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The Ethnolinguistic Situation of the Aromanians (Vlachs) in Macedonia: Young People in Kruševo as Indicators of Ethnic Identity and Attitude to the Language

The text presents the outcome of a sociolinguistic questionnaire survey conducted among the pupils attending lessons in the Aromanian (Vlach) language at a primary school in Kruševo (Macedonia). The survey focused on: the rate of use of Aromanian in individual language domains; the proportion of Aromanian in the overall framework of speaking activities; the reception of Aromanian culture and active participation in this culture; and subjective ethnic, linguistic and cultural attitudes and assessments. With respect to the current situation of the Aromanian language, the questionnaire detected decisive differences among individual respondents concerning the mother tongues of the parents, gender and other aspects. Computing the (non)homogeneity of the answers proved highly relevant as well.

Keywords: Aromanians (Vlachs), Macedonia, Kruševo, youth, ethnolinguistic situation, sociolinguistics.

Etnolingvistični položaj Aromunov (Vlahov) v Makedoniji: mladi v Kruševu kot kazalci etnične identitete in stališč do jezika

Članek obravnava izid sociolingvističnega vprašalnika, na katerega so odgovarjali učenci pouka aromunskega jezika na osnovni šoli v Kruševu (Makedonija). Vprašalnik je bil osredotočen na pogostost rabe aromunščine v posameznih jezikovnih domenah, na delež aromunščine v celotnem okviru govornih dejavnosti, na recepcijo aromunske kulture in aktivno participacijo znotraj te kulture ter na subjektivna etnična, jezikovna in kulturna stališča ter vrednostne sodbe. Vprašalnik je glede na današnji položaj aromunščine zaznal odločilne razlike med posameznimi anketiranci v zvezi z maternim jezikom staršev, spolom in drugimi vidiki. Za zelo pomembno se je pokazala tudi (ne)homogenost odgovorov (standardni odklon).

Ključne besede: Aromuni (Vlahi), Makedonija, Kruševo, mladina, etnolingvistični položaj, sociolingvistika.

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1. Introduction¹

Aromanians (Arumanians) – according to territory, language or period called also Vlachs/Vlahs, K(o)utsovlachs, Pindovlachs, Tsintsars, Macedorumanians, Arvanitovlachs, *Çoben* and other names – nowadays live in a scattered fashion in all the Balkan countries. They may be found in Northern Greece and in Southern Albania in particular; and also in Macedonia, Bulgaria, Serbia and as re-settlers in Romania as well.

To give the total number of the members of the ethnic group is far from easy; realistic estimates, however, suggest several hundred thousand members.

Under the impact of historical circumstances the Aromanians did not experience the phase of the rebirth of small European nations in the 19th century and did not, therefore, become a standard ethnic group. This fact, together with their inner diversity and dispersion in a number of countries, has so far made all attempts to analyse their ethnicity difficult. They, moreover, have displayed traditionally significant multilingualism – the parallel use of several languages and switching has been the norm. Because of the ability and willingness of Aromanians to adapt their ethnic identity to the geopolitical and social situation of the moment – which is a rather rare phenomenon in the modern European context – the members of the group have been attributed with the designation “chameleons of the Balkans”. In general, many findings and theses on the effects of stigmatisation and responses to it may be applied to the situation of the Aromanians in the political-social context.

Today Greece and Albania are the countries with the highest numbers of Aromanians. However, beside the specific case of Aromanians resettled in Romania, Macedonia is the only country granting this ethnic group certain linguistic and cultural rights.

In this country, where about 15,000 – 20,000 Aromanians are living at present, Aromanian cultural manifestations (the instruction of the language in schools, publication activities, radio and TV broadcasting, and others) have been made possible and financed by the state since the early 1990s. In the given context we may, to some extent, even speak about language planning or ethnolinguistic revitalisation; the practical application in many cases is, however, questionable.

The absence of a considerable Aromanian ethnic consciousness and of political activities has been conspicuously noticeable in the current situation of the Aromanian language in the whole Balkans. They continue to be exposed to assimilation and numerical diminution. The image of the Aromanian language is not very good and its prestige is quite low; at present it is the language of socialisation and everyday life of an extremely small number of children and young people.

2. Kruševo: Historical, Ethnic and Linguistic Background

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The above general facts are also valid for the situation of the Aromanian population and its members in Macedonia. Yet in this country there are several enclaves in which Aromanian (at least to some extent and in some domains) is still the language of everyday communication.

The most remarkable of these enclaves is the city of Kruševo (Crushuva/ Crușuva in Aromanian) in southwest Macedonia, a city of great symbolic significance as a traditional Aromanian centre. Towards the end of 18th century Aromanian resettlers came to Kruševo in two waves (1769, 1788) having fled the flourishing city of Moskopole and villages in its neighbourhood (in today's southeastern Albania) after their destruction;² during 1812–21 these migration waves were, moreover, joined by re-settlers from the Grammos mountain range (Koukoudis 2003, 354).³ An unimportant shepherd settlement until then, Kruševo turned into a prosperous centre of crafts and trade and acquired the characteristics of an urban area, rather than that of a rural one. For the middle of 19th century over twelve churches are reported (Trifunoski 1955–1957, 187–188). Beside schools with Greek and Bulgarian as languages of instruction, there were also Rumanian schools from 1876.⁴ Yet people who were conscious of their Aromanian origin, even in the heyday of Romanian propaganda at the end of 19th century, were a minority in Kruševo, unlike some other Aromanian settlements in southwestern Macedonia (e.g. Ohrid, Malovište or Gopeš), where pro-Greek orientation was very strong (Weigand 1895; 41, 309).⁵ Although an independent Aromanian church with services in Rumanian was built (1904), Greek influence in the Orthodox Church remained considerable and even the Bulgarian language was used (Matkovski et al. 1987, 331–333).

