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172. Macedonia

1. Geography and demography
2. Territorial history and national development
3. Politics, economy, general cultural and religious situation
4. Statistics and ethnoprofiles
5. Sociolinguistic situation
6. Language political situation
7. Language contact
8. Sources and discussion
9. Bibliography (selected)

1. Geography and demography

1.1. The Republic of Macedonia, which from 1944 to 1991 was an administrative unit within Yugoslavia, became officially independent on 17 November 1991. Except for the account of events prior to the partition of 1913 and observations on conflicts with neighboring countries (paragraph 2), the re-

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mainder of this discussion refers to the Republic of Macedonia as *Macedonia*. The Republic's boundaries with Albania, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece run along Mounts Jablanica, Korab, Šar, Skopska Crna Gora, Kozjak, Osogovo, Maleševo, Belasica, Kožuf, Nidže, and Lakes Ohrid and Prespa.

1.2. The current majority group, who call themselves *Makedonci* 'Macedonians', are descended from the Slavs who settled in the Balkan peninsula from north of the Carpathian range circa 550–630 A.D. Albanians claim autochthonous descent from the Illyrians, but evidence suggests that their language may be descended from a dialect of Dacian or Thracian that was pushed ahead of the invading Slavs (cf. Hamp 1982, 77 f). The Romanians (Vlahs) claim to be descended of Romanized non-Greek or pre-Greek inhabitants of Macedonia, although it is also claimed that they are descended of Roman colonists or Romanized Dacians who migrated from north of the Danube. The Turkish dialects spoken in Macedonia are descended from Ottoman. Greeks claim that Ancient Macedonian was a dialect of Greek and that therefore the original (Indo-European) inhabitants of Macedonia were Greek, but evidence indicates that Ancient Macedonian was linguistically separate from what later became Greek (cf. Hamp 1990, 15; Ilievski 1993, 241 ff). Jews are known to have come to the region in ancient times but their modern language, Judezmo, descended from the Spanish spoken by Jews exiled from the Iberian peninsula in 1492. The Roms (Gypsies), who entered the Balkans no later than the late medieval period, emigrated from India some centuries before. Since World War II there has been a general shift of population from villages to towns and from both towns and villages to the capital. According to Velkovska (1991, 6), more than a quarter of the population (563, 301) lives in the Skopje region. There is also a tradition of men going abroad to earn a living. Serbs moved to northern Macedonia after World War I, and there was an influx of Macedonian and Vlah Christians from Aegean Macedonia in the wake of the Greek Civil War in 1948. Many Muslims, regardless of language, emigrated to Turkey after World War II. Since the uprising of 1981 in Kosovo, many Albanians have moved to Macedonia. Finally, since mid-1991 thousands of Serbo-Croatian-

speaking victims of the Yugoslav war have fled to Macedonia (estimates vary from 60 000 to 150 000); → Language Map G.

2. Territorial history and national development

2.1. At the time of the Slavic invasions, the territory of Macedonia was part of the Byzantine Empire, after which it shifted between Greek and Slavic domination until the end of the fifteenth century, when it was incorporated into the Ottoman Empire. It remained there until the First Balkan War (1912), when Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria pushed Turkey to its present location in Europe. In 1913 the allies fought the Second Balkan War over their conflicting territorial claims and partitioned Macedonia under the Treaty of Bucharest. During World War II, Yugoslav Macedonia was partitioned between Bulgaria and Albania. It was established as a Republic in 1944 (see 1.1.).

