The significant increase in the numbers of students enrolled in schools with instruction in Albanian is the result of several factors. One is no doubt the language policies in education, formulated in the Ohrid Framework Agreement, and the subsequent changes in the constitution and laws on education. Another factor is the trend in growth of the Albanian minority, whose population is increasing at a much faster pace than that of the Macedonian majority (Atanasovski 2008, 26). This is particularly observable if one compares the relative number of students enrolled in Albanian-language primary education over the last several decades (Ortakovski 1998, 361).

However, the Turkish minority continues to have limited opportunities in employment in the public sector. The number of Turks fell significantly in

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quoted this decision and reported that such teaching was already going on in various schools such as *Rajko Žinzifov* in Gorno Orizari, the Veles municipality; *Dituria* in Ljubin, the Saraj municipality; *Alija Avdović* in Batinci, the Studeničani municipality). In several schools, a non-compulsory course in the language and culture of Bosniaks is taught. According to the response from Spiro Ristovski, the Vice Minister of Education, it is possible that teaching in Bosnian may start in September 2016, since the preparation of teaching materials was in its final stage (77-ta Sednica 2015, 33-35).



1953 with the large emigration of Yugoslav Turks to Turkey, and continues to decrease. The Turkish language has, to a large extent, lost its previously high social status, although it is still used occasionally as the lingua franca at bazaars in Western Macedonia. The Ohrid Framework Agreement, instead of fostering Turkish as a minority language, undermined its position: Turks are a highly dispersed group of people, and most of them live in cities; hence, it is rare that they can achieve 20 percent of the population required by law to attain official minority language status. (Trix 2013, 196.)

Still today, a significant proportion of the Roms face the problem of not having the identification documents required to apply for Macedonian citizenship, necessary since the breakup of Yugoslavia. In addition, the fees required for the application process have been out of reach of many. The lack of identification documents creates various problems: it can make such things as registering in schools, obtaining healthcare, and voting very difficult or even impossible (for further information, see Trix 2013, 204). The data from the census of 2002 show that the level of poverty among Roms is three times more prevalent than the population average: 88.2 percent of Roms live below the poverty line (Education 2007, 15).

## **5 Conclusions**

The situation of the minorities in the three neighboring countries dealt with here is unique to each group, despite the fact that the populations in these countries consist of almost the same cultural, religious, and linguistic groups. In Albania, only some Greeks and some Macedonians enjoy the right to education in their respective languages. The introduction of other minority languages in the public schools faces many bureaucratic hurdles and at present seems virtually impossible. The media in the minority languages do not receive sufficient state support. Furthermore, Albania's legislation on censuses continues to discriminate against those who declare an identity that does not correspond to pre-existing definitions, with the result that the statistics are unreliable. In addition, certain political parties and movements, despite their low public support during elections, have organized campaigns of harassment of the minorities.

Greece is probably the place where the minority policies are most oppressive, the country's goals being assimilation of ethnic and linguistic minorities. Despite the limited recognition of the Muslim minority in Thrace as well as of the Jewish, Armenian, and Aromanian communities, the existence of most of the minorities has not been acknowledged on most levels

of Greek society. In some cases, as with the Macedonian minority, the existence of some ethnic minorities is even completely denied. The minority languages are not used in public life; for instance, there are no street signs in any of the minority languages. Almost no measures of positive discrimination are implemented, which serves to speed up the assimilation process. The Greek state continues to ignore practically all calls by human rights organizations and the international community to change its minority policies.

Macedonia represents an attempt to create a state that acknowledges its linguistic and ethnic minorities. With some reservations – mainly owing to the current political turmoil in the country – Macedonia can be considered the most minority-friendly country in the Central Balkan region. Although education in minority languages flourishes and the state supports its minorities, for instance, through the media, the implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement has created discontent among the majority Macedonians, and has the potential to provoke ethnic tensions further.

The various trends described above are intermingled with the continuing economic and social problems in the region, which are not in any way connected with the minorities themselves, but which do have a negative impact on them. The dissatisfaction of the majority may lead to increased hostility toward the minorities, which, in turn, may further create fear and lack of trust in the societies. In addition, the direct consequences of the economic crisis, unemployment, and political instability often hit the minorities harder, given their already under-privileged status. An enormous challenge, shared by all these countries, is the integration of Romani and Egyptian communities into the respective societies.

However, in several sectors there are also positive developments in minority rights. Greece, for example, has made some progress in increasing public tolerance of minorities, and its northern regions have become more open to the neighboring countries, mainly through the increase in trans-border economic interactions. While progress is slow, all of the countries discussed here are in the process of implementing at least some of legislative changes affecting minority rights, encouraged by the international community. In addition, trans-border cooperation and the exchange of ideas between the minorities are improving. Whether these positive developments will help to overcome the negative trends remains to be seen, but improvements in the conditions of the minorities will help to boost such things as trans-border interactions and trade, potentially leading to an overall ameliorated economic and political climate in the region.

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Jouko Lindstedt (The University of Helsinki)

## **Multilingualism in the Central Balkans in late Ottoman times**

Until the Balkan Wars of 1912–1913, the region of Macedonia, part of the Ottoman Empire, was remarkably multiethnic and multilingual. Because Macedonia was partitioned and annexed by various nation states as late as 1913, the kind of complex multilingualism that had given birth to the famous Balkan sprachbund (linguistic area) survived there longer than in other regions of the Balkans. Therefore, we have more detailed descriptions of this multilingualism by scholars and travelers than in other regions. This paper concentrates on the linguistic situation in the Central Balkan area around Lakes Ohrid and Prespa and also in Pelagonia, with the city of Bitola as its center – areas where the linguistic situation reported in late Ottoman times was particularly complex. Pieces of historical information about multilingualism will be put into the context of the general linguistic situation in the Empire. In addition, the use of parallel columns in printed books, manuscripts, and private notebooks will be discussed as an iconic expression of the sociolinguistic situation of the time.

### **1 Introduction**

The Balkan linguistic area naturally has a center and a periphery. Although these are difficult to define in absolute terms, it can be seen that in the Central Balkans around Lakes Ohrid and Prespa, the co-territorial dialects of different languages possess the greatest number of convergent features (Lindstedt 2000, 232–234, forthcoming). Asenova (2002, 17) draws the outer boundaries of the “strongest concentration” of linguistic Balkanisms approximately along the valleys of the rivers Shkumbin, Vjosa, and Vardar/Axios, which leaves Ohrid and Prespa in the center of the area, although Asenova does not mention these lakes.

The western stretch of the famous Roman military road Via Egnatia ran along the Shkumbin valley, passing through the present-day cities of Struga and Ohrid, and continuing to the plain of Pelagonia, where Monastir (the present-day Bitola) was an important city in the late Ottoman Empire, becoming the administrative center of a *vilayet* (province) in the 1870s. The Via Egnatia had been a route for the partial Romanization and Romancization of the Balkans, a channel for East-West contacts in Byzantine times, and also a route for the Crusaders. It still had at least regional significance until the Balkan Wars, and was called by Aromanian caravaners and merchants *calea mare* ‘the great road’. Lory (2011, 32–39) discusses the significance of the Via Egnatia, especially for the development of Bitola, although he warns that its influence has been exaggerated by some historians.

The linguistic convergence that formed the Balkan linguistic area may have begun in Byzantine times; Joseph (2013, 619) places its beginning around the year 1000 CE. But the five centuries of Ottoman rule in the Balkans must have been the most important period for the rise of the sprachbund (Lindstedt 2000, 238–241). As characterized by Todorova (1997, 174), the *Pax Ottomana* (also called *Pax Ottomanica*) meant “the abolishment of state and feudal frontiers, which facilitated or enhanced population movements and the interpenetration of different groups within a vast territory.”

It was an important historical coincidence that Albania and Macedonia, in which this center of the linguistic area was located, remained part of the Ottoman Empire longer than the adjacent regions of the Balkans. This “European Turkey,” as it was called, was described by several scholars and travelers from various countries in the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, and local multilingualism is often mentioned in these reports. Because the area was claimed by different national states (which finally led to the Balkan Wars), several observers were particularly interested in the ethnic composition of the population, although their linguistic observations were often quite superficial. Additional information can be gathered from earlier travel reports, such as the *Seyâhatnâme* by the famous 17th-century Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi (see Evliya Çelebi 2000).

As rightly emphasized by Joseph (2013, 628–629), the beginning of convergent linguistic features, even those with wide distribution, should be sought in actual speaker-to-speaker contacts in definite local settings. This is why understanding the sociolinguistic situation in the Central Balkans during Ottoman times will help us to understand the rise of the Balkan sprachbund.

And even now, more than one hundred years after the Balkan Wars, some local linguistic situations in this area bear witness to the multilingualism of the past. Research into the mutual influence of Aromanian and Macedonian, for instance, as carried out by Gołąb (1997) and Marković (2007), clearly shows how Balkan linguistic convergence functions on the local level. And it was against this background that the Helsinki Area & Language Studies field trip in 2015, which resulted in this volume, was directed to the study of bilingual speakers in the Central Balkans. However, the aim of the present paper is not to report on the actual results of the field trip, as do other papers in this volume, but to give an overview of the earlier historical situation in the region.

## **2 The prestige languages**

The state and administrative language of the Ottoman Empire was Ottoman Turkish, which was not the Turkish of the ordinary people. Ottoman Turkish was the language of learning and poetry for most of the Ottoman intellectuals. It showed a strong Persian influence, as well as Arabic influence by way of the Persian tongue (Tornow 2014, 515). Hanioglu (2008, 35) writes: “Ottoman Turkish was unintelligible to an uneducated native speaker of Turkish. [...] Those who used the Ottoman language were not necessarily Turks. Rather, they constituted the educated upper classes of a variety of Ottoman groups.”

In the Balkans, especially among the Christians, the Greek language had the highest prestige. Greek was also used at times by the Sublime Porte (the Ottoman central government) in its diplomatic correspondence (Horrocks 1997, 322–333). The Greek language was called “Romaic” (ρωμαίικα), and the self-designation of its speakers, native and others, was “Roman” (Ρωμαίος or Ρομιός); these words did not have an ethnic meaning, but rather religious, “Orthodox Christian,” and social, “upper class,” connotations (Detrez 2015, 62–79; Lindstedt 2012). The Greeks’ ancient self-designation “Hellene” (Ἑλληνας) and its equivalents in other languages, such as the Bulgarian *grăk*, began to be re-used more widely as ethnic designations only with the rise of modern nationalism (Kitromilides 2007, III: 8–10; Detrez 2015, 62–79, 232–233).

Both Ottoman Turkish and the Greek of the educated “Romans” were, therefore, not ethnic languages, but socially and religiously marked languages, associated with the privileged Muslim population and with the self-governing confessional community of all Orthodox Christians (*Millet-i Rûm*), respectively. But, in addition, part of the Orthodox Christian

community cherished the tradition of Church Slavonic as a written language of liturgical and other religious texts. During most of the Ottoman period, Greek and Church Slavonic both had niches of their own in the Orthodox community. It was only with the rise of first Greek, then Bulgarian, and finally Macedonian national movements in the course of the late 18th and the 19th centuries that Greek and Church Slavonic became rivals as liturgical languages among the Slavic population of the Balkans. After the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate in 1870, the Macedonian Slavs were divided into “Patriarchists,” who wanted to stay under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople, and “Exarchists,” who preferred the new Slavic Church organization. Even members of the same family could assume different identities – Greek, Bulgarian, or Ottoman (cf. Mackridge 2012 on the Vogoridis family) – as often happens in different parts of the world when new national identities are constructed.

This system of prestige languages was further complicated by the fact that Turkish, Greek, and Slavic language situations were each diglossic or diglossic with a middle compromise variety. Between the High variety *fasih türkçe* ‘correct Turkish’ and the Low variety *kaba türkçe* ‘vulgar Turkish’ there was a variety called *orta türkçe* ‘middle Turkish’ used for business purposes among the educated; in the latter half of the 19th century it was codified and became the variety most used until the revolution of the Young Turks in 1908 (Tornow 2014, 516).

In Greek, the original High variety was the archaic Koine (‘common [language]’), which had been the ideal in Byzantine times; it was markedly different from the spoken Low variety, called Demotic (‘popular’) Greek. In the written Greek of the Ottoman period, it was usual to combine archaizing morphology with relatively contemporary syntactic patterns, which constituted a kind of middle style (Horrocks 1997, 322–326). The middle style was gradually codified in the 18th and 19th centuries as a variety that came to be known as *katharévousa*, the ‘purifying’ language (as opposed to the “uncorrected” Demotic Greek; Horrocks 1997, 344–350; Tornow 2014, 516). Thus, both in Turkish and Greek, we can observe a shift whereby what was originally a middle style between the High and Low varieties became a new High variety, which was explicitly codified and clearly opposed to the vernacular.

As for the Balkan Slavic (Bulgarian and Macedonian) language community, Church Slavonic was clearly different from the actual spoken varieties. Historically, it was mainly based on the Slavic dialects of

Macedonia and Bulgaria in the 9th century, but as part of the Balkan linguistic area, Balkan Slavic had changed a great deal after those times. The case inflection, non-finite verb forms, and synthetic comparatives of Church Slavonic were completely foreign to the Balkan Slavic dialects in the 18th and 19th centuries, as was the lack of a definite article in it. Moreover, the prestige of the Russian variety (“recension”) of Church Slavonic gradually made it the preferred variety even among the Balkan Slavs, although the earlier Bulgarian and Serbian varieties had been somewhat closer to the local vernaculars.

If Church Slavonic was the High variety for the Balkan Slavs, a written Low variety first came into use at the end of the 16th century with the so-called Damascenes (*damaskini*). This was a manuscript tradition consisting of vernacular Macedonian and Bulgarian translations of vernacular Greek religious and didactic stories, the first of which had been written by the Greek clergyman Damaskinos Stouditis (d. 1577; for the significance of the Damascenes, see Gyllin 1991). However, in Southern Macedonia, as well as in the Central Balkan area discussed in this article, the Slavs gradually drifted out of this diglossic situation, because the Cyrillic script, which had united the Church Slavonic and Damascene traditions, fell into disuse. As reported by an anonymous correspondent from Thessaloniki in *Caregradskij vestnik*, March 1860 (Anonymous 1860):

Священници-те не знаятъ Гречески а Болгарски съ гречески слова пишатъ, колко-то за другїй народъ онъ въ простота глубока ся находити и нито съ гречески слова Болгарски да пиши знае. Но бакали-те и други все съ гречески слова Болгарски думи пишатъ.<sup>1</sup>

This southern Macedonian situation is reflected in the manuscript Gospel translations written in the local Slavic vernacular using Greek letters. The oldest such manuscript to be preserved is the Konikovo Gospel, which dates from the end of the 18th or the beginning of the 19th century (Lindstedt, Spasov, & Nuorluoto, eds. 2008); for other significant Macedonian texts in Greek letters, see the lists in Wahlström (2009, 132–133) and Spasov (2008, 412–413). This tradition was discontinued when all important Macedonian authors gradually opted for Cyrillic during the 19th century, first as part of the Bulgarian national movement and then gradually, at least beginning with

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<sup>1</sup> “The priests do not know Greek, but write Bulgarian with Greek letters, and as regards other people, they live in profound ignorance and cannot write Bulgarian, even with Greek letters. At the grocer’s and other places, Bulgarian words are written with Greek letters.”

Gjorgjija Pulevski (1875), as part of the emergent Macedonian national movement.

There was also an attempt to create a kind of middle variety of Balkan Slavic. It was represented by the so-called Slavonic-Bulgarian school, whose principles were codified in the three grammars by Neofit Bozveli and Emanuil Vaskidovič, Neofit Rilski, and Hristaki Pavlovič, all published in 1835–1836 (Válčev 2008, 77–179). However, Slavonic-Bulgarian remained a transient phenomenon of one generation of grammarians and never acquired the significance of *orta türkçe* or *katharévousa*. Bulgarian and Macedonian authors soon chose to use the vernacular as the main orientation of their work.

### 3 The vernaculars

If the system of prestige languages in the Ottoman Balkans was complicated, with Turkish, Greek, and Slavic all in diglossic (and partly triglossic) situations, the system of vernaculars was even richer and more complex. In 1911, an official appeal to all of the inhabitants of the Empire was published in nine languages: Ottoman Turkish, Arabic, Armenian, Bulgarian, Greek, Ladino, Serbian, Syriac Aramaic (in two scripts), and French (Hanioglu 2008, 33). These by no means included all the languages of the Empire. In Macedonia alone, Friedman (2015, 133) counts a dozen languages as being spoken there before the Balkan Wars: Macedonian, Serbian, Bulgarian, Albanian, Greek, Aromanian, Meglenoromanian, Turkish, Judezmo (Ladino), Romani, Armenian, and Circassian.

Pieces of information about how this multilingual world functioned in actual practice can be gathered from travelers' reports. The famous Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi writes about the city of Ohrid in 1670: "Language. All the people speak Bulgarian (Bulgarca) and Greek (Urumca). They do not know Albanian (Arnavudca), since this is Rumelia (Rūm) not Albania (Arnavudistān). But they do speak elegant Turkish, and there are some very urbane and witty gentlemen" (Evliya Çelebi 2000, 216–217; transl. by the book's editors). At least this account testifies to the widespread knowledge of Slavic, Greek, and Turkish in the city at that time. Albanian, today an important minority language in Ohrid, is explicitly mentioned as *not* being spoken there in 1670; however, this should perhaps not be taken in absolute terms, for Evliya Çelebi's report mostly describes Albania, and in Ohrid he perhaps wanted to emphasize how it differed from his other travel destinations.



More detailed observations of the linguistic situation can be found in 19th-century travel reports. A valuable summary of these can be found in Bernard Lory's great history of the city of Bitola (Monastir) from 1800 to 1918, collected in the chapter "Polyglossie" (Lory 2011, 712–717). A usual theme in foreigners' reports of Bitola is the admiration of the multilingualism of its citizens, including the children. Thus, the Austrian consul Friedrich Westermayer reported to Vienna that even six-year-olds could speak Vlach (Aromanian), Bulgarian (Macedonian), Greek, Turkish, and Albanian equally well (op. cit., 712). Of course, it is easy to see some exaggeration in this, and Westermayer could hardly judge how well the children really spoke all these languages, but multilingual children are also mentioned by British and French travelers (op. cit., 712–713). Other travelers mention a quadrilingual shoemaker, a trilingual cart driver, and a quadrilingual Exarchist priest (op. cit., 713). Several travelers single out the Aromanians for their knowledge of several languages (ibid.); this is also confirmed by Gustav Weigand's more detailed observations from the 1890s (see below).

The Swedish Slavist and travel writer Alfred Jensen visited the Ohrid region just before the Balkan wars and describes it in the chapter "Den stilla sjön" ("The Silent Lake") in his book *Kors och halfmåne* ("The Cross and the Crescent," Jensen 1911). Jensen does not offer many comments on the linguistic situation, as he was more interested in the religious and political tensions in Macedonia, but the theme of the multilingual local professional reappears (Jensen 1911, 120–121):

För vår personliga säkerhet sörjde den ryske konsulatkavazen, albanesen Jahja [...] Det var en ståtlig 75 åring med gråblå falkögon, väldiga hvita knäfvellborrar och en örnnäsa, rodnande af solglöd och vin [...] Jag afundades den gode Jahja hans språkkunskaper, ty utom bulgariska och ryska talade han ogenereradt turkiska, grekiska och albanesiska.<sup>2</sup>

The order in which Jensen mentions the languages may not seem very logical; after all, Albanian was probably Jahja's mother tongue. But Bulgarian and Russian were probably the languages Jensen used most during this part of his trip; Turkish was the language of the state administration and the privileged Ottomans, while Greek, we may assume, was used as an interethnic language among the Christians.

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<sup>2</sup> "Our personal safety was taken care of by the *kavaz* [bodyguard] of the Russian consulate, the Albanian Jahja [...] He was a handsome 75-year-old man with gray-blue falcon eyes, an enormous white moustache and an eagle nose [a Roman nose], red from sun and wine. [...] I envied the amiable Jahja for his knowledge of languages, for besides Bulgarian and Russian he spoke Turkish, Greek, and Albanian without difficulty."

According to Lory (2011, 713–714), the Turks in Bitola were reported by foreign travelers to be more monolingual, expecting other groups to understand their language. But it seems that the most important interethnic language among the Christians was Greek. On the other hand, “Bulgarian” (the Macedonian vernacular) was also mentioned in this role; in 1889, a French traveler wrote that “la langue bulgare est celle du marché.” Lory (2011, 715) assumes that the local Slavic dialect was the language of the Bitola market because the inhabitants of the surrounding countryside were predominantly Slavs, but this does mean that Slavic was also used as the main language of day-to-day business inside the city, and his assumption seems plausible. Lory’s (2011, 717) general conclusion runs as follows:

En l’absence d’enquêtes linguistiques véritables, nous ne pouvons qu’esquisser un tableau assez général, sur la base d’indications sporadiques. Il nous semble que l’on doive surtout opposer le citadin polyglotte (toutes communautés confondues) au paysan slave plus souvent unilingue.<sup>3</sup>

However, this difference should not be exaggerated. In Gustav Weigand’s (1895) linguistic map, the majority of the countryside around Bitola is indeed shown as mostly “Bulgarian” speaking, but there is a compact Aromanian area in the west, quite close to the city, and several partly Albanian and Turkish areas are also shown. The general model in this part of the Balkans was that especially the transhumant shepherds were Aromanians and Albanians. Kǎnčov’s (1970, 536–542) population statistics for Macedonia from the end of the 19th century show “Bulgarians” numbering 10,000 (27 %) among the 37,000 citizens of Bitola, and 91,257 (60 %) among the 151,063 inhabitants of the 266 towns and villages of the whole Bitola *kaza* (administrative district). This is a significant difference in percentages, but hardly sufficient to contrast the “multilingual” city with the “monolingual” countryside in absolute terms; if anything, Kǎnčov was biased in exaggerating the number of “Bulgarians.” The 22,995 Aromanians (*vlasî*) were, according to Kǎnčov, the second largest ethnic group in the *kaza*.

The Balkan cities of the late Ottoman period often did not possess a clear ethnic majority of over 50 percent. In addition to the 27 percent of “Bulgarians” in Bitola in Kǎnčov’s statistics quoted above, Turks made up 28 percent; Aromanians, 19 percent; Jews (probably Ladino-speaking),

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<sup>3</sup> “Lacking genuine linguistic investigations, we can only sketch a fairly general picture based on sporadic indications. It seems to us that a principal distinction has to be drawn between the multilingual city (taking all its communities together) and the Slavic countryside, which was mainly monolingual.”

15 percent; Roma, 5 percent; Albanians, 4 percent; and other groups, 1 percent. In reality, there were no reliable ethnic or linguistic statistics because the Ottoman censuses were based only on religion. Lory (2011, 85–119) gives an excellent overview of the different sources for the population statistics of Bitola, but he has not been able to access the Ottoman statistics directly. Kǎnčov, in his book, originally published in 1900, did use Ottoman statistics, but he probably exaggerated the number of “Bulgarians” among the Christian population (see Hristov 1970 on Kǎnčov’s life and work).

Interestingly, a German encyclopedia from the beginning of the 20th century, quoted by Tornow (2014, 512), states that there were approximately 35 percent Albanians, 29 percent Slavs, 19 percent Greeks, 12 percent Aromanians, 6 percent Jews, and no Turks at all in Bitola! These great discrepancies become understandable if we remember that what was really known with some certainty was the number of Muslims, and the breakdown into Turks and Albanians was made up of guesses. The Christian Exarchists and Patriarchists were distinguished in the census (Kǎnčov 1970, 542), but it was difficult to know how to break down the number of Patriarchists into Aromanians, Greeks, and Slavs, especially as some of the Aromanians openly declared themselves to be ethnic Greeks. Moreover, the number of Roma was certainly underestimated in all censuses and population estimates, as it has continued to be to this day.

Keeping all these warnings in mind, we can look at Kǎnčov’s (1970, 552) figures for Ohrid: among the 14,860 inhabitants, 54 percent were “Bulgarians,” 34 percent, Turks; 5 percent, Albanians; 4 percent, Roma; and 3 percent, Aromanians. But again it is easy to see that the percentages are misleading, because the absolute numbers given by Kǎnčov are only guesses. The number of all inhabitants seems quite exact (14,860) and probably comes from Ottoman statistics, but the numbers of the ethnic groups are given only in rounded thousands (8,000 “Bulgarians,” 5,000 Turks) or rounded hundreds (800 Albanians and so on; but the Aromanians are counted as 460 so as to arrive at the exact sum total of 14,860). Incidentally, although Kǎnčov always counted the Macedonian Slavs as “Bulgarians,” in one of his books (Kǎnčov 1911, 1), he writes that the local Bulgarians and Aromanians call themselves “Macedonians” and that this is also the name that neighboring peoples use for them; moreover, he says that the Turks, the Albanians, and the Greeks of Macedonia never use this name for themselves.

Probably the first professional linguist who made field observations about the use of different languages in the Central Balkans was Gustav Weigand

(1860–1930). The first volume of his important study of the Aromanians (Weigand 1895, which actually appeared the year after the second volume) contains this interesting report from Bitola:

Es ist klar, daß in einer Stadt mit so verschiedenen Nationalitäten auch eine große Vielsprachigkeit herrscht; das Türkische und Bulgarische ist [sic] fast gleich verbreitet, die Aromunen, wenigstens die Männer, können außer ihrer Muttersprache bulgarisch und griechisch, die meisten auch türkisch und albanesisch; viele verstehen selbst das Spanische, das, wie sie wohl fühlen, viele Wörter mit ihrer Sprache gleich oder ähnlich hat. Daß in Gesellschaften zugleich mehrere Sprachen gesprochen werden, ist ganz gewöhnlich. Saß ich z. B. bei meinem Freunde zu Tisch, so sprach ich mit ihm deutsch, mit seiner Mutter griechisch, mit seinen Schwestern aromunisch, mit seinem Bruder, der die englische Schule in Konstantinopel besucht hatte, englisch. Die Befehle an die Dienerschaft wurden nur bulgarisch gegeben; kam Besuch, hielt man sich mehr an das Griechische, das als die Sprache der Gebildeten gilt, und man spricht es in Monastir gut, besser, oder ich will lieber sagen, mehr der Schriftsprache gemäß, als in den meisten Städten Griechenlands. Dafür sorgt vor allem die Schule.<sup>4</sup> (Weigand 1895, 6)

Weigand visited mostly among the Aromanians, for whom multilingualism was certainly greater than in most other ethnic groups in the Central Balkans, but we can be fairly certain that such parallel use of languages was usual, as confirmed by the travel reports quoted by Lory (see above). Friedman (2015, 138) quotes a 19th-century verse from Macedonian folklore:

Ozdol ide vraška moma, / turski poje, grčki duma / arbanaški odgovara.

‘Up comes a Vlach maiden, / she sings Turkish, speaks Greek, / answers [in] Albanian.’

Friedman (2015, 138–140) also gives many examples of interlingual code switches in Macedonian folktales and songs, involving Macedonian, Turkish, Greek, Albanian, Aromanian, Judezmo, and Romani in different configurations. As Petrović (2003, 176–177) points out, many Western

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<sup>4</sup> “It is clear that in a city with so many different nationalities, widespread multilingualism prevails; Turkish and Bulgarian are almost equally distributed. The Aromanians, at least the men, know Bulgarian and Greek, besides their mother tongue, and most of them also know Turkish and Albanian; many even understand Spanish [= Ladino = Judezmo], which, as they readily observe, has many of the same or similar words as their language. It is quite usual that several languages are simultaneously spoken in social gatherings. For instance, when I was sitting at the table in a friend’s home, I spoke German with him, Greek with his mother, Aromanian with his sister, and English with his brother, who had studied at an English school in Constantinople. The orders to the servants were given only in Bulgarian. If a visitor came in, Greek was most often used, as it was considered to be the language of the educated and is spoken in Monastir as well, even better, or, I should say, more closely to the written language, than in most cities in Greece. This [Greek] is cultivated mainly by the schools.”

travelers reported this mix as a Balkan “confusion” in which the languages spoken and the identities declared were not in a simple one-to-one relationship.

What was natural in the Ottoman Empire became an anomaly, owing to the rise of nationalism and the construction of new national identities in the boundaries of new nation-states. As Kitromilides (2007, I: 184) writes, “[i]n its tempestuous course the nineteenth century was to witness the erosion of the common ‘mentality’ of Balkan Orthodoxy and its gradual replacement by mutually exclusive national identities, which more often than not came into violent collision with each other.” The Ottoman era of the Balkans began to be seen as a period of oppression, but actually it was only after the Balkan Wars and the end of the Ottoman rule that many ethnic groups in Macedonia became subject to assimilation pressures (Friedman 2015, 144–152). One of the worst instances was the forced Hellenization of what is now northern Greece, which had been largely Slavic-speaking before its annexation by Greece after the Balkan Wars (Karakasidou 1997; Kostopoulos 2008). In the Prespa region of Albania, the Slavs have had better opportunities to retain their language, and they have official minority status (Steinke & Ylli 2007).

