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similar. They differ from one another in sounds and writing scripts” (1983: Introduction).

See also: Arnauld, Antoine (1612–1694); China: Language Situation; Lancelot, Claude (1615–1695); Port-Royal Tradition of Grammar.

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## Macedonia: Language Situation

V A Friedman, University of Chicago, Chicago, IL, USA

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### Introduction

The Republic of Macedonia (*Republika Makedonija*) is bordered by Bulgaria on the east, Greece on the south, Albania on the west, and Kosovo (administered under UNSCR 1244 as of this writing, 30 October 2004) and Serbia on the north. Although efforts to create a Macedonian literary language and an independent Macedonian state date from the 19th century, it was only on August 2, 1944 that Macedonian was declared the official language of the People's Republic of Macedonia (later the Socialist Republic of Macedonia) as one of the constitutive republics of the former Yugoslavia. The Macedonian parliament adopted its own constitution, thereby declaring independence, on November 17, 1991.

### Language and the Law

The original preamble of the constitution defined Macedonia as the national state of the Macedonian people (*makedonskiot narod*) with full civil equality for the Albanians, Turks, Vlachs, Roms, and other nationalities (*nacionalnosti*). On November 16, 2001, the preamble was replaced with Amendment IV, which states that the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia, the Macedonian people, as well as citizens living within its borders who are part of the Albanian, Turkish, Vlach, Serbian, Romani, Bosniac, and other peoples, constitute the Republic of Macedonia. Articles 7, 48, and 54, and Amendments V and VIII guarantee minority language rights in administration, education, culture, and the judiciary. A key difference between the articles and the amendments is that while the articles guaranteed official use of minority languages in districts with a “majority or

significant number” of minority language speakers, the amendments specify a significant number as 20%.

### Language and Identity

In the two post-independence Macedonian censuses (1994 and 2002), six languages were in official use: Macedonian, Albanian, Turkish, Romani, Serbian (Serbo-Croatian), and Aromanian. The translation of census documents into Romani and Aromanian in 1994 represented the first such official use of these languages anywhere. Table 1, compiled from figures published by the Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Macedonia (*Zavod za Statistika Republika Makedonija*), gives the figures for declared ethnicity in 1994 and 2002 and declared mother tongue in 1994. Almost all non-Macedonians speak Macedonian as a second language.

The category *Muslim*, dating from the Yugoslav period, was used by some Slavic-speaking Muslims who considered Macedonian, Serbian, and Croatian nationalities to be Christian. With the break-up of Yugoslavia, Bosniac activists claimed all Slavic-speaking Muslims as Bosniac. The figure in the 2002 census signals an acceptance of this identity by some Macedonian-speaking Muslims. Some Macedonian speakers declared Turkish or Serbian nationality on the basis of religious feeling (Muslim and Serbian Orthodox, respectively). The distinction between Muslim as an ethnic identity and as a religious identity is illustrated by the fact that in the 1994 census, a small number declared Muslim nationality and Catholic religion. Egyptians (in Macedonian, *Egipkani* or *Gupci*) are almost all Albanian-speaking Muslims (1856) or Macedonian-speaking Christians (961) whose ethnonym is cognate with the English *Gypsy*. These are descendants of long-settled, formerly Romani-speaking populations, but members of this group claim Egyptian descent. Judezmo (Judeo-Spanish) was spoken in Macedonia until March 11,

**Table 1** Population of the Republic of Macedonia by declared nationality (1994, 2002) and mother tongue (1994)

	1994	%	1994-MT	%	2002	%
Macedonian	1 295 964	66.5	1 332 983	68.5	1 297 981	64.18
Albanian	441 104	22.9	431 363	22.3	509 083	25.17
Turkish	78 019	4.0	64 665	3.3	77 959	3.85
Romani	43 707	2.3	35 120	1.8	53 879	2.66
Vlah	8601	0.4	7036	0.4	9695	0.48
Serb	40 228	2.0	/	/	35 939	1.78
Muslim	15 418	0.8	*	*	–	–
Bosniac	6829	0.4	/	/	17 018	0.84
Egyptian	3080	0.2	*	*	–	–
Bulgarian	1682	0.1	1448	0.1	–	–
Greek	368	0.0	–	–	–	–
Yugoslav	595	0.0	/	/	–	–
Serbo-Croat	*	*	35 095	1.8	*	*
Other	9797	0.4	38 222	1.8	20 993	1.04
Total	1 945 932	100	1 945 932	100	2 022 547	100

\* Category does not apply.

– Figure unavailable.

/ Figure pooled with 'Serbo-Croat'.

1943, when 7200 Jews were deported by the Nazis and their collaborators to the Treblinka death camp. Only 2% survived, and most of the survivors went to Israel, but a very small Jewish community was reestablished on December 26, 1944 and lives in Macedonia today.