2.2. Modern Macedonian national consciousness has its origins in the nineteenth century. Under Ottoman rule, national identity was determined by *millet* 'religiously defined community'. The two principal *millets* of Macedonia were *Türk* 'Turkish', meaning 'Muslim' and *Rum* 'Greek', meaning 'Greek Orthodox Christian'. During the first third of the nineteenth century, Hellenizers, who used religion as a vehicle to impose Greek language, competed with Slavic activists, who sought to establish Slavic ethnic identity on the basis of language. The Slavic authors of this period in both Macedonia and Bulgaria called their vernacular language *Bulgarian*. As major centers of literary activity coalesced in northeastern Bulgaria and western Macedonia a rift between Macedonians and Bulgarians arose. The establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate in 1870 marked the recognition of the Bulgarians as a distinct *millet*, but the definition was still religious. The earliest published statement of Macedonian identity dates from 1875; the first concrete proposal for a Macedonian literary language dates from 1903. References to Macedonian as a separate language by outsiders date to the beginning of this century (see Friedman 1985a, 32–35; 1993, 162 ff; Lunt 1986, 729 ff). It should be noted that the South Slavic dialects form a continuum along which there is no bundle of isoglosses so thick that

mutual incomprehensibility results at two contiguous points. Thus the definition of the boundaries of a South Slavic *language* rely on geographic or other criteria. Macedonia was also the site of the Albanian Alphabet Conference of 1908 (held in Bitola), where the official adoption of the Latin alphabet (versus Arabic or Greek) was a crucial step in uniting Albanian national consciousness on the basis of language rather than dividing Albanians on the basis of religion (approximately 70% were Muslim, 20% Eastern Orthodox and 10% Catholic).

2.3. Following the partition of 1913, Macedonians and other ethnic groups were denied linguistic rights and pressured to assimilate to Greek, Bulgarian, or Serbian language and nationality. After the establishment of Macedonia as a republic within Yugoslavia in 1944, Macedonian was recognized as a language and ethnicity in Yugoslavia, Albania, and Bulgaria (in 1946), but with the Tito-Stalin break of 1948 Bulgaria repudiated the legitimacy of the Macedonian language, and later of Macedonian nationality. Bulgaria recognized the Republic of Macedonia in 1992 but continues to deny the existence of Macedonian nationality and to insist that Macedonian is a Bulgarian dialect. Greece has always officially denied the existence of Macedonian language and nationality, although a Macedonian primer was printed in Athens in 1925 in accordance with article 9 of the Treaty of Sèvres concerning minority language education. The book was never used and most copies were destroyed (Friedman 1993, 174). As of 1993, Greek persecution of Macedonians on its territory and crossing its borders and Greek harassment of Macedonia on the international scene are sources of tension. Relations between Macedonia and Serbia, while good during the post-1944 period, have grown increasingly strained. In 1988 there were polemics in the mass media (collected in Kostaski 1990) concerning the relationship of Serbo-Croatian to Macedonian: benign bilingualism or imposed assimilationism. Since then extremist Serbian politicians, who represent the second most powerful force in Serbian politics as of 1993, have publicly denied the legitimacy of Macedonian language and nationality and demanded a reabsorption of Macedonia into Serbia. Macedonia's relations with Albania have varied. Although teachers from the Republic of Macedonia were expelled and

schools closed following the 1948 Tito-Stalin break, Albania did not repudiate the recognition of its Macedonian minority and there were a few schools through grade four. Relations were good in the 1970's but broken off following the Kosovo uprising of 1981 and then gradually reestablished. Albania officially recognized Macedonia in 1993. Some Macedonian Albanians declared an autonomous republic called *Ilirida* (from *Illyria* and *Dardania*) in western Macedonia in 1992, but this declaration remains moot.