#### **4 The tradition of parallel columns**

An interesting historical fact is that Gjorgjija Pulevski (1817–1895), who “was the first Macedonian to define Macedonians in the same way as any other European nation” (Spasov 2008, 415), defined the Macedonian identity in a trilingual conversation manual (Pulevski 1875) in which he acknowledged Macedonia to be a multilingual and multiethnic region. The three languages of the manual are Macedonian, Albanian, and Turkish, and, as also pointed out by Friedman (2015, 140–143), Pulevski (1875, 49) stated in the Macedonian text that the Macedonians were a nation living in Macedonia; in the Albanian text, that the Albanians were another nation, which lived partly in Macedonia; and in the Turkish text, that “everyone who lives in Macedonia is called a Macedonian” (Friedman’s translation). In Friedman’s (2015, 143) interpretation, “Pulevski was attempting to articulate both the sense of Macedonian ethnic nationality and the sense of Macedonian as a civic national identity.” The western ideas behind this are, of course, easy to see but, in my opinion, Pulevski’s approach to defining who is Macedonian should also be seen in the context of the Tanzimat (reform) era (1839–1876) of the Ottoman Empire in which he lived. The Ottoman Law of Nationality of 1869 defined for the first time that both Muslim and non-Muslim inhabitants

of the empire were Ottomans, and therefore the idea of non-ethnic citizenship was partly applied inside the empire as well (Hanioglu 2008, 74).

Pulevski designated the three languages of his conversation manual (or *rečnik* ‘dictionary’, according to its title) as *s. makedonski*, *arbanski*, and *turski*. The abbreviation *s.* means *slavjanski* ‘Slavic’ (cf. *shkinisht makedonise* in the Albanian title), and it is additional proof that he did not claim the simple adjective *makedonski* exclusively for the Slavic inhabitants of Macedonia. Another interesting detail is that in the preface (called *razgovor / kuvend / muhabet* ‘conversation’), the text marked as “Slavic Macedonian” is actually written in Serbian; the author explains in Serbian that it is good to know many languages, but the Macedonians (who do not understand Bulgarian, according to the author) must also consolidate their knowledge of the mother tongue. After the preface, all the “Slavic Macedonian” text is then written in Macedonian, with Serbian Cyrillic letters (the book was printed in Belgrade).

Most of Pulevski’s book is arranged in three parallel columns according to the three languages, all three written in Cyrillic. For his contemporaries, there was certainly nothing special in this typographical device: parallel columns were used in various books and even in private notebooks to compare and contrast languages.

The oldest Modern Macedonian Gospel translation, the Konikovo Gospel from the end of the 18th or the beginning of the 19th century, is actually a two-column manuscript with a vernacular Greek text in the left column and its vernacular Macedonian translation in the right column, the latter written in a dialect of the Lower Vardar type (from present-day northern Greece; see Lindstedt, Nuorluoto & Spasov, eds., 2008). Both texts are written in the Greek alphabet. An interesting parallel to this manuscript is the printed bilingual Greek and Albanian New Testament from 1827. It was originally translated by Vangjel Meksi (Evangelos Meksikos, d. ca. 1823) and later edited for print by Grigor Gjirokastriti, who became the Archbishop of Athens under the name Grigorios Argyrokastritis. The Greek text is the same vernacular version that is used in the Konikovo Gospel, and in the same fashion it is printed in the left column (Elsie 1991; Lindstedt 2008, 398, 402).

Perhaps the most famous book based on parallel columns from the early 19th-century Central Balkans was the *Lexicon Tetraglosson*, which was included in a Greek textbook written by the Aromanian Daniel of Moscopole

(1802).<sup>5</sup> The full name of the book in translation was *Introductory Instruction, Containing a Quadrilingual Lexicon of the Four Common Dialects, That Is, Simple Romaic, the Wallachian of Moesia, Bulgarian, and Albanian*. All four languages are written in Greek letters. “Romaic” is the Greek language Daniel wanted to teach through his book; “Wallachian” is Aromanian; “Bulgarian” represents a dialect that would be classified today as Macedonian. The *Lexicon* is not a simple dictionary, but contains parallel texts in the four languages (Ničev 1977; Kahl 2006, 255–258; Detrez 2015, 98–100; Lindstedt 2012, 111–112). In the order of the languages, we can see the mental map of Daniel of Moscopole: Greek in the first column is the language he admired and wanted to disseminate, although, as Ničev (1977, 43–46) shows, he did not know it very well. Aromanian, placed in the second column, was his mother tongue; “Bulgarian” was the language of many Orthodox Christians; and, finally, Albanian, placed in the last column, was the most widespread mother tongue of the local Muslim population, although there were Christian Albanians as well.

The idea of Daniel’s quadrilingual lexicon was not his own invention. Its obvious predecessor was Theodore Kavalliotis’ trilingual (Greek, Aromanian, and Albanian) lexicon, which appeared as part of his Greek textbook *Protopeireia*, printed in Venice in 1770 (Kahl 2006, 249–253). Kavalliotis’ lexicon served as the source of Aromanian and Albanian material for the Swedish linguist and historian Johann Erich Thunmann, an early forerunner of Balkan linguistics (Thunmann 1774).

An example of parallel columns in a personal notebook is the Greek-Macedonian notebook of Petre Kavajof, a citizen of Struga, from the year 1839. As can be seen in the facsimile published by Georgievski (2003), it contains parallel sentences in Classical Greek, Modern Greek, and local Macedonian, written down for the purpose of learning Greek. The exact variety of Modern Greek is not identified by Georgievski and deserves closer study. The columns do not have titles that identify the languages by name, but it is reasonable to assume that Petre Kavajof would *not* have called his own language “Bulgarian”: as Georgievski (2003, 23–24) points out, Kavajof twice uses the Macedonian word *bugarin* ‘Bulgarian’ to translate the Greek ethnonym Σκύθης ‘Scyth(ian)’.

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<sup>5</sup> Many sources give 1794 as the year of the first edition of Daniel’s work, but this is based on a misunderstanding that was copied from one source into another (Ničev 1977, 29–38; Kahl 2006, 256).

In all of these examples, parallel columns are a kind of mental map, a way to conceptualize and illustrate the multilingual reality of the Ottoman Balkans. There was a similar phenomenon in oral folklore: in some songs that were recorded in what used to be, before the Greek Civil War, the southernmost Macedonian-speaking villages at the foot of Mounts Alevitsa and Grammos, each verse is sung first in Greek, then in Macedonian or Albanian (Friedman 2015, 139–140).

The parallel columns also show awareness of different varieties of Greek. Petre Kavajof's notebook distinguishes between Ancient and Modern Greek. Daniel's lexicon has only the High variety of Greek, the one he tried to teach to all Balkan Christians, but both in the Konikovo Gospel and in the Greek and Albanian Gospel of 1827 (see above), the left column is in a Low variety. I think this served as a justification for the translations: because a vernacular Greek version of the Gospel existed (cf. Leiwo 2008), vernacular Albanian and Macedonian versions were also possible. In a way, this had also been the basis of the Damascene literature in Macedonian and Bulgarian: it was the Greek vernacular of the originals that licensed the use of a Low variety of Balkan Slavic in the translations.

## 5 Conclusions

Until the Balkan Wars, the inhabitants of the Central Balkans lived in a multilingual, multiethnic, and multi-religious society, where the place of different groups was relatively regulated and ethnic clashes were rare. There were, of course, great differences in the rights of the different groups, and the languages were by no means equal, either in their prestige or in their official status. Ottoman Turkish was the state and administrative language, and Greek was the prestige language of the Orthodox Christian population, so much so that a kind of Greek-speaking proto-nation of "Romans" was being formed in the Balkans before the modern national movements split the empire's Orthodox *millet* (self-governing group) into modern nations (Detrez 2015). At the other end of the prestige scale, no one was interested in the language of the Roma, who were a despised and dreaded minority.<sup>6</sup>

In this unequal, but stable and regulated multilingual society, it must have been usual for people to speak many languages, and, especially in the middle

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<sup>6</sup> The Greek-born Demetra Vaka (also known as Demetra Kenneth Brown) in her travel book *The Heart of the Balkans* (Vaka, 1917, 145–174) tells of the hostile attitudes toward the Roma. Quite exceptionally, she herself had formed a friendship with a Roma girl in her childhood on the island of Büyükkada, and she met her friend again as an adult.



of the prestige scale, this kind of individual bilingualism and multilingualism was symmetrical. The speakers of Turkish and Greek may not have been particularly motivated to learn other languages, because others were expected to learn theirs. At the other end of the prestige scale, no one was motivated (or even allowed) to learn Romani, though the Roma themselves have always learned the main languages of their surroundings. But in the middle of the prestige scale, many speakers of Albanian, Balkan Slavic, and Aromanian knew each other's languages, and for that reason their languages were subject to the strongest convergent tendencies (Lindstedt, forthcoming).

The significance of the Central Balkans for Balkan linguistics is twofold. First, as an area of strong ethnic mixing (see the maps in Weigand 1895 and Magoscsi 2002), it manifested the Balkan sprachbund phenomena in their strongest form. Second, because Macedonia, together with Albania was the last part of the Balkans to remain under Ottoman rule (with the exception of the small European part of Turkey that still exists), historical sources that reported the local linguistic situation are the easiest to find for this region. But it was precisely the ethnically-mixed character of Macedonia, which left it outside the first national states of the Balkans, yet subject to their conflicting territorial demands, that finally led to the Balkan Wars and to the loss of some of the better aspects of the Ottoman heritage.

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Dušica Božović (The University of Helsinki)  
Justyna Pierzyńska (The University of Helsinki)

## **“It was better in the past:” The Serbo-Croatian Language in Macedonia Today**

This article presents the results of a small-scale field study on the use of Serbo-Croatian in Macedonia and on current attitudes toward the language. The study concentrates on the region of Southwestern Macedonia around Lake Ohrid. We examine the attitudes of Macedonian native speakers toward what was formerly the “common” language in Yugoslavia, observe how well they speak this language, and determine whether there is a generational difference in speaking abilities. We also offer a contribution to the notions of a cultural Yugosphere and post-communist nostalgias. The study found that, currently, there is regular exposure to the language in this region as well as daily use, albeit with varying levels of speaker proficiency. There is also evidence that for today’s speakers the language represents a symbol of a common Yugoslav past.

### **1 Aim of the study**

The present study, carried out in May 2015, investigates the current sociolinguistic status of the Serbo-Croatian language (Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin, and Serbian) in Macedonia. It was prompted by an empirical observation, namely, that Serbo-Croatian is still used in certain contexts today, although most people in Macedonia have no formal education in the language, unlike in Yugoslav times. However, both Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian languages belong to the South Slavic language group and have had close contact with each other throughout history, especially during Yugoslav times. The study was carried out in order to examine whether Serbo-Croatian can still be regarded as a *lingua franca* for the geographical and cultural

sphere formed by the ex-Yugoslav republics, a territory commonly referred to today as the “Western Balkans” or the “Yugosphere” (Judah, 2009).

The rationale behind our choice of the term “Serbo-Croatian” is as follows: We agree with Kordić (2010, 124–136) that this is the most economical and neutral way to refer to the language in question. It is also a term with which Macedonians are well acquainted. Serbo-Croatian was the term used in Macedonian schools to designate this language when it was still taught there. The abbreviations BCS and BCMS (standing for Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian, and Montenegrin) are limited to the linguistic literature outside the former Yugoslavia and are not well-known among laymen nor are they easy to pronounce. Using all four names would not be practical, while using just one of the four would be misleading. In this article, we use the abbreviation “SC” for Serbo-Croatian. However, our interviewees were asked to refer to the language by the name they generally use and the name that comes most readily to them.

This study provides some preliminary results on the peculiarities of the use of Serbo-Croatian in Macedonia today and points to certain spheres of life in which this language is used. Our inquiry is a qualitative study intended to determine whether the participants speak Serbo-Croatian (Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin, Serbian) and how they view the language, with the further aim of gaining insight into the practical use of this language by the informants and generational changes in linguistic fluency.

The study provides an overview of attitudes toward the language encountered “on the ground” in Southwestern Macedonia where we conducted our interviews. The Macedonians’ views on the ongoing disintegration of the once “compactly” named Serbo-Croatian language were also of interest to us. This approach proved to be especially fruitful in view of the importance with which some scholars stress the historical “nostalgias” said to characterize post-socialist societies and inform people’s attitudes to the past (Velikonja 2008; Perica & Velikonja 2012; Todorova 2012). So far, various terms have been coined to account for similar phenomena in the Western Balkans: Yugosphere (Judah 2009), Yugo-nostalgia (Perica & Velikonja 2012), and Titostalgia (Velikonja, 2008). By analyzing how our informants made sense of what happened with the Serbo-Croatian language, together with their use of it, we endeavor to shed new light on these matters.

## **2 Background: Serbo-Croatian in Macedonia in the past and today**

Following the Balkan Wars of 1912–1913, the territory of what is now the Republic of Macedonia was part of the Serbian and the Yugoslav states (the latter, since 1918). The South Slavs who inhabited the region did not necessarily subscribe to any distinct ethnicity during the time of Ottoman rule (from the mid-fifteenth century to 1918) and before the retreat of the Ottoman Empire from the Balkans (Marković 2013; Atanasov 2004, p. 12ff). Under Ottoman rule, the population of the Balkans was structured not on national grounds, but on religious ones; moreover, the region was mostly inhabited by low-income farmers (Lakićević 2007). However, when Vardar Macedonia was liberated from Ottoman rule and suddenly found itself within the borders of Serbia, the questions of both ethnicity and language became more and more vital.

After the Second Balkan War, the treaty of Bucharest in the year 1913 made it possible for the Kingdom of Serbia to expand its territory to what is today Kosovo and Macedonia. Those new territorial gains (*novi krajevi, novooslobođeni krajevi* – the new[ly] liberated lands) at the end of the nineteenth century were given the romanticized name *Stara Srbija* (Old Serbia), because the medieval Serbian state under Stefan Dušan in the fourteenth century was located in this territory. The establishment of civil and military administration quickly followed the attainment of Serbian sovereignty in 1913, and the region was officially named *Južna Srbija* – Southern Serbia (Jovanović 2014; 2002).

The “newly liberated lands” were regarded as a highly problematic region already within the Kingdom of Serbia and were placed under a so-called Special Regime. The Serbian authorities, later the royal Slovene-Croatian-Serb and Yugoslav authorities, constantly had to fight corruption, the opium trade, and national Albanian and Bulgarian insurgencies up until World War II (Jovanović 2014). The authorities established a regime of more or less state-sponsored discrimination against the local population: Muslims (primarily Turks and Albanians) were mostly prevented from participating in the local administration and effectively deprived (although not necessarily by law) of some political and economic rights, while the Orthodox population – apart from those who declared themselves to be Serbs – was also regarded as disloyal and thus became politically oppressed (cf. *Ustav za Staru Srbiju*).

Both constitutions of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (1921 and 1931) called the official language Serbo-Croato-Slovene (*srpsko-hrvatsko-slovenački*; in practice, Serbo-Croatian and Slovene) (Vidmar 2013, 227).

Before World War II, the South Slavic dialects spoken in Macedonia were not yet widely regarded as a language of their own, and their use was limited to unofficial communications in the Vardar Banovina, an administrative area encompassing the modern-day Republic of Macedonia. In addition, the Bulgarian claim to these territories and their South Slavonic dialects complicated the linguistic situation further.

After World War II, in the new socialist Yugoslavia, there were no longer any official state languages. All titular nations' (*narodi*) languages were declared equal in official use; languages of minorities, such as Hungarian and Albanian, were protected by law (Trbovich 2008). Macedonian was declared a language in its own right, and its first grammar books and textbooks were printed in the 1940s. However, the predominant language on the state level was Serbo-Croatian (Croato-Serbian), which was the mother tongue for 73 percent of the population (Kordić 2010, 288) and, consequently, influenced the other languages of the country (Kovačić 2005).

Serbo-Croatian was taught in school in all the Yugoslav republics. Its use on radio, television, and in magazines, as well as in the Yugoslav People's Army, where it was the only official tongue, made the language indispensable on a practical communicative level. Consequently, Serbo-Croatian quickly became the *lingua franca* for all the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia.

After the breakup of Yugoslavia in 1991, Serbo-Croatian ceased to be taught in schools in Slovenia and Macedonia. None of the new states adopted the term "Serbo-Croatian." Instead, four separate national languages were declared: Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin, Serbian; efforts were made to distance those "new" languages from one another through prescriptivism. However, all the countries of the former Yugoslavia stayed in close cultural contact, which resulted in the language being widely understood throughout the entire territory of the former state. To a great extent, it is still used as a *lingua franca*, at least for communication between members of older generations who have different mother tongues. For example, both Slovenes and Macedonians sometimes use Serbo-Croatian, without necessarily consistently naming the language in a particular way or without adhering to the norm of one of the current standard languages (Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin, or Serbian). In fact, it would be impossible to expect these speakers to draw a clear line, especially when native speakers and linguists from the Serbo-Croatian region are unable to do so.

Music, newspapers, television, and other media played the most important roles in these developments. For example, many reality shows featuring



participants from Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia, Slovenia, and Croatia are broadcast simultaneously in all the republics. The music scene functions almost as a common market, with singers from one country becoming pop stars in all the successor states. One example of such a star was Toše Proeski, who sang both in Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian. Audiences listen to music and watch television shows and films from Serbia and Croatia; films featuring actors from the whole region are commonplace. The widely used adjective *domaći* encapsulates the notion of “us-ness” and means ‘domestic’ or ‘local’. It is the word of choice for referring to virtually all cultural products stemming from the territory of the former Yugoslavia. All in all, there is not much sense of being foreign or different from each other, especially in the case of Macedonia, which did not have to go through the bloody war of disintegration in 1991–1995. In 2009, a new term – “Yugosphere” – emerged to refer to this particular cultural territory, defined in regional terms (Judah 2009).

### **3 Research setting**

The study took place in Southwestern Macedonia, and interviews were conducted during two weeks of field work in June 2015. We used semi-structured interviews and a linguistic survey and applied sociolinguistic and linguistic analysis on them. The interviews covered issues such as linguistic attitudes, interviewees’ language of origin, and their views on the use of Serbo-Croatian in the past and today. The survey covered the use of mother tongues in different contexts. The material gathered through the semi-structured interviews and the surveys forms the basis for the analysis of the use of Serbo-Croatian today and of the discourses utilized by our participants to make sense of their linguistic situation, both in the past and in the present. The research questions informing our analysis were formulated as follows:

- a) Do Macedonians still use Serbo-Croatian today and how do they relate to this language (do they, for example, consider themselves speakers of that language)?
- b) If yes, in what spheres of life is Serbo-Croatian used? Does it serve any practical function today?
- c) Is there an observable generational difference in language use? For example, do older generations use the language more often than younger people?
- d) What are the features of the Serbo-Croatian used and are there generational differences (such as proficiency level)?
- e) How do speakers of Serbo-Croatian refer to this language today and how do they regard it now (e.g., as a single language or several)?

#### **4 Interviewees**

Our research was conducted in several towns and villages of Southeastern Macedonia, specifically, Struga, Resen, Asamati, and Ohrid. All of the interviewees came from that region with the exception of two who were from Eastern Macedonia – Strumica and Berovo – close to the Bulgarian border. The other interviewees were born in and around Struga, Resen, and Ohrid and had spent most of their childhood, adolescence, and adult lives there. All of our participants were Macedonian citizens. We interviewed eight individuals altogether. Six spoke Macedonian as their mother tongue, and two spoke Turkish as a mother tongue. The Turkish speakers attended school in both Macedonian and Turkish and were effectively bilingual.

When asked about foreign or other languages they speak, the interviewees mentioned English, Dutch, Albanian, and Vlach. Only one of them placed Serbian on this list, while the others did not mention it, although to a certain extent they clearly were fluent in Serbo-Croatian. Our impression was that the former Yugoslav “common language” is still not perceived as foreign in Macedonia today.

We envisaged interviewing persons from various age groups in order to compare the answers and the interviewees’ language competence given its generational distribution. We succeeded in finding people who were born within the time-span from the late 1940s and up to the breakup of Yugoslavia. The years of birth of our informants were as follows: 1948–1955–1964–1969–1974–1979–1985–1991. This means that some had spent a significant part of their lives in Yugoslavia, while the youngest were born when the country collapsed, and thus did not have Serbo-Croatian classes at school. Moreover, the younger group was growing up before cable television programs arrived in Macedonia.

When asked about studying Serbo-Croatian in a formal setting, half (four) of the interviewees said that they had received language education at school, while the other half had not studied the language in any formal setting. Two persons had served in the Yugoslav army, which, as mentioned above was the only Yugoslav institution in which speaking Serbo-Croatian was obligatory, yet in practice the army did not require a high level of language proficiency.

#### **5 Use of Serbo-Croatian**

We asked our interviewees if they understand the Serbo-Croatian language, and all answered in the affirmative. However, not everyone claimed to be able to speak the language. One person (whose mother tongue is Turkish)

explained that she understands Serbo-Croatian well, but dare not speak it. This was the only person with whom the full interview was conducted in Macedonian, while the other seven participants agreed to an interview in Serbo-Croatian.

We wanted to know in what situations people use the language or are exposed to it. Seven participants said that they use SC sometimes, while all of them, including the person who does not speak it, are regularly exposed to SC through television. Seven interviewees listen to music with lyrics in Serbo-Croatian, while three listen to the radio broadcast from Serbia. One person listens to both Serbian and Croatian radio stations. Three of them read newspapers and books in Serbo-Croatian. In addition, all of the informants claimed that SC is regularly used in everyday life in Macedonia today.

When asked if they find Serbo-Croatian skills useful, all informants said that it is definitely helpful to be able to speak the language. As possible situations where the language can be used, they mentioned business and family occasions, since most of them have family and friends in other former Yugoslav republics. Some of them made a general statement that any language can be useful in particular situations.

According to our interviewees, when a Macedonian language speaker meets a Serbo-Croatian speaker, the SC speaker need not switch to Macedonian, although Macedonian speakers might or might not switch to SC. Four of our respondents reported that they switch to SC. If there is no switch, speakers practice what Haugen has termed *semicomcommunication* (Haugen 1966) or what is nowadays more commonly named *receptive multilingualism* (Bahtina & ten Thije 2012; Golubović 2016). In this particular case, communication based on receptive multilingualism involves the Macedonian speaker using his or her own language or adapting it slightly to make it easier for a SC speaker to understand. This practice was called “a mixture” of languages by our respondents. However, one of the informants described a very telling example of another kind of situation: if placed in a group of ten people of which nine were Macedonian speakers and only one was a speaker of Serbo-Croatian, everyone would speak Serbo-Croatian. Such examples and elaborations given by our interviewees suggest that Serbo-Croatian still serves as the *lingua franca* in the former Yugoslav territory and is considered the default common language of choice.

## **6 Views on Serbo-Croatian**

We asked our interviewees what they call the language that we talked about. It must be noted, however, that, because of the research setting, we had already suggested a name – Serbo-Croatian – for the language in which we proposed to conduct the interview. We therefore explicitly asked the interviewees what they call the language when talking with their friends and what name for the language they hear in their surroundings. Two of the informants said that they call it “Serbo-Croatian,” two others called the language either “Serbian” or “Croatian,” one person called it “Serbian, Croatian, or Bosnian,” whereas three persons answered that they call it “Serbian.”

We introduced ourselves as scholars from Finland, indicating that we did not expect the speakers to give a particular answer. Yet, inevitably, it became clear to the informants that both interviewers had native language competence in SC: one of us speaks like a Croatian and the other speaks like a Serbian.

In the interviews, the issue of the official designation of the language was further elaborated upon by asking whether the informants were aware of the official breakup of the language following the breakup of Yugoslavia. All interviewees were aware of this change and seemed to have a definite opinion on this issue. We wanted to know exactly how they perceive the situation, and we received the following answers:

- “I think this is only one language.”
- “For me, this is only one language.”
- “For me, they are dialects.”
- “Those are not different languages; they have much more in common than what makes them different.”
- “I think it is one language. The Yugoslav language was one language. In Yugoslavia we were all Yugoslavs.”
- “Croatian is a little different than Serbian.”
- “That is a political question; politics has divided it into four languages, but I cannot claim anything about the language, since I am not an expert.”
- “It was better in the past. For me those new languages are dialects of the same language.”

Most of the speakers thus perceive Serbo-Croatian as one language with some dialectal differences. One person suggested that the Croatian variety is a bit different from the Serbian. However, our impression is that the informants tend to mix their nostalgia for the former state, shown by such statements as

“We were all Yugoslavs” or “It was better in the past” in talking about the issues connected with the language.

This observation goes hand in hand with Velikonja’s (2012, 7–8) postulate that, despite the official death of a state/nation, the perceptions of the language, people’s memories, and the discourses used to make sense of the immediate political materialities all play a crucial role in the processes of social change that continue in the territory of a now non-existent state. Discourses on language form an important part of the more general nostalgic narrative of the “good life” in the former Yugoslavia (Todorova & Gille 2012; Luthar & Pušnik 2010).

The interviewees did not seem to be interested in the Serbo-Croatian language and its subsequent history of division into Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian, and Montenegrin. Instead, they used our question to develop their own story about the Yugoslav past, often contrasting it with the realities of today’s Macedonia. What is more, when confronted with the claim that today native speakers of Serbo-Croatian identify with one of the “new languages,” the informants responded in an unexpected way. We would have expected that a Macedonian would say that, if native speakers themselves see the former Serbo-Croatian as four languages, then the Macedonian non-natives have nothing to add. Surprisingly, all eight participants acted as if they had a tool to judge the level of difference or similarity between what they perceived as dialects, and they freely expressed their opinions about the question.

## **7 Competence in Serbo-Croatian and its varieties**

Since our informants showed self-confidence in determining whether Serbo-Croatian is one language or several, we also wanted to find out how they perceived differences between speakers from different regions. We asked them first if they understand speakers from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro, and Serbia equally well. Five of them said that they do. Surprisingly, one of them, who claims not to understand speakers from all former republics equally well, eventually said that the only region he struggles with is Southeastern Serbia, where people speak “in a different way.” We did not expect this answer because it is well known that the Serbian Prizren-Timok dialect is closest to Macedonian and has numerous similarities. One plausible explanation for such a claim is that our informant had probably heard the Serbian media speak about the “weirdness” of this dialect, which is also used in Serbian comedy films for humorous effect. Two of the informants said that they understand Serbian better than the language(s) spoken in the

rest of the region, and one person said that she understands and likes Bosnian best because of the many Turkish loanwords used in Bosnia (the informant spoke Turkish as her mother tongue).

Macedonian speakers were also asked if they felt able to tell the difference between the different dialects and can guess where a person speaking Serbo-Croatian comes from. All of them stated they indeed can do that. When asked on what they base their guesses, informants would typically say either “an accent,” “pronunciation,” or particular words. Unfortunately, we were unable to elicit more concrete examples of the exact features that remind them of a particular region. Only one person said that the “letter j” appears more in Bosnia and Herzegovina (presumably meaning the Ijekavian reflex of the Proto-Slavic vowel *yat*). However, when asked if the same goes for Croatia, the interviewee was unsure (although this feature appears in Croatia as well).

In addition, two speakers spoke about “Dalmatian” and “Vojvodinian” when listing the linguistic varieties of Serbo-Croatian (for example, “Yes, I speak Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian, Dalmatian... all of them”). This may suggest that “Serbian” and “Montenegrin” are perceived as simply regional variants of the same language and can be assigned a similar status as “Vojvodinian,” for example.

## **8 “Macedonian” Serbo-Croatian**

In order to see the features of Serbo-Croatian as it is spoken today by Macedonians, we analyzed the language of two of our informants: the oldest (born 1948) and the youngest (born 1991). Both speak Macedonian as their mother tongue, and both state they speak other languages, but only as a second language (Vlach, English). One of them has spent most of her life in Yugoslavia and had Serbo-Croatian as a subject in school, while the other was born when Yugoslavia was already falling apart, and his contact with the Serbo-Croatian language has been unsystematic: through business, television, and communication with members of his extended family living elsewhere in the former Yugoslav countries.

We compared their language to all standard variants of Serbo-Croatian: if a feature is recognized by any standard, we took it as well-formed. It is well known that there are dialects of SC which lack some case endings, but it was not possible to identify whether some of the features we observed are interference with Macedonian or whether the speaker was affected by one particular dialect of SC. We classified the pertinent features into three groups: declension and conjugation, syntactic forms, and vocabulary. We have chosen

to present here both well-formed and ill-formed examples. Since Macedonian does not inflect words for case and SC does, this being one of the biggest differences between the two languages, we expected to find interesting variation in the use of the SC cases.

The first informant we analyzed, born in 1948, had studied Serbo-Croatian in school. She claimed that it requires no effort for her to speak the language, and she believed it to be as “close to her heart” as Macedonian. In her speech, we found many well-formed examples of Serbo-Croatian case use; for instance:

- ACC: *volela sam školu* ‘I liked school’,
- LOC: *u kafanama; u Sloveniji* ‘in cafés; in Slovenia’,
- INSTR: *sa Slovencima* ‘with the Slovenians’,
- GEN: *iz Bosne ili Crne Gore* ‘from Bosnia or Montenegro’.

However, there were also forms that deviate from standard SC:

- Absence of GEN with numerals: *od peto do osmo odeljenje* ‘from fifth to eighth grade’ (instead of *od petog do osmog odeljenja*),
- Macedonian accusative personal pronoun: *kad ne ispituje profesorica* ‘when the teacher quizzes us’ (instead of *kad nas ispituje profesorica*),
- Absence of LOC: *kad se sedne na neka slava* ‘when you sit down during a celebration’ (instead of *kad se sedne na nekoj slavi*),
- Difficulties with declension of a whole phrase: *u Crna Gori* ‘in Montenegro’ (instead of *u Crnoj Gori*),
- ACC instead of LOC (no differentiation between expressions of goal and location): *a u moju školu je bilo...* ‘and in my school there was...’ (instead of *a u mojoj školi je bilo*),
- substantival instead of adjectival LOC ending: *u Hrvatski* ‘in Croatia’ (instead of *u Hrvatskoj*).