Kruševo became a significant symbol, a *sui generis* replacement of Moskopole as the Vlach spiritual centre;⁶ the city seems to have maintained this significance in the context of Aromanian national mythology and attributes (even in the eyes of the non-Aromanians) until today (Nowicka 2011, 229–230). The city, moreover, is an important landmark in Macedonian history as well; it became famous because of the anti-Osmanli insurrection – known as the Ilinden Uprising – of 1903, which has been highly appreciated in the context of Macedonian historiography and national symbols. The context of the Ilinden Uprising is widely used also in Aromanian national propaganda, for among its leading personalities and heroic characters were Aromanians, too (Pitu Guli, Nikola Karev).⁷ On the other hand we may also speculate about the extent of the influence that regular commemorative days of the uprising and emphases on the importance of its locality in the Macedonian national discourse may have on the shift of the Kruševo Aromanian population to a much more prestigious Macedonian identity (Brown 2003).

Over the past 150 years the data on the number of Aromanians and their proportion within the population of Kruševo have kept changing, probably not being always fully valid; the proportion of the original majority Aromanians, however, seems to have decreased gradually. For year 1868 S. I. Verković (1889; cited in Goľab 1984, 20) claimed that there were 8,108 Aromanians (i.e. 73.8 per cent) among the total of 10,984 inhabitants of the city. For the year 1870 a local teacher, I. Šumkov (cited in Matkovski et al. 1987, 331), wrote that out of 2,500 families living in the city 1,900 were Aromanian, the mean number of members of one family being estimated at five. According to the founding father of Aromanian studies, G. Weigand (1895, 33, 287) at the time of his visit to Kruševo (1889) there were 7,000 Aromanians out of a total of 12,000 inhabitants. Detailed statistics by V. Kānčov (1900, 240) of 1900 records 4,000 Aromanians out of 9,350 inhabitants in Kruševo. In the 20th century, after the city was devastated during the Ilinden Uprising, but especially under the influence of the isolation from modern transport routes, the number of inhabitants fell (in 1921 there were only 3,862 inhabitants); one of the consequences of the decline in the importance of Kruševo was the transfer of the administrative offices to Prilep in 1952 (Trifunski 1955–1957, 188, 199). For the year 1937 D. Popović (1937, 290) estimated the number of Kruševo Aromanians at about 1,500. The 1947 Census gives 2,328 Macedonians and 1,312 Vlachs, i. e. Aromanians (Trifunski 1955–1957, 192). A personal observation by J. Trifunski (1971, 343) made in the 1950s speaks of about roughly 260 Aromanian families in the city. Only a little later the Polish linguist Z. Goľab (1984, 24) calculated the number of Aromanians as “a half of the population of the city at least”. In his detailed statistical survey of Aromanian villages T. Kahl (1999, 147) gave the position of Aromanians in Kruševo in the “high proportion” and “50 % at least” sections – in the latter, however, he mentions the assimilation in the 19th-20th centuries and the emigration of a part of the population.

It was especially in the course of 20th century that a great number of the Kruševo inhabitants (a total of 11,000 – 12,000) gradually emigrated to other Balkan countries and also overseas (Popović 1937, 298–300).

According to the 2002 census, Kruševo had 5,330 inhabitants – 1,020 (19.1 per cent) of whom declared themselves Vlachs. The city is thus the locality with the highest proportion of members of this ethnic group in the country.⁸ However, it may be believed that the number and proportion of the inhabitants of Kruševo of Aromanian origin, or of those using Aromanian actively or at least identifying with Aromanian traditions to some extent, will be considerably higher.⁹ In 2005 in Kruševo Aromanian (as in the only place in the world!) was proclaimed an official language – next to Macedonian and Albanian (Minov 2012, 62). Even though the city has traditionally been considered an Aromanian bastion, it is obvious that a considerable decline in the use of the language as the means of everyday communication and language erosion are under way

here as well (Gołąb 1961, 177). In the context of only rare transmission of the language to the children, due mainly to the low prestige of Aromanian, the term “language shift” may be applied. This fact is amplified by the exceptional occurrence of young endogamous Aromanian marriages. All this contributes to the socialisation of today’s young generation of Aromanian families in Kruševu being carried on almost completely in Macedonian, which leads to a consequent preference for Macedonian ethnic orientation (Minov 2012, 60).

The Aromanian substrate in Kruševu is little noticed today; at first sight the city looks purely Macedonian. In the context of the linguistic landscape there are practically no signs in Aromanian. Moreover, from the point of view of the majority (but of a great part of the Aromanians living here as well) “Aromanian-ness” is not defined distinctly dichotomically, i.e., in opposition to “Macedonian-ness”; at the everyday level the former is rather often viewed as an alternative cultural expression of the latter (e.g., in the form of presenting Aromanian songs at local festival). To a great extent we can talk about a “hidden minority”. Despite the existence of many enthusiastic Aromanian activists and activities of cultural organisations *in situ* the uninformed visitor can come and look round Kruševu without noticing, even after a long stay, the presence of the Aromanians. This fact is meaningful and confirms the weakening ethnolinguistic vitality of the Aromanian part of the population of Kruševu.