3. Politics, economy and general cultural and religious situation

Macedonia is a parliamentary democracy. The numerous political parties can be characterized as belonging to two general types: ethnic-nationalist and reform-pluralist. Macedonia was the only republic in which ethnic-based parties did not win a majority in the 1990 Yugoslav elections (Mirčev 1992, 7). Language rights are a major concern of all political parties (cf. 6.1.). The combination of embargo against Serbia and Greek harassment have severely damaged Macedonia's economy and disrupted privatization. Although the poorest of the six former Yugoslav republics, Macedonia can meet basic food and energy needs through its own agricultural and coal resources. Because language-oriented institutions are government subsidized, Macedonia's economic situation has a direct impact on language policy and subsequently on inter-ethnic relations. Weak economy has impeded cultural activities. Lack of paper prevents publications and lack of funding prevents productions. The National Theater produces drama in Macedonian, the Theater of the Nationalities puts on productions in Albanian and Turkish. There have also been productions in Romani. There are folklore groups in various towns and places of work for all the ethnicities of Macedonia. The situation as reflected in the number of individual publications by language in Macedonia for 1987 was the following (*SGJ* 1988, 600): Macedonian (789), Serbo-Croatian (55), Albanian (51), Turkish (21), Slovenian (4), Hungarian (2), other languages (31). Most publications in other languages are in English, French, German, and Russian, although works in Vlah or Romani are occasionally published. During the 1980's cultural censorship, e.g. the

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forbidding of "nationalist" songs, was directed at Albanians in connection with the expansion of Serbia's Communist party policies into Macedonia (cf. 6.1.). Tension has also been occasioned by the public performance of Serbian nationalist songs. The majority of Macedonians belong to the Macedonian Orthodox Church. A minority of Macedonian-speakers are Muslims, some of whom identify with the Muslim nationality (see paragraph 4). The majority of Albanians, Turks, and Roms are Muslim, while Vlachs and Serbs are Orthodox Christian. There are also a few Catholics (mostly Albanian) and Protestants. Almost all Jews were deported and killed by the Nazis in 1943. Freedom of religion is guaranteed in article 19 of the Constitution and discrimination on the basis of religion is prohibited in article 54. The rise of multiparty politics has led to a resurgence of religious feeling and ecclesiastical power, including attempts at censoring performances deemed blasphemous. Macedonian nationalist politicians have come into conflict with Muslims over the use of Christian symbols as national.

4. Statistics and ethnoprofiles

4.1. The correspondence between declared ethnic group and language is not one-to-one because a member of one ethnic group may declare a different language as mother tongue and the Muslim ethnic group is based on religion. The Census conducted on 31 March 1991 was boycotted by most Albanians, who believed that they would not be counted fairly. Some Albanian political groups now claim that Albanians constitute 40% of the population while the official statistics are based on projections. While the 1981 Yugoslav census gave figures for 24 ethnic groups and 26 mother tongues, the statistics available from the 1991 Macedonian census only distinguish 5 ethnic groups and do not give data on declared mother tongue. Table 172.1 gives the available figures for those languages and ethnic groups in Macedonia with populations over 5000 from the amended 1981 census (*SGJ* 1988, 441–42) and the preliminary results of the 1991 census (Velkovska 1991, 6).

According to Petrović (1992, 8), Muslim mother tongues in 1981 were the following: Serbo-Croatian (41.3%), Macedonian (38.1%), Albanian (12.6%), Turkish (5.6%). The remaining 2.4% probably had Romani.

Table 172.1: Language and ethnic groups in Macedonia

	1981 group	language	1991 group
Total	1909136	same	2033964
Macedonian	1279323	1334524	1328187
Albanian	377208	391829	441987
Turkish	86591	64907	77080
Romani	431125	37780	52103
Serbian	44468	63350	42775
Muslim	39513	—	31356
Vlach	6384	5931	7764
Remaining	32524	10815	52712

The 1981 figure for Serbo-Croatian mother tongue includes Croats and Montenegrins, and the 1981 ethnic category 'Remaining' includes Yugoslavs, regionals, undeclared nationality, and unknown. The remaining languages recorded for the 1981 census included Bulgarian (1419), Greek (647), and 19 others.