Some examples of correct syntactic structures, observed in instances where Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian structures differ, include: *Čula sam!, Morali smo da putujemo, Nisam živela, ali samo što sam išla kod mojih tamo*. On the other hand, we encountered forms such as the following:

- *mi se čini više u mladosti* ‘I think, more while being young’ (wrong order of clitics, should be: *čini mi se*),
- *kad uđe u vrata* ‘when (he/she) enters the door’ (wrong preposition – overuse of the SC *u*, should be: *na vrata*),
- *nemalo razlika da li je Makedonac ili Šiptar* ‘there was no difference whether you were a Macedonian or an Albanian’ (Macedonian existential structure [there

is no single-word negative form of the past active participle of the verb *imati* in SC; in addition, this verb is not used in past tense in existential sentences], should be: *nije bilo razlike...*),

- *sigurno ima puno šta govore* (relativizer *što* replaced with the question pronoun *šta* – this use is, however, encountered in some dialects of SC, being also common in the colloquial speech of Zagreb, yet we believe that this instance represents hypercorrect use, the corresponding Macedonian relativizer/question word being *što*).

The interviewee demonstrated a sound knowledge of Serbo-Croatian vocabulary and idiomatic expressions, as in these examples: *profesorica, ko šta hoće da uči, svi na svoje, više me ne interesuje, šta da kažem*. However, some of her lexical choices were erroneous, owing to the similarities between some Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian words:

- *nekoj zna; nikoj nije rekao* ‘somebody knows; nobody told’ (SC: *niko, neko*),
- *mnogo različno* ‘very different(ly)’ (SC: *različito*),
- *dopir* ‘touch’ (SC: *dodir*),
- *skrišno* ‘hidden’ (SC: *skriveno*),
- (Q: *Čime se su bavili vaši roditelji?* ‘What were the occupations of your parents?’) A: *zemljodelje* ‘agriculture’ (Macedonian: *zemjodelstvo*, SC: *zemljoradnja*).

Overall, the speaker was fairly competent in SC, with sporadic errors due to Macedonian interference (*nekoj, dopir, kad ne ispituje profesorica*) or hypercorrection. As an example of the latter effect, because the Macedonian speaker was aware of the preposition *u* and the pronoun *šta* (*vo* and *što* in Macedonian), she used them even in situations where they are not required. We also found that there was no significant difference between her command of grammar and her vocabulary.

The second informant we analyzed was born in 1991. He was educated in Macedonian and never had any instruction in Serbo-Croatian. He watches Serbian and Croatian television and has relatives in Serbia whom he has visited. This speaker also has some correct nominal and verbal forms, such as:

- LOC: *u Crnoj Gori; to ima u Ohridu* ‘in Montenegro; there’s that in Ohrid’,
- GEN: *iz Hrvatske, iz Srbije* ‘from Croatia; from Serbia’ (but in the next phrase incorrectly without GEN: *iz čitav region* ‘from the whole region’),
- 3PL.PRES: *tamo pričaju* ‘they are talking there’,
- correct accusative pronoun: *pošto ih volim* ‘because I love them’,



- INSTR: *bavim se ugostiteljstvom* ‘I work in the hospitality industry’ (the noun should be *ugostiteljstvo*, but the case ending is correct), *s ljudima* ‘with people’.

It is noteworthy that even in a sentence in which two correct forms of the genitive were used, the speaker failed to produce the genitive in the following phrase: *iz čitav region*. The other examples are:

- erroneous case form, as in *gledamo emisiji* ‘we watch programs’ (instead of *emisije*) or *mogu da prepoznam Bosanac* ‘I can spot a Bosnian’ (instead of *Bosanca*),
- use of Macedonian form: *ima neki riječi što gi ne razumijem* ‘there are some words I don’t understand’ (instead of *ima nekih riječi što ih ne razumijem*),
- use of several erroneous case forms in one construction: *u neki prodavnicu* ‘in some shop’ (instead of *u nekoj prodavnici*),
- NOM or ACC instead of LOC: *bio sam u Istanbul* ‘I’ve been to Istanbul’ (NOM/ACC) (instead of *bio sam u Istanbulu*), *otac radi u hrvatsku firmu* ‘father works in a Croatian company (ACC) (instead of *otac radi u hrvatskoj firmi*)

Some Serbo-Croatian expressions were also well-formed, such as: *nazivam ga* ‘I call him/it’, *čuo sam za to* ‘I’ve heard of it’, (Q: *Jesi li voleo školu?* ‘Did you like school?’) A: *Jesam* ‘I did’, *da razumemo šta pričaju i kad idemo tamo da se razumijemo s ljudima* ‘(in order) to understand what they are saying, and, when we go there, for us to understand each other with the people’.

However, many forms were incorrect, resembling those used by the first informant:

- *kad dođe nas gosti* ‘when they visit us’ (instead of *kad nam dođu gosti* – both the case of the pronoun and clitic placement are erroneous, similar to the other informant),
- *Se razumemo!* ‘We understand each other!’ (clitics are not allowed in sentence-initial position in SC; should be *Razumemo se*),
- (Q: *Da li ga nekad koristiš? Srpski?* ‘Do you ever use it? Serbian?’) A: *Jesam. Koristim ga tu u hotelu.* (past tense in SC is formed with an auxiliary, which can be used in answering yes/no questions [*jesam/nisam*]; this is not, however, possible in present tense; a possible answer could be *Da* or *Koristim*),
- *ima Hrvati šta ja poznajem* ‘there are some Croats whom I know’ (as with the first informant, existential structure is not well-formed and *šta* is used instead of the relativizer *što*; the correct form would be *Ima Hrvata što ja poznajem* or *Ima Hrvata koje poznajem*).

Some of the well-formed lexical choices were, for instance: *ne razumem*, *moj tata radi*, *možda*. We also noticed that occasionally the informant found his

way by simply repeating parts of the interviewer's sentences. In some instances, he simply used Macedonian words:

- *Srbinka* 'Serbian woman' (SC: *Srpkinja*),
- vojna 'war' (SC: *rat*),
- *Makedonec so Turčinka* 'a Macedonian man with a Turkish woman' (SC: *Makedonac s Turkinjom*),
- *vo Srbiju sam bio* (SC: *u Srbiji sam bio*; the first informant used the preposition *u* regularly, while this speaker sometimes used Macedonian *vo*),
- *i taka* 'and like that' (SC: *i tako*),
- *najveće putujem* 'I mostly travel' (SC: *najviše putujem*).

The lexical mistakes of this informant were not, as with the first informant, always caused by the similarity between SC and Macedonian, but rather involved Macedonian words. Unlike the first informant, this one showed less systematic use of forms as well as a much better command of the vocabulary than the grammar, which is probably the result of informal and unsystematic contact with the language. Even though the informant was self-confident and willing to communicate in Serbo-Croatian when given the chance, it is not clear whether he should be considered a speaker of the language. Also, on the basis of the interview, he mixed the Ijekavian and Ekavian reflexes of *yat* in a way that does not appear in any dialect of SC. This further shows that his contact with SC has been unsystematic and that his exposure has not been limited to a particular area; he has therefore picked his influences from here and there.

The analysis presented here concentrates on two speakers who were selected on the basis of their year of birth. However, it is important to emphasize that the interviewed group included speakers more proficient than these two. Some of them even came across as having (near-)native competence in SC. At the same time, one speaker was eager to speak Serbo-Croatian, but had to be reminded to actually use it during the interview.

## **9 Serbo-Croatian as a reminder of a “better life”**

The picture that emerges from the analysis of the discourses about the Serbo-Croatian language seems to confirm the findings of previous studies on post-communist nostalgias and attitudes to the past (Velikonja 2012; Todorova 2012). Especially in post-Yugoslav Macedonia, which is plagued by economic and social turbulence, it is understandable that when people look to the past, they perceive it as a period of relative stability. The notion of the

"good Yugoslav life" came up in all of the interviews and seemed to be part of the shared imagery of the past, even among young people who do not have their own memories of the Yugoslav period. Language seems to be one of the constituting elements that forms and informs this picture, as the question of the current situation of the once common Serbo-Croatian language triggered memories and reflections on life in the former Yugoslavia in general. The interviewees seemed to use this question as a bridge enabling them to connect with the symbolic dimension of the discourses of a "good life," pertaining to Yugo-nostalgia.

Our informants stated that the four official languages today, which emerged after Yugoslavia's break-up and the simultaneous demise of the SC language, are in fact still considered one common language with local varieties. Such claims may result from nostalgic longing for a long-lost "brotherhood and unity," but they can also be merely the consequence of the everyday experience of mutual intelligibility among the tongues today called Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian, and Montenegrin. A deeper analysis of the ideological and experiential underpinnings of Macedonian attitudes toward Serbo-Croatian is needed and with more interviewees in order to examine the roots of the narratives elicited in our study.

Our interviews with the eight informants from Southwestern Macedonia show that the notion of the Serbo-Croatian language is a familiar and symbolic trigger for memories of the Yugoslav past, even for those who did not witness the period themselves. Despite being aware of the changes in the official status of the language and its factual disappearance and fragmentation into four different official languages in the Yugoslav successor republics, our informants negated the very materiality of those processes, which they interpreted as political decisions arising from a great political game that has been played in the Balkans. The everyday contact with all the varieties of Serbo-Croatian through family ties, television, and other media seems to contradict the language policies adopted by the new post-Yugoslav republics in the eyes of our interviewees. Their unique position as speakers of a different native tongue, yet who simultaneously are bearers of the common historical experience of belonging to the same state equips our informants with a peculiar sensitivity to the issues of language policies in the post-Yugoslav contexts and makes possible the characteristic answer to the questions about their attitude to the Serbo-Croatian language: "It was better in the past."

## **10 Conclusions**

In this study, we set out to determine the attitudes of today's Macedonian speakers to Serbo-Croatian and their practical use of the language. The analysis is necessarily tentative in character because of the small sample size and because all the interviewees came from one region, in particular, a tourist region, where people are used to visitors from all over the former Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, the study provides some clues to the current situation "on the ground."

Although there is a common belief that those who were born after the breakup of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia do not speak Serbo-Croatian, we have found that all of our informants claimed to understand it well, while the only person who said that she did not speak it was born and had received her primary and secondary education during the Yugoslav era. In contrast, those who did not study SC at school all claimed that they speak the language. We should also bear in mind that all our informants eagerly agreed to be interviewed; only once did a potential informant decline to give an interview. Therefore, we believe that this study may represent the situation more generally, namely, that there is a prevalently positive attitude toward communication in Serbo-Croatian. People are regularly exposed to the language through television and also to some extent through radio and books. Furthermore, people are finding the language to be useful in conducting business and in speaking with non-Macedonian family members.

The most surprising insight from the analysis is the way in which our informants reconstructed the Serbo-Croatian language in spite of (or possibly because of) their intimate knowledge of the political changes of the last 25 years. We also studied the Serbo-Croatian spoken by these individuals in comparison with one Yugoslav-era speaker (born in 1948) and one post-Yugoslav era speaker (born in 1991). Although both proved to be competent language users and able to distance themselves from the Macedonian linguistic system, their mistakes shared similar characteristics, for example, in existential constructions, clitic placement, and their choices of cases for pronouns. These mistakes were expected and are a direct result of language transfer. The general impression is that the first informant was competent both in grammar and vocabulary, while the second informant struggled with grammar, sometimes being able to produce the right form only by chance.

The discourse emerging from the interviews involves notions of a better past, good times that are over, and a general disapproval of the current state of affairs. The Serbo-Croatian language forms part of a broader view of

Yugoslavia, thereby also making this study a contribution to the fields of memory studies and post-socialist nostalgia. A study that included more informants and from different regions of Macedonia and that took into account variations in the socio-economic status and other demographic characteristics of participants (gender, age, level of education, etc.) would further clarify our findings. In addition, it would be valuable to compare these results with a possible study carried out in Slovenia. A further question that could be investigated is the communication between Slovenian and Macedonian speakers.

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## **Appendix: Sociolinguistic questionnaire**

### **General Questions**

1. When were you born (year of birth)?
2. Where were you born?
3. What is your citizenship?
4. Father's place of birth
5. What is your mother tongue?
6. Mother's place of birth
7. Mother's mother tongue
8. What language do/did your parents use with one another?
9. What language do/did your grandparents use with one another?
10. What language did the teachers in your school use?
11. What language did you use to talk with your fellow classmates at school?
12. Where did you serve in the army? What languages did you use there?
13. What language do you use at home? What language do you use with your neighbors?
14. What language do you use to talk with your extended family and do you use only one language in such situations?
15. Which language do you use when participating in free time activities with friends?
16. What language do you use when you shop? When you go to the post office? At a local bar or coffee shop?
17. What language do you use when you have business in the offices of local authorities, at the police station, or in other state institutions?
18. What language do you consider your main language or the one you are most fluent in? What do you call this language in the region you live in?
19. What is your nationality?

### **Questions pertaining to the knowledge and use of Serbo-Croatian**

1. Do you understand Serbo-Croatian?
2. Do you speak Serbo-Croatian?
3. Do you call the language in question “Serbo-Croatian” or use some other name for it?
4. Do you ever use this language in your daily activities? Do you speak it? Do you listen to it (TV, radio, newspapers, books, music, etc.)?
5. Do you agree that we continue our interview in Serbo-Croatian?
6. Have you ever studied Serbo-Croatian at school?
7. Have you ever spoken Serbo-Croatian in your childhood and adolescence? Was it ever necessary anywhere to use Serbo-Croatian?
8. Is there any opportunity today to hear Serbo-Croatian used in everyday life in Macedonia? Do you hear it spoken in your village/your city?
9. Is it useful to know Serbo-Croatian? Are Serbo-Croatian skills necessary for anything?
10. What nations speak Serbo-Croatian? Do you meet those people sometimes? If yes, what language do you use to communicate with them?
11. Do representatives of other post-Yugoslav nations live here? Which language do you use to communicate with them?

12. Have you ever heard anything about the recent history of this language? What happened? Is the language still called the same as before? How many languages do people talk about nowadays? What is your opinion of these developments?
13. Do you feel that you understand one of the “new” languages better than others: Croatian, Bosnia, Serbian or Montenegrin? Do you like one of them more than others?
14. Are you able to say from where a person speaking Serbo-Croatian as his or her mother tongue comes? If yes, how can you know that?
15. Do you listen to music produced in Serbia, Montenegro, Croatia, or Bosnia and Herzegovina? If yes, do you understand the songs’ lyrics?
16. Are there any films you like which were produced in Serbia, Montenegro, Croatia, or Bosnia and Herzegovina? Do you understand what the actors are saying or do you need a translation?

**Questions for the open-ended part of the interview:**

- Can you tell us something about your profession, your household, etc.?
- What were your parents’ professions?
- How was life here in this village/city in the past, compared with the situation today?
- Did people visit cities often in the past?
- Did you like going to school and being a student?
- In what language were your lessons held?
- How did you experience the lessons in the Serbo-Croatian language? Was it hard to learn? Did you like Serbo-Croatian as a school subject or did you study it just because it was compulsory?
- Do you think that children today could also learn this language at school or rather do you believe that it is no longer useful for the younger generation?
- What customs were connected with courtship in the past?
- Where there couples made up of representatives of different nationalities?
- Is this different today?
- Was friendship between representatives of different nationalities common in the past?
- Are such friendships common today?
- Have you been traveling in your youth?
- Do you travel now, and if yes, where do you go?
- Do you like remembering your youth? Would you like to go back in time to this period if you had a chance?
- What was the SFR Yugoslavia like as a country?
- Out of all the countries you lived in, which one provided the best opportunities for your nation/ethnic group?



Paula Hämeen-Anttila (The University of Helsinki)  
Antti Olavi Laine (The University of Helsinki)

## **Linguistic landscapes in the Central Balkans: The main commercial streets in Struga and Ohrid<sup>1</sup>**

The aim of this article is to determine whether the ethnic divisions in Macedonia are also visible in the country's linguistic landscape. We have limited our scope to the main commercial streets in two towns, Struga and Ohrid. In both towns, the streets on which we focus are physically divided. These physical divisions also seem to function as dividing lines between the predominantly Macedonian and the predominantly Albanian parts of the respective towns. The research reported here was carried out by photographing all texts visible on each of the chosen streets in June of 2015. These texts included official signs, advertisements, shop windows, posters, graffiti, and the like. Our purpose was to demonstrate that ethnic divisions are also clearly visible in the linguistic landscape of the towns. The two parts of each main street differ from each other, especially in Struga, where there is considerable use of Albanian in public, although Macedonian is still the language most commonly used. The towns differ linguistically in other ways: there seems to be much less Albanian and more Turkish spoken in Ohrid than in Struga. Non-Balkan languages other than English are used only sporadically, although Italian seems to be more popular than others.

### **1 Introduction**

In this study, we describe and compare within the field of Linguistic landscapes (LL) the main commercial streets of two towns in the Central Balkans, Struga and Ohrid, both found in the southwestern part of the Republic of Macedonia. As discussed in detail in Korhonen, Makartsev,

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<sup>1</sup> The authors extend their gratitude to Motoki Nomachi and Kukka Pitkänen who helped in collecting the material for this study.

Petruševska, and Spasov (this volume), the constitution of the Republic of Macedonia states that the official language throughout the republic is Macedonian, written in the Cyrillic alphabet. In addition, six languages are recognized as minority languages: Albanian, Turkish, Romani, Serbian, Bosnian, and Aromanian. A minority language is considered co-official with Macedonian in municipalities where that language is spoken by at least 20 percent of the population. The Struga municipality has an Albanian majority, and the Albanian language is therefore used along with Macedonian in official connections. In Ohrid, however, the Albanian minority is not as numerous, and the Ohrid municipality is officially monolingual.

The purpose of this research was to determine whether these ethnic divisions are reflected in the LL of Struga and Ohrid, and furthermore, to compare the linguistic situations in the two towns. In Struga, the area under investigation includes the streets Ulica Maršal Tito and Turistička located on the eastern and western sides of the Drin River respectively. In Ohrid, the pedestrian streets of Sveti Kliment Ohridski and Goce Delčev are examined. The main task is addressed by means of two research questions: 1) In which language(s) does communication take place in the publicly displayed texts, and 2) what are the linguistic surroundings encountered by passers-by? The first question is answered by determining how many and which languages the shops and individuals have chosen for their public advertisements and street announcements. To address the second question, the languages that appear in the photographed texts were counted.

## **2 Data and Methodology**

The current research was conducted in June of 2015 in Struga and Ohrid. Both towns have a central commercial district with pedestrian streets running through them. These streets, Ulica Maršal Tito and Turistička in Struga, and Sveti Kliment Ohridski and Goce Delčev in Ohrid, were chosen for being the most prominent commercial, pedestrian streets in each town. In each town, the area under investigation consists of two contiguous streets neatly bisected by a physical element: the Drin River in Struga and Kruševska Republika Square in Ohrid. In both towns, the street on one side of the divide is generally considered “more Albanian,” while the street on the other side of the divide is considered “more Macedonian.” The data were classified according to the individual streets and analyzed separately to allow comparison, both within each town as well as between the towns.

The study of linguistic landscapes is a relatively new approach in sociolinguistics and studies of multilingualism, and the field is still in its infancy, with theoretical and methodological preliminaries being constantly developed. Essentially, LL is concerned with the ways in which different languages are represented in the environment in any given area, prototypically an urban area. This sense of the term was first developed in late 1990s and the early 2000s, and the field has tended to focus on written languages visible in the public sphere (Gorter 2006, 2). Important early research into LL includes Peter Backhaus's (2007) study of multilingualism in Tokyo and a collection of articles explaining and developing LL as a field of research (Gorter 2006). Further collected volumes expanding the topic include Shohamy and Gorter (2009), Shohamy et al. (2010), and Hélot et al. (2012).

Linguistic landscape research may be both quantitative and qualitative. A quantitative approach may consist of simply choosing an area to be investigated, counting all the signs found there, and observing which languages are used and how many instances there are of each. While such a task may seem straightforward, the approach entails several problems yet to be solved, some of which are discussed below. A qualitative approach to LL takes into account what lies behind the signs and the choice of language in which the texts appear. Questions are raised, for example, about authorship and audience. Who has put up the signs, and for whom are they meant? Who reads them and how are they interpreted? An important factor is the opinions and attitudes of the local people, such as whether they feel that a certain minority language is adequately represented in the LL, for example. A study of this type therefore benefits greatly from interviews conducted with the residents of an area instead of merely recording observations (Gorter 2012, 12).

In this study, the LL was approached mainly from a quantitative perspective by photographing each sign or surface containing texts found on the designated streets.<sup>2</sup> Hereafter, we will call these individual text surfaces "signs," regardless of their physical shape or material. We classified the signs into four categories: (1) the language(s) and alphabet(s) used in the sign, (2) the type of sign (public, commercial, unofficial, or other), (3) whether or not the sign included a proper name, and 4) the purpose of the sign, meaning whether it served to give the name of a place, advertise a product or services,

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<sup>2</sup> We focused on all visible texts and, at least to a certain extent, permanent texts. This meant excluding, for example, moving vehicles and texts on pedestrians' clothing. However, flashing texts on digital screens were included in the study, even if the texts were not visible all the time. An example of this type of sign is an advertisement of a currency exchange office.

announce an event, or something else. The goal was to achieve a balance between giving the best possible image of the towns' linguistic landscapes on the one hand and limiting the scope to some of the most important factors on the other hand, meanwhile accepting the fact that describing a linguistic landscape perfectly with numbers alone is an impossible task (see, e.g., Pennycook 2009, 304). Signs giving brand names were omitted from the analysis if they could not be classified as containing a particular language. The number of such texts was relatively small. We also accounted for the size of the sign; substantially less prominent signs, such as small stickers, were excluded from the analysis.

As for multilingual signs, it is often important to see how individual languages are placed: which language occupies the most prominent position (up high? on the left or right)? Naturally, difficulties arise if a multilingual sign contains different information in different languages. For example, in the poster in Photograph 1, both Macedonian and English are used, but for different purposes. The texts in the two languages are placed differently and given in different sizes. The texts also give different information, and there is more Macedonian than English in the poster. Determining which language is more dominant in a sign can be very difficult. In this study, we chose not to try to analyze this, but to treat all languages appearing in a sign equally. However, in presenting our results, we will discuss some common tendencies regarding this problem, for instance, whether particular languages were used for particular purposes.

In addition, counting the signs one by one would result in a less multilingual image than is encountered in reality. While many signs are monolingual, there may be another sign nearby with the same information in another language. This was quite common in the data; a situation like this can be seen, for instance, in Photograph 2, where three identical, but separate posters are placed next to each other – one in Albanian, one in Macedonian, and one in Turkish. Counting them all as separate, monolingual signs would not give the right impression. Therefore, in this study, when addressing multilingual practices, we discuss mainly groups of signs posted by one business or by somebody we presumed to be a single individual, treating each of these groups of signs as a separate entity.



**Photograph 1. Struga, east of the Drin River.**



**Photograph 2. Struga, east of the Drin River.**

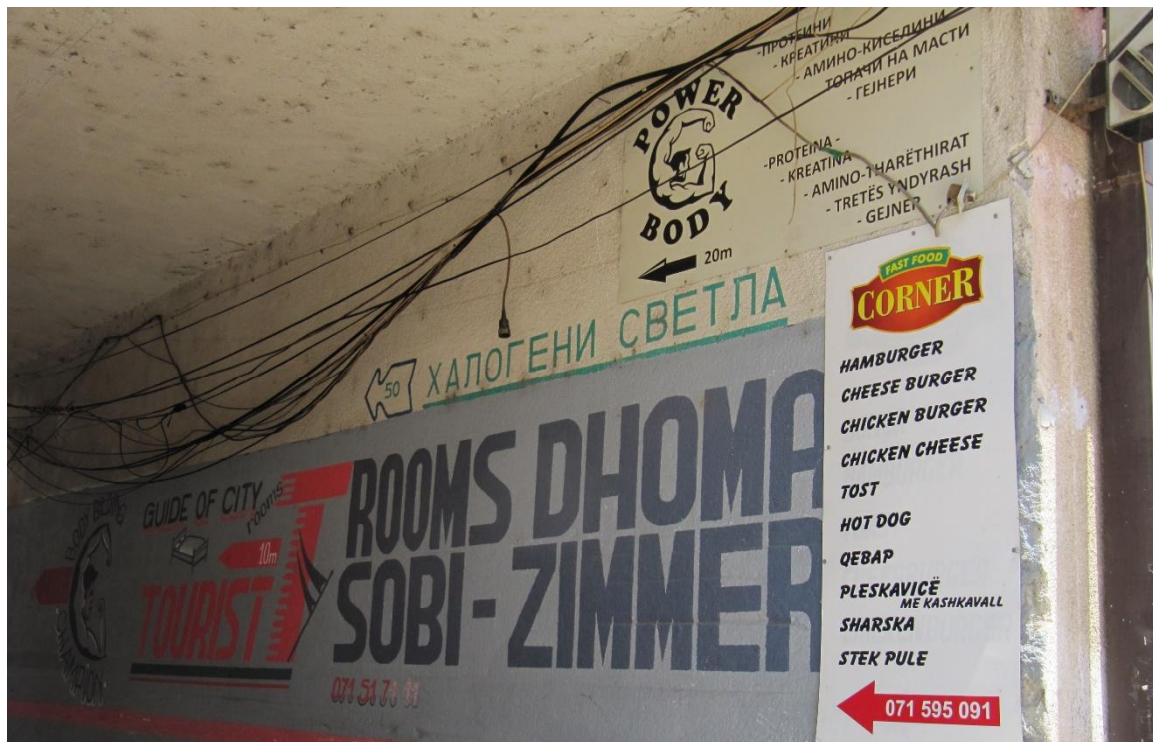




Struga, east of the Drin River.



Ohrid, Goce Delčev Street.



Struga, west of the Drin River.

### 3 Results

In the following two subsections, we present the results of the study for each town, Struga and Ohrid. We first address the question of choice of language in general and then proceed to an analysis of the multilingual practices in the linguistic landscape.

#### 3.1 Struga

The total number of individual signs in the data for Struga is 539, of which 289 were found on the west side of the river and 250 on the east side. In Table 1 below, the languages of these signs are shown for each side of the river separately. Notice that the number of texts counted in the table does not correspond to the number of signs, since some of the signs contain more than one language. The multilingual signs are discussed further below.

	West of the Drin River		East of the Drin River	
	Number of	%	Number of	%
Macedonian	135	36	151	42.1
Albanian	72	18.6	146	40.6
English	152	39	45	12.5
Italian	15	3.9	1	0.3
Turkish	4	1	7	2
French	6	1.6	2	0.6
German	2	0.6	5	1.4
Spanish	0	0.0	1	0.3
Greek	0	0.0	1	0.3
Total:	389		360	

**Table 1. The number of texts by language in Struga.**

In comparing the street signs on the two sides of the river, the co-official language of the Struga municipality, Albanian, shows an interesting pattern. Albanian appears in one-fifth of the texts on the western side, often alongside Macedonian, and often conveying the same information. On the eastern side, however, the share of Albanian texts rises sharply to 40.6 percent, appearing almost as often as Macedonian. English, the global language, is well represented in the data, accounting for 39 percent of the texts on the western side of the river; its proportion surpasses even Macedonian on the western side. However, on the river's eastern side, English exhibits a very different situation. While Albanian (and, less drastically, Macedonian) increases on the eastern side, English usage drops to a mere 12.5 percent. Other languages found in the LL of Struga include Italian (although in only one instance on

the eastern side), Turkish, French, and German. All of these represent a considerably smaller number of signs than the three languages, Albanian, Macedonian, and English, considered above. As for other languages, one instance each was found of Spanish and Greek, both on the street on the east side of the river.

As for the choice of alphabet for writing Macedonian, Table 2 gives statistics separately for Cyrillic and Latin. There were some signs, although not many, with the same Macedonian text in both alphabets, and these are shown separately in the table.

	West of the Drin River		East of the Drin River	
	Numbers	%	Numbers	%
Macedonian	99	73.3	136	90.1
Macedonian	33	24.5	14	9.3
Both C & L	3	2.2	1	0.6
Total:	135	100	151	100

**Table 2. The proportion of Macedonian signs written in the Cyrillic (C) and the Latin (L) alphabets in Struga.**

As can be seen from Table 2, most of the Macedonian texts on both sides of the Drin River were written in the official alphabet, Cyrillic. Latinized Macedonian, however, is not rare, but it does decrease markedly on the eastern side. Overall, Macedonian is used in about 36 percent of the texts on the western side, but increases to 42.1 percent on the eastern stretch. Altogether, Macedonian in either alphabet appears in 38.2 percent of all signs in the data.

In analyzing the various texts in terms of the number of languages in a single sign, we found the majority of all signs to be monolingual. Multilingual texts are slightly more common on the eastern side of the river, constituting 31.2 percent of the total, as opposed to 21.6 percent on the western side. Monolingual texts are thus quite dominant in the LL of Struga's main streets. Trilingual texts are relatively rare on both sides, and there are only two texts with as many as four languages, one on each side of the river.