The Aromanian dialect of Kruševu is based on the Moskopole dialectal variety (supplemented with later Gramostean influences), which is found rather sparsely in Macedonia. Despite its greater prestige (in the context of the urban character and earlier literary production), it is the Gramostean version that at present seems to be assuming the efforts at Aromanian revitalisation in this country; this version, though, is common particularly in the east (Štip, Sveti Nikole), and also in some localities in the southwest of the country between Ohrid and Bitola (Friedman 2001, 43).¹⁰ Although a somewhat compromised standardised form of Aromanian has been in existence since 1997 (Cunia 1999; Ianachieschi-Vlahu 1993); individual dialects and local varieties are still alive and in use in both media production and school instruction.¹¹

3. Domains of the Use of Aromanian, Language Attitudes and the Reception of Aromanian Culture Among the Young People of Kruševu

3.1 Basic Information and Research Methods

There are practically no recent sociolinguistic studies on the situation and use of Aromanian in Macedonia. In June (school year 2010/2011) and in November (school year 2011/2012) the author administered a sociolinguistic questionnaire

survey to a total of 68 students in their 8th year at the local elementary school in Kruševo.¹²

The above generation cohort was chosen because Aromanian as the language of everyday communication is at a critical turning point. In many families the language shift to Macedonian has already occurred, in others it is drawing near. In this respect the conclusion of Welsh sociolinguist H. Gruffudd claiming “language choice in the case of bilingual youngsters will probably provide a more accurate guide to the state of vitality of the endangered language than statistics on language ability” is still relevant (Gruffudd; paraphrased in Williams 2000, 37). The findings derived from the answers of the young respondents in Kruševo can, therefore, be taken as conclusive evidence of the present state of vitality and prospects of the Aromanian language.

In the 2010/2011 school year a total of 135 students out of about 800 underwent instruction in Aromanian at the local school in Kruševo. Classes with Aromanian instruction do exist in other cities as well (Skopje, Štip, Bitola); the instruction there is often quite formal and the students’ attitude to Aromanian is radically less engaged than in Kruševo.

The main purpose of the research was to obtain fixed quantitative data on which the analysis and interpretation might be based, and on which future research might build as well. The main hypothetical assumption was an anticipated dominance of Macedonian over Aromanian in most language domains; the prime concern was oriented at the rate of this dominance (which, till today, remains virtually unrecognized and unspecified), or its situational image. The language used in the questionnaires was Macedonian.

The following thematic levels were pursued:

- the extent and proportion of Aromanian in individual language domains and in overall speaking activity;
- the reception of and active participation in Aromanian culture;
- the phenomena of ethnic consciousness and cultural ties; self assessment of Aromanian and Macedonian language competence (and attitudes to them); viewpoints on the general situation of the Aromanians in Macedonia.

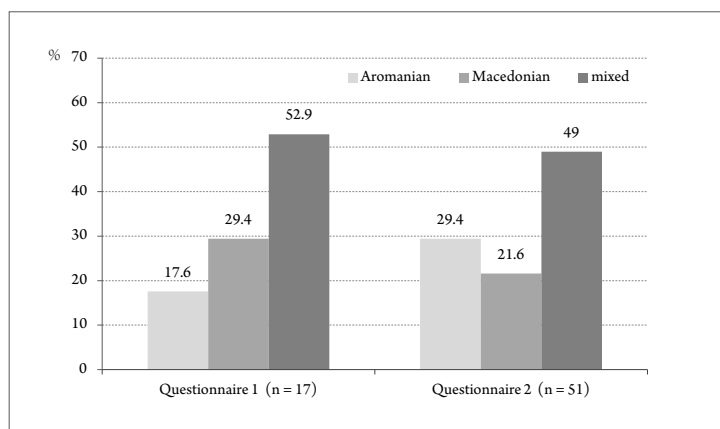
3.2 Respondent Groups

Students in their 8th year (aged 14–15 years) were selected who had been taught Aromanian as a voluntary, optional subject for two lessons per week since their 4th year. In terms of the level of the Aromanian competence and the frequency of its use, considerable differences could be traced within each student group. Along with the contemporary (i.e., since 1997) standardized (Macedonian) form of Aromanian, the local dialect of the language is widely used in teaching as well. At the time the research was being conducted there were three local native teachers. The teaching of the language is made difficult by a serious shortage of textbooks and other teaching materials.

The research was implemented during the two separate months and in two groups (68 persons altogether): 1) questionnaire I (June 2011) – 17 persons; 2) questionnaire II (November 2011) – 51 persons.

3.3 Linguistic/Ethnic Origin of the Respondents

Figure 1: Students' language background, according to the reported mother tongue of the parent or parents (in percent)



Because of the low status of Aromanian and a strong social pressure on members of the less numerous ethnic groups of the country to declare oneself as Macedonian, a direct question about “ethnicity” was not asked in the questionnaire; one question, however, was directed at the degree of Aromanian identity.

The query concerning the mother tongue was answered by almost all respondents as “Macedonian”, the only exception being two respondents who gave the term “vlaški” (i.e., “Aromanian”).

The declared information about the parents’ mother tongue(s), therefore, appears to be the main source of identifying the respondents’ language background. At this point information about Aromanian appears much more frequently. Three groups were distinguished in this respect: 1) Aromanian background (both parents, AROM¹³); 2) Macedonian background (both parents, MAC¹⁴); 3) mixed Aromanian and Macedonian background (AROM/MAC¹⁵).

It is a symptomatic and surprising fact that even those students who gave Aromanian as the mother tongue of both parents marked Macedonian as their own mother tongue. In this respect it would be necessary to analyse more closely to what extent the intergenerational language shift has already been taking shape, or to what extent it is rather the manifestation (in part or whole) of a proven departure from the Aromanian tradition and an inclination to the much more prestigious Macedonian ethnolinguistic level.

3.4 Processing

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Within the found values on the scale¹⁶ in both the total and in individual groups statistical mean (\bar{x}), standard deviation (SD) and median were calculated. The respondents' answers were further compared in terms of their gender, language background and information on the mother tongue(s) of their parent(s).¹⁷

4. The Use of Aromanian in Individual Linguistic Domains

One of the aims of the research was to observe the degree and proportion of the use of Aromanian (or Macedonian) in various linguistic domains.