4.2. There are a number of ethnolinguistic divisions that do not figure into census statistics, e. g. a group of Albanian-speakers called *Egipkanil/Egupci* (*Gupci*) who appear to be people of Romani descent, but who identify as a separate ethnic group and claim Egyptian descent. The majority of Macedonian Albanians are Gegs (North Albanians), but south of a line running between Struga and Debar they are Tosks (South Albanians). There are about sixty Turkish-speaking villages in southeastern Macedonia whose inhabitants identify as *Juruk* (Turkish *yürük* 'Janissary foot-soldier, nomad'). They are descended from Ottoman soldiers and other immigrants from Anatolia and form a distinct ethnos from other Turks in the area, whom they call *çitak* ('quarrelsome, vulgar' in Anatolian dialects) and whom they consider to be descended from earlier non-Turkish local populations. Linguistically, the *Juruk* dialects do not belong to the West Rumelian group, to which all the other Macedonian Turkish dialects belong, but form their own group closer to the dialects on which Standard Turkish is based. (Jašar-Nasteva 1986, 139; Friedman 1982, 71). There are a number of Romani-speaking groups, of whom the largest are the Arlija (Turkish *yerli* 'local'), Džambaz (Turkish *cambaz* 'horse-dealer, acrobat'), Burgudži (Turkish *burgucu* 'gimlet-maker') and Gurbet (Turkish *gurbet* 'emigra-

Table 172.2: Districts with more than 10% non-Macedonian population (1991)

	Mac.	Alb.	Turk.	Rom.	Serb.	Other
Brod	68.01	0.30	21.39	0.13	0.20	9.87
Gostivar	16.89	62.70	10.75	1.81	0.32	7.53
Debar	11.98	43.97	21.13	4.90	0.20	15.82
Kičevo	39.30	45.92	7.69	1.20	0.53	5.36
Kruševo	57.77	7.61	12.80	0.52	0.38	20.92
Kumanovo	50.28	34.47	1.71	4.06	7.96	1.53
Radoviš	82.51	0.10	15.67	0.90	0.42	0.40
Resen	69.84	12.38	13.87	0.48	0.41	3.03
Skopje	61.84	17.61	4.08	5.28	3.86	7.23
Struga	52.66	42.85	1.64	0.84	0.17	1.84
Tetovo	22.09	71.10	2.81	1.46	0.73	1.80
Valandovo	78.30	0.40	13.14	0.08	2.45	2.63

tion'). Among the Vlahs, two linguistic groups can be distinguished: The Aromanians proper, who call themselves *Armîn*, and the Megleno-Romanians of the Gevgelija region, who number about 2000 in the Republic of Macedonia and call themselves *Vla* (pl. *Vlaš*) (Atanasov 1990, 4; Goľab 1984a, 5–27).

4.3. According to the 1981 and 1991 censuses, there are Macedonians, Turks, Serbs, Muslims, and Roms in all thirty districts (*opština* 'commune') of Macedonia, Albanians in all but two districts (Probištip and Vinica), and Vlahs in all but 7 districts. Table 172.2 gives the percentages for those districts with more than 10% non-Macedonian population in 1991.

5. Sociolinguistic situation

5.1. According to the preamble of the Macedonian Constitution, Macedonians constitute a people (*narod*), other groups are nationalities (*narodnosti*), i. e. national minorities. The groups specifically mentioned are Albanians, Turks, Vlahs, and Roms. Other groups are subsumed under the term "others". Article 7 of the Constitution establishes Macedonian and its Cyrillic alphabet as official but allows for the additional official use of other languages in units of local self-government with a majority or „considerable number“ of members of a nationality. Article 48 guarantees the protection of language rights of the nationalities. From an attitudinal point of view Romani and Vlah are at the bottom of the linguistic hierarchy, and all adults are multilingual. For Christians, Macedonian

forms the next level, while for Muslims there is an intermediate level comprising Albanian and Turkish. Until recently, Turkish had higher status than Albanian. With the increased demographic and political importance of Albanian, however, this situation is generally reversed. Until 1991, Serbo-Croatian was above Macedonian as the dominant language in Yugoslavia. Macedonian has a peculiar status not described in sociolinguistic literature, namely that of 'threatened dominant language'. Due to Bulgarian, Greek, and right-wing Serbian propaganda combined with Albanian and Turkish linguistic demands backed by Albania and Turkey, respectively, many Macedonians perceive themselves as linguistically and culturally beleaguered in their own country and threatened with extermination outside of it. Moreover, when Macedonia was part of Yugoslavia, Macedonian was subordinate to Serbo-Croatian on the federal level and in various ways even in the republic (cf. Tollefson 1991, 188–99; but also Naylor 1992, 82).