As discussed above, it often happens that various storefronts or similar entities show a great deal of variation in the number of texts they display. While some shops were contented with displaying, for instance, only a name, others had windows full of different kinds of advertisements and announcements, with varying degrees of prominence. In many cases, the same information was provided in more than one language, but on separate and



different signs. For these reasons, it was deemed useful to count the businesses or groups of posters as single units in examining the languages they displayed. This way it was possible to represent the actual language choices made by distinct entities. These results are presented in Table 3.

When viewed this way, the degree of multilingualism rises slightly compared to the situation with individual signs. Monolingualism remains the majority practice on the western side of the river, but on the eastern side, multilingual groups of signs slightly outnumber monolingual ones; while monolingual businesses, bulletin boards, or the like are the largest individual group, multilingual groups of signs amount to a little more than half of all the observed instances. One thing to keep in mind is that monolingualism might be amplified by sporadic stickers, graffiti, and other random signs that cannot be linked to a whole of any kind. For this reason, non-prominent signs were removed from the data, but there are still many larger posters, advertisements, and the like included.

Number of languages	West of the Drin River		East of the Drin River	
	1	95	62.1 %	54
2	36	23.5 %	39	32.0 %
3	19	12.4 %	28	23.0 %
4	3	2.0 %	1	0.8 %
Total:	153		122	

**Table 3. Number of the groups of signs by the number of languages used in Struga.**

Table 4 shows which languages were popular among monolingual groups of signs. On the monolingual façades and, for example, bulletin boards, Macedonian was the most usual choice, with a similar percentage on both sides of the Drin – 43.2 percent on the eastern side and 46.3 percent on the western side. In a pattern similar to the one seen above for the number of instances of each language, the monolingual use of Albanian is more common on the eastern side, with 31.5 percent compared to 9.5 percent on the western side. The use of English drops from 42.1 percent on the western side to 22.2 percent on the eastern portion. The monolingual use of other European languages is minimal and is due primarily to the names of shops being in these languages.

	West of the Drin River		East of the Drin River	
Macedonian	41	43.2 %	25	46.3 %
Albanian	9	9.5 %	17	31.5 %
English	40	42.1 %	12	22.2 %
Italian	3	3.2 %	0	0.0 %
French	2	2.1 %	0	0.0 %
Total:	95		54	

**Table 4. Monolingual groups of signs in Struga.**

In Table 5, bilingual groups of signs are shown by the combinations of languages used. The main languages are clearly Macedonian, Albanian, and English, with all three combinations fairly evenly distributed on the western side of the Drin. Since the number of English texts drops on the eastern side in general, bilingualism using English is also rarer, and the vast majority of bilingual groups of signs use Macedonian and Albanian. The use of any other languages in bilingual settings is quite rare. Not included in Table 5 are groups of signs using more than two languages. The majority combine Macedonian, Albanian, and English (9 out of 19 groups of signs on the western side, 19 out of 28 on the eastern side). Other multilingual combinations are found in the data, but they are not typical, and the “third” language is often due to the name of a shop being in a non-local European language.

West of the Drin River (total 36)	East of the Drin River (total 39)
Macedonian-Albanian: 13	Macedonian-Albanian: 32
Macedonian-English: 10	Macedonian-English: 2
Albanian-English: 10	Albanian-English: 2
Macedonian-Italian: 1	Albanian-Italian: 2
Albanian-Italian: 1	Macedonian-Turkish: 1
English-Italian: 1	

**Table 5. Bilingual groups of signs in Struga.**

### 3.2 Ohrid

The pedestrian commercial street (*čaršija*) in Ohrid is bisected by Kruševska Republika Square, famous for an old sycamore tree, *Činarot*. On one side of the square, Kliment Ohridski Street runs down to the port. On the other side of the square, the road is known as Goce Delčev Street. Kliment Ohridski Street has a more westernized appearance, while Goce Delčev Street gives a more oriental impression. The general perception seems to be that Kliment Ohridski Street is more “Macedonian,” while Goce Delčev Street is more “Albanian.”

As Table 6 demonstrates, there is much less Albanian in the LL of Ohrid as compared to Struga. This is to be expected, since Ohrid is officially a monolingual city and its Albanian minority is smaller than Struga's. As in Struga, other European languages, such as French, German, and Spanish, are only sporadically represented in the LL. However, Turkish seems to be used more in Ohrid; in our material, there are even four monolingual Turkish groups of signs (see Table 9). Also, English and Macedonian are more visible on the main commercial street in Ohrid than in Struga.

	Kliment Ohridski Street		Goce Delčev Street	
	Numbers	%	Numbers	%
Macedonian	100	49.7	67	54.5
Albanian	4	2	8	6.5
English	72	35.8	31	25.2
Italian	9	4.5	2	1.6
Turkish	8	4	10	8.1
French	3	1.5	1	0.8
German	3	1.5	1	0.8
Spanish	1	0.5	0	0
Greek	1	0.5	0	0
Dutch	0	0	3	2.5
Total:	201		123	

**Table 6. The number of sign texts written in each language in Ohrid.**

	Kliment Ohridski Street		Goce Delčev Street	
	Numbers	%	Numbers	%
Macedonian (C)	63	70.8	54	85.7
Macedonian (L)	15	16.8	5	7.9
C & L	11	12.4	4	6.4
Total:	89		63	

**Table 7. Macedonian signs written in the Cyrillic (C) and the Latin (L) alphabets in Ohrid.**

By comparison with Struga, Ohrid seems to be slightly different when it comes to the degree of multilingualism used in the groups of signs (see Table 8). As noted earlier, multilingualism seems to be more frequent on the Albanian side of the Drin River in Struga. However, in Ohrid, the number of groups of signs using different languages is far more similar on both sides of the square, with Goce Delčev Street being slightly more multilingual (Kliment Ohridski Street is 69.4% monolingual, and Goce Delčev Street is 61.7% monolingual).

Number of languages	Kliment Ohridski Street		Goce Delčev Street	
	1	93	69.4 %	50
2	33	24.6 %	26	32.1 %
3	4	3.0 %	4	5 %
4	2	1.5 %	1	1.2 %
5	2	1.5 %	0	0.0 %
Total:	134		81	

**Table 8. Groups of signs in Ohrid by the number of languages used.**

As can be seen in Table 9, even on Goce Delčev Street, often regarded as more “Albanian,” the Albanian language does not occupy a very prominent place, and it is almost always accompanied by another language. In Ohrid, we found only three store fronts or other groups of signs that used Albanian exclusively. This is significantly different from Struga, where the proportion of monolingual Albanian groups of signs is much larger.

	Kliment Ohridski Street		Goce Delčev Street	
	Macedonian	51	54.8 %	33
Albanian	1	1.1 %	2	4.0 %
English	36	38.7 %	11	22.0 %
Italian	3	3.2 %	2	4.0 %
Turkish	2	2.2 %	2	4.0 %
Total:	93		50	

**Table 9. Monolingual groups of signs in Ohrid.**

Most of the bilingual groups of signs in Ohrid use Macedonian and English, whereas other combinations are less frequent, as shown in Table 10. When three or more languages are used, Macedonian (written in Cyrillic) and English are always included in the combinations. This is not the case in Struga, where Macedonian-Albanian is the most common combination. There were two instances in Ohrid when a business used as many as five languages in their advertising and shop windows.

Kliment Ohridski Street (total 33)	Goce Delčev Street (total 26)
Macedonian- English: 25	Macedonian-English: 14
Macedonian-Italian: 3	Macedonian-Albanian: 4
Macedonian-French: 2	Macedonian-Turkish: 3
Macedonian-German: 1	Macedonian-Dutch: 2
Turkish-English: 1	Macedonian-French: 1
Spanish-English: 1	Albanian-Turkish: 1
	Turkish-French: 1

**Table 10. Bilingual groups of signs in Ohrid.**

In general, the outlook in the central part of Ohrid resembles that of Struga; however, Ohrid is more homogeneous. The difference between the two parts of the street is less visible in Ohrid, and there is less use of multilingualism in its shops and other groups of signs.

#### **4 Conclusions**

Our analysis shows that common perceptions regarding the ethnic dividing lines in the towns of Struga and Ohrid are reflected in quantitative analyses of the linguistic landscape of their main commercial streets. In addition, sometimes the absence of a language can be just as indicative of an ethnic dominance as its presence. As stated at the outset of this article, six languages are recognized as minority languages in the Republic of Macedonia: Albanian, Turkish, Romani, Serbian, Bosnian, and Aromanian. Yet only Albanian and Turkish were attested in the LL of the main commercial streets in Struga and Ohrid based on the signage, whereas the other minority languages were completely invisible.

The clearest results appeared in observations of the presence of the Albanian language in the LL. In Struga on the eastern side of the Drin River, Albanian is more visible, both in terms of its occurrence in individual signs and in the multilingual repertoire of specific businesses. A similar, yet significantly less conclusive, distinction can be observed in Ohrid. At times, these differences are statistically insignificant, owing to the fact that Albanian is altogether less often used there and only rarely is it used exclusively. This was expected, as Ohrid, unlike Struga, is officially a monolingual municipality. Another strong tendency is the absence of English in the portion of the street in Struga that has the larger Albanian presence. Yet this may be due to the smaller number of tourists there, despite the street being called *Turistička*.

A general observation is that the main domains in which non-local languages are used are proper names and factory-made advertisements, such

as a clothing store with an Italian name or a Pepsi poster with an English slogan. Also, lengthier, more informative texts tend to be either in Macedonian, Albanian, or both, and exceptions are readily explained by the intended audience, for instance, a burger joint with advertisements in English and clearly targeting tourists. Languages other than English or the local languages are used relatively seldom. Most attestations of French, Italian, Spanish, and Greek are in the form of names. Italian may be an exception, since it is also found in food-related texts. German is not found in any names, but is used by a few travel agencies, albeit sparingly. Notably, crucial information is not conveyed in these languages.

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Andrei Călin Dumitrescu (The University of Helsinki)

## **Intermarriage and the intergenerational transmission of Aromanian in the Central Balkans**

The purpose of the present study is to gain a deeper understanding of the level of endangerment of Aromanian, a Romance language of the Balkan peninsula. The study is based on semi-structured interviews with 18 Aromanian speakers from several locations in Macedonia, Albania, and Greece. It explores the connections between intermarriage and the intergenerational transmission of the language, as well as the views of the older generations about the linguistic skills and attitudes of the younger generations.

### **1 Introduction**

The Aromanian or Vlach language (*limba armânească*)<sup>1</sup> has played an integral part in the linguistic history of the Central Balkans, but it has not been able to find its proper place in an era of mostly monolingual nation states. It is now a minority language everywhere it is spoken, and its continued survival hangs in the balance. The *UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* classifies Aromanian as “definitely endangered” (Moseley 2010). In the following paragraphs, I will present a general overview of the sociolinguistic situation that currently applies to Aromanian and the processes that have brought it under pressure, as described by Thede Kahl (2008, 136–138), together with a brief review of previous sociolinguistic studies on the language.

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<sup>1</sup> The orthography of the Aromanian words and excerpts from interviews quoted in this article is based on the system agreed upon at the *Symposium for the Standardization of the Aromanian Writing System* in Bitola in 1997 (for more details, see Cunia 2000/2001). However, since my informants’ dialects differed in several respects from this standard, I tried to render the speakers’ individual variants to the extent possible.

Aromanian is recognized as a minority language only in the Republic of Macedonia, where it is used as a language of instruction in schools and on radio and television (*ibid.*, 136; see also Šatava 2013, 7). Although the number of its speakers is larger in Albania and Greece, there are no schools where Aromanian is used for teaching in these two countries, with the exception of the municipality of Divjakë in Albania (Kahl 2008, 136; see also Korhonen et al. in this volume).

Kahl (2008, 138) found that, in the majority of localities inhabited by Aromanians, people over 60 are active bilingual speakers, and those between 40 and 60 years of age are passive or potential speakers, whereas those under 40 completely lack competence in the language. My field experience seems to confirm this general outline, with the caveat that probably many under 40 have at least passive knowledge of the language. However, the situation was different in each country, and my contact was mainly with speakers over the age of 50.

In Kahl's opinion, a significant problem is that Aromanian speakers are not viewed as a minority, but as belonging to the majority of the respective country in which they live. As the main factor contributing to the endangerment of Aromanian, Kahl cites the lack of economic appeal, since the language is not associated with modern professions. The traditional occupations of Aromanians – nomadic pastoralism, commerce, and transportation of merchandise – involved in themselves high degrees of contact with speakers of other languages. Urbanization has also increased the degree of contact and the rate of mixed marriages. As Aromanian plays no role in interethnic communication, it is mostly restricted to the family domain. Moreover, Aromanian-speaking communities are dispersed over a wide area, making contacts between them difficult to maintain. (Kahl 2008, 136–138.)

Aromanian also suffers from a lack of prestige, particularly in Greece. Speakers view their language negatively and as an impediment to the acquisition of the national language (*ibid.*, 137). In Greece, it is a widely-held belief, confirmed during my fieldwork, that Aromanian cannot be written (*cf. ibid.*, 140). In contrast, I was able to acquire samples of informal writing of Aromanian in both Albania and Macedonia. Despite the existence of standardized orthographies for Aromanian, these samples closely imitated the orthographies of the respective official languages of those countries.

Although descriptions of various Aromanian dialects and literature on the culture and traditions of Aromanians are not difficult to come by, few actual sociolinguistic studies of the language have been carried out. Stamatis Beis



(2012) explores the sociolinguistic situation of Aromanian in Metsovo on the basis of a study in 1992 in which questionnaires were distributed to the town's residents with the help of high school students. He found that, beginning in the 1950s, there had been a gradual, but inexorable language shift toward Greek, such that, at the time of the study, only 20 percent of children were able to speak Aromanian, even though 84 percent were said to understand it. Leoš Šatava's (2013) study was a sociolinguistic questionnaire that surveyed 68 students in their eighth year at the local elementary school in Kruševo. It explored the extent and proportion of Aromanian in individual language domains, the perception of Aromanian culture, and the phenomena of ethnic consciousness and cultural ties. The chief conclusion is the clear dominance of Macedonian over Aromanian, not only in the practical sphere (in most of the linguistic domains), but also within the sphere of language attitudes and autostereotypes (op. cit., 23).

Whereas the main purpose of this study is to assess the level of endangerment to the Aromanian language, the heterogeneous nature of the data does not allow this kind of systematic statistical investigation. Instead, after presenting my data and methods in section 2, I will focus in section 3 on a few aspects of language endangerment and bring out the most common narratives in the speakers' personal language histories.

## **2 Data and methods**

This study is based on semi-structured interviews conducted during a field trip to Macedonia, Albania, and Greece in June 2015. The interviews were based on a sociolinguistic questionnaire that dealt with language use in various domains and the linguistic ideologies of the informants, with a particular focus on the family domain. The questionnaire was filled out for most of the interviewees.

The interviews were mostly conducted in Aromanian, with a few in English in cases where the informant was not able or not willing to speak Aromanian. Additionally, the questionnaires were always printed in the official language of each country, which proved useful on a few occasions, such as when the discussion touched upon a topic not typically talked about in Aromanian.

A significant number of the informants were found based on contacts obtained prior to the fieldwork. Other informants were found through so-called snowball sampling or simply by chance. The sample can thus be said to be a variety sample, where attention is paid to each informant's personal

story and a few topics of interest are examined in terms of the various factors involved, with no intention of providing definitive statistics.

In principle, only informants who were fluent in Aromanian were interviewed. However, in Argos Orestiko, I also interviewed a few whose language skills were rather limited, but who nevertheless had at least heard Aromanian spoken in their families and identified themselves in one way or another as Aromanian (*Vlăchos*). For the complexities of Aromanian identity in Greece, see, for example, Mackridge (2007/2008).

Altogether, there were 18 informants for which sufficient data on language use in the family were gathered. These individuals were interviewed at several locations during the trip, as follows (Aromanian names are given in brackets):

Macedonia	5	Struga (Strug)	1
		Resen	3
		Ohrid (Ohârda)	1
Albania	5	Korça (Curceauã)	4
		Boboshtica	1
Greece	8	Argos Orestiko (Hrupishteia)	6
		Kastoria (Cristur)	2

**Table 1. Number of informants.**

There was unfortunately a strong bias toward male speakers, owing to various cultural reasons; for instance, it is usually not appropriate for a young man to have a conversation with a married woman. Of the 18 informants, 16 were male, and, perhaps not entirely by chance, each of the two female speakers was interviewed together with her son. The average age of the informants was 65, with the youngest being 37 and the oldest 85. That almost no people under 40 were interviewed has probably less to do with the fact that the number of active speakers is decreasing among the younger generations and more to do with fieldwork practicalities: the interviews were mostly conducted at the time of day when younger people are usually at work.

Of the questions included in the sociolinguistic questionnaire, I will focus here on the following:

1. Family history
  - mother tongue of each parent
  - spouse's mother tongue
2. Language use in the childhood
  - language(s) spoken by parents to each other
3. Language(s) spoken with
  - spouse

- siblings
  - children
  - grandchildren
4. How do you see the future of the Aromanian language? Should it be taught in school?

As a general caveat, it should be noted that the informants' answers regarding language skills and language use may not fully correspond to reality. While a speaker might like to believe, and even take pride in the fact, that he or she speaks only Aromanian in the family, code-switching is probably very widespread (as attested in some of the interviews), and frequency of use for the language of the majority was probably not always reliably assessed. Of course, code-switching in itself is not necessarily indicative of poor language skills.

The following anecdote should illustrate these points. As I was sitting in a restaurant in Korça, waiting for a friend of a new acquaintance to arrive, I noticed three men sitting behind me, conversing in Albanian. Soon afterwards, I was introduced to them. It turned out they were, in fact, Aromanian and had come there to talk to me. Since they had claimed that they all speak Aromanian with their immediate family and among themselves, toward the end of the interview, I confronted them with the fact that I had heard them speak Albanian when they had arrived. One answered me in a straightforward manner: "We speak the way we want."<sup>2</sup> A second one replied in a milder tone: "As for Albanian, we can write it down and we speak it better. Aromanian, we cannot write it, we learn it just like that. We can write in Albanian and it is easier for us to speak it."<sup>3</sup>

### **3 Analysis**

In this section, I will examine the answers provided by the informants in the light of two topics of interest which relate to the intergenerational transmission of Aromanian. In the first subsection, I will deal with the possible effects of intermarriage on intergenerational transmission, as seen in the generation of the majority of my informants and in the generation of their parents. In the second subsection, I will bring out narratives concerning language transmission to today's youngest generations, whose members were not represented in the sample.

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<sup>2</sup>*Zburãm cum vrem.*

<sup>3</sup>*Arvanica u-avem cu scãrturã shi-u zburãm cama ghini. Rãmãneshtea nu u-avem cu scãrturã, nu, u-nvãtsãm unã-oaltã, asheatsi. Arvanica u-avem cu scãrturã shi u-avem cama lishoarã s-u zburãm.*

### *3.1 Intermarriage and intergenerational transmission*

As a minority language becomes endangered and its domains of use more restricted, the family setting is usually where it holds out the longest. The surrounding majority language is able to enter this domain either through code-switching or, more directly, through intermarriage between members of different ethnic groups. While intermarriage can be assumed to have been present for a long time in the multiethnic region of the Central Balkans – indeed, Kahl (2008, 138) notes that Aromanian apparently had an important assimilatory force in rich mountain settlements up to the eighteenth century – today’s Aromanians are a small, dispersed minority inhabiting various national states, and the hypothesis at the outset of the present study was that intermarriage would contribute to their linguistic assimilation.

The effects of intermarriage as described in the literature are not unequivocal. Already at the end of the nineteenth century, Gustav Weigand (1895, 5) noted:

Wenn, was in Monastir ziemlich häufig vorkommt, Mischehen zwischen Bulgaren und Aromunen eingegangen werden, so wird wohl immer das Bulgarische, als die in Monastir gebräuchlichere Sprache den Sieg davontragen, einerlei ob der Vater oder die Mutter bulgarisch ist.<sup>4</sup>

Writing more than a century later, Nikola Minov observes that the language shift toward Macedonian “is amplified by the exceptional occurrence of young endogamous Aromanian marriages” (cited in Šatava 2013, 9). Šatava further notes that, in Kruševo, “while the marriages of the Macedonian fathers were practically endogamous, most Aromanian fathers had married Macedonian women” (ibid., 16).

On the other hand, describing the sociolinguistic situation in the village of Grabova (Greava) in Albania, Nistor Bardu (2007, 24) finds that intermarriage has not led to assimilation:

Although, for the time being, there are no Albanian families in Greava, of late, to avoid marriage between close relatives (I, II or III degree cousins), young Grabovean males have begun to choose their wives from among the Albanian maids in the neighbouring villages [...] the women quickly learn the Aromanian idiom of the family they have become a member of. Situations of bilingualism have made Grabovars speak more and more frequently Albanian, although they have not forgotten their native idiom either and still resist assimilation.

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<sup>4</sup> “When mixed marriages between Bulgarians and Aromanians occur, which is rather common in Monastir, it is practically always the Bulgarian language, as the more widespread in town, that emerges victorious, no matter whether it is the father or the mother who is Bulgarian.” (Translation by ACD.)

In the present study, information was obtained regarding the mother tongue of the informants themselves, their parents, and their wife or husband, as well as the language spoken by the parents to each other, by the informant with his or her spouse, as well as to the couple's children. This information makes possible a schematization of language transmission patterns within two nuclear families: those of the informants' parents and those of the informants themselves, as exemplified below:

**father** (Arom.) — (Arom.) — **mother** (Arom.)  
| (Arom. & Alb.)  
**children**

In the case of this informant from Korça (the father in the diagram), both he and his wife speak Aromanian as their mother tongue and to each other; however, they speak both Aromanian and Albanian to their children.<sup>5</sup>

Married couples can be broadly categorized as endogamous (both spouses are Aromanian) or exogamous (only one spouse is Aromanian). Exogamous couples can be further divided into those in which the non-Aromanian is a member of the majority and those in which he or she is a member of another minority. Two cases of the latter type were encountered, both in Kastoria: an Aromanian man married to a Slavic-speaking woman and another Aromanian man married to a Greek woman from Russia (it is not clear which category suits this couple best; at any rate, their child spoke both Greek and Russian, but not Aromanian).

Interestingly, several non-Aromanian wives of Aromanian men were said to have learnt at least some Aromanian. The respondent from Ohrid stated that his Macedonian wife had learnt Aromanian from his mother.<sup>6</sup> It can thus be surmised that a living arrangement in which a young married couple lives with the husband's parents may be beneficial for the continued transmission of the language. However, in this particular case, the children did not learn Aromanian from their grandmother: "My older son [...] did not learn as a child from his grandmother, he learnt Aromanian now, as a man [...] As a child, he played with Macedonian and Turkish boys from the neighborhood, so he didn't learn the language."<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> The use of such linguistic networks, even in this least complex form, was inspired by Niko Partanen's study (2013; see in particular pp. 49–53) on language shift in two Finno-Ugric speaking communities in Russia.

<sup>6</sup> *Nāsā vurghārā e, ama zburāshce rāmāneshce [...] u-nvātsā mama meao* "She is Macedonian, but she speaks Aromanian [...] my mother taught her."

<sup>7</sup> *Ficiorlu-a meu, marili [...] nu-nvātsā ca ficior cu maesa, tora-nvātsā rāmāneshce, ca bārbat [...] Ca ficior, juca cu ficiori pit mähālā, vurghāri, turts, nu-nvātsā limba.*

Table 2 is intended to summarize the data obtained about each nuclear family. The families are divided into two generations, the “baseline” generation of those born between 1940 and 1960 (which was the case for most of the informants) and the previous, parent generation. Since the year of birth was collected for the informants themselves, but not for their relatives, the division by generation is approximate. All families are counted twice, first by language spoken by the spouses between themselves, and second by the language or languages transmitted to the children. Note that no distinction is made between the different majority languages spoken in the three countries under study.

		Parent generation		1940–1960 generation	
		Aromanian marriages	Mixed marriages	Aromanian marriages	Mixed marriages
Number of couples = 22		n = 7	n = 3/4 <sup>8</sup>	n = 5	n = 6
Language(s) spoken by couple	Aromanian only	5	1	4	1
	Arom. and majority lang.	1	1	1	3
	Majority lang. only	1	1	0	2
Language(s) transmitted to children	Aromanian only	6	0	2	0
	Arom. and majority lang.	0	2	3	2
	Majority lang. only	1	2	0	4

**Table 2. The data on the families.**

Although the numbers are too small for anything to be said conclusively, it appears that mixed marriages in themselves do not always imply loss of the language in the next generation, while an endogamous marriage was also not an absolute guarantee of language transmission. These observations refer to the generations best represented in the sample. For younger generations, the situation cannot be assumed to be the same, due to the large societal changes that have taken place in the last 50 years. For instance, Beis (2012, 552) draws the conclusion that the 1950s, when the first paved roads were built in the Pindus mountains, marked a decisive turning point toward the abandonment of the intergenerational transmission of Aromanian. For this reason, in the following subsection I will limit myself to some specific observations concerning language use among the youngest generations of my informants’ families.

<sup>8</sup> The totals not equal for this column because the information for the first row was not available for one informant.

### *3.2 Transmission to the younger generations*

Of the seven informants who specified the language they speak to their grandchildren, only two gave both Aromanian and Albanian, while the others gave only the respective official language (Macedonian or Greek). The informant from Boboshtica declared that his grandchildren, who live in Greece, can speak all of Aromanian, Greek, Albanian, and English; however, it was not clear in which of these they are the most fluent.

The story of relatives – including children and grandchildren, but also siblings, nieces, and nephews – emigrating to another country in search of better work opportunities was a recurrent narrative. Although my informants were often inclined to praise their family members' language skills, it is doubtful that a heritage language can survive abroad for a longer time than in its native area.

Respondents from Albania did tend to have a more positive outlook toward the future. When asked whether his grandchildren would ever return to Boboshtica, my informant replied: “Those small children are not coming here; only when they become as old as I am will they come, because it's there that they go to school; maybe they can find work with computers or such. Here, what could they do here?”<sup>9</sup>

A similar cyclical view of the passage of time characterized one of the informants from Korça. When asked if he thought that his grandchildren would pass on the language to their children, he replied: “Aromanian never dies. We give the language to the children, just as [our] parents gave it to us we gave it to the children, and they will give it to [their] children. The language doesn't die.”<sup>10</sup>

Interviewees from Macedonia seemed to be more pessimistic about the future of Aromanians. The informant in Ohrid explained:

I sometimes speak Macedonian to the children even at home. Now we are all gone. Only a few of us Aromanians are left here. The older ones of us, we know each other, we all want to teach Aromanian, we want the children to learn it, but the youngsters don't know very much Aromanian, more [...] this way they have become mixed, and we are disappearing.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> *Fumeljli atselj njtsi nu yin aoatsi, can s-facã cãt mini, u s-yinã, cãtse c-acoa fac shcoalã, a s-aflã vrun lucru cu computer cu-asha, aoatsi tsi s-fac-aoa?*

<sup>10</sup> *Rãmãneshtea nu chere barunoarã. Noi limba lj-u dãdem a cilimanlu, cum u deaderã printsli-a noauã lj-u deadum shi noi a cilimanlu, shi elj u lj-u da al cilimanj. Nu chere limba.*

<sup>11</sup> *Mini cãtãoarã zburãsc shi-acasã vurghãreshce cu fìciorlji. Tora tuts noi cherum. Njama rãmasim noi rãmãnjli-aoatsi. Atsei tsi nã shcim cama-aushi tuts rãmãneshtea vrem s-*

However, the same informant gave an unexpected answer when asked why his son decided to learn Aromanian as an adult:

We sing our song about who we are, and it goes like this: He who does not love his language, may his tongue burn, that's why. And now he is grown up, he knows it [i. e. the song], there is something that pushes him to learn Aromanian. But children should learn already when they are small.<sup>12</sup>

When asked whether Aromanian should be taught in schools, many respondents were of the opinion that that would be a good idea. Only in Greece did one informant write the answer “no,” while another, a self-proclaimed researcher who identified Aromanians with the ancient tribe of Myrmidons, believed that Aromanian should be taught in universities, but not in schools.

#### 4 Conclusions

The present state of the Aromanian language is one of struggle against the wider forces of uniformization that are pushing it aside. This struggle is epitomized in the widely-used slogan *Armănlă nu cheari* – “The Aromanian does not disappear,” which used to appear, for example, on the cover of the monthly magazine *Arumunët Albania – Durrës*. The word choice even in this, in principle, self-confident slogan is perhaps telling, but its message was also directly contradicted in more than one interview during my fieldwork, where the speakers were much less optimistic about the future of the language.

This study identifies a few factors that are involved in the ongoing language shift of the Aromanian population, through the data obtained from semi-structured interviews with 18 speakers from Macedonia, Albania, and Greece, aged between 37 and 85.

The foremost factor explored in this article is intermarriage with the surrounding populations, which seemed to play a certain role, but not an absolutely decisive one, for generations born before 1960. Using information about language use by each member of several nuclear families, I was able to show that, for the generation born in 1940–1960 and for the previous one, children born in endogamous Aromanian marriages were probably more likely to learn Aromanian than children born in exogamous marriages of

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*vătsâm, vrem s-veatse ficiorlji, ama tânăretsea nu para shcii râmăneshece, cama ... ashi s-misticarã shi cherim.*

<sup>12</sup> *Noi u cântâm cânticu cama tse him a noastă-ahtari easti cai nu sh-u va limba, s-u-ardă limba-a lui, ti-atsea easti. Shi u... tora e mare, u shtie-atsă, ari tsiva tsi u cârteashce s-veatsă râmăneshece. Ama lipeshti cama njits ficiorlji ningă di njits s-veatsă.*



Aromanians with representatives of the surrounding majority population. However, it appears that mixed marriages in themselves did not always imply loss of the language in the next generation, while an endogamous marriage was also not an absolute guarantee of language transmission.