### Language in Education and the Media

Prior to 1991, as today, Albanian and Turkish had primary and secondary education, post-secondary teacher training, and academic departments at the University of Skopje. During the 1980s, support for Albanian- and Turkish-language education was curtailed, and the Albanian teachers' college was closed in 1986. In 1995, Albanian educational activists organized a controversial Albanian-language university in Tetovo. In 2001, with support from the international community, Southeast European University (SEEU) was opened in Tetovo with teaching in Albanian, Macedonian, and English. The percentage of Macedonian-speaking students rose from 1% when school began in 2001 to 26% in the fall of 2003. There are a few elementary school classes offering Romani and Aromanian.

The government-supported Albanian and Macedonian newspapers are both daily, the Turkish one is triweekly. There are private publications of various size and distribution in all of the minority languages. In 1989, only Turkish and Albanian were represented on Macedonian public television: each had 130 minutes a week. In 1991, TV programming in Romani and Aromanian was begun at 30 minutes a week. By

2000, the figures for minority-language programming on national public television (MTV 2) were 400 minutes a week for Albanian, 370 minutes a week for Turkish, and 60 minutes a week each for Romani, Aromanian, and Serbian (*Antena No. 133*, supplement to *Dnevnik*, October 27, 2000). Of 57 private local TV licenses given out in 1998 (after the passing of the Communications Act of 1997), 21 were for stations using minority languages, and of 80 private radio licenses, 26 had all or most programming in minority languages.

### Macedonian in Neighboring Countries

Macedonian-speaking minorities living in neighboring countries have almost no linguistic rights. The one exception is a group of Christian Macedonian-speaking villages near Lake Prespa in southeastern Albania, which have primary education in Macedonian through grade 4. Radio programming in Macedonian is also permitted in Albania, as are cultural organizations. Macedonian activists in Greece and Bulgaria have organized cultural associations and published leaflets and newspapers, but they have been subject to government harassment.

*See also:* Balto-Slavic Languages; Education in a Multilingual Society; Ethnolinguistic Vitality; Identity in Sociocultural Anthropology and Language; Identity: Second Language; Language Policy in Multilingual Educational Contexts; Media and Language: Overview; Minorities and Language; Minority Languages: Education; Politics and Language: Overview; Slavic Languages; Standardization.

*Language Maps (Appendix 1): Map 138.*

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## Macedonian

V A Friedman, University of Chicago, Chicago, IL, USA

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### Introduction

Modern Macedonian (*makedonski* in Macedonian) is a South Slavic language (Slavic, Indo-European). It is not to be confused with Ancient Macedonian, an Indo-European language of uncertain (but not Slavic) affiliation, whose most famous speaker was Alexander the Great. Macedonian is closest to Bulgarian and Serbian.

Macedonian is descended from the dialects of Slavic speakers who settled in the Balkan peninsula during the 6th and 7th centuries C.E. The oldest attested Slavic language, Old Church Slavonic, was based on dialects spoken around Salonica, in what is today Greek Macedonia. As it came to be defined in the 19th century, geographic Macedonia is the region bounded by Mount Olympus, the Pindus range, Mounts Shar and Osogovo, the western Rhodopes, the lower course of the river Mesta (Greek Nestos), and the Aegean Sea. Many languages are spoken in this region, but it is the Slavic dialects to which the glossonym *Macedonian* is applied. The region was part of the Ottoman Empire from the late 15th century until 1912 and was partitioned among Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria (with a western strip of villages going to Albania) by the Treaty of Bucharest in 1913. The modern Republic of Macedonia, in which Macedonian is the official language, corresponds roughly to

the southern part of the territory ceded to Serbia plus the Strumica valley. The population is 2 022 547 (2002 census). Outside the Republic, Macedonian is spoken by ethnic minorities in Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, and Kosovo as well as by émigré communities elsewhere. Greece does not recognize the existence of its ethnic minorities, Bulgaria insists that all Macedonians are really Bulgarians, Albania refused to include questions about language and ethnicity in its last census (2001), and there has not been an uncontested statistical exercise in Kosovo since 1981, so official figures on Macedonian speakers outside the republic are unavailable; estimates range to 700 000.

### History

Modern Macedonian literary activity began in the early 19th century among intellectuals attempting to write their Slavic vernacular instead of Church Slavonic. Two centers of Balkan Slavic literacy arose, one in what is now northeastern Bulgaria, the other in what is now southwestern Macedonia. In the early 19th century, all these intellectuals called their language *Bulgarian*, but a struggle emerged between those who favored northeast Bulgarian dialects and those who favored western Macedonian dialects as the basis for what would become the standard language. Northeast Bulgarian became the basis of standard Bulgarian, and Macedonian intellectuals began to work for a separate Macedonian literary language. The earliest known published statement of a separate Macedonian linguistic identity was by