In the context of life in Kruševo we may speak about bilingualism as an individual competence in two languages – namely Macedonian and Aromanian – used by a certain part of the local population in everyday life. (This bilingualism is found mainly among the Aromanian part of the population.) On the other hand, here as well as in many other minority regions of the world, we encounter diglossia, i.e., the use of the given languages based on the social context. The Aromanians – for purely practical and other reasons – use and alternate both language codes in connection with the functional distribution, i.e., discriminating between specific language functions.

A diglossic community can be defined as “a social entity sharing (as to prestige) the same H (i. e. ‘high’) and L (‘low’) varieties of the language.” (Fasold 1992, 34–60) In the given context Aromanian in Kruševo is clearly a language in the L position.

In terms of investigating communicative domains, i.e., spheres of the practical use of the language and its frequency, a greater or smaller range of context can be differentiated. The greater the number of communication spheres that the language is used in, the more common the means of communication it is and is perceived as such.

In minority languages the family domain stands out the strongest and most frequent, followed by the community domain – see, e.g., similar findings among the West Frisians in the Netherlands (van der Plank 1987, 16–17) or among the Sorbs in Germany (Nelde & Weber 1996, 60; Šatava 2005, 44–45, 134–138).

A mere mechanical account of the given degree of the use of Aromanian in individual communication domains cannot in itself lead to fully valid conclusions. Attention must be also paid to social and psychological aspects and contexts.

In relation to language choice, Herman (cited in Fasold 1992, 187), for example, speaks about three psychological positions in which bilingual persons find themselves at the same moment. They are the level of personal needs; other situational aspects linked to social groupings: i.e. the immediate situation; and also the background situation. The situational background alone can be of

extraordinary importance, a phenomenon affecting language choice by members of the minority, related to whether a particular person wishes to demonstrate their belonging to “wider social milieux, that are not directly involved but yet may influence the behaviour” (Herman; cited in Fasold 1992, 187).

Various manifestations of how this potential conflict is solved can, indeed, be found in everyday language practical behaviour of the Aromanian population in Kruševo.

Table 1: “In the following situation I speak...”
(five-point Likert scale; mean)¹⁸

1 always Macedonian	2 mostly Macedonian	3 Aromanian and Macedonian in the same extent	4 mostly Aromanian	5 always Aromanian						
				language background			mother		father	
	total	M	F	AROM	AROM/ MAC	MAC	AROM	MAC	AROM	MAC
n	51	19	29	15	25	11	15	35	37	11
n	50	19	28	14	25	11	15	35	36	11
1/ mother	2.36	2.26	2.43	3.29	2.36	1.18	3.13	2.03	2.83	1.18
SD	1.26	1.24	1.32	0.91	1.22	0.60	1.06	1.20	1.13	0.60
median	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	1.00	3.00	1.00	3.00	1.00
n	50	18	29	15	24	11	15	34	36	11
2/ father	2.98	2.83	3.00	4.07	3.08	1.27	3.87	2.56	3.64	1.27
SD	1.46	1.34	1.56	0.59	1.41	0.65	0.99	1.48	1.13	0.65
median	3.00	3.00	3.00	4.00	3.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	4.00	1.00
n	48	19	26	14	23	11	14	33	34	11
3/ grandparents	3.36	3.50	3.151	4.43	3.63	1.36	4.36	2.95	4.13	1.36
SD	1.54	1.52	57	0.94	1.17	0.67	1.15	1.47	0.92	0.67
median	4.00	4.00	4.00	5.00	4.00	1.00	5.00	3.00	4.00	1.00
n	47	18	26	13	23	11	14	33	34	11
4/ siblings	2.04	2.22	1.88	2.62	2.22	1.00	2.50	1.85	2.44	1.00
SD	0.95	1.00	0.91	0.65	0.95	–	0.76	0.97	0.82	–
median	2.00	2.50	2.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	3.00	1.00	3.00	1.00
n	51	19	29	15	25	11	15	35	37	11
5/ schoolmates at school	1.97	1.87	2.03	2.47	1.98	1.27	2.47	1.79	2.23	1.27
SD	0.95	0.88	1.02	0.92	0.96	0.47	0.92	0.90	0.96	0.47
median	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.00
n	50	18	29	14	25	11	14	35	36	11
6/ schoolmates outside school	2.26	2.22	2.24	2.71	2.32	1.55	2.71	2.11	2.53	1.55
SD	0.96	1.00	0.91	1.14	0.80	0.69	1.14	0.83	0.91	0.69
median	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	3.00	2.00	2.50	1.00
n	50	19	29	14	25	11	14	35	36	11
7/ friends in place of residence	2.38	2.58	2.28	2.86	2.60	1.27	2.86	2.23	2.83	1.27
SD	1.16	1.07	1.22	1.03	1.15	0.47	1.03	1.17	1.03	0.47
median	3.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	1.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	1.00
n	51	19	29	15	25	11	15	35	37	11
8/ neighbours	2.63	2.95	2.45	2.80	2.80	2.00	2.80	2.60	2.89	2.00
SD	1.09	1.13	1.06	1.08	0.96	1.26	1.08	1.09	0.94	1.26
median	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	1.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	1.00
n	50	19	29	14	25	11	14	35	36	11
9/ teachers at school	1.91	2.16	1.78	2.11	1.92	1.64	2.11	1.86	2.04	1.45
SD	0.84	0.69	0.92	0.84	0.86	0.81	0.84	0.85	0.85	0.69
median	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.00