5.2. Albanian political parties are demanding that Albanian be elevated to the status of *narod* alongside Macedonian. Serb political parties object to the fact that Serbs are not specifically named in the Constitution, while Macedonian nationalists object to what they perceive as linguistic threats from both Serbo-Croatian and Albanian. Remaining linguistic conflicts concern the implementation of educational and other official policies (cf. paragraph 6.). Moreover, conflicts that are essentially economic in nature fragment along ethnic lines. As a result, inter-ethnic stereotypes are for the most part negative, es-

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pecially between Macedonians and Albanians, who perceive themselves as each threatened by the other. The Turks, who were perceived as the oppressors during the Ottoman period, are now looked on with nostalgia by Macedonians in comparison with the perceived Albanian threat. It is felt that the Turks encouraged multilingualism and that in Macedonian towns Turks spoke Macedonian just as Macedonians spoke Turkish. The Albanians, however, are perceived as relatively recent arrivals who refuse to learn Macedonian. The ethnic composition of Western Macedonia prior to World War II is the subject of considerable debate, and Macedonians for the most part do not learn Albanian.

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5.3. Macedonian, Albanian and Turkish all have diglossic situations as do the Serbian dialects of Pehčevo in Eastern Macedonia spoken by refugees from Gallipoli settled there in 1922, and non-standard Serbian elsewhere in Macedonia. Literary Macedonian is based on the West-Central dialects but combines enough features from the Eastern dialects that all speakers have both literary and colloquial registers. Literary Albanian is based on the Tosk dialect of Korçë in Southern Albania with numerous elements from Geg and other Tosk dialects. In Macedonia, Albanians use their dialects in all but formal situations such as school, the mass media, and public speaking. The Turkish dialects of Macedonia differ significantly from the standard language, and the literary Turkish of Macedonia differs from standard Turkish (see 6.2.). Romani and Aromanian are both written languages in Macedonia, but they are not codified and as yet not taught in schools. Until 1991, all Yugoslav males learned Serbo-Croatian in the army, and the subject was compulsory in schools. In principle, then, monolingualism is only possible among older Macedonian, Albanian, and Turkish women in rural areas, but no study has been done on the number of functional monolinguals. Because of the position of Serbo-Croatian within Yugoslavia, Serbs in Macedonia could also be functionally monolingual (cf. Lunt 1984, 86). It should be emphasized, however, that Macedonia is at the heart of the Balkan contact zone and that multilingualism has been a fact of everyday life for many people for centuries (cf. Hamp 1989a, 44f; Goľab 1984a, 10–16).

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6. Language political situation

6.1. Article 48 of the Constitution guarantees the right to instruction in nationality languages in primary and secondary education and requires the study of Macedonian. The chief conflict revolves around the number of minority language classes available, the quality of Macedonian instruction in minority language schools, and the question of mother tongue versus national identity. During the 1980's, the number of Albanian and Turkish language classes was reduced. In 1983 it became obligatory for non-Macedonian schools to keep all records, public notices, etc. in Macedonian as well as any other language, and in 1989 a law was passed permitting only Macedonian in school records. The 1982 ruling requiring the use of Macedonian toponyms in minority language texts and media (e.g., *Skopje* for Albanian *Shkup*, Turkish *Üsküp*) is also a source of tension. Another problem is that some Macedonian-speaking Muslims are demanding Albanian or Turkish language schools for their children. This problem also arose at the end of World War II (Risteski 1988, 430–31) and is the result of religion taking precedence over language as the source of ethnic identification: Macedonian is associated with the Macedonian Orthodox Church and Albanian/Turkish with Islam. Moreover, this belief is being reinforced by the contention that Macedonian-speaking Muslims are not Islamicized Slavs but rather Slavicized Albanians/Turks. The available data does not support this, however. There has been no move to establish Aromanian classes or schools, but the Ministry of Education has begun efforts to introduce Romani as a language of study at the elementary and high school levels with the goal of eventually opening a university department. In 1989 Turkish and Albanian each had an hour and ten minutes of weekly TV programming. By early 1993, Romani and Vlah each had 25 minutes of weekly TV time and Albanian and Turkish TV air-time had each increased to about six hours a week. Before independence much air-time was devoted to foreign shows and to programs from other Yugoslav republics. Since independence there has been considerable increase in Macedonian-language programming. The mass media publication situation is illustrated by the fact that Skopje has two Macedonian-language dailies while the main Turkish and Albanian newspapers are tri-weekly. There is