I also examined my informants' most common narratives concerning language transmission to the youngest generations. In general terms, it can be said that the informants from Albania were the most optimistic, believing that language transmission will not be interrupted in the future, while several of those from Macedonia believed that Aromanian would be gone sooner or later. As for those in Greece, the language shift was almost complete in many of the informants' families. Other factors that negatively affect language transmission are the absence of schools and the economic hardships that have led to emigration.

For further research on the effects of intermarriage on language transmission, larger samples with more thorough data collection will be needed. It would also be of great interest to observe actual language use in everyday settings in order to better assess the role of code-switching and that of multilingualism within the family, including that of spouses coming from the majority population who have learnt Aromanian. Another topic merely touched upon in this article is that of samples of informal writing in Aromanian. Collected in greater numbers, these samples could be the object of a study on the intuitions of bilingual speakers about the phonological correspondences between their two languages.

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Pavel Falaleev (The University of Helsinki)

## **Turkish loanwords in Macedonian: Speakers' awareness and attitudes**

The article addresses Macedonian speakers' awareness of their use of Turkish loanwords in everyday speech, as well as their attitudes to the words. Because linguistic situations vary, depending on the country, I compared results from informants living in Macedonia, Albania, and Greece, to whom I gave a short questionnaire to assess their general attitude to words of Turkish origin. Thereafter, the informants were given a list of 115 words and were asked to determine for each whether it was of Turkish origin.

The results show that Macedonian speakers are generally aware that their language contains numerous lexical Turkisms. However, they underestimate the number of Turkish loanwords, since some words were not recognized as such. The attitudes toward Turkisms range from neutral to positive, but many informants believed that words of Slavic origin should be preferred to Turkisms in the Macedonian language.

### **1 Introduction**

Like all Balkan languages, Macedonian has a significant number of loanwords from Turkish. Most of these words were borrowed after the end of the 14th century, when the Ottomans conquered the territory inhabited by ethnic Macedonians. Although the presence of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans ceased almost completely at the beginning of the 20th century, active borrowing of words from Turkish into Macedonian is still going on (Makarijoska 2009, 191), probably owing to the numerous Turkish programs broadcast by Macedonian television. There are no Macedonian dialects which have not been influenced by the Turkish language (Cvetanovski 2010, 145).

Turkisms are far more numerous than other foreign loans. The largest number entered directly, with no language planning. (Paunova & Pavleska

2007.) It should also be noted that Turkish itself has mediated a number of loanwords, especially from Arabic (e.g., *katran* ‘tar’) and Persian (e.g., *kilibar* ‘amber’), which were then taken into Macedonian (Škaljić 1996, 193, 400).

In the present article only loanwords *per se* are considered. However, lexical elements from Turkish also include linguistic calques, linguistic insertions, phonetic adaptations and morphological adaptations (Jašar-Nasteva 2001, 16).

## 2 Informants and the questionnaire

A total of seventeen people were interviewed, of which eleven were residents of Macedonia (5 from Struga, 3 from Resen, and 3 from Ohrid), three residents of Albania (2 from Pustec and 1 from Korça) and three residents of Greece (2 from Kastoriá and 1 from Flórina). Even though the amount of data collected is not enough to make a full-scale comparison based on the country of residence of the informants, some conclusions can still be drawn.

Most of the informants (13) specified Macedonian as their mother tongue. There were two native speakers of Turkish (both living in Macedonia), one native speaker of Greek (living in Greece) according to their own self-identification as well as one person from Macedonia who cited both Macedonian and Turkish as their native languages. All were fluent in Macedonian, at least sufficient to be interviewed. Conspicuously, all of the Albanian speakers who were approached declined to participate, apparently considering the interview too difficult.

All interviews were conducted in Macedonian. The questionnaire was originally written in Serbian, but the questions were translated into Macedonian during the interviews. The first question asked informants to map their attitudes to Turkish loanwords in general. The second question surveyed the informants’ preferences for words of either Slavic or Turkish origin. The third question addressed the attitude to *the number* of Turkisms in the Macedonian language. Finally, with the fourth question, the informants had an opportunity to elaborate on the topic more freely. Questions one to three were close-ended, that is, informants had to choose their answers from a limited number of given options, whereas the last question was open-ended.

The list of words included 115 entries, of which 61 were Turkish loanwords common to the standard Macedonian language; 14 were Greek loanwords; 17 were loanwords from other languages, including Latin, English, and French; 14 were words of Slavic origin; 8 were Turkish loanwords used in standard Serbian, but not present in standard Macedonian;

and one word was of Slavic origin used in standard Serbian, but not in standard Macedonian. To determine whether the word appears in standard Macedonian, I consulted the dictionaries by Usikova et al. (2003) and DMRJ.

### **3 Analysis of the results**

In this section, I discuss the results of the study in four parts. In **3.1**, I map the general attitudes to Turkish loanwords in the Macedonian language. In **3.2**, I survey the informants' preferences for words of either Slavic or Turkish origin. In **3.3**, I map the attitudes to the number of Turkish loanwords in the Macedonian language. Finally, in **3.4**, I analyze how well the informants identified the origin of the words.

#### *3.1 Attitude to Turkish loanwords in Macedonian*

The informants were asked the following question: What is your attitude toward words of Turkish origin in the Macedonian language?

	Macedonia (11)	Albania (3)	Greece (3)
Completely positive	6	0	0
More positive than negative	2	1	0
Neutral	2	0	2
More negative than positive	0	0	0
Completely negative	0	0	0
I don't know	1	1	1
Other	0	1	0

**Table 1. "What is your attitude toward words of Turkish origin in the Macedonian language?"**

As we can see, the attitude to Turkisms ranges from neutral to positive. The most positive attitude is observed in Macedonia, where the Macedonian language has an official status and therefore is in the strongest position nationwide. In Albania, where the Macedonian language has a minority status, and in Greece, where it is not recognized at all, people are less decisive in expressing their attitudes to Turkish loanwords.

The only mixed opinion about Turkisms was obtained from one person in Albania (the response is marked as "Other" in Table 1). The person expressed a negative attitude toward an excessive use of Turkish loanwords in the media, but otherwise the informant's attitude toward these words was neutral.

### 3.2 Preferences regarding the origin of the word

The informants were asked the following question: If you have the choice to use a [synonymous] word of Slavic origin or one of Turkish origin, which one would you prefer?

	Macedonia (11)	Albania (3)	Greece (3)
Definitely a word of Slavic origin	3	3	2
Prefer a word of Slavic origin	2	0	0
Probability choice is the same	2	0	0
Prefer a word of Turkish origin	0	0	0
Definitely a word of Turkish origin	1	0	0
I don't know	0	0	1
Other	3	0	0

**Table 2. “If you have the choice to use a [synonymous] word of Slavic origin or one of Turkish origin, which one would you prefer?”**

Despite their positive attitude toward the presence of Turkisms in Macedonian, most informants stated that they would prefer words of Slavic origin when given the choice. What is more, residents of Albania and Greece seemed far more categorical than residents of Macedonia when it came to the choice of words, although the number of the informants is too small for any definite conclusions. Their attitude could be explained by the fact that they feel that their mother tongue is being oppressed. In Albania, Macedonian has a minority status, whereas in Greece it has no status at all; therefore, Macedonian speakers in these countries may have a stronger sense of a need to preserve the language.

The only person interviewed who stated that they would definitely use a Turkism is a native Turkish speaker. Two residents of Macedonia stated that their choice of words depended on the situation; in other words, during official events and in writing, they would prefer to use words of Slavic origin, whereas in speaking spontaneously they might use a Turkism. Another informant from Macedonia stated that their choice of words depended on the native language or ethnicity of the interlocutor; in other words, they would use more Turkisms with Turks and more words of Slavic origin with Macedonians.

### 3.3 Reflection on the number of Turkisms in Macedonian

The informants were asked the following question: Do you think that the number of words of Turkish origin in the Macedonian language should . . . ?

	Macedonia (11)	Albania (3)	Greece (3)
...be increased	1	0	0
...stay as it is now	6	0	1
...be decreased	3	2	1
I don't know	0	1	1
Other	1	0	0

**Table 3. "Do you think that the number of words of Turkish origin in the Macedonian language should...?"**

Most people are satisfied with the number of Turkish loanwords in Macedonian. Many said that they were used to Turkisms and use them automatically. As one of the informants put it: "...they [the Turkish loanwords] have become an essential part of the language." However, a significant number still feel that the use of words of foreign origin constitutes a threat. Answers in support of this view included "Macedonians ought to use Macedonian words" and "We ought to purify our language." It is noteworthy that many of these answers came from Albanian residents, although none of them wanted the number of the Turkish loanwords to remain the same or to be increased. In fact, the only person who stated that the number of Turkisms should be increased was the same native speaker of Turkish who also preferred to use words of Turkish origin (see 3.2). One person from Macedonia said that everyone should decide individually on the extent to which they accept Turkisms in their speech.

### *3.4 Identifying the origin of the words*

The informants were given a list of 115 words (see Appendix III) and asked to determine for each word whether it had a Turkish origin. Of these words, 106 (including 61 Turkisms) are found in standard Macedonian. The results of the survey are as follows:

	Macedonia	Albania
Correctly identified words, total	93	80
Incorrectly identified words, total	13	26
Correctly identified words of Turkish origin	53	36
Incorrectly identified words of Turkish origin	8	25

**Table 4. Identifying words of Turkish origin.**

A word was considered correctly identified if more than half of the respondents, that is, at least six in Macedonia and two in Albania, correctly determined its origin. Most informants were good at performing the task. The emerging general pattern shows that the informants tended to determine actual Turkish loanwords as words of non-Turkish origin. Some popular mistakes

included the words *lule* ‘pipe’, *boja* ‘color’, and *rakija* ‘brandy’. The reverse situation, namely, when a word of a non-Turkish origin was deemed a Turkism, was more rare. Common mistakes included the words *temel* ‘foundation’ (of Greek origin), *tarifa* ‘tariff’ (of Italian origin), and *džandar* ‘cop’ (of French origin).

One can see, however, that the residents of Albania made more mistakes than residents of Macedonia. This can be partially attributed to the fact that people living in Albania have less access to Macedonian media and other sources in the standard language. Therefore, some of them simply did not know the meaning of a number of words on the list. In contrast, the residents of Albania who previously lived in Macedonia demonstrated much better results in comparison with the informants actually living in Macedonia.

In addition, the informants from Greece were mostly unable to perform this particular task, in many cases only being able to say whether or not they knew a particular word. Again, this can be explained by the fact that the Macedonian language has no official status in Greece and people have little access to standard language sources. Therefore, results on informants from Greece are not included in Table 4.

#### 4 Conclusions

Macedonian speakers are aware that there are many Turkisms in their native language. Most of them have a neutral or a positive attitude to these words, acknowledging that they have become a crucial part of the language. At the same time, many feel that they should use fewer Turkisms and furthermore, that the number of Turkisms in Macedonian in general should not be increased. Residents of Macedonia overall seemed to have a generally neutral opinion on the use of Turkisms, while residents of Albania had a more negative attitude. The three informants in Greece were less definite.

Despite admitting the significant number of Turkisms in their language, Macedonian speakers underestimated the number. When given the task of identifying the origin of a word, they often assessed Turkish loanwords as having another origin. Attributing Turkish origin to words of other provenance was less common. Residents of Macedonia completed the task with a very high percentage of correct answers. In comparison, residents of Albania underperformed, in part, perhaps, due to a lack of standard Macedonian vocabulary, but they still correctly identified the origin of more than half of the words. As for residents of Greece, they were mostly unable to complete the task. As the number of the informants in Albania and Greece is



too small to draw definite conclusions, more thorough research could usefully concentrate on precisely those groups in the future.

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## **Appendix I: Questionnaire (Original version)**

Име: \_\_\_\_\_

Узраст: \_\_\_\_\_

Матерњи језик: \_\_\_\_\_

1. Какав је ваш однос према речима турског порекла у македонском језику?
  - потпуно позитиван;
  - више позитиван него негативан;
  - неутралан;
  - више негативан него позитиван;
  - потпуно негативан;
  - не знам.
2. Ако имате избор да користите реч словенског порекла или реч турског порекла, што користите пре?
  - сигурно реч словенског порекла;
  - вероватније реч словенског потекла;
  - вероватност избора је иста;
  - вероватније реч турског порекла;
  - сигурно реч турског порекла;
  - не знам;
  - друго.
3. Сматрате да број речи турског порекла у македонском језику мора бити...
  - повећан;
  - исти као сад;
  - смањен;
  - не знам.
4. Објасните свој избор у претходном питању

## **Appendix II: Questionnaire (English translation)**

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Age: \_\_\_\_\_

Native language: \_\_\_\_\_

1. What is your attitude to words of Turkish origin in the Macedonian language?
  - fully positive
  - more positive than negative
  - neutral
  - more negative than positive
  - completely negative
  - I don't know
2. If you have the choice to use a word of Slavic origin or one of Turkish origin, which one would you prefer to use?
  - definitely a word of Slavic origin
  - prefer a word of Slavic origin
  - no difference in the word choice
  - prefer a word of Turkish origin
  - definitely a word of Turkish origin
  - I don't know
  - other
3. Do you think that the number of words of Turkish origin in the Macedonian language should...
  - be increased
  - stay as it is now
  - be decreased
  - I don't know
4. Explain your choice in the previous question.

### Appendix III: List of words

муштерија	
шеќер	
таман	
џам	
тензија	
саат	
патлиџан	
шешир	
бајат	
носија	
ќелија	
секрет	
пијавица	
мираз	
калуѓер	
калдрма	
ортак	
ќуприја	
ѓезве	
џемпер	
силеџија	
атом	
кит	
ќеф	
ексер	
ѓавол	
килим	
памук	
кашика	
топ	
чаршаф	
сидро	
чак	
дожд	
тугун	
занает	
килибар	
дури	
кајмак	

тава	
ракија	
џамија	
мумија	
слепост	
џунгла	
космос	
бакар	
филџан	
папучи	
боја	
сачма	
кула	
кат	
компјутер	
јувелир	
чума	
дуња	
дуван	
алат	
жртва	
очув	
киклоп	
солфеж	
консултација	
темел	
џабе	
ќосе	
Цариград	
капија	
барут	
копче	
таван	
кале	
оти	
будала	
илјада	
кисел	
свеќа	

луле	
инает	
чорап	
ќорав	
пипер	
загатка	
кубе	
калај	
черек	
евтин	
метак	
талас	
занаетлија	
челик	
тарифа	
јуриш	
лепеза	
марама	
музеј	
геометрија	
кајгана	
лимонада	
јастак	
хартија	
катран	
рингишпил	
јереј	
олово	
кусур	
кибрит	
макази	
џандар	
џудо	
пепел	
каиш	
бадијала	
сид	

✓ - реч турског порекла; *word of Turkish origin*

X – реч не постоји у македонском језику; *word does not exist in the Macedonian language*

Borče Arsov (The Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje / INALCO)

## **On some lexical archaisms in the *Boboshtica Gospel* and the Boboshtica dialect**

This paper focuses on a group of lexemes found in the Boboshtica<sup>1</sup> dialect that can be considered archaic in comparison with the other Macedonian dialects and the contemporary Macedonian standard language.<sup>2</sup> These lexemes were extracted from interviews with two of the remaining speakers of the Boboshtica dialect in June of 2015 and from the *Boboshtica Gospel* (ca. 1880), a manuscript written in the same dialect more than a century ago. The aim here is to determine whether these lexemes are still used regularly by the dialect's speakers, as was the case at the time the *Boboshtica Gospel* was written. In addition, special attention is given to the speakers' attitudes toward their dialect and to the linguistic interference of Albanian and the Slavic standard languages of the region.

### **1 Research question and terminology**

It is widely acknowledged that the largest number of archaic features is retained in the varieties of Macedonian spoken in areas where the Albanian, Aromanian, and Greek languages are found. Yet at the same time, these same dialects attest to a number of innovations, owing to contacts with other languages (Vidoeski 1996, 35). The Boboshtica (or Korça, Mac. Korča) dialect, also known as “Kajnas”<sup>3</sup> by its speakers (Mazon 1936, 1; Courthiade 1988), is considered one of the most archaic, and yet also one of the most innovative on the Macedonian dialectal map. This dialect has been

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<sup>1</sup> Also known as *Bobošćica* in Macedonian academic literature.

<sup>2</sup> The Slavic variety spoken in Boboshtica, Albania, belongs to the southwestern periphery of the Balkan Slavic dialectal continuum; in the Macedonian dialectological tradition it is treated as part of the Macedonian dialectal system.

<sup>3</sup> In the dialect: *zborvi kaj nas* ‘talks like us’.

characterized as archaic in several instances in Blaže Koneski's work (see, e.g., Koneski 1986, 149, 164, 165).

The focus of this study is a set of lexemes which, in previous literature, were considered to be in regular use in the Boboshtica dialect, but may be considered archaic in comparison with the lexis of the other Macedonian dialects and that of standard Macedonian. The main goal of the research, which takes into consideration both the archaic and the innovative character of the dialect, is to compare the use of these lexemes with their use in the *Boboshtica Gospel*, written circa 1880 in the same dialect.

The lexemes analyzed in this paper are: the verb (*se*) *zove* 'to be called', the adverb *opet* 'again, one more time', and the adjectives *slab* 'bad' and *lep*<sup>4</sup> 'beautiful', 'pretty', including the adverbs derived from them: *slabe* 'badly' and *lepo* 'nicely, beautifully'.

Regarding the adjective *lep* and the verb *zove*, Kosta Peev (2013) stresses that the only logical explanation for their appearance in the Kostur group of dialects is that these words were used regularly in the Macedonian language in the past, but, although retained in Kostur, they were lost from the other dialects. While these words are present in all Serbian dialects, Peev argues that a hypothesis regarding the influence of Serbian is not on solid ground, owing to the fact that the Kostur region is too distant from the Southern Serbian dialectal area and that in the Macedonian central dialects, closer to the areas where Serbian is spoken, these words are nowhere to be found. Based on these arguments, Peev characterizes the words as archaic, which is the terminological choice adopted in this study, elaborated in detail in what follows.

While the terms *archaism* and *archaic* are widely used in dialectology, they are rarely problematized. In his linguistic dictionary, Rikard Simeon (1969, 104–105) contrasts archaisms to living and regularly used contemporary words and neologisms. According to Simeon, in the broadest sense, archaisms include all the old, archaic words, expressions, grammatical features, idioms, and constructions, including, in general, all the language mechanisms that were used during the earlier stages of the development of a language. Some of the words may still be in use for a longer or shorter period of time, while others are in the process of becoming extinct; that is, they still

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<sup>4</sup> This adjective and the adverb *lepo* are included in the analysis to determine whether they are in use among the present-day Kajnas speakers. They were found by Kosta Peev (2013) in the neighboring Kostur group of dialects, and the Boboshtica (Korça) dialect shares many characteristics with the Kostur dialects (e.g., see Marković 2001, 24–25, 145–155).

exist, but their use is limited to some geographical regions or to the speech of the elderly.

There are also more detailed definitions of the term. Witold Mańczak (1988) quotes Matteo Bartoli's so-called second norm: If one of two linguistic stages is found in peripheral areas and the other is found in a central area, the stage occurring in the peripheral areas is usually earlier.<sup>5</sup> Yet Mańczak (*op. cit.*, 350) is critical of this tenet: "While I have no difficulty in understanding that dialects used in isolated areas (islands, mountains, woods, marshes, etc.) can preserve an archaic character, I have never been able to understand why the same should be valid for peripheral areas." After an analysis of a dictionary that includes Latin, Spanish, French, Italian, and Romanian, he concludes that Bartoli's second norm can be given a more general character: "If phenomenon B occurs in one area and phenomenon A occurs in more than one area, phenomenon A usually is older than phenomenon B, and the probability that phenomenon A is an archaism is larger, the larger the number of areas where A occurs." With this formulation, Mańczak (*op. cit.*, 354) eliminates Bartoli's notion of peripheral areas. Also, Mańczak gives Slavic languages as an example of a situation in which it is not clear which languages can be considered peripheral and which central.

What Mańczak does is to make a comparison between the Latin and the Romance languages, and he does not address the different dialects of one language. If we take the contemporary situation as a starting point, we can talk about archaisms in connection with the Boboshtica dialect as part of the Macedonian dialectal system, where the variety certainly occupies a peripheral position. Nevertheless, as stated above, Mańczak's theory does not consider the notion of a peripheral area as the most important factor; instead, he highlights the number of areas where the "old, archaic" phenomenon occurs. An observation missing from Mańczak's account is that the innovations reach the periphery last. If we take historical, geographical, and political factors into consideration (see, e.g., Mazon 1936, I–VI, 1–10), we understand why the Boboshtica dialect remained untouched by the innovations in Macedonian (or any other Slavic) standard language (or dialect), leaving it with its archaic character, especially regarding the lexis. In the case of Boboshtica, we not only have a peripheral, but also an isolated dialect. The term "archaism" was chosen in this paper to assign the studied

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<sup>5</sup> Among the five principles, called norms by Bartoli, Mańczak is also interested in the third: The larger area usually preserves the earlier stage.

lexemes a specific status with regard to the Macedonian dialects and the modern Macedonian standard language.

## 2 Analysis of the contemporary dialectal data

In this section, I present the results of interviews with informants Ilo Kuneshka and Elpiska Manço, two of the very few remaining speakers of the Boboshtica dialect. The interviews are discussed under the names of each informant.

### 2.1 Ilo Kuneshka

The informant Ilo Kuneshka (I.K.) was born in the year 1925 in Boboshtica, where he currently lives. He finished primary school in the village and went to a French high school in Gorica. He studied engineering in Prague. He speaks the local Kajnas variety of Macedonian,<sup>6</sup> as well as Albanian, French, and some Greek and Czech. He is in constant passive contact with Macedonian through radio programs, broadcast from the Republic of Macedonia. (Makartsev 2013a, 29–30).

Five sentences were prepared for the informant in Albanian,<sup>7</sup> and he was asked to translate them into Kajnas. Below the sentences are given in English, in standard Macedonian (Mac.), and in Albanian (Alb.), followed by I.K.'s translation. On some occasions the informant was assisted by a question from the interviewer asking whether he could use an alternative word in the translation. These elicitations are labelled I.K. (2) and I.K. (3). The lexemes under scrutiny are indicated by underlining.

#### (1)

Our village is called Boboshtica.

Alb.: *Fshati ynë quhet Boboshticë.*

Mac.: *Našeto selo se vika Boboštica.*

I.K.: *Mojto selo se zove Boboštica.*<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> During the interviews conducted in June 2015, I.K., besides referring to the language as “Kajnas,” also called his variety Bulgarian a few times and, on one occasion, referred to it as Macedonian (and after having learned that one of the interviewers was from Macedonia, he offered to speak in Macedonian, although he was obviously using the same dialect). In some of the earlier studies, the same informant referred to his dialect exclusively as “another language,” not Macedonian or Bulgarian (see, e.g., Spasov 2001). It must be noted that the variety spoken by the informant does not correspond in all respects to the descriptions of Kajnas in Macedonian dialectology (Vidoeski 1981; Marković 2001).

<sup>7</sup> Translated from English into Albanian by Maxim Makartsev.

<sup>8</sup> Word stress is not given, since it is not crucial to the aims of this paper.



(2)

Bad people don't live here.

Alb.: *Njerëz të këqij nuk jetojnë këtu.*

Mac.: *Loši luçe ne živeat tuka.*

I.K.: *Slabi l'uçe ne živeat tuka.*

(3)

The beautiful girl is called Dritana.

Alb.: *Vajza e bukur quhet Dritana.*

Mac.: *Ubavata devojka se vika Dritana.*

I.K.: *Ubavata devojka se zove Dritana.*

I.K. (2): *Masnata devojka se zove Dritana.*

I.K. (3): *Lepata devojka se zove Dritana.*

(4)

Today the weather is bad.

Alb.: *Sot koha është e keqe.*

Mac.: *Denes vremeto e lošo.*

I.K.: *Denes vremeto e slabe.*

(5)

Come again to our place.

Alb.: *Ejani tek ne edhenjëherë.*

Mac.: *Dojdete povtorno kaj nas.*

I.K.: *Elajte ešče e(d)naš od kam nas/u nas.*

I.K. (2): *Elajte opet od kam nas/u nas.*

Further, during the non-structured part of the interview, the informant provided us with some additional examples, including the verb *se zove*:

(6)

*Tua se zove eno selo Dvoran.*

'Here, there is one village called Dvoran.'

(7)

*...na jugot... tamo... se zove... Gjirokastra.*

'(the place) in the South... there... it is called... Gjirokastra.'

(8)

*...se zoväše B'unar. / Sos mesto se zove Bunar*

'... it was called Bunar. / This place here is called Bunar.'

(9)

*... tamo... Bratsko se zove...*

'...there... (the place) is called Bratsko'

(10)

*Tamo, ena čezma se zove Turska.*

'There, one of the (public drinking) fountains is called Turska.'

## 2.2 Elpiska Manço

The examples of the second informant, Elpiska Manço (E.M.), were extracted from a non-structured interview carried out in Boboshtica in June of 2015. E.M. was born in 1936 in Boboshtica. She has spent almost her whole life in the village. After high school, she obtained a degree from a pedagogical college and was a teacher of the Albanian language in the village schools of the Korça region. She speaks the Kajnas variety of Macedonian<sup>9</sup> and Albanian. (Makartsev 2013b, 514.)

(11)

...i *opet* begjeje...

‘...and they ran away again...’

(12)

...setne, *opet* dojde...

‘...then, they (came) again...’

(13)

*Moj sin ža odi opet vo daskala.*

‘My son will go to school again.’

(14)

...vo prvi klas, vtor, dur vo p<sup>l</sup>et klas... setne *opet*

‘...in the first grade, second grade, until the fifth grade... and then, again (one more time)...’

(15)

...ženite se oblečjeje so *masni* rubi.

‘...the women were getting dressed in beautiful clothes.’

(16)

*Majkete naše se oblečjeje so rubi masni.*

‘Our mothers were getting dressed in beautiful clothes.’

(17)

*Jeziko kajnas esti masen.*

‘The language kajnas is beautiful.’

(18)

...mnogo *masne* čezme bjeje.

‘...there were many beautiful (public drinking) fountains.’

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<sup>9</sup> This informant’s speech also differed from the descriptions provided in Macedonian dialectology. During the interviews in June 2015, she had problems with some Kajnas words and had to resort to Albanian, especially in situations in which she needed to produce numbers (a year, for example). One reason for this, among other factors, is undoubtedly the limited opportunity to use the dialect, together with the fact that she is a heritage speaker and did not speak the language as a child. She began using it only as an adult at the time she started taking care of her sick mother.

- (19)  
...šatrivano mnogo masen...  
'...the (very) beautiful fountain...'
- (20)  
...b'eme vo eno m'esto, mnogo masen.  
'...we were in a place (that was) very beautiful.'
- (21)  
seloto go (i)mame band'eno mnogo mnogo masen, mnogo mnogo ubaven  
'... the village was / we have made the village very, very beautiful, very, very nice.'
- (22)  
[Bobošteni] p'eje masno, svički p'eme masno.  
'The people of Boboshtica sang beautifully; we all sing beautifully.'
- (23)  
Borbata esti mnogo mnogo slaba, mnogo strašna.  
'The war is very, very bad, very scary.'
- (24)  
B'e eden pop tua, vo Boboštica šo se zov'eše Teodor.  
'There used to be a priest here, in Boboštica, who was called Teodor.'
- (25)  
Togaš se zov'eše kurbet.  
'It used to be called *kurbet*<sup>10</sup> back then. '
- (26)  
Sas se vika Lemon'a.  
'This one is called Lemon'a.'

### 2.3 Discussion

It is likely that, on some occasions, the informants were influenced by the language of the interviewers, who were speaking Macedonian and used some words and forms that are not typical of the dialect; for instance, *ne živeat* 'they don't live'; *tuka* 'here'; *sakaše* 'you(sg.)/he wanted'; *zboruva* 'speaks'; *se vika* 'to be called'.

The verb (*se*) *zove* 'to be called' was used exclusively by both speakers and without any hesitation. The same applies to the adjective *slab* 'bad' and the adverb *slabe* 'badly'. In the example spoken by E.M., quoted in example 26 in the previous subsection, the verb *se vika* 'to be called' is used, but this is probably because the informant was asked in Macedonian, "*Elpi, kako se vikaat ovie [luže] na slikava?*" 'Elpi, what are the names of these [people] in this picture?'

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<sup>10</sup> The practice of participating in seasonal migrant work.