1 always Macedonian	2 mostly Macedonian		3 Aromanian and Macedonian in the same extent			4 mostly Aromanian		5 always Aromanian		
				language background			mother		father	
	total	M	F	AROM	AROM/ MAC	MAC	AROM	MAC	AROM	MAC
n	50	19	29	14	25	11	14	35	36	11
10/ clerks in offices (in place of residence)	1.78	1.74	1.82	2.29	1.80	1.09	2.29	1.60	2.06	1.09
SD	0.95	0.99	0.98	0.99	0.96	0.30	0.99	0.88	0.98	0.30
median	2.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	1.00
n	50	19	28	14	25	11	14	35	36	11
11/ in shops, catering facilities (in place of residence)	1.95	2.21	1.77	2.29	2.10	1.19	2.29	1.84	2.21	1.18
SD	0.93	0.90	0.94	0.99	0.90	0.40	0.99	0.89	0.91	0.40
median	2.00	2.00	1.00	2.50	2.00	1.00	2.50	2.00	2.00	1.00
n	39	16	20	13	18	11	13	25	29	8
12/ when I am angry, annoyed	2.18	2.63	1.90	2.23	2.50	1.38	2.23	2.20	2.48	1.38
SD	1.10	1.09	1.02	0.93	1.20	0.74	0.93	1.19	1.06	0.74
median	2.00	3.00	1.50	3.00	3.00	1.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	1.00
n	41	15	23	14	18	9	15	26	30	9
13/ with domestic animals/pets	2.46	2.67	2.35	2.71	2.78	1.44	2.60	2.38	2.87	1.44
SD	1.14	1.11	1.10	0.91	1.26	0.53	0.99	1.24	1.04	0.53
median	3.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	1.00	3.00	2.50	3.00	1.00
n	34	15	18	9	17	8	9	24	23	8
14/ I think in	2.35	2.47	2.33	2.22	2.76	1.63	2.22	2.46	2.78	1.63
SD	1.39	1.25	1.53	1.20	1.39	1.41	1.20	1.47	1.28	1.41
median	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	1.00
n	36	15	20	10	17	9	10	25	24	9
15/ I dream in	2.19	2.33	2.15	2.10	2.53	1.67	2.10	2.28	2.54	1.67
SD	1.31	1.11	1.46	1.20	1.50	0.87	1.20	1.37	1.39	0.87
median	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.00
n	51	19	29	15	25	11	15	35	37	11
16/ total	2.32	2.44	2.24	2.78	2.47	1.39	2.73	2.17	2.70	1.37
SD	1.20	1.16	1.23	1.14	1.19	0.73	1.16	1.18	1.15	0.72
median	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	1.00

Summing up: As to the proportion of the use of Aromanian in various situations, the hypothesis that the main domain of the language is the sphere of the home, i. e. communication within the family (but with the exception of siblings!) was confirmed. As other European minority languages, Aromanian is used mainly in private and family relationships; in public communication it fulfils only a secondary role. In general, the highest values by far were achieved in spoken contact with grandparents (mean 3.36; median 4.00; in the group of 15 students of Aromanian origin value 4.43; median a surprising 5.00). In terms of the intergenerational maintenance of AROM this domain is, therefore, clearly the most significant one. Considerably lower values were registered for contact with parents, with a considerable difference between the communication with the father (2.98) and that with the mother (2.36). It is natural that in the groups of students of AROM origin the given values noticeably increased, namely to 4.07 (father) or 3.29 (mother). Quite high also is the value of communication with

neighbours (2.63); due to the randomness of this situational domain, it shows no significant difference when paired with an AROM background. The spoken contact in AROM with siblings is unexpectedly low (2.04), even among students of fully Aromanian background (2.62). Speaking to domestic animals (2.46) is, to some extent, part of the family sphere.

Table 2: Five linguistic domains with the highest rate of use of Aromanian¹⁹

	Domains	total	M	F	language background			language background / gender			
					AROM	AROM/ MAC	MAC	AROM -M	AROM -F	AROM/ MAC-M	AROM/ MAC-F
n		51	19	29	15	25	11	6	8	9	14
o	1/ mother			2.43	3.29			3.17	3.43		
	2/ father	2.98	2.83	3.00	4.07	3.08		4.00	4.13		3.29
	3/ grandparents	3.36	3.50	3.15	4.43	3.63		4.67	4.14	3.72	3.58
	6/ schoolmates (outside school)						1.55		2.63		
	7/ friends	2.38			2.86			3.00	2.75	2.89	
	8/ neighbours	2.63	2.95	2.45	2.80	2.80	2.00	3.17		3.11	2.71
	9/ teachers						1.64				
	12/ swear words		2.63								
	13/ animals/pets	2.46	2.67	2.35		2.78				3.00	2.78
	14/ thinking					2.76	1.63			3.13	2.63
	15/ dreaming						1.67				

It was somewhat surprising that lower or average values were gained even in private spheres, such as levels of “thinking” or “dreaming”; these are difficult to attain and very subtle. This fact seems to confirm the hypothesis about the importance of Aromanian in the socialisation of the sample of youth under observation.

As expected the highest values of use of Aromanian languagewere found among students of fully AROM background within the family domain – e.g., the instance of male students speaking with grandparents (4.67) yields the highest result in the whole questionnaire. As to speaking with siblings, however, unexpectedly low values (AROM–M: 2.83; AROM–F: 2.33) were obtained. This fact documents the assimilation trend in the youngest generation who perceive Aromanian as a language little suited for communication with one’s peers.

Somewhat lower overall values were yielded by the answers of the respondents from mixed marriages. Also, a quite distinct group was formed by students who reported a Macedonian language background; their preference of use of AROM logically appear in quite different domains and contexts, among others also as a “secret language”.

Nevertheless, data obtained in connection with communication with the family or neighbours cannot be compared only mechanically. It is also necessary to take into account the existence of ethnolinguistically mixed marriages, in which communication with the mother's or father's parts of the family may be carried on in different languages, or, as the case may be, in both languages, in varying quantity and quality. Due, among other causes, to the relatively small number of respondents, the random element plays a crucial role, e.g., in the possibility of communication with neighbours.