an irregular newspaper in Aromanian, and thus far Romani has been used in posters and books but not in mass media publications. Serbo-Croatian and Albanian publications from outside Macedonia are available in reduced numbers since the Yugoslav war began.

6.2. Romani is in the process of official standardization. The current proposal is that the base be Arlija but with morphological and lexical enrichment from other dialects. Prior to World War II, Geg had emerged as the basis of a Literary Albanian, and after the War this base continued to be elaborated in Yugoslavia while a Tosk-based standard was promulgated in Albania. In 1968, however, Albanian intellectuals in Yugoslavia voted to adopt the Tosk-based standard of Albania for the sake of ethnic unity (see Byron 1985, 60). In the case of Turkish, the main standardization problem is that puristic reforms which were later rejected in Turkey continue in use in Macedonia (Tanasković 1992, 157 f). Orthographically, Macedonian is differentiated from the other languages of Macedonia by the use of Cyrillic as opposed to a Latin alphabet. At times this becomes an issue of identity, since a Yugoslav Latinization is also used for Macedonian and objections have been raised to Macedonian public signs in Latin orthography rather than Cyrillic. Examples of mixing, e. g. Macedonian-language signs using Turkish orthography, occurred in some commercial neighborhoods, but are no longer to be seen. In 1993 a new Latinization using an acute accent where Yugoslav Latinization has ⟨j⟩ was introduced for international documents. Albanian and Turkish both use the standard orthographies for their languages. Romani is generally written in a Yugoslav Latin orthography, although there is an international, supradialectal orthography proposed at the Fourth World Romani Congress in Warsaw, 1990. Vlah is written with both Yugoslav and Romanian based orthographies.

7. Language contact

The Indo-European languages of Macedonia share a variety of structural and lexical features that result from centuries of contact in the Balkan *Sprachbund*. Exemplary are absence of an infinitive, analytic future with an invariant particle from the verb 'will', re-

duced case systems, analytic comparison of adjectives, morphological expression of definiteness, and loanwords and calques from Turkish. Even the Turkish dialects of Macedonia (except Juruk) display Balkan structural features, e. g. the use of the optative-subjunctive instead of the infinitive as in *Lâzımdır çalışalım* for *Çalışmamız lâzım* 'We need to work'. Modern contact phenomena reflect different types of dominance and intimacy. The tendency to pronounce Macedonian clear /l/ as palatal /l'/ results from Serbo-Croatian dominance aided by the fact that the Cyrillic grapheme for the Serbo-Croatian sound (љ) is identical to the grapheme for Macedonian clear /l/ (except before a front vowel). Similarly, use of interdental fricatives in Greek loanwords among the older generation of Megleno-Romanian speakers and substitution of dental stops in the younger generation represents a shift in dominance from Greek to Macedonian. On the other hand the shift of /ö/ to /e/ or /o/ in west Macedonian Turkish or of /ü/ to /i/ in the Albanian of northwest Macedonia result from intimate contact or possibly language shift (cf. 4.2.). The loss of /h/ in Albanian, Macedonian and Turkish (but not Vlah and Romani) dialects in western Macedonia may also be contact induced, as is probably the fixed antepenultimate accent of west Macedonian. On the morphological level, Macedonian has influenced Romani and Vlah in the formation of the superlative (the prefix *naj-* 'most'), Turkish has supplied productive derivational affixes to all the Balkan languages (e. g., *-dži* 'nomen actoris'), Macedonian and Vlah have mutually influenced one another in perfect formation (Macedonian calqued the Vlah construction in 'have', Vlah calqued a Macedonian construction using 'be'; see Gołąb 1984 a, 135). Syntactically, the tendency to separate the subordinating clitic *da* 'that, to' from the verb phrase to which it is bound in Macedonian, especially in technical writing, is a result of Serbo-Croatian dominance. Turkish dialectal word order head-genitive (e. g. *annesı sultanın = majka mu na carot = nëna e mbretit* 'the mother of the king' versus standard Turkish *sultanın annesi*) has been calqued from Macedonian and Albanian through intimacy, while the colloquial Macedonian order genitive-head (*na carot majka mu*) is from previous Turkish dominance. All the contact languages have borrowed from one another lexically. In general Turkish, Greek and Slavic have penetrated