The adjective *lep* ‘beautiful’ was not used by the informants in the interviews with one exception: when I.K. was specifically asked whether *lepa devojka* ‘beautiful girl’ could be used instead of *masna / ubava devojka*. Even the use of *ubava* in the first translation attempted by I.K. cannot be taken as representing the situation in the dialect, owing to the informant’s sound knowledge of modern Macedonian. The adverb *opet* ‘again’ was regularly used by both informants.<sup>11</sup>

To sum up, the two speakers, especially I.K., were sometimes aware of the existence of other synonyms, but it is clear that both speakers preferred the lexemes that are the subject of this paper. The word *lep* ‘beautiful’ is an exception, since it was only used once, and produced with the help of the interviewers. Instead, the forms of the adjective *masen* were used. What is more, in the examples given by E.M., on two occasions with neuter nouns, the adjective *masen* was used without gender agreement with the noun: *eno m'esto* ‘a place’, *mnogo masen* ‘really beautiful’; *seloto ... mnogo masen* ‘the village ... really beautiful’. A likely reason for this use is in the transfer from Albanian, where there is no specific neuter agreement, but in singular neuters are treated like masculines. Additionally, in one instance, E.M. used the adjective *ubaven* ‘beautiful’, again without agreement with the noun: *seloto ... mnogo ubaven*. Once more, the choice of word was likely due to the influence of the interviewers, who were using Macedonian.

### 3 Comparison between the *Boboshtica Gospel* and the fieldwork data

In this section, the lexemes that are the focus of this study are examined in the *Boboshtica Gospel* (ca. 1880). The examples come from an edition of the manuscript published as a monograph on the Boboshtica dialect by André Mazon (1936) and from a more recent comparative study that includes an analysis of the *Boboshtica Gospel* (Arsov 2015). The number in brackets indicates the page number in Mazon’s monograph.

In the manuscript, the verb (*se*) *zove* is the only one used in the sense ‘to be called’:

(27)

*Ti ža se zoveš Kifas...* (126)

‘You will be called Cephas...’<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> I.K., however, preferred the adverbial expression *ešče e(d)naš* ‘one more time’, probably under the influence of Albanian in the example sentence, in which the expression *edhenjëherë* ‘one more time, again’ was used.

<sup>12</sup> Translations by BA.

(28)

...ne s'ä kadar opet da se zovem sin tvoj. (135)  
'...I am no longer worthy to be called your son.'

(29)

...češmata ščo se zovi Siloam... (142)  
'... in the pool/fountain called Siloam...'

(30)

...čovek ščo se zovi Isus... (142)  
'...a man called Jesus...'

What is interesting in the text is the vacillation of the verb between two conjugational types. In some instances, (*se*) *zove* appears as an *e*-group verb, whereas in others, it occurs as an *i*-group verb. Mazon lists the verb as *zove*, that is, an *e*-group verb (Mazon 1936, 79). Yet those examples in which the verb is conjugated according to the *i*-group come from a part of the text that was translated by a group of anonymous individuals,<sup>13</sup> which is probably the reason why Mazon chose to present the verb as belonging to the *e*-group. I.K. and E.M. both treated (*se*) *zove* as an *e*-group verb.

The adverb *opet* 'again' is regularly used in the text of the *Gospel*:

(31)

Opet mu rekoe slepetemu... (142–143)  
'They said again to the blind man'

(32)

...opet mu reče Ristos... (137)  
'...the Christ said to him again...'

(33)

...opet iščite da čuvite... (143)  
'...you want to hear [it] again...'

In the analyzed text of the *Gospel*, the adverb *pa* is used once with the meaning 'again':

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<sup>13</sup> There are three translators of the *Boboshtica Gospel*: Dimitar Canco, Teodor Ikonomo and a group of anonymous persons. Canco's translation (which accounts for most of the manuscript) is considered the most relevant for the Boboshtica dialect in Mazon's study. Mazon mentions a "certain clumsiness" (*certaine gaucherie*) in the part of the gospel translated by the anonymous individuals, which distances the text from the Boboshtica dialect and connects it with the Kostur group of dialects. In this group, the verb (*se*) *zovi* belongs to the *i*-group as a result of the reorganization of the conjugational *e*- and *i*-groups (for further information, see Marković 2001, 147–148).

(34)

*Opet pušči drugi izmikari, poveke ot prviti, i tiam pa taka mu storie.* (119)

‘He sent other servants to them again, more of them than the first time, and they did the same to them again.’

The choice of *pa* is probably to avoid repetition, since the word *opet* appears in the beginning of the sentence.

The adjective *lep* ‘beautiful’ and the adverb *lepo* ‘beautifully, nicely’ cannot be found in the *Gospel*’s text. Based on Mazon’s words, the adjectives *aren*, *ubav*, and *lep* are unknown in the Boboshtica dialect (Mazon 1936, 100). Mazon continues by connecting the meaning of *masen* to the meaning of *mazen* ‘smooth’, comparing it to the “rustic aesthetic development of the root *maz-* in Russian: *smazlivyj* ‘pretty’ or *mastityj* ‘venerable’.” This adjective is not included in Peev’s dictionary (2006). Here are the examples found in the *Gospel*’s text:

(35)

*Dovedejte parvata masna ruba...* (135)

‘Bring the first beautiful clothes (you find)...’

(36)

*...ne se ubl’äče telka masno kaj eno ot s’äzi lulenišča.* (131)

‘...he was not dressed so nicely/well as one of these flowers.’

The results of the language interviews with the two Kajnas speakers carried out in June of 2015 are in accordance with Mazon’s statement that the adjective *lep* and the adverb *lepo* are unknown in the Boboshtica dialect.

The adjective *slab* and the adverb *slabe* are both regularly used in the text of the *Gospel* – the only words with this meaning. No examples were found with *loš* or *lošo*, or with any other possible synonym. Mazon does not give further details other than that these words are simply used with the meaning ‘bad/badly’ (Mazon 1936, 100). Undoubtedly, however, these are words from the oldest period of the development of the language that have been retained in the Boboshtica dialect, unlike the other Macedonian dialects. Here are the examples found in the *Gospel*’s analyzed text:

(37)

*...ščerka mi mnogo slabe se boravi ot slaba rabota.* (117)

‘...my daughter is struggling very badly, because something bad happened to her.’

*...slabiti slabe ža rasipi...* (119)

‘...the bad ones will be badly treated...’

## 4 Conclusions

The comparison of the *Boboshtica Gospel* with the results of the interviews with the Kajnas speakers illustrates that the lexemes examined in this study still exist in the dialect, and are used with the same meaning as in the *Boboshtica Gospel*. Despite the dialect's having been described as innovative in previous accounts, it emerges from the analysis here that its vocabulary reveals more archaic characteristics than innovative ones. This picture may not, however, represent the whole situation, since the analysis involved only a few lexemes. Nevertheless, this study can be seen as a starting point for a further analysis of the behavior of different levels of language in regard to archaisms and innovations.

The current use of these lexemes with an archaic character by both of the remaining Kajnas speakers corresponds to the way in which the lexemes were used in the *Boboshtica Gospel*, written during the second half of the nineteenth century. This may be indicative of a conscious tendency to preserve Kajnas in its archaic state by avoiding words from the Macedonian standard language. A tendency to highlight the uniqueness and importance of the dialect by its remaining speakers has often been observed: the Kajnas speakers are eager to stick to their heritage, which in this case is their dialect. This is not, however, a new tendency; it can also be seen in written texts such as the *Boboshtica Gospel* in comparison with the similar nineteenth-century translations of the New Testament in the broader region (Arsov 2015).

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Elizabeta Ralpovska (The Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje)

## **Lexical features of the Macedonian dialects of the Prespa region**

The aim of this paper is to give a sketch of the common stock of words, typical of the Prespa dialects of Macedonian, spoken around Lakes Prespa and Mala Prespa in Macedonia, Greece, and Albania, and to contrast the findings with the neighboring dialects to the west. Based on previous research (see, e.g., Cvetanovski 2010, Poloska 2003, Vidoeski 1998, Šklifov 1979, Koneski 1957), I hypothesize that these dialects share many linguistic features, especially on the lexical level. The data for this study were acquired through interviews and questionnaires during a field trip to Macedonia, Albania, and Greece in June 2015. The analysis of the data is based on previous research into these dialects. I argue that there is a Slavic lexical layer, characteristic of these dialects, including words like *vetvo* ‘old’, *glāboko* ‘deep’, *kisla* ‘soaking wet’, *pešnik* ‘bread’, *puli* ‘to stare’, *setne* ‘after’. In addition, a certain group of lexemes have a meaning that differs from those in other dialects, such as in *žila* ‘root’, *operi* ‘to kill’, *soba* ‘stove’, *tasma* ‘dirty, unclean’, *čatija* ‘roof’. There is also a layer of shared loanwords typical of these dialects: *kahtici/kaftici* ‘both peeled and unpeeled walnuts’, *pendžera* ‘window’, *skolija/čkolija/školo* ‘school’, *stis* ‘wall’, *čupa* ‘girl’. These words are common to the dialects of the Prespa region and are in everyday use, but they are more or less unknown in other Macedonian varieties.

### **1 Introduction**

The Prespa dialects are part of the Western Macedonian dialectal group and are spoken in the areas around Lakes Prespa and Mala Prespa situated in the border regions of Macedonia, Albania, and Greece. The Slavic population and the Macedonian language are prevalent in this region; however, other ethnic groups and languages, such as Turkish, Albanian, Greek, Aromanian,

Serbian, and Croatian are found there as well. Bilingualism and multilingualism in this area are an expected outcome of long-lasting and intensive language contacts between these varieties.

The lexical description in this paper has two main goals: first, to determine the dialect-specific Slavic lexical component, including those lexemes with meanings that differ from other dialects, and, second, to determine the set of loanwords that are of Albanian, Greek, and Turkish origin and characterize the Prespa dialects. This paper is intended to contribute in a small way to the lexical study of these dialects. The goal here is not, however, to conduct an exhaustive analysis, but rather to give a concise overview of certain lexical features of the Prespa dialects. The areas covered in this study were the city of Resen in the Republic of Macedonia, the village of Ligenas in Albania (Mac. Pustec), and the urban areas of Kastoriá (Mac. Kostur) and Flórina (Mac. Lerin) in Greece. The Kostur dialect is a variety that borders the Prespa dialects, whereas the Lerin dialect can be seen as a transitional variety between the Western and Southeastern Macedonian dialects.

The Prespa region has been subject to numerous dialectological studies, both by Macedonian and non-Macedonian linguists. Studies addressing individual dialects include Goce Cvetanovski's monograph (2010) on the western Prespa dialect (the dialect of the Macedonians around Lake Mala Prespa) and Blagoj Šklifov's (1979) monograph on the Lower Prespa dialect. Some lexical and grammatical topics involving these dialects have been addressed in the monograph of Agim Poloska (2003). More general accounts of the dialects can be found in the works of Božidar Vidoeski (1998) and Blaže Koneski (1957).

Lexis is often considered to be the most open subsystem of language. Viewed this way, the lexis of a language can also be considered a reflection and an indication of past cultural encounters that have connected the speakers of different languages. This is true for the Macedonian dialects in the Prespa region, which testify to the long coexistence of the peoples of the Balkan Peninsula and to their cultural and economic interactions. While these dialects are also characterized by a specific treatment of some Slavic lexemes, the close and direct contacts on the level of both material and immaterial culture have resulted in many lexical borrowings, calques, and converging phrasal expressions, as well as in many similarities in phonology, morphology, and syntax between the contacting languages.

## **2 The lexical characteristics of the dialects of the Prespa region**

In this section, I present some lexical characteristics of the Macedonian dialects of the Prespa region. Each sub-section addresses a particular lexical layer in the dialects.

### *2.1 Albanian loanwords*

In the Prespa dialects there are few Albanian loanwords. However, several words characteristic of these dialects, although less well known in other Macedonian speech varieties, may have their origin in still another language, yet were acquired through Albanian. The word *buza* ‘lip’ (Alb. *buzë*) is, according to Skok (1971, 246), a word of Thracο-Illyrian origin, but was taken up from Albanian into the Prespa dialects. Other Albanian loanwords include *se buzi* ‘get angry’ (Alb. *buzëvarur*), *roſja* ‘thunder’ (Alb. *rrufë* [indef.] *rrufëja* [def.]), and *čupa* ‘girl’ (Alb. *çupë*). The words *plitar* ‘clay brick’ (Alb. *plitharë*) and *pljački* ‘clothes’ (Alb. *plaçkë*) are frequent in the Prespa dialects and are also found in the Macedonian standard language (TRMJ 2003–2014). The root of the word *pljački*, *plak*, is considered to be of Greek origin, received through Albanian, and borrowed back into Albanian with the Slavic suffix *-ka* (BER 1999, 393–394). While present in the standard language, its dialectal spread is limited only to certain Macedonian dialects, including those in the Prespa region (Stefanovska-Risteska 2008, 62). In addition to belonging to the Prespa dialects, the word *spastri* ‘to clean’ (Alb. *pastroj*) belongs to several colloquial varieties of Macedonian (TRMJ 2003–2014). The verb *kafti* ‘to cut branches’ (Alb. *kahtit*) presents an intriguing case, since this additional meaning is found only in the Prespa dialects; in TRMJ (2005, vol. II, 442–443), *kafti* is given the narrower meaning of ‘to peel corn / similar plant’. A word derived from the verb *kafti*, through its second meaning of peeling, among others, nuts, is the noun *kahtica/kaftica* ‘peeled or unpeeled walnut’, constructed with the suffix *-ica*.

### *2.2 Greek loanwords*

The number of words of Greek origin in the Prespa dialects is also relatively low. Some of them are used only locally, whereas others have a wider distribution and can be found in other Macedonian dialects (Argirovski 1998). The following borrowings in the Prespa varieties come from the Greek language:

*apla* ‘publicly, openly’ (*aplá*),  
*ela, elate* ‘come.IMPER’ (*éla, eláte*),  
*elektrik* ‘flashlight’ (*ilektrikó[n]*),

*zilja* ‘envy, jealousy’ (*zilia*),  
*ziljar, ziljatar* ‘envious, jealous person’ (*ziliatáris*),  
*malaksa* ‘got tired, lost one’s strength, became weak’ (*maláссо*),  
*naǵezmo* ‘mint’ (*idíosmos*),  
*parnisa* ‘abandoned, neglected’ (*aparnóume*),  
*pepun* ‘melon’ (*pepóni*),  
*rema* ‘cold, flu’ (*réma*),  
*skepar/škepar* ‘adze’ (*skepárni*),  
*skolija/čkolija/školo* ‘school’ (*skolio*),  
*sosa* ‘spent, completed’ (*sóno*),  
*stis* ‘wall’ (*htís*).

The following lexemes in the Prespa dialects originated from Greek, but are archaic or absent in many other Macedonian dialects: *zilja* ‘envy, jealousy’, *ziljar, ziljatar* ‘envious, jealous person’, *naǵezmo* ‘mint’, *parnisa* ‘to abandon, neglect’, *pepun* ‘melon’, *rema* ‘cold, flu’, *skepar* ‘adze’, and *stis* ‘wall’. The words *naǵezmo* and *stis* are of particular interest. The word *naǵezmo* ‘mint’ (Gr. *idíosmos* [ηδύσμος]) shows a prothetic *a-*, indicating an interference with the word *agiasmós* (αγιασμός) ‘holy water’, and consisting of *idís* (ηδύς) ‘sweet, delicious’ and *osmí* (οσμή), meaning smell. (Argirovski 1998, 191.) The word *stis* ‘wall’ (χτίς) has been adopted from a secret jargon of masons (BER 2010, 460).

### 2.3 Turkish loanwords

The strong influence of Turkish can be seen in all areas of language, especially the lexis, in the Balkan region, including the Macedonian linguistic territory (Jašar-Nasteva 2001). This influence of the Turkish language, culture, and tradition is still strong in the Prespa region and in the linguistic varieties spoken there, because a significant number of Turks still live there today. Of the great number of Turkish loanwords, I will list here only those most characteristic of the Prespa dialects, which are less common or are considered archaic in the standard language and in the other Macedonian dialects:

*bendisa* ‘to like’ (*beǵenmek*);  
*dalga* ‘wave’ (*dalga*);  
*ǵolj* ‘pond, puddle’ (*ǵöl*);  
*ǵulj* ‘rose’ (*ǵül*);  
*ǵuč* ‘strange, unusual’ (*ǵüç*);  
*ǵomleze* ‘a type of puff pastry’ (*ǵözleme*);  
*karpuz* ‘watermelon’ (*karpuz*);  
*krkmi* ‘bangs’ (*kırkmi*);  
*mestri* ‘sandals’ (*mest*);

*pendžer/pendžera* ‘window’ (*pencere*);  
*sač* ‘metal lid of a baking pan’ (*saç*);  
*srča* ‘glass splinter’ (*sırça*);  
*tasma* ‘dirty, unclean’ (*tasma*);  
*teneke* ‘sheet metal’ (*teneke*);  
*cironka* ‘salted and dried *Alburnus belvica* (fish)’ (*çiroz*);  
*čatija* ‘roof’ (*çati*);  
*češit* ‘interesting, special’ (*çeşit*);  
*džade* ‘road’ (*cadde*);  
*džam* ‘window’ (*cam*);  
*džimrija* ‘picky regarding food’ (*cimri*).

The following Turkish words are found to some extent in the colloquial vocabulary of other Macedonian dialects. Unique in meaning and therefore not replaceable with a Slavic word are *gjomleze*, *krkmi*, and *cironka*, which appear also in Standard Macedonian. The following lexemes are characteristic and frequent in the Prespa dialects: *gʹulj* ‘rose’, *gʹuch* ‘strange, unusual’; *karpuz* ‘watermelon’, *mestri* ‘sandals’, *tasma* ‘dirty, unclean’, *teneke* ‘sheet metal’, *cironka* ‘salted and dried *Alburnus belvica* (fish)’, *čatija* ‘roof’, *češit* ‘interesting, special’, and *džade* ‘road’ (*cadde*). Two lexemes can be singled out as particularly interesting: *čatija* means ‘roof’, which is in contrast to the meaning recorded in TRMJ (2014, vol. VI, 346), where the definition is ‘(wooden) rafters’; and the word *tasma* ‘dirty, unclean’, which is listed in BER (2010, 832–833) as meaning ‘girdle, belt, strap, cord’.

#### *2.4 The Slavic lexical layer*

Based on the results obtained from the fieldwork, the Prespa dialects and the Kostur and Lerin varieties can be said to be characterized by a specific Slavic lexical layer, but also by words whose etymological origin is hard to identify. These words include: *giba* ‘to touch, to tease’, *oplā* ‘wearying heat’ and *prōdi*, *prōdva* ‘to send someone’. Part of the Slavic vocabulary with interesting meanings has been elaborated on by Cvetanovski (2010, 141–143). The words of Slavic origin, typical of the Prespa dialects, include *vetvo* ‘old’, *glāboko* ‘deep’, *grede* ‘to come, to go’, *žila* ‘a root’, *kapna* ‘to get tired’, *kiselina* ‘vinegar’, *kisla* ‘soaking wet’ (< *kisne*), *klade* ‘put’, *kočan* ‘crop of maize’, *kroce* ‘slowly’, *pešnik* ‘bread’ (< OCS *peštъ*), *operi* ‘to kill’, *opita* ‘to ask’, *puli* ‘to stare’, *ropa* ‘to knock’, *roška* ‘dry branch used to start a fire’, *setne* ‘after’, *skorne* ‘to wake up’, *treska* ‘dry branch used to start a fire’, *uriva* ‘to descend’, *utočka* ‘last and weakest type of brandy in the distilling process’.

### 3 Conclusions

The lexical parallels introduced here provide valuable material that allows us to discover and analyze historical linguistic interactions. This paper, although a small contribution to the study of the lexical level of language contacts, nevertheless shows that the Macedonian dialects in the Prespa region possess characteristic lexical features. By analyzing and comparing part of the lexis in the dialects spoken in the city of Resen, the village of Pustec, as well as the dialects in Kostur and Lerin, we have sought to identify the common Slavic and the foreign lexis in these four language varieties.

The key findings of this study can be summarized as follows: 1) There is a characteristic Slavic lexical layer in the Prespa dialects, illustrated, for example, by the words *vetvo* ‘old’, *glāboko* ‘deep’, *kisla* ‘soaking wet’, *pešnik* ‘bread’, *puli* ‘to stare at’, *setne* ‘after’. 2) There is also a group of lexemes whose meanings are different from those that found other Macedonian dialects: *žila* ‘root’, *operi* ‘to kill’, *soba* ‘stove’, *tasma* ‘dirty, unclean’, *čatija* ‘roof’. 3) The shared loanwords in these dialects include, for instance, *kahtici/kaftici* ‘walnuts’, *pendžera* ‘window’, *skolija/čkolija/školo* ‘school’, *stis* ‘a wall’, *čupa* ‘girl’.

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Chingduang Yurayong (The University of Helsinki)

## **Adnominal possession with kinship terms in Macedonian dialects around Lakes Ohrid and Prespa**

This paper is a report on the use of two different types of adnominal possessive constructions, one with the possessive dative clitic *majka mi* (lit. ‘mother to me’) and another with the possessive adjective *moja majka* (‘my mother’), in Macedonian dialects around Lakes Ohrid and Prespa. The study focuses on kinship terms, which is the only lexical category in Standard Macedonian that allows the use of possessive clitics in a noun phrase. What is more, this is one of the most obvious grammatical features distinguishing the Macedonian standard language from closely related Bulgarian.

In this study I investigate the use of these two structures, in addition to some other construction types, and observe their behaviour with a test set that includes various morphosyntactic patterns, both grammatical and ungrammatical according to the Macedonian standard language. My data contain 21 speakers of Macedonian with different linguistic and ethnic backgrounds. Based on the informants’ grammaticality judgements, I evaluate the patterns and seek conclusions on the general tendencies governing the phenomenon.

The data collected around Lakes Ohrid and Prespa show that the possessive constructions used by our informants mostly comply with the norm of the standard language, with the exception of a speaker of the Kajnas variety who provided interesting, yet puzzling data. Whilst several specific constructions addressed in this paper require further field study, my research also finds that the competition between the prepositions *na* and *od* in possessive constructions, a well-known feature of the Western Macedonian dialects, seems to be disappearing in favour of *na* amongst a younger generation of speakers.

## 1 Introduction: Adnominal possession in Macedonian and in the Balkan sprachbund

The behaviour of kinship terms in possessive constructions is a fruitful field of study from a typological point of view, as the studies by, for instance, Johanna Nichols (1992, 116–122) and Gianguido Manzelli (2007) show: The strategies of encoding these constructions are often specific to particular geographical areas. Nichols investigates the distinction between alienable and inalienable possession and argues that, above all, kinship terms, body parts, names and basic cultural objects (such as clothing and homes) belong generally to inalienable possessum in human languages. Also, she comes to the conclusion that inalienable possession, as a general tendency, favours head-marking, whereas alienable possession more often adheres to dependent-marking. This fits well the situation we encounter in the Balkan languages, especially in Macedonian, which employs both head- and dependent-marking strategies: Possessive dative clitics adhering to the possessum, that is, the head of the noun phrase, may occur only with kinship terms.

Manzelli (2007) claims that, in most European languages, a declinable possessive adjective tends to be the favoured pattern. However, an indeclinable possessive clitic is also a common strategy amongst the majority of Balkan languages, including Balkan Slavic, Balkan Romance and Greek. In the Balkan Slavic languages, Macedonian and Bulgarian, Liljana Mitkovska (2009, 123–124) classifies possessive constructions into four main patterns:

- 1) *na*-construction
  - Macedonian *kniga-ta na Ana* [book-DEF *na* Ana] ‘the book of Ana’
  - Bulgarian *bašta-ta na Ema* [father-DEF *na* Ema] ‘the father of Ema’
- 2) *od*-construction
  - Macedonian *kniga-ta od Ana* [book-DEF *od* Ana] ‘the book of Ana’
  - Bulgarian *statija ot G.D.* [article *ot* G.D.] ‘an article by G.D.’
- 3) construction with a genitival adjective *-ov* or *-in*
  - Mac. & Bg. *An-in-a-ta kniga* [Ana-GEN.ADJ-FEM-DEF book] ‘Ana’s book’
- 4) construction with pronominal possessor
  - a) with a possessive adjective
    - Mac. & Bg. *moj-a-ta kniga* [my-FEM-DEF book] ‘my book’
  - b) with possessive dative clitic
    - Macedonian *tatko mu* [father 3SG.MASC.DAT] ‘his father’
    - Bulgarian *bašta mu* [father 3SG.MASC.DAT] ‘his father’



It should be, however, noted that despite their similarity, the same pattern here does not necessarily read exactly the same way in Macedonian and Bulgarian.

In this study all the patterns except pattern 3 (with the genitival adjective) are taken into account. Nevertheless, construction 4 with possessive dative clitic is the centre of interest here, and therefore, I dedicate more space to it in giving the preliminaries. As for patterns 1 and 2 with the prepositional phrases *na* and *od*, I will discuss their alternation in Macedonian dialects around Lakes Ohrid and Prespa in more detail later in subsection 3.4. Taking a wider Balkan perspective, Mitkovska (2009, 145) explains that the alternation between *na*- and *od*-constructions is also a feature that distinguishes Macedonian from Bulgarian; in other words, Macedonian may employ *od*-construction also where the sense of cause and source is weak, which is not common to the use of the Bulgarian preposition *ot*. From a typological perspective, the most relevant topics in my research concern, above all, word order and a speaker's preference between the different patterns. In what follows, I present previous literature on these topics.

### *1.1 The morphosyntactic properties of the construction with a possessive dative clitic*

Besides general remarks on the possessive adjective, Kristian Jensen Sandfeld (1926, 107–109) describes the use of an enclitic personal pronoun to express possession, which is typical of many languages of the Balkans. From a morphological point of view, Sandfeld claims that Greek uses a genitive form of the personal pronoun, whereas Aromanian, Romanian, Bulgarian and Macedonian prefer a dative form of the pronoun (see also Topolińska & Bužarovska 2011).

Roumyana Pancheva (2004, 180–188) also acknowledges this difference in the form of the possessive clitic; specifically, she regards the Greek as employing an abstract possessive case, whilst the clitic in Balkan Romance and the Slavic languages have an abstract dative case. However, Max Wahlström (2015, 158) points out a problem in Pancheva's analysis of the Greek clitics. They are defined as 'genitive' partly based on an erroneous claim that possessor rising, that is, expressing the possessor on the clause level, would not be possible in Greek. As for Balkan Slavic, supporting evidence for Pancheva's analysis comes from Old Church Slavonic texts where the dative possessor occurs alongside the genitive possessor, for example: *s(ъ)nb̑ ti* [son 2SG.DAT] 'thy son', *rabъ jemu* [slave 3SG.DAT] 'his slave', and *zъlodějstvo ixъ* [crime 3PL.GEN] 'their crime'. Interestingly, Pancheva considers this co-occurrence of two possessor types as a typical

Indo-European feature, yet this supposition calls for an empirical illustration of the Indo-European family, which she does not provide. From the cross-Slavic perspective, Ljiljana Šarić (2002) states that dative possession with personal pronouns is common amongst other non-Balkan Slavic languages when it comes to an affected or inalienable possession or the so-called external possession. However, Šarić focuses on the clause level dative possessor, not on possession on the level of a noun phrase, which is the topic of this paper.

In the case of Albanian, Sandfeld observes that an enclitic personal pronoun, similar to that in Balkan Slavic, appears only with the 3rd person pronoun in a form equivalent to the dative (*i tij* ‘of his’, *i saj* ‘of hers’, and *i tyre* ‘of theirs’), whilst for the 1st and 2nd person, only the possessive adjective forms (*im* ‘my’, *ynë* ‘our’, *yt* ‘thy’, and *juaj* ‘your’) are used.

Carmen Dobrovie-Sorin (2013, 252–242) states that in Romanian, the most common way to express adnominal possession is the use of possessive clitics, derived from enclitic possessive modifiers. Nevertheless, there is another construction with dative clitics, which today is considered ‘outdated’ or ‘formal and poetic,’ according to Olga Mišeska Tomić (2006, 143–145). In Aromanian, the use of possessive modifiers is the only way to express possession, meaning that dative clitics are not used in contemporary Aromanian (ibid.).

Language	1SG	2SG	3SG.MASC	3SG.FEM	NP
Bulgarian				<i>măž i</i> man 3SG.FEM.DAT	INDEF
Macedonian	<i>brat mi</i> brother 1SG.DAT	<i>majka ti</i> mother 2SG.DAT	<i>žena mu</i> woman 3SG.MASC.DAT	<i>măž i</i> man 3SG.FEM.DAT	
SE Serbian dialects				<i>muž joj</i> man 3SG.FEM.DAT	
Aromanian	<i>frati-nju</i> brother-my.MASC	<i>dadă-ta</i> mother-thy.FEM	<i>muljari-sa</i> wife-his/her.FEM	<i>bărbată-su</i> husband-his/her.FEM	DEF
Romanian	<i>frate-meu</i> brother-my.MASC	<i>maică-ta</i> mother-thy.FEM	<i>nevastă-sa</i> wife-his/her.FEM	<i>bărbat-su</i> husband-his/her.FEM	
	<i>fratele-mi</i> brother.DEF-1SG.DAT	<i>maica-ți</i> mother.DEF-2SG.DAT	<i>nevasta-i</i> wife.DEF-3SG.DAT	<i>bărbatu-i</i> husband.DEF-3SG.DAT	
Greek	<i>o adelfós mu</i> ART.MASC brother 1SG.GEN	<i>i máнна su</i> ART.FEM mother 2SG.GEN	<i>i ginéka tu</i> ART.FEM woman 3SG.MASC.GEN	<i>o sízigós tis</i> ART.MASC man 3SG.FEM.GEN	
Albanian	<i>vëllai im</i> brother.DEF my	<i>nëna jote</i> mother.DEF thy	<i>gruaja e tij</i> woman.DEF LINK his	<i>burri i saj</i> man.DEF LINK her	
	‘my brother’	‘thy mother’	‘his wife’	‘her husband’	

**Table 1. Examples of possessive dative clitics in the Balkan languages.**

Table 1 illustrates some examples of adnominal possession with possessive clitics and kinship terms, for the purposes of comparison between the Balkan languages.