In terms of gender comparison, the results are not fully conclusive. In 10 out of 15 questions and also in the total sum, however, male respondents of the AROM group reported a little higher rate of use.

When comparing the language background of the respondents, the values obtained from the pupils from AROM or AROM/MAC families are, as expected, the highest in a number of domains. A considerable difference in the group of pupils with MAC mothers (2.17) in contrast to the respondents with MAC fathers (1.37) is obvious. This disproportion can be explained by the fact that while the marriages of the Macedonian fathers were practically endogamous, most Aromanian fathers had married Macedonian women.

The calculation of the standard deviation, assessing the extent of the statistical dispersion of the responses, confirmed their rather low homogeneity.

4.1 The Proportion of Aromanian in Overall Language Activities

Table 3: "The proportion of Aromanian in all my language activities equals..."²⁰ (per cent)

	n	0 %	0–10%	10–3 %	30–50%	50–70%	> 70%
total	42	4.8	7.2	11.9	26.2	40.5	9.5
Males	18	5.6	5.6	11.1	33.3	44.4	–
Females	21	4.8	9.5	9.5	23.8	38.1	14.3
AROM	13	–	–	–	30.8	61.5	7.7
MAC	8	12.5	37.5	25.0	12.5	12.5	–
AROM/MAC	21	4.8	–	14.3	28.6	38.1	14.3
mother AROM	14	7.1	–	–	28.6	57.1	7.1
mother MAC	28	3.6	10.7	17.9	25.0	32.1	10.7
father AROM	31	–	–	3.2	32.3	51.6	12.9
father MAC	9	22.2	33.3	22.2	11.1	11.1	–

Summing up: The merged value of two highest percentage categories (i.e., reports where the declared proportion of the use of AROM was over 50 per cent) reached unexpectedly high values. In the total set under observation, it was 50.0 per cent; women scored higher (52.4 per cent) than men (44.4 per cent). Only women are also represented in the over 70 per cent category.

The highest declared percentage spoken values were obtained in the category of the Aromanian language background respondents (69.2 per cent), or respondents with AROM speaking mother and/or father (in both cases over 64 per cent). The proportion of those who (reportedly) used Aromanian in the “mixed” AROM/MAC category is suprisingly high as well – 52.4 per cent). As to the comparison of children with AROM fathers and AROM mothers, the results (the sum of two highest categories) are almost identical (64.2 per cent and 64.5 per cent).

On the contrary, pupils declaring a Macedonian language background gave the expected lowest value of the above-the-average use of AROM (12.5 per cent). As in other responses, an appreciable difference was found between respondents with a Macedonian speaking mother (42.9 per cent) and father (11.1 per cent). Due either to a probable “overestimation” of the subjectively perceived degree of the use of AROM, or to the danger of a possible observer’s paradox in Labov’s terms,²¹ it would be necessary to carry out a more detailed, exact and verifiable survey, and to check the validity of the data arrived at by means of questionnaires and participant observation, and to carry out closer comparison of the overall outcomes.

5. Reception of and Active Participation in Aromanian Culture

Table 4: “It doesn’t concern me in the given situations...” (five-point Likert scale; mean)²²

1 never	2 sometimes		3 often	4 every day			5 very often; always			
				language background			mother		father	
	total	M	F	AROM	AROM/ MAC	MAC	AROM	MAC	AROM	MAC
n (total)	51	19	29	15	25	11	15	35	37	11
n	51	19 2.21	29	15	25	11	15	35	37	11
1/ I read Aromanian magazines	2.27		2.31	2.60	2.40	1.55	2.33	2.17	2.54	1.45
SD	0.90		0.71	0.91	0.87	0.52	0.72	0.86	0.87	0.52
median	2.00		2.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	1.00
n	51	19	29	15	25	11	15	35	34	11
2/ I read Aromanian books	2.15	2.13	2.14	2.73	2.06	1.55	2.47	1.93	2.36	1.45
SD	0.84	0.85	0.88	0.88	0.58	0.82	0.74	0.69	0.77	0.82
median	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.00
n	47	17	27	14	22	11	14	32	37	11
3/ I listen to Aromanian radio broadcasts	2.36	2.47	2.26	3.14	2.36	1.36	3.00	2.06	2.76	1.36
SD	1.13	1.07	1.16	1.10	0.95	0.67	1.24	0.98	1.02	0.67
median	2.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	2.50	1.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	1.00
n	51	19	29	15	25	11	15	35	37	11
4/ I watch Aromanian TV broadcasts	2.69	2.58	2.79	3.27	2.84	1.55	3.20	2.49	3.14	1.45
SD	1.22	1.22	1.29	1.16	1.14	0.69	1.26	1.17	1.08	0.69
median	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	1.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	1.00