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the other languages in all types of vocabulary as the politically, culturally or numerically dominant languages for centuries, although the fact that Macedonian is now dominant in all spheres is reflected in current sociopolitical terminology and the reduction of many Turkisms and Hellenisms to colloquial, dialectal, archaic or ironic status. Pastoral terminology is often of Vlah origin, while Albanian and Romani have contributed significantly to Macedonian secret languages, e.g. the vocabularies used by members of certain trades and professions for carrying on private conversations in the presence of outsiders (see Jašar-Nasteva 1970). Slavic influence on Albanian is often from Serbo-Croatian due to its former position, its continued imposition in Kosovo, and the influence of Kosovar Albanian on that of Macedonia, e.g. *bauk i komunizmit* 'the bogeyman of communism' (versus Macedonian *bauč*, Albanian *gogol*).

8. Sources and discussion

8.1. Because questions of language are so intimately bound up with politics (see paragraphs 3 and 6), discussions of language contact are frequent in the mass media. The Macedonian, Albanian, and Turkish language press in Macedonia frequently carry articles about topics such as correct literary usage, the influence of contact languages, demands for minority language schools, and the use of minority languages in public arenas. Such publications are thus important sources of information on language contact and even when incorrect (e.g. confusing the Balkan Albanians with the Caucasian Albanians, the homonymy of whose ethnonyms is sheer coincidence) nonetheless reflect attitudes within Macedonia. On the scholarly level, publications such as *Makedonski jazik* and the *Prilozi* of the Macedonian Academy of Arts and Sciences also treat questions of contact phenomena. International scholarly discussion is marred by the fact that most Bulgarian and Greek scholars are incapable of separating politics from science. As a result, their publications on Macedonia reflect political agendas rather than serious studies, e.g. attempts to "prove" that Macedonian is a Bulgarian dialect, that Aromanians are really Greeks, etc. (see Lunt 1984, 87–95).

8.2. The items in the bibliography are selected for their recency and contain refer-

ences to earlier works. Studies of language contact in Macedonia often place it in the context of the Balkan *Sprachbund*, although older studies and even some modern ones fail to distinguish Macedonian from Bulgarian and/or Serbian (see 2.3. and 8.1.). The classic study is Sandfeld (1930); Joseph (1992) gives a recent survey of the basic literature. Joseph (1983) represents the kind of detailed single-problem study combining diachronic and synchronic analysis that is needed for all the phenomena generally considered in the context of Balkan language contact. Koneski (1965, 170 ff; 1983, 50 ff, 78 ff, 97 ff) and Koneski, Vidoeski, and Jašar-Nasteva (1968) address contact issues specifically for Macedonian. Tomić (1991) treats verbal systems in Macedonian, Serbo-Croatian, Aromanian, Albanian, Turkish, Greek and Bulgarian. Macedonian-Vlah contact is covered by Goľab (1984 b, 5–27; 1984 b) and Atanasov (1990, 240 ff), Macedonian-Turkish (and also Albanian-Turkish) by Jašar-Nasteva (1992) and Friedman (1986, 36–49, 56–58), Romani in Macedonia has been treated by Friedman (1985 b) and Boretzky (1989), Albanian in Macedonia is discussed by Ismajli (1991, 342 ff), Jašar-Nasteva (1970), and Jašar-Nasteva, Koneski and Vidoeski (1990); Serbian-Macedonian contact is treated in Korubin (1986, 40 ff) and Kosteski (1990).