A comparison by Tomić (2006, 6–7) states that possessive clitics generally occur in the following languages: Macedonian, Bulgarian, Southeastern Serbian dialects, Romanian, Aromanian and Greek. Nevertheless, the degree of use varies amongst these Balkan languages, as Greek uses it exclusively, Aromanian prefers it to a full possessive pronoun and its use in Bulgarian and Macedonian is unmarked.

Concerning the origin of this pattern, Sandfeld links it to the genitive-dative merger, that is, the dative taking the place of the former genitive attribute after the head noun. He also repeatedly emphasises the role of Greek as a donor language to this construction. In other words, various patterns that appear in other Balkan languages can be traced back to different historical periods of the Greek language. However, the enclitic personal pronoun of most Balkan languages also shows similarities with Turkish, where adnominal possession is expressed by a possessive suffix, a strategy typical of a number of Eurasian language families (including Uralic, Turkic, Mongolic, Tungusic). In any case, this approach has not been systematically practised very much in the field of Balkan linguistics nor in areal linguistics in general. Owing to a different approach in this study, I do not deal with the diachronic aspect of this particular language feature, and will leave it for further studies.

### *1.2 Typological description of the possessive dative clitic*

Languages vary in terms of their specific requirements for the use of different patterns of the adnominal possessive construction. To account for this variation, Maaïke Schoorlemmer (1998, 58–63) divides languages into two types according to their behaviour with definiteness in possessive construction. These types are distinguished by two main features:

- 1) Whether an article is used in possessive construction, or,
- 2) Whether the possessum may be definite.

Schoorlemmer classifies the Balkan languages (together with Russian<sup>1</sup> and Italian) as the type in which a positive answer can be given to both criteria, unlike the Western European languages (German, Dutch, English and French), where the answers to the two criteria appear negative. More

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<sup>1</sup> Schoorlemmer classifies Russian as this type simply because she mistakenly treats an attributive demonstrative *ètot* as an article and not as an attribute in a noun phrase.

precisely, the use of an article and the definiteness of the possessive construction are very common in the Balkan languages, as in Albanian and Greek, where the possessive construction is usually definite (see Table 1 and its description). However, Balkan Slavic languages make an interesting exception with kinship terms, which require the indefinite form with the possessive clitic (except in Bulgarian in constructions with a certain accentuation pattern, which calls for the definite form; for example, *sin-ăt mi* ‘my son’).

In the *Grammar of the Macedonian Literary Language* by Blaže Koneski (1967, 336–338), the author states that possessive clitics are generally used only with kinship terms and in an indefinite form. However, he points out that in the language use of Marko Cepenkov, other non-kinship terms are also valid for this construction, for example, persons like *so drugara ti* ‘with your friend’, *kaj majstor mu* ‘at his master’s place’, *pri stopana si* ‘at one’s own master’s’, *ortak mu* ‘his fellow worker’, and the word *doma* ‘home’: *otišol eden den doma si* ‘he went one day to his home’. This characteristic is also attested by Tomić (2009, 98), who refers to two examples in which head nouns are not kinship terms: *doma mi* ‘my house’ in modern colloquial Macedonian, and *stopana mi* ‘my master’ in a folktale. In these cases, non-kinship terms seem to require the definite form of a noun phrase, as they do in Bulgarian. However, in standard Macedonian, it is not possible to express ordinary possession with this construction (*\*kapa-ta mi* ‘the hat to me’ and *\*palto-to mu* ‘the jacket to him’), but the use of the possessive adjective, as in *mojata kapa* ‘my hat’ and *negovoto palto* ‘his jacket’, is required instead.

Tomić (2006, 72–75, 101–105, 122–123) and Mitkovska (2009, 130–132) investigate the similarities and differences between possessive constructions in Bulgarian, Macedonian and Southeastern Serbian dialects. According to these scholars, all Balkan Slavic languages use possessive clitics, but Standard Macedonian limits their usage exclusively to kinship terms, despite the examples given above by Koneski and Tomić. In contrast, Standard Bulgarian allows the use of possessive clitics with any noun. However, these descriptions assess only the two standard languages, whilst we find overlaps between dialects of Macedonian and Bulgarian (see also the examples of dialects given by Gennadij Cyhun 1981, 74–91). As for Southeastern Serbian dialects, the situation becomes more of a mosaic owing to language contacts, as the majority of dialects generally follow the same rule as Standard Macedonian, whilst a group of dialects in the eastern periphery on the border with Bulgarian dialects behave like Standard Bulgarian in this respect.

The second point concerns the definiteness of the noun phrase with kinship terms, which again varies in three of the above-mentioned Balkan Slavic languages. Macedonian is a language that allows indefinite construction exclusively with possessive clitics with no exception. On the other hand, Bulgarian is more delicate in this respect because it also takes into account accentuation patterns; for example, certain monosyllabic kinship terms are preferably used in a polysyllabic definite form: *sin-ǎ(t) mi* ‘my son’ and *mǎž-ǎ(t) ì* ‘her husband’. Otherwise, in connection with other non-family relationship nouns, Bulgarian would normally require the definite form *kola-ta im* ‘their car’; this is also affirmed by Giuliana Giusti and Melita Stavrou (2008, 407) with examples such as *kniga-ta mi* ‘my book’ and *nova-ta mi kniga* ‘my new book’ (and never as indefinite phrases \**kniga mi* or \**nova mi kniga*).

As for the Southeastern Serbian dialects, Paul-Louis Thomas (1998, 166, 177, 196) provides examples collected from the dialects of Niš and the surrounding area with possessive dative clitics, which can occur not only with nouns in the nominative, but also in the accusative and genitive, for example, *májke mi* ‘my mother’, *déce mi* ‘my children’ [FEM.ACC 1SG.DAT.CL]; *Bóga ti* ‘thy God’ [MASC.ACC 1SG.DAT.CL]; *živóta mi* ‘of my life’ [MASC.GEN 1SG.DAT.CL]. In villages, Thomas even found the following examples with the genitive plural suffix *-ju*: *óči mi* ‘my eyes’ [MASC.PL.NOM 1SG.DAT.CL], *óčiju mi* ‘of my eyes’ [MASC.PL.GEN 1SG.DAT.CL], *óčiju mi móji* ‘of my eyes’ [MASC.PL.GEN 1SG.DAT.CL 1SG.POSS.ADJ.MASC.PL]. In any case, Thomas does not provide any examples whereby possessum is alienable because the examples above are kinship terms, body parts and the religious concepts ‘God’ and ‘life’. Nor is there any clue to the use of the definite article in this construction. Based on the information available, it seems that the Southeastern Serbian dialects are, in terms of lexical categories, not as strict as Standard Macedonian, since they allow this construction not only with kinship terms, but also with body parts, yet the use is not as flexible as in Standard Bulgarian, which allows this construction with any lexical category of the possessum.

According to the description and the examples provided in this section, there are clearly distinct strategies amongst the Balkan languages for expressing adnominal possession with regard to the use of the possessive clitics and the treatment of kinship terms. We can therefore summarise by saying that, in this construction, the Balkan Slavic languages employ the indefinite form, whilst Greek and Albanian require the definite form of the

noun phrase. As for Romanian, both patterns exist even if the indefinite form is unmarked and more common in contemporary language use. Despite being closely related to Romanian, in Aromanian the indefinite construction is the only grammatical pattern today (see Table 1).

## 2 Research question and methods

It is not my intention in this study to give direct answers to questions about the origin or the development of the possessive constructions. Instead, this is a report on the synchronic level of how speakers of Macedonian dialects around Lakes Ohrid and Prespa use different possessive constructions. Moreover, the study examines only possessive pronouns on the level of the noun phrase (NP) and excludes other constructions on the clausal level.<sup>2</sup>

The ultimate goal here is to survey contemporary Macedonian dialects to determine whether the possessive constructions behave according to the description given in Section 1. If they do not, then I will illustrate how they differ from the norm in the standard language, which might (or might not) be influenced by the neighbouring languages in the multilingual environment of the Central Balkans. The synchronic and descriptive approach focuses on the following three questions to which I will provide answers later in subsection 3.2:

- 1) *Which syntactic patterns of possessive construction are valid or invalid in these dialects?*
- 2) *Which is allowed/required by the pattern: a definite or an indefinite form of the possessum?*
- 3) *Which of the two strategies of adnominal possession is unmarked or more common to the speakers of these dialects: the possessive adjective or the possessive clitic?*

In the field I examined these questions with a set of test phrases with various patterns, both grammatical and ungrammatical according to the grammar of the standard language.<sup>3</sup> I divide the responses of the informants into four different categories, based on whether the constructions are:

- a) *dobro* ‘good’ = grammatical, correct
- b) *prifatljivo* ‘acceptable’ = available in their dialects
- c) *ne znam* ‘I do not know’ = informants are not certain of the validity of the construction
- d) *pogrešno* ‘mistaken’ = ungrammatical, incorrect.

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<sup>2</sup> For further information on the diachronic approach to possessive clitics in the Balkan languages and their analysis on the clausal level, please consult previous works, above all, those by Schick (2000), Mitkovska (2000a, 2009, 2011), Pancheva (2004), Tomić (2009), and Topolińska & Bužarovska (2011).

<sup>3</sup> The complete test of the questionnaire used in this study is available online: [https://tuhat.halvi.helsinki.fi/portal/files/69577607/Questionnaire\\_Survey\\_Data.pdf](https://tuhat.halvi.helsinki.fi/portal/files/69577607/Questionnaire_Survey_Data.pdf).

In the questionnaire, the test set consists of three phrases: ‘my sister’, ‘his father’ and ‘Ivan’s mother’, which I put in different construction patterns and word orders. The choice of these specific forms was based on the need to test the relation between definiteness and different kinship terms from different perspectives in connection with question 2) above. Firstly, there exists only one ‘father’ and one ‘mother’, whilst ‘sisters’ can be many, so a difference in number may play a role here. Secondly, the first and third persons could potentially give different results in regard to deixis and definiteness. Thirdly, the construction with a proper name may potentially evoke different syntactic patterns vis-à-vis the pronouns.

### 3 Data

The data were gathered from interviews with 21 speakers of Macedonian, both monolingual and multilingual. These informants were interviewed in different locations in the Republic of Macedonia, Albania and Greece, as shown in Table 2.

Country	Settlement	Number
Macedonia	Struga	3
	Resen	2
	Asamati	4
	Ohrid	3
Albania	Korça	1
	Boboshtica	1
	Pustec	4
Greece	Kastoriá	2
	Flórina	1

**Table 2. Informants in different locations.**

In terms of ethnic and linguistic background, these informants are classified in the following manner, shown in Table 3.

Ethnic background	Linguistic background	Number
Macedonian	Monolingual	5
	Macedonian-Albanian	5
	Macedonian-Greek	3
	Kajnas-Albanian	1
Macedonian Muslim	Macedonian-Albanian	3
Vlach	Macedonian-Vlach	1
Turk	Turkish-Macedonian-Albanian	3

**Table 3. Informants according to their ethnic and linguistic background.**

Table 4 presents the informants according to their year of birth.

Year of birth	1930– 1939	1940– 1949	1950– 1959	1960– 1969	1970– 1979	1980– 1989	1990– 1999	2000–
Number	1	1	5	7	3	2	1	1

**Table 4. Informants according to year of birth.**

It emerges from the test set used in the questionnaire that there are many patterns which all or most of the informants either accept or reject. In the following subsections 3.3 and 3.4, I will mainly focus on those patterns, about which the opinions of the informants vary significantly. As for the remaining patterns not discussed in subsections 3.3 and 3.4, the full survey data can be found online (see Footnote 3). To give a general sense of my data, below I will present them by briefly answering the questions presented in Section 2:

- 1) *Which syntactic patterns of possessive construction are valid and invalid in these dialects?*

Generally accepted patterns		Generally rejected patterns	
Pattern	Remarks	Pattern	Remarks
1) N POSS.DAT.CL <i>sestra mi</i> <i>tatko mu</i>		2) N-DEF POSS.DAT.CL <i>sestra-ta mi</i> <i>tatko-to mu</i>	kinship terms in a definite form
3) N <i>na</i> PRON.OBL <i>sestra na mene</i> <i>tatko na nego</i>	examples with <i>na mene</i> rejected	5) <i>na</i> PRON.OBL N <i>na mene sestra</i> <i>na nego tatko</i>	
4) N-DEF <i>na</i> PRON.OBL <i>sestra-ta na mene</i> <i>tatko-to na nego</i>		6) <i>na</i> PRON.OBL N-DEF <i>na mene sestra-ta</i> <i>na nego tatko-to</i>	
7) POSS.ADJ N <i>moja sestra</i> <i>negov tatko</i>	also in inverted order N POSS.ADJ N POSS.ADJ-DEF	9) POSS.ADJ N POSS.DAT.CL <i>moja sestra mi</i> <i>negov tatko mu</i>	possessive dative clitics are not in the unstressed second position of NP
8) POSS.ADJ-DEF N <i>moja-ta sestra</i> <i>negov-iot tatko</i>		10) POSS.ADJ-DEF N POSS.DAT.CL <i>moja-ta sestra mi</i> <i>negov-iot tatko mu</i>	
11) N <i>na</i> PSSR <i>majka na Ivan</i>		16) <i>na</i> PSSR N-DEF POSS.DAT.CL <i>na Ivan majka-ta mu</i>	kinship terms in a definite form
12) N-DEF <i>na</i> PSSR <i>majka-ta na Ivan</i>		17) PSSR N <i>Ivan majka</i>	no indicator of possessive relation
13) <i>na</i> PSSR N <i>na Ivan majka</i>		18) PSSR N-DEF <i>Ivan majka-ta</i>	
14) <i>na</i> PSSR N-DEF <i>na Ivan majka-ta</i>		19) PSSR N POSS.DAT.CL <i>Ivan majka mu</i>	
15) <i>na</i> PSSR N POSS.DAT.CL <i>na Ivan majka mu</i>	also inverted order N POSS.DAT.CL <i>na</i> PSSR <i>majka mu na Ivan</i>	20) PSSR N-DEF POSS.DAT.CL <i>Ivan majka-ta mu</i>	

**Table 5. Generally accepted and rejected patterns of adnominal possessive constructions.**



This survey cannot give an absolute answer as to which patterns are valid or invalid. Instead, it can show general tendencies with each pattern and indicate which patterns are likely or unlikely to be accepted by the speakers of these dialects, as shown in Table 5.

- 2) *Which is allowed/required by the pattern: a definite or an indefinite form of the possessum?*

Definiteness was shown to be significant only in the construction with a possessive dative clitic. In this case the noun phrase can only be in the indefinite form. Otherwise, language speakers consider the structure ungrammatical. This recalls the explanation given in Section 1, namely that Macedonian never accepts this construction with a definite noun, as opposed to Romanian, Greek and Albanian.

As for the construction with the possessive adjective, both indefinite and definite are valid, and the choice seems to be based mainly on the emphasis given to the NP. A further study of this topic would, however, require a different approach, and therefore I leave out the question from discussion in the present study.

- 3) *Which of the two strategies of adnominal possession is unmarked or more common to the speakers of these dialects: the possessive adjective or the possessive clitic?*

According to the reactions of the informants, I noticed that they regarded the construction with a possessive dative clitic as more unmarked, whilst the construction with a possessive adjective seemed to be regarded as emphatic.

#### **4 Analysis of the patterns with variation in grammaticality judgements**

##### **« possessum + *na* + possessor »**

- 1) N *na* PRON.OBL → *sestra na mene, tatko na nego* ‘my sister’, ‘his father’
- 2) N-DEF *na* PRON.OBL → *sestra-ta na mene, tatko-to na nego*
- 3) N *na* PSSR → *majka na Ivan* ‘Ivan’s mother’
- 4) N-DEF *na* PSSR → *majka-ta na Ivan*

Opinions on patterns 1) and 2) varied amongst the informants, whilst patterns 3) and 4) were nearly always accepted, with only one rejection for pattern 3). When we look at each informant individually, the situation

becomes quite interesting. Few informants either accepted or rejected all four patterns of phrases with ‘my sister’ and ‘his father’. For example, all informants from Ohrid (except one) rejected all forms in patterns 1) and 2). However, more interesting are the cases where informants rejected one or two of the four forms. Table 6 illustrates the individual results of the survey.

Informants		<i>sestra na mene</i>	<i>sestrata na mene</i>	<i>tatko na nego</i>	<i>tatkoto na nego</i>
1	Ohrid, 1959	rejected	rejected	accepted	accepted
2	Ohrid, 196X	rejected	rejected	rejected	rejected
3	Ohrid, 196X	rejected	rejected	rejected	rejected
4	Ohrid, 1969	rejected	rejected	rejected	rejected
5	Struga-Alb, 1951	rejected	rejected	accepted	rejected
6	Struga-Turk, 1951	rejected	rejected	accepted	accepted
7	Resen-Turk, 1961	rejected	rejected	accepted	accepted
8	Resen-Turk, 1979	rejected	rejected	rejected	rejected
9	Asamati, 1950	accepted	accepted	accepted	accepted
10	Asamati, 1951	accepted	rejected	accepted	accepted
11	Asamati, 1974	rejected	rejected	accepted	accepted
12	Asamati, 2002	rejected	rejected	accepted	rejected
13	Korça, 1985	accepted	accepted	accepted	accepted
14	Pustec, 1965	-	rejected	rejected	rejected
15	Pustec, 1976	rejected	rejected	accepted	accepted
16	Pustec, 1984	rejected	rejected	accepted	accepted
17	Pustec, 1997	rejected	rejected	accepted	accepted
18	Boboshtica, 1936	rejected	rejected	accepted	accepted
19	Kastoriá, 1945	accepted	accepted	accepted	accepted
20	Kastoriá, 1962	rejected	rejected	accepted	rejected
21	Flórina, 1969	accepted	rejected	accepted	accepted

**Table 6. Varying opinions on the pattern possessum + na + possessor.**

Here, we can observe a general tendency, namely that the majority of informants, who did not accept or reject all four forms, rejected constructions with *na mene* and accepted the ones with *na nego*. Accordingly, we can posit a possible explanation that the *na*-construction with the first person *na mene* ‘to me’ is less common than with the third person *na nego* ‘to him’ in this particular pattern.

« *na + possessor + possessum* »

- 5) *na* PRON.OBL N → *na mene sestra, na nego tatko*
- 6) *na* PRON.OBL N-DEF → *na mene sestra-ta, na nego tatko-to*
- 7) *na* PSSR N → *na Ivan majka*
- 8) *na* PSSR N-DEF → *na Ivan majka-ta*

Patterns 5) and 6) were generally rejected by most informants. Nevertheless, several informants in Pustec accepted these patterns. However,

the reason behind this reaction is unlikely to be related to Albanian influence, because in the unmarked construction of Albanian, possessive adjectives usually follow the possessum. As for patterns 7) and 8), they were generally accepted, rejected only by a small number of informants.

When we examine the results from each informant individually, it appears that definiteness seems to matter to some more than to others. In other words, some informants accepted indefinite forms and rejected definite forms, whilst other did the reverse. The results for this pattern are presented in Table 7:

Informants		<i>na mene sestra</i>	<i>na mene sestrata</i>	<i>na nego tatko</i>	<i>na nego tatkoto</i>	<i>na Ivan majka</i>	<i>na Ivan majkata</i>
1	Ohrid, 1959	rejected	rejected	-	rejected	accepted	rejected
2	Ohrid, 196X	rejected	rejected	rejected	rejected	accepted	accepted
3	Ohrid, 196X	rejected	rejected	rejected	rejected	accepted	accepted
4	Ohrid, 1969	rejected	rejected	rejected	rejected	accepted	accepted
5	Struga-Alb, 1951	rejected	rejected	rejected	rejected	-	accepted
6	Struga-Turk, 1951	rejected	rejected	rejected	rejected	accepted	accepted
7	Resen-Turk, 1961	rejected	rejected	accepted	accepted	accepted	accepted
8	Resen-Turk, 1979	rejected	rejected	-	-	accepted	-
9	Asamati, 1950	accepted	rejected	accepted	rejected	accepted	accepted
10	Asamati, 1951	rejected	rejected	accepted	accepted	accepted	accepted
11	Asamati, 1974	-	rejected	accepted	accepted	accepted	accepted
12	Asamati, 2002	rejected	-	rejected	rejected	accepted	accepted
13	Korça, 1985	accepted	rejected	accepted	rejected	accepted	rejected
14	Pustec, 1965	rejected	rejected	rejected	rejected	rejected	accepted
15	Pustec, 1976	rejected	rejected	accepted	accepted	accepted	accepted
16	Pustec, 1984	rejected	rejected	accepted	accepted	accepted	accepted
17	Pustec, 1997	accepted	accepted	rejected	accepted	accepted	accepted
18	Boboshtica, 1936	rejected	rejected	accepted	accepted	accepted	accepted
19	Kastoriá, 1945	rejected	rejected	rejected	accepted	accepted	accepted
20	Kastoriá, 1962	rejected	rejected	-	rejected	rejected	rejected
21	Flórina, 1969	accepted	accepted	accepted	-	accepted	accepted

**Table 7. Varying opinions on the pattern: na + possessor + possessum.**

In addition to these observations, it must be noted that several informants remarked that the phrase *na Ivan majkata* ‘Ivan’s mother’, with the definite article, can also be used as a coarse insult.

« possessor + possessum + possessive dative clitic »

9) PSSR N POSS.DAT.CL → *Ivan majka mu*

10) PSSR N-DEF POSS.DAT.CL → *Ivan majka-ta mu*

These two patterns were generally rejected, as they lack any word directly indicating that ‘Ivan’ is the possessor. These patterns were devised to analyse whether Turkish interference could be observed amongst the Turkish-speaking informants. This type of pattern with a possessor in the nominative (also called

*bare genitive* or *juxtapositional strategy* according to some scholars) is generally observed in Turkic languages, for example, (Tr.) *ana dil-i* [mother language-P<sub>x</sub>3] ‘mother tongue’ (literally meaning ‘language of mother’). My results show that whilst pattern 10) was almost unanimously rejected, pattern 9) was accepted by six speakers. There was also one Turkish native speaker amongst those who accepted pattern 9), as is shown in Table 8:

Informants		<i>Ivan majka mu</i>	<i>Ivan majkata mu</i>
1	Resen-Turk, 1979	accepted	rejected
2	Asamati, 1950	accepted	rejected
3	Asamati, 1951	accepted	rejected
4	Pustec, 1997	accepted	rejected
5	Boboshtica, 1936	accepted	accepted
6	Flórina, 1969	accepted	rejected

**Table 8. Varying opinions on the pattern possessor + possessum + possessive dative clitic.**

Despite this seemingly very interesting result, it is quite possible that the informants misinterpreted the dative clitic *mu* as marking possession on the clausal level and not on the level of the noun phrase, as was intended. The small possibility that the pattern also exists on the level of the NP remains to be excluded in a further study.

#### 4.1 Competition between the prepositions *na* and *od* in possessive constructions

During the initial stages of the fieldwork, the questionnaire was changed to include a further set of structures with alternation between the prepositions *na* and *od* to mark the possessive construction. Gennadij Cyhun (1981, 75–78), amongst others, states that this is an emblematic feature of the Western Macedonian dialects. Consider, for example, *sin mu od Nikola* [son 3SG.POSS.DAT.CL *od* Nikola] ‘son of Nikola’ (Popovski 1970, 95), *od Milana dedoto* [*od* Milana grandfather.DEF] ‘the grandfather of Milana’ (Koneski 1949, 269). Cyhun also indicates the distribution of this feature: the dialects on the western side of a line running from Tetovo through Skopje, Titov-Veles, mid-stream in the River Crna and towards Korça.

This feature was tested with 16 informants. The five who did not provide answers to these questions were from Struga and Resen. Nevertheless, some generalisations on these dialects can be made on the basis of the data obtained, as shown in Table 9:

Informants		Alternation is possible?	Remarks
1	Ohrid, 1959		N/A
2	Ohrid, 196X	yes	
3	Ohrid, 196X	yes	
4	Ohrid, 1969	yes	
5	Struga-Alb, 1951		N/A
6	Struga-Turk, 1951		N/A
7	Resen-Turk, 1961		N/A
8	Resen-Turk, 1979		N/A
9	Asamati, 1950	yes	
10	Asamati, 1951	yes	
11	Asamati, 1974	yes	conscious that this is a dialectal feature
12	Asamati, 2002	no	
13	Korça, 1985	partly	only possible with <i>tatko od nego</i> ; otherwise not possible
14	Pustec, 1965	no	
15	Pustec, 1976	no	
16	Pustec, 1984	no	
17	Pustec, 1997	no	
18	Boboshtica, 1936	yes	
19	Kastoriá, 1945	partly	only with proper name <i>majka od Ivan</i> ; not possible with pronouns
20	Kastoriá, 1962	no	
21	Flórina, 1969	yes	

**Table 9. Survey of the interchangeability of the prepositions *na* and *od* in adnominal possession.**

My data show a general tendency amongst the informants who had been living within the borders of the Republic of Macedonia. They attested to the existence of the structure with the preposition *od*, whilst only a few of the Macedonian speakers living in Albania and Greece recognised it.

In terms of language teaching, the small village of Asamati in Southern Macedonia illustrates a highly interesting and surprisingly obvious transition amongst three generations of Macedonian speakers. The interview with one particular family demonstrates a scenario that shows how the Macedonian dialect of the village has changed over time with respect to the alternation of the prepositions *na* and *od* in possessive construction. The grandparents used the possessive constructions interchangeably with both prepositions *na* and *od* and in an unconscious way. The parent in the second generation also accepted and used both *na* and *od*, and furthermore, indicated that he was aware that this feature was specific to their dialect. However, the grandchild, who was of the third generation, did not recognise this alternation when specifically asked. She accepted only the preposition *na*, strictly adhering to the norm of the standard language prescribed at school. This is a fascinating example of how the standard language has gradually influenced a local dialect through systematic language education.

The topic of alternation between *na*- and *od*-constructions has been previously investigated by Liljana Mitkovska (2000b), who conducted a survey by means of a questionnaire amongst university students from different regions of the Republic of Macedonia. Her results show that most informants always recognise the structure with the preposition *od* as an alternative to the constructions with *na* as a dialectal feature. Sometimes the speakers replaced *na* with *od* to avoid repetition of *na*, the most frequently used preposition in Macedonian, especially in contexts with several consecutive prepositional phrases. Yet the crucial observation arising from her analysis is that the speakers of the Western Macedonian dialects generally tolerate and actively employ both structures, which corresponds to the situation I encountered in the areas around Lakes Ohrid and Prespa on the Macedonian side. Thus, my data confirm the description of the Western Macedonian dialects discussed in earlier works.

#### 4.2 A note on a speaker of the Slavic dialect of Boboshtica

The Slavic dialect of Boboshtica, or Kajnas as its speakers sometimes call the variety, is well known for its archaic and unique features (see Arsov in this volume for more information on the variety and the informant). Therefore, the inclusion of a speaker of Kajnas in this study was a very welcome addition.

The Slavic dialect of the informant, Elpi Mancho, born in 1936, illustrates many interesting phonological, morphological and syntactic features, yet her results are somewhat perplexing in the context of my study. Below, I will discuss some patterns that she used and that deviated from the answers given by other informants or that particularly caught my attention.

The Kajnas speaker, Elpi Mancho, accepted every pattern with ‘Ivan’s mother’ with no exceptions. Even for certain patterns rejected by all the other informants, such as *Ivan majka(ta)*, she accepted them. Interestingly, despite the interviewer’s repetition of the questions multiple times to ensure that she considered these grammatical, the Kajnas speaker consistently approved them.

As for ‘my sister’ and ‘his father’, the following patterns were attested. Firstly, this informant was amongst those who rejected the following *na*-construction with ‘my sister’, as did three informants from Ohrid.

- 1) N *na* PRON.OBL → *sestra na mene* (rejected)
- 2) N-DEF *na* PRON.OBL → *sestra-ta na mene* (rejected)
- 3) *na* PRON.OBL N → *na mene sestra* (rejected)
- 4) *na* PRON.OBL N-DEF → *na mene sestra-ta* (rejected)

However, she accepted these identical constructions with the phrase ‘his father’, which is simultaneously both interesting and bizarre. This is in contrast to what we observed earlier, namely that the three Ohrid informants rejected the *na*-construction with both ‘my sister’ and ‘his father’.

There were also other phrases to which the Kajnas speaker gave an answer that differed from all other informants:

- 5) POSS.ADJ N POSS.DAT.CL → *moja sestra mi* (accepted)
- 6) POSS.ADJ-DEF N POSS.DAT.CL → *moja sestra mi* (accepted)
- 7) N-DEF POSS.DAT.CL → *tatko-to mu* (accepted)
- 8) POSS.ADJ-DEF N → *negov-iot tatko* (rejected)
- 9) POSS.ADJ N POSS.DAT.CL → *negov tatko mu* (accepted)

Here, we can observe that the Kajnas speaker accepted examples 5), 6), 7) and 9), which have not been reported to occur in any Macedonian dialect. As for 8), it is curious that she rejected it, whilst all other informants accepted it. As for the alternation between the *na*- and *od*- constructions, she accepted both structures without hesitation.