1 never	2 sometimes		3 often		4 every day		5 very often; always			
				language background			mother		father	
	total	M	F	AROM	AROM/ MAC	MAC	AROM	MAC	AROM	MAC
n	49	19	27	15	24	10	15	33	36	10
5/ I sing Aromanian songs	2.69	2.47	2.74	3.00	2.88	1.80	3.00	2.58	2.97	1.90
SD	1.23	1.02	1.35	1.13	0.90	1.69	1.13	1.28	1.00	1.66
median	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	1.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	1.00
n	51	19	29	15	25	11	15	35	37	11
6/ I actively participate in Aromanian culture (member of singing/ dancing group, etc.)	2.16	2.42	2.03	2.40	2.36	1.36	2.40	2.09	2.46	1.36
SD	1.12	1.22	1.09	0.99	1.22	0.67	0.99	1.17	1.12	0.67
median	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.00
n	50	18	29	15	24	11	15	34	36	11
7/ Correspondence with family and friends in Aromanian	2.26	2.39	2.14	2.60	2.58	1.09	2.60	2.15	2.72	1.09
SD	1.14	1.24	1.06	1.12	1.06	0.30	1.12	1.13	1.00	0.30
median	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	1.00
n	45	18	25	15	19	11	15	29	31	11
8/ I write my personal writing (notes, diary...) in Aromanian	2.00	2.28	1.80	2.80	1.84	1.18	2.80	1.62	2.35	1.18
SD	1.11	1.18	1.04	1.15	0.96	0.40	1.15	0.86	1.14	0.40
median	2.00	2.00	1.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	3.00	1.00	2.00	1.00
n	49	18	28	14	24	11	14	34	35	11
9/ I count in Aromanian	2.69	2.72	2.68	3.07	2.79	2.00	3.00	2.59	2.97	1.91
SD	0.98	0.89	1.09	0.73	0.88	1.18	0.88	1.02	0.79	1.22
median	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	2.00
n	47	18	27	14	23	10	14	32	34	11
10/ I pray in Aromanian	1.72	1.89	1.63	2.14	1.74	1.10	2.14	1.56	1.97	1.09
SD	0.93	1.13	0.79	1.17	0.81	0.32	1.17	0.76	0.97	0.30
median	2.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	1.00
n	50	18	29	14	25	11	14	35	36	11
11/ I speak Aromanian on the phone	2.14	2.08	2.12	2.57	2.20	1.45	2.50	2.00	2.44	1.45
SD	0.88	0.73	0.90	0.85	0.80	0.69	0.94	0.83	0.76	0.69
median	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.50	2.00	1.00	2.50	2.00	2.50	1.00
n	51	19	29	15	25	11	15	35	37	11
12/ I speak Aromanian with people whom I know slightly but who, I know, can speak Aromanian	2.32	2.21	2.36	2.80	2.38	1.55	2.80	2.16	2.61	1.45
SD	1.06	1.03	1.13	1.26	0.83	0.82	1.26	0.90	1.02	0.82
median	3.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	1.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	1.00
n	50	19	28	15	24	11	15	34	36	11
13/ I speak Aromanian with Aromanians outside the Kruševo area	2.30	2.21	2.36	2.73	2.25	1.82	2.67	2.15	2.50	1.82
SD	1.02	0.98	1.10	1.10	0.68	1.33	1.18	0.93	0.88	1.33
median	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	1.00
n	50	18	29	14	25	11	14	35	35	11
14/ I also speak Aromanian even in the presence of Macedonian speakers	2.09	2.19	1.97	2.50	2.02	1.73	2.50	1.96	2.26	1.73
SD	1.19	0.99	1.24	1.22	1.16	1.19	1.22	1.17	1.20	1.19
median	2.00	2.25	1.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	1.00

1 never	2 sometimes	3 often	4 every day	5 very often; always
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				language background			mother		father	
	total	M	F	AROM	AROM/ MAC	MAC	AROM	MAC	AROM	MAC
n	49	18	29	14	24	11	14	34	35	11
15/ I speak Aromanian so that strangers may not understand me (as a secret language)	2.61	2.44	2.76	2.93	2.79	1.82	2.79	2.53	2.94	1.82
SD	1.06	1.04	1.06	1.00	0.78	1.33	1.12	1.05	0.76	1.33
median	3.00	2.50	3.00	3.00	3.00	1.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	1.00
n	51	19	29	15	25	11	15	35	37	11
16/ total	2.30	2.31	2.28	2.75	2.37	1.53	2.68	2.14	2.60	1.50
SD	1.08	1.02	1.12	1.07	0.97	0.92	1.09	1.03	1.00	0.92
median	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	1.00

Summing up: In comparison with the language sphere (Table 1), lower values for cultural reception stand out noticeably.²³ The given average values mostly range between 2.00 and 2.50. The spheres with the highest average values are: “watching TV programmes”,²⁴ “singing AROM songs” and “counting in AROM” (all 2.69), as well as using AROM as a “secret code” (2.61).²⁵

In terms of respondent gender the values obtained for most questions are almost identical or very similar. The boys gave higher figures related to the active participation in AROM culture (M: 2.42; F: 2.03) or writing personal diaries in AROM (M: 2.28; F: 1.80). The girls, to the contrary, use AROM as a “secret language” more frequently than boys (M: 2.44; F: 2.76).

Language background: the highest values were obtained from pupils of Aromanian origin. Some data – e.g., receiving AROM television and radio broadcasting – even exceeded 3.00 (i.e., “I often receive”). The highest positions were taken by watching TV (3.27), listening to the radio (3.14) and counting (3.07). In general, in the cultural sphere under observation, a pure Aromanian origin influenced the extent of the given results practically as much as in the language communication domains (cf. lines 16 in Tables 1 and 4). On average, responses from pupils with AROM/MAC background result in rather lower figures. Pupils of MAC origin provided values considerably lower; among these, the highest were: singing songs (1.80) and “secret language” (1.82) – while the heretogeneity of the respondents was extraordinary. As in Table 1, in Table 4 too, on line 16, a considerably lower rate (1.50) of reception of AROM among pupils with a MAC father showed as compared with recipients with a MAC mother (2.14), which is related to the fact that Macedonian mothers often lived in ethnically mixed marriages while the fathers did not.

Standard deviation shows a medium to high degree of disunity (it approaches or even surpasses 50 per cent of the mean) – e.g., “when participating in AROM culture”. Exceptions are, e.g., reading books, watching AROM TV broadcasts

and some levels of speaking in AROM (questions 12, 15) with a higher degree of homogeneity. Among pupils of AROM origin the uniformity of replies is generally much higher; the same, for the most part in a reversed form, applies to pupils of MAC origin.