Since this article was written, the final 1991 census figures have been published (Antonovska 1994), Egipkani were recognized as a separate category (3307 in 1991), an extraordinary census was held in 1994 (preliminary results are being published), and there has been an increase in mass communications in all the minority languages. The Albanian newspaper is now a daily, a Romani newspaper has appeared sporadically, and there are numerous private sources of mass communication.

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173. Albanie

1. Géographie et démographie
2. Histoire
3. Situations politique, économique, culturelle et religieuse
4. Majorité et minorité ethnolinguistiques
5. Situation sociolinguistique
6. Situation politique des langues en contact
7. Contacts albano-grec, -macédonien et -aroumain
8. Evaluation critique de la bibliographie
9. Bibliographie (sélective)

1. Géographie et démographie

1.1. L'Albanie (albanais: *Shqipëri*) est située à l'ouest de la péninsule balkanique. Au nord, elle est limitée par la Serbie, et plus exactement par l'ancienne province autonome albanaise de Kosovo (*Kosovë*). À l'est, elle voisine avec la République de Macédoine, et au sud avec la Grèce. À l'ouest, elle est bordée par l'Adriatique et la mer Ionienne. Le canal d'Otranto, dont la largeur est de 75 km, sépare l'Albanie de l'Italie. La superficie du pays est de 28 748 km². 335 km séparent le nord de l'Albanie du sud et 150 km en séparent l'ouest de l'est.

Plus de trois quarts de la surface de l'Albanie sont couverts par de hautes montagnes qui dépassent 2000 mètres et qui font partie des Alpes Dinariques. Le long de la côte s'étend, du nord à Vlorë, une longue plaine, qui à la hauteur de Shkodër, Tiranë et Elbasan s'enfonce profondément dans les montagnes. Cette plaine, irriguée par de nombreux torrents, est humide (parfois marécageuse) et fertile.

Le sous-sol albanaise est riche en chrome, ferro-nickel, bitume, pétrole et cuivre. Ceux-

ci forment la base de l'industrie albanaise et en constituent les produits d'exportation les plus importants (centres: Tiranë, Ballsh, Kukës, Fier et Durrës, qui est en même temps le port principal). Outre la capitale Tiranë, les villes de Shkodër, Krujë, Elbasan, Berat, Korçë, Gjirokastër et Vlorë représentent les centres historiques et culturels les plus importants (→ carte linguistique G).

1.2. La population de l'Albanie s'élève à 3 180 000 habitants (avril 1989). Le pourcentage de l'accroissement naturel de la population est parmi les plus élevés d'Europe; il atteint 2,1% (seul le pourcentage des Albanais de Kosovo dépasse ce chiffre). Du point de vue ethnique et linguistique, la population de l'Albanie est assez homogène: selon le recensement de 1989, la population de la république est à 98% albanaise (Rehder, 1992, s. 14). Le reste se compose de minorités nationales ou ethniques, qu'elles soient grecque, macédonienne, monténégrine, italienne, arménienne, juive, valaque ou tzigane. Les recensements fiables font défaut et il est probable que les chiffres exagèrent le nombre d'Albanais ethniques au détriment des minorités (cf. 4.).

2. Histoire

2.1. Le territoire de l'Albanie actuelle était habité, dans l'antiquité, par les Illyriens, qui sont, comme l'admettent généralement les archéologues et les linguistes, les ancêtres des Albanais. Dès 168 av. J.-C., leur territoire fut incorporé dans la province romaine d'Illyricum, qui comprenait toute la partie occiden-