As a conclusion to this subsection, my results most likely show that Elpi Mancho, a speaker of Kajnas, has a very limited command of her Slavic dialect. Based on my data, hardly anything can be generalised in a convincing way, especially on the question of adnominal possessive constructions. It is not obvious, however, whether the reason behind this unsystematic language use is the interference of Albanian which the informant speaks more fluently than this dialect or is due to other factors.

## **5 Conclusions**

This field survey, based on grammaticality judgements, provides concrete examples that generally support and affirm the description of adnominal possessive constructions not only on the level of the Macedonian language in general, but also on the more specific issues regarding the local linguistic varieties. The most crucial findings presented in this paper are: (1) Varied opinions and grammatical judgements on the *na*-construction with pronouns. (2) Acceptance of an ungrammatical Turkic-like construction *Ivan majka mu* by six informants. (3) Competition between the prepositions *na* and *od* in possessive constructions, whose alternation was observed in Western Macedonian dialects inside the Republic of Macedonia, but which seemingly has started to disappear from the language use of the younger generation

under the increasing influence of Standard Macedonian. (4) Interesting yet puzzling results from the survey with the speaker of Kajnas.

Finally, it must be noted that this research is only preliminary in nature, and larger test sets are needed to give more conclusive answers to the research questions. In the future the scope of the study can be broadened by conducting interviews with informants from a wider area and by the inclusion of more kinship terms to be tested. This study could also be expanded to include the marking of possession on the clausal level, which is a domain that would benefit from non-standard linguistic data.

### Abbreviations

1	1st person	FEM	feminine
2	2nd person	GEN	genitive
3	3rd person	GEN.ADJ	genitival adjective
ADJ	adjective	INDEF	indefinite
ART	article	LINK	linking article
Bg	Bulgarian	Mac	Macedonian
CL	clitic	MASC	masculine
DAT	dative	N	noun
DEF	definite	NEU	neuter
NP	noun phrase	PRON.OBL	oblique pronoun
PL	plural	PSSR	possessor
POSS.ADJ	possessive adjective	SG	singular
POSS.DAT.CL	possessive dative clitic	Tr	Turkish

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Ksenia Shagal (The University of Helsinki)

## **Factors regulating variation in Macedonian relative clauses**

The paper focuses on variation in Macedonian relative clauses. Macedonian employs two major relativization strategies, namely, relative pronoun strategy and gap strategy. In the former, the relative clause is introduced by an inflected relative pronoun, while the latter involves the use of the invariable relativizer *što*, or *relativum generale*, a feature shared to a certain extent by all of the languages of the Balkan sprachbund. Both relativizers can be accompanied by pronominal clitics.

There seem to be no strict rules determining the distribution of the existing strategies in the contexts in which both are structurally possible. However, certain factors can be shown to influence a speaker's choice. First of all, semantics can play a role: the use of relative pronouns appears to be limited in restrictive relative clauses, while *što* is not always acceptable in non-restrictive clauses. Some speakers also tend to associate relative pronouns with animate participants and *što* with inanimate participants. Stylistically, *što* is characteristic of colloquial speech, while relative pronouns are mostly attested in the written language. In addition, a speaker's proficiency in some other Balkan languages (Greek or Albanian) seems to be reflected in the use of pronominal clitics through linguistic transfer.

The data for the article come from the literature on Macedonian, as well as from interviews conducted during a field trip to the Central Balkans.

### **1 Introduction**

According to the table of Balkanisms in Lindstedt (2000, 232), two grammatical features are undoubtedly shared by all the languages of the Balkan sprachbund, namely, Greek, Albanian, Balkan Slavic, Balkan Romance, and Balkan Romani. First, in the formation of relative clauses, all

of these languages can employ the invariable relativizer (*relativum generale*) unmarked for gender, case, and number, even though this is not necessarily reflected in all the dialects or the standard languages. Second, all of these languages demonstrate the phenomenon of object doubling, which means that direct and indirect objects receive head-marking with the clitic pronouns attached to the verb (Lindstedt 2000, 232). Example 1 from Macedonian illustrates both phenomena, specifically, the use of the relativizer *što*, as well as the direct object clitics in the main and in the relative clause:

**(1) Macedonian (Mišeska Tomić 2006, 258)<sup>1</sup>**

<i>Ja</i>	<i>zaginav</i>	<i>kniga=ta</i>	<i>[što mi</i>
3SG.F.ACC.CL	lose.1SG.PERF.PAST	book=the.F.SG	what 1SG.DAT.CL
<i>ja</i>	<i>dadovte</i> ].		
3SG.F.ACC.CL	give.2PL.PERF.PAST		
‘I lost the book that you gave me.’			

This paper focuses on the formation of relative clauses in Macedonian as well as on the phenomenon of clitic doubling within relative clauses. This topic has received relatively little attention in the literature on Macedonian, so the idea is to initiate a discussion in this domain. In addition, the subject is of considerable relevance to the studies of language contact. Indeed, the Balkan languages have much in common as regards relativization and related phenomena, which is usually seen as a result of convergence that has been ongoing for many centuries. Nevertheless, it is also noteworthy that the most recent effects of language contact are manifested in the peculiarities of individual speakers’ varieties.

A large part of the study was conducted during a field trip to the Central Balkans organized by the Helsinki Area & Language Studies (HALS) initiative in June of 2015. The Central Balkans in general and especially the region around the lakes of Ohrid and Prespa, where the borders of Macedonia, Albania, and Greece meet, are a valuable source of data on language contact (on the sociolinguistic situation in the region, see Korhonen, Makartsev,

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<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise specified, the glosses are given according to the sources from which the examples are taken. If the source is not specified, the example comes from my own field work. Relative clauses are in brackets, the relativizer (either a relative pronoun or the invariable relativizer) is given in bold, while the pronominal clitics are underlined. A list of abbreviations is provided in the end of the paper. I would like to thank, in addition to the editors, Jouko Lindstedt for his comments on an earlier version of this paper. I am also grateful to Maxim Makartsev for his help in conducting some of the interviews during the field trip. All shortcomings are, of course, my own.

Petruševska, & Spasov in this volume). Among the languages spoken in the target area, I worked with speakers of Macedonian, Albanian, and Greek.

The data for the article come from the literature on Macedonian, as well as from interviews conducted during the field trip. Overall, I interviewed 18 speakers in Macedonia (in Struga, Resen, Asamati, and Ohrid), Albania (in Boboshtica and Korça), and Greece (in Kastoria and Florina). The oldest interviewee was born in 1925; the youngest, in 1978. Most were in their forties or fifties. The interviews were conducted in Macedonian, and the linguistic part of the discussion usually followed the filling of a sociolinguistic questionnaire. It is also important to point out that all discussion of the test sentences was oral; the speakers never saw the sentences written down nor did they write anything themselves. Thus, all observations presented in here apply to the spoken language rather than to the written varieties.

This paper is organized as follows: Section 2 presents a brief overview of the Macedonian relativization strategies and the internal variations they exhibit. Based on the available descriptions of the topic, as well as on the field data, I determine the zone of competition of the strategies. Section 3 discusses the variation between *relativum generale* and the inflected relative pronoun where structurally possible, together with the use of pronominal clitics. Section 4 gives some concluding remarks.

## **2 Relativization strategies in Macedonian**

In the present study, I use the term *relativization strategy* to refer to different morphosyntactic means by which a language can express the syntactic-semantic role of the head noun in a relative clause (see Comrie & Kuteva 2013a for more information on this notion). Macedonian employs two major relativization strategies, namely, relative pronoun strategy and gap strategy, which will be discussed in subsections 2.1 and 2.2 respectively.

### *2.1 Relative pronoun strategy*

In the relative pronoun strategy, the position relativized is indicated inside the relative clause by means of a clause-initial pronominal element, and this pronominal element is case-marked (by case or by an adposition) to indicate the role of the head noun within the relative clause (Comrie & Kuteva 2013b). According to Comrie (1998, 77–78), this strategy is characteristic of most European languages, as well as many languages that have been in close contact with them.

In Macedonian, almost all the *wh*-words (*koj* ‘who, which’, *kako* ‘how’, *kolku* ‘how much, how many’, *kakov* ‘what kind’, *kol kav* ‘how big, how much’, *što* ‘what, why’, *kade/kaj* ‘where’, *koga* ‘when’, *čij* ‘whose’) can function as relative pronouns (Friedman 1993, 287, 289). The pronouns *kakov*, *kol kav*, and *čij* always inflect for gender and number only, while the paradigm of the pronoun *koj*, which is the most common relative pronoun, depends on whether it refers to a human or a non-human participant. If the modified noun denotes a human, the pronoun *koj* inflects for gender, number, and case, and has the forms *koj* ‘which.M.SG.NOM’, *kogo* ‘which.M.SG.ACC’, *komu* ‘which.M.SG.DAT’, *koja* ‘which.F.SG’, *koe* ‘which.N.SG’, and *koi* ‘which.PL’; see Example 2 with my glossing of the pronoun:

**(2) Macedonian (Topolińska 1981, 114) as cited in (Friedman 1993, 289)**

<i>Vo</i>	<i>odaja=ta</i>	<i>vleze</i>	<i>eden</i>	<i>čov ek</i>	[ <i>kogo</i>
in	room=DEF	entered.3SG.AO	one	person	<b>which.M.SG.ACC</b>
<i>gō</i>	<i>vidov</i>	<i>porano</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ulica</i> ]	
him.ACC	saw.1SG.AO	earlier	on	street	

‘Into the room came a person whom I had seen earlier on the street.’

If the head noun denotes a non-human, the pronoun inflects only for number and gender (Mišeska Tomić 2006, 257).<sup>2</sup>

Kramer and Mitkovska (2011, 164–165), however, report that there is some variation concerning the form of the masculine relative pronoun, especially in the colloquial language. The form *koj*, which is originally the nominative form, is nowadays used more and more frequently in a broader variety of contexts. This issue, however, is not considered in detail in the present study and requires further investigation.

The relative pronoun strategy makes it possible to relativize lower positions of the Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan & Comrie 1977), such as the object of postposition; see Example 3:

**(3) Macedonian (Friedman 1993, 289)**

<i>čoveko=t</i>	[ <i>so</i>	<i>kogo(što)</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>šetaše</i>	<i>včera</i> ]
person=DEF	with	whom(that)	ITR	stroll.3.SG.IM	yesterday
‘the person with whom he walked yesterday’					

<sup>2</sup> When used as an interrogative pronoun, *koj* ‘who’ always serves to denote a human and thus inflects for case. It has the forms *koj* ‘who.nom’, *kogo* ‘who.acc’, and *komu* ‘who.dat’ (Mišeska Tomić 2006, 257).

According to Kramer and Mitkovska (2011, 163), this strategy is the only option for relativizing a postpositional phrase in Macedonian. I will, however, challenge this view in the next section. Friedman (1993, 289) makes a weaker statement, claiming that *koj(što)* is preferred in such contexts.

For possessor relativization, Macedonian employs the specialized possessive pronoun *čij*, which is strictly animate in other contexts, but is used to relativize both animate and inanimate possessors (Beličova 1988; Kholodilova 2013); consider Examples 4 and 5 respectively:

**(4) Macedonian (Mišeska Tomić 2006, 259)**

Čovek=*ot*      [*čija=što*      žena    *ja*      sretnavme]...  
man=the.M.SG    whose.F.SG=what    wife    3SG.F.ACC.CL    meet.1PL.PERF.PAST  
‘The man whose wife we met...’

**(5) Macedonian (ParaSol, Umberto Eco, *Imeto na rozata*) as cited in (Kholodilova 2013)**

[...] *Firenca* [*za čii prekrasni crkvi imavme slušnato mnogu falbi*]  
Florence    about whose beautiful churches we.had heard many praises  
‘...Florence, whose churches I had heard praised as most beautiful’

As can be seen from Example 4 above, the relativizing function of the relative pronoun can be additionally marked by adding *što* after the relative pronoun; consider also Example 6:

**(6) Macedonian (Mišeska Tomić 2006, 259)**

*Studentka=ta*      [*koja=što*      majka    *ti*      *ja*  
student.F=the.F.SG    who.F.SG=what    mother    2SG.DAT.CL    3SG.F.ACC.CL  
*videla*]...  
seen.F.SG./-PART  
‘The student whom your mother saw...’

It is not entirely clear what the rules are that control the alternation between the two strategies, the declinable pronoun (primarily *koj*) on the one hand and its combination with the invariable relativizer (*kojšto*) on the other. The data given by my informants only permit me to conclude that whenever the longer version is possible, the shorter version is acceptable as well. The relativizer *kojšto* was never preferred by the speakers, and many of them found it ungrammatical, at least in some contexts. Since both *koj* and *kojšto* are fairly rare in spoken Macedonian, this issue will not be discussed further in this paper. A corpus study might shed light on the competition of these two relativizers.

## 2.2 Gap strategy

The term gap strategy refers to cases in which there is no overt case-marked reference to the head noun within the relative clause (Comrie & Kuteva 2013b). In Macedonian, the gap strategy involves the use of the invariable relativizer *što*, also called *relativum generale*. The use of such an element is a feature shared to a certain extent by all the languages of the Balkan sprachbund; as mentioned above, these are Greek, Albanian, Balkan Slavic, Balkan Romance, and Balkan Romani (Lindstedt 2000, 232). According to most descriptions of Macedonian, including, for instance, Kramer and Mitkovska (2011, 163) and Mišeska Tomić (2006, 259), the element *što* can only function as a relativizer in the contexts of (Example 7) subject relativization, (Example 8) direct object relativization, and, possibly also (Example 9) indirect object relativization:<sup>3</sup>

### (7) Macedonian

*Go baram momče=to [što prodava vesnici]*  
 it.ACC look.for.PRS.1SG boy=DEF that sell.PRS.3SG newspaper.PL  
 ‘I am looking for a boy who is selling newspapers.’

### (8) Macedonian (Friedman 1993, 289)

*dete=to [što go sretnavme]*  
 child=DEF that it.ACC met.1PL.AO  
 ‘the child whom we met’

### (9) Macedonian (Mišeska Tomić 2006, 259)

*Čoveko=t [što mu go dade podarok=ot]...*  
 man=the.M.SG what 3SG.M.DAT.CL 3SG.N.ACC.CL gave.2/3SG present=the.M.SG  
 ‘The man that you/(s)he gave the present to....’

Nevertheless, it seems that *što* can actually function in a much wider range of contexts. The speakers I worked with unanimously accepted the use of *što* for the relativization of numerous lower positions of the Accessibility Hierarchy. Consider, for instance, the examples of its use for relativizing comitative constructions in Macedonian and temporal adverbials in Example 10:

<sup>3</sup> Kramer and Mitkovska (2011, 163) seem to consider the use of *što* ungrammatical in indirect object relativization, although it is fully acceptable to Mišeska Tomić (2006, 259).



**(10) Macedonian**

*Utre*      *ke*    *ja*                      *sretnam*      *žena=ta*      [*što*  
 tomorrow   fut   3SG.F.ACC.CL   meet.PRS.1SG   woman=DEF   that  
*zboruvav*      *včera*].  
 talk.PST.1SG   yesterday  
 ‘Tomorrow I will meet the woman with whom I talked yesterday.’

**(11) Macedonian<sup>4</sup>**

*Eve*    *sega*    *dojde*                      *i*    *toj*    *den*    [*što*    *jas*    *imam*  
 well    now    come.PRS.3SG   and    that    day    that    1SG    have.PRS.1SG  
*svoj*              *bar*].  
 POSS.REFL    bar  
 ‘Well, now the day has come when I have my own bar.’

Judging from the available materials, *što* can also be used to relativize the participant denoting a possessor. The resulting constructions, however, are structurally identical to the constructions with the relativized indirect object, where the recipient is referred to in the relative clause by the dative clitic; see Macedonian (Mišeska Tomić 2006, 259):

**(12) Macedonian (Mišeska Tomić 2006, 259)**

*Devojka=ta*    [*što*    *i*                      *zagina*                      *kniga=ta*]...  
 girl=the.F.SG    that    3SG.F.DAT.CL    lose.3SG.PERF.PAST    book=the.F.SG  
 ‘The girl whose book got lost....’ (lit. ‘The girl to whom the book got lost...’)

It should be noted, however, that in this case the participant relativized should probably not be considered as a proper possessor, but rather an instance of dative external possessor, which is widespread in the languages of Europe; see (Lambert 2010).

The use of pronominal clitics in combination with the invariable relativizer *što* is a noteworthy phenomenon on its own. The use of object clitics in independent sentences is usually referred to as object reduplication (e.g. Lindstedt 2000, 232). Indeed, the clitic marks the syntactic role of the object in addition to the marking on the noun phrase. This is also true for the relative clauses introduced by a relative pronoun, which acts syntactically as a full-fledged substitute for the relativized participant. In the relative clauses with *što*, on the other hand, the relativized participant is not expressed as a noun phrase or a full pronoun, so the clitic is actually its only representation within the clause.

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.dw-game.info/forum/index.php?topic=348025.0> (31 March, 2016).

Despite this difference in the status of object clitics in relative clauses employing different relativization strategies, their behavior seems to be the same. In both cases, the pronominal clitics are always obligatory when the relevant participants are relativized. The only exception to this rule is discussed in Section 3.4, and is considered an individual peculiarity of a single speaker.

It is worth mentioning that the distribution of object clitics in both types of relative clauses is different from their use in independent sentences. According to Mišeska Tomić (2006, 252), in independent clauses, direct object clitics are always used if the direct object is definite, while indefinite direct objects are, as a rule, not clitic-doubled. Other proposed factors that might play a role in the use of object clitics are humanness (Mišeska Tomić 2006, 252), specificity, and noteworthiness (Prendergast 2012). As regards the indirect object relativization, in Macedonian as in many other Balkan languages, indirect object clitic-doubling is contingent on specificity (Mišeska Tomić 2006, 255). If the indirect object is specific, it co-occurs with the clitic, while with non-specific indirect objects no clitics are used.

### **3 Variation and its regulating factors**

In this section, I will discuss possible variation in Macedonian relative clauses and the factors regulating this variation. First, I will consider the choice of relativizer and the ways it can reflect semantic, stylistic, and dialectal differences (Section 3.1). Second, I will show how an individual speaker's proficiency in other languages can influence the use of object clitics in relative clauses (Section 3.2).

#### *3.1 Choice of relativizer*

The choice of either a relative pronoun or the invariable relativizer depends to a certain extent on the semantics of the relative construction; in other words, on whether the relative clause is restrictive or not. This has been mentioned in several works on Macedonian; for instance, Friedman (1993, 289) mentions the opinion of Korubin (1969), who suggests that *što* be used in restrictive relative clauses and *koj(što)* in non-restrictive clauses. According to Friedman, however, this cannot be considered a strict rule. Minova-Āurkova (2000, 137–141) is stricter about this issue. She claims that in contexts where competition is possible, *što* is only used in restrictive relative clauses, while *koj(što)* is reserved for non-restrictive contexts.

Milica Petruševska (p.c.) comments that such prescriptive rules can influence the choice of relativizer made by speakers of Macedonian. The speakers with whom I worked during the field trip, however, did not fully comply with this observation. For example, all of my informants considered the following sentence totally acceptable, even though it features a non-restrictive relative clause introduced by the invariable relativizer *što*:

**(13) Macedonian**

*Struga, [što ima reka], e ubav grad.*  
Struga that have.PRS.3SG river be.PRS.3SG beautiful town  
'Struga, which has a river (in it), is a beautiful city.'

This use, however, cannot be explained simply by free variation between the relativizers, since most of the speakers found ungrammatical or at least questionable the sentence in Macedonian with a relative pronoun introducing a clearly restrictive relative clause:

**(14) Macedonian (constructed)**

*??Mi treba lekar [koj(što) zboruva makedonski].*  
1SG.DAT.CL need.PRS.3SG doctor who speak.PRS.3SG Macedonian  
'I need a doctor who speaks Macedonian.'

The observed situation can probably be seen to reflect the overall prevalence of the invariable relativizer in the spoken language, which is commonly mentioned in the discussion of Macedonian and other Balkan languages (see Papadopoulou 2006, 53 for Greek, and Newmark et al. 1982, 279 for Albanian). Kramer and Mitkovska (2011, 163) claim that the relative pronoun and the invariable relativizer in Macedonian are often interchangeable. Yet the tendency is for *što* to be more common in colloquial speech, while written language and formal texts use *koj(što)*. In the current study, I have not considered any written texts whatsoever. Nevertheless, my data can be regarded as confirming the observation by Kramer and Mitkovska, since even in cases where prescriptive grammar does not allow the use of *što* as a relativizer, many speakers find it completely acceptable; see, for instance, Macedonian, where the relativized participant is a prepositional phrase.

Another semantic parameter that can influence the choice of the relativizer, apart from the restrictiveness of the relative clause, is the animacy of the head noun. I was not able to find any references, but Borche Arsov (p.c.) reports that at some schools in the Republic of Macedonia students are taught that *što* has to be used to relativize inanimate participants, with *koj* being the

relativizer only for animate (or even human) participants. This tendency was only attested in the judgment of one educated Macedonian male speaker born in 1978 and living in Korça, whose speech in general seemed close to the literary standard; consider Examples 15 and 16:

**(15) Macedonian; male, 1978, Korça**

*Mi treba lekar [koj/?što zboruva makedonski].*  
 1SG.DAT.CL need.PRS.3SG doctor who/that speak.PRS.3SG Macedonian  
 ‘I need a doctor who speaks Macedonian.’

**(16) Macedonian; male, 1978, Korça**

*Go čitam vesnik=ot [što/\*koj go kupiv včera].*  
 3SG.M.ACC.CL read.PRS.1SG newspaper=DEF that/who 3SG.M.ACC.CL  
 buy.PST.1SG yesterday  
 ‘I am reading a newspaper that I bought yesterday.’

In addition to semantics and stylistics, the dialect spoken by particular informants might also be relevant for the variation. For instance, the use of the invariable relativizer seemed more prevalent in Resen than in other areas where the fieldwork was conducted. However, since the data I have are very limited and since many other factors can also influence speakers’ judgments, it is too early to draw definitive conclusions on this matter.

### 3.2 Use of pronominal clitics

The rules regulating the use of object clitics in Macedonian relative clauses are fairly strict. Both direct object clitics and indirect object clitics, including those employed for possessor relativization, as in Macedonian (Mišeska Tomić 2006, 259), are obligatory. It seems, however, that there is a factor that can challenge this rule, namely, an individual speaker’s proficiency in another language. This is an expected effect, since the Balkan languages differ a great deal in how they employ object clitics in relative clauses, despite the overall similarities in this domain. In this section, I will discuss two cases where this effect could take place. Only the relative clauses introduced by the invariable relativizer will be considered, because they are the most common in colloquial speech in all three languages. I will also limit myself to instances of direct and indirect object relativization, since they are the only ones for which there is enough reliable data in all three languages.

The first case is a female speaker born in 1969, who lives in Florina, Greece. She considers Macedonian as her mother tongue, even though her

first and strongest language is Greek. It is expected, therefore, that her Macedonian can be influenced by Greek in many respects, including the use of object clitics in relative clauses.

Modern Greek gives a considerable degree of freedom to speakers with respect to the use of resumptive pronominal elements in relative clauses (see Papadopoulou 2006 and Chatsiou 2006; 2010). For instance, unlike in Macedonian, when the direct or the indirect object is relativized, the pronominal clitic seems to be optional; consider Examples Modern Greek (Papadopoulou 2006, 54) and Modern Greek (Papadopoulou 2006, 55) respectively:

**(17) Modern Greek (Papadopoulou 2006, 54)**

*To vivlio [pu (to)=dhjáva* *prósfata]*  
 the.NOM.SG.N book.NOM.N that (it)=read-PAST.1SG recently  
*ine sti vivliothiki.*  
 is in.the.ACC.SG.F bookcase.ACC.F  
 ‘The book that I read is in the bookcase.’

**(18) Modern Greek (Papadopoulou 2006, 55)**

*O ithipiós [pu (tu)=édosan to próto*  
 the.NOM.SG.M actor.NOM.M that (to him)=gave.3PL the.ACC.SG.N first.ACC.SG.N  
*vravío] pézi se mia néa tenía.*  
 award.ACC.N plays in a.ACC.SG.F new.ACC.SG.F film.ACC.SG.F  
 ‘The actor who they gave the first award to is playing in a new film.’

Apparently, owing to the influence of Greek, the aforementioned speaker was the only one among my informants who both produced and accepted relative and independent clauses featuring direct and indirect objects without pronominal clitics; see Macedonian:

**(19) Macedonian; female, 1969, Florina**

*Jas čitam vesnik=ot [što kupiv včera].*  
 1SG read.PRS.1SG newspaper=DEF that buy.PST.1SG yesterday  
 ‘I am reading a newspaper that I bought yesterday.’

The second speaker was born in 1925 and lives in the village of Boboshtica, Albania. He speaks the local Slavic dialect (which he refers to as *Kajnas*; see Arsov 2016 in this volume) and Albanian, and both languages are equally strong. Because he uses mostly Albanian in his everyday communication, it might be expected to influence the other language.

In Albanian, when the direct object is relativized, the use of the pronominal clitic depends on the definiteness of the relativized argument manifested in the main clause. Thus, if the relativized direct object is indefinite, the clitic is obligatory; see Albanian (Kallulli 2004) as cited in (Mišeska Tomić 2006, 315). If, on the other hand, the modified noun is marked as definite in the main clause, the use of the object clitic in the relative clause is prohibited; see Albanian (Kallulli 2004) as cited in (Mišeska Tomić 2006, 315):

**(20) Albanian (Kallulli 2004) as cited in (Mišeska Tomić 2006, 315)**

*Lexova një libër [që e mora në bibliotekë].*  
 read.1SG.AOR a book that 3SG.ACC.CL get.1SG.AOR in library  
 ‘I read a book that I got from the library.’

**(21) Albanian (Kallulli 2004) as cited in (Mišeska Tomić 2006, 315)**

*Lexova librin [që (\*e) mora në bibliotekë].*  
 read.1SG.AOR book.the.M.SG.ACC that 3SG.ACC.CL get.1SG.AOR in library  
 ‘I read the book that I got from the library.’

It could therefore be expected that in his Macedonian speech, when the relativized participant is marked as definite, the clitic might be absent owing to the Albanian influence. What actually happened is that the speaker produced and accepted both options, with and without the direct object clitic, in the relative clause; see Macedonian (Kajnas):

**(22) Macedonian (Kajnas); male, 1925, Boboshtica**

*Ja čitam gazeta=ta [što (ja) kupiv včera].*  
 3SG.F.ACC.CL read.PRS.1SG newspaper=DEF that 3SG.F.ACC.CL  
 buy.PST.1SG yesterday  
 ‘I am reading a newspaper that I bought yesterday.’

His variety of Macedonian can thus be classified as intermediate between Standard Macedonian and Albanian with respect to the use of object clitics in relative clauses.

The attested tendencies can, of course, reflect the individual properties of a person as an informant rather than a speaker, that is, an inclination to accept a wider range of options than he or she actually considers grammatical. It is interesting, however, that in a way the judgments seem to reflect the level of the speakers’ proficiency in Macedonian. It should be mentioned that the phenomena described in this section can actually be more than just peculiarities of individual speakers. It might also be the case that they reflect

more general tendencies characteristic of the speech of bilinguals with different levels of proficiency in Macedonian and other languages. However, much more data must be gathered to confirm these assumptions.

#### **4 Conclusions**

Macedonian has two major competing strategies for forming relative clauses. The gap strategy is usually claimed to have a limited potential, while the relative pronoun strategy permits the relativization of a wide range of participants. However, as the study shows, the invariable relativizer *što* can actually be used in the comitative, locative, and possessor relativization, thus reaching the lowest part of the Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy. Therefore, the zone where both strategies are structurally possible is vast.

A speaker's choice of strategy can be conditioned by several factors. Non-restrictiveness of the relative clause, animacy of the relativized participant, as well as written and formal language all favor relative pronouns. In contrast, the invariable relativizer is preferred if the clause is restrictive, the relativized participant is inanimate, and the style of the speech is less formal. In general, the gap strategy with the invariable relativizer *što* seems to expand the zone of its uses, becoming the default strategy for some speakers.

The rules regulating the use of pronominal clitics in Macedonian relative clauses are fairly strict: the object clitics are obligatory in all cases when relevant participants are relativized. However, these rules can be different for those speaking Macedonian as their second language and even for balanced bilinguals, who are common in the border areas. Depending on the level of the speaker's proficiency in Macedonian and other Balkan languages, the use of pronominal clitics in relative clauses can become optional or even marginal. This can be seen as a recent effect of language contact in the Central Balkans, a territory famous for significant linguistic convergence.

It has to be emphasized that this article should by no means be regarded as a comprehensive description of Macedonian relative clauses and their variation. Rather it should be considered an attempt to look at the recent developments in the formation of relative clauses and at some peculiarities characteristic of individual speakers, possibly attributable to language contact.

## Abbreviations

1	1st person	DEF	definite	PAST	past
2	2nd person	F	feminine	PERF	perfect/perfective
3	3rd person	GEN	genitive	POSS	possessive
ACC	accusative	IM	imperfect	PTCP	participle
AGR	agreement	ITR	intransitive	PL	plural
AO, AOR	aorist	M	masculine	REFL	reflexive
ART	definite article	N	neuter	REL	relativizer
CL	clitic	NOM	nominative	SG	singular
DAT	dative	PART	participle	PAST	past

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