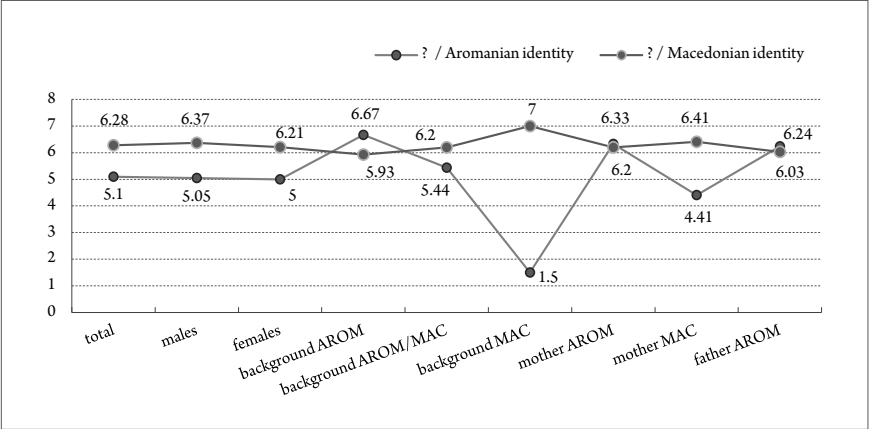
6. Ethnic and Cultural Attitudes and Judgements (Autostereotypes)

Table 5: (seven-point Likert scale; mean)

1 Lowest value	2	3	4	5	6	7 Highest value				
	language background			mother		father				
	total	M	F	AROM	AROM/ MAC	MAC	AROM	MAC	AROM	MAC
n (total)	51	19	29	15	25	11	15	35	37	11
n I.: “How strongly do you feel Aromanian?”	50	19	28	15	25	10	15	34	37	11
SD	5.02	5.05	5.00	6.67	5.44	1.50	6.33	4.41	6.24	1.45
Median	2.39	2.30	2.43	0.62	2.00	0.97	1.59	2.49	1.23	0.93
	6.00	6.00	6.50	7.00	6.00	1.00	7.00	5.00	7.00	1.00
n II.: “How strongly do you feel Macedonian (disregarding citizenship)?”	50	19	28	15	25	10	15	34	37	11
SD	6.28	6.37	6.21	5.93	6.20	7.00	6.20	6.41	6.03	7.00
Median	1.09	0.76	1.29	1.28	1.08	–	1.01	0.99	1.17	–
	7.00	7.00	7.00	6.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	6.00	7.00
n III.: “How important is the maintenance of the Aromanian language and culture for you?”	49	19	28	15	25	10	15	34	37	11
SD	5.44	5.42	5.43	6.20	5.68	3.70	6.20	5.15	6.05	3.73
Median	1.66	1.46	1.83	0.94	1.49	1.77	0.94	1.81	1.20	1.68
	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	3.50	6.00	5.50	6.00	4.00
n IV.: “How do you assess your language competence in Aromanian?”	49	19	28	15	25	10	15	34	37	11
SD	5.34	5.26	5.29	5.93	5.56	3.90	5.73	5.21	5.92	3.64
Median	1.72	1.48	1.92	0.96	1.66	2.08	1.53	1.81	1.16	2.16
	6.00	5.00	6.00	6.00	6.00	3.50	6.00	5.50	6.00	3.00
n V.: “How do you assess your language competence in Macedonian?”	49	19	28	15	25	10	15	34	37	11
SD	6.56	6.32	6.82	6.47	6.44	7.00	6.67	6.59	6.51	7.00
Median	1.03	1.20	0.61	1.06	1.19	–	0.82	1.05	1.02	–
	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00
n VI.: “What is your assessment of the general situation of the Aromani-ans in Macedonia?”	49	19	28	15	25	10	15	34	37	11
SD	5.80	5.37	6.04	6.20	5.88	5.00	6.20	5.68	6.14	4.91
Median	1.54	1.80	1.35	1.26	1.33	2.16	1.26	1.63	1.25	2.07
	7.00	6.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	5.50	7.00	6.50	7.00	5.00

6.1 Ethnic Identity

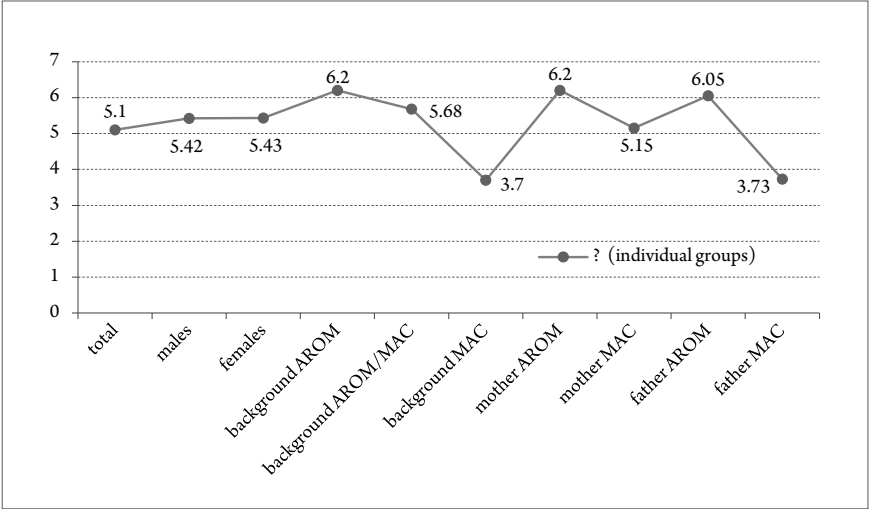
Figure 2: Questions I, II.



The results clearly showed the dominance of the Macedonian identity over the Aromanian identity in almost all groups. Exceptions are: first, a subgroup of students with AROM language background: there is a considerable difference in favour of the AROM identity of 6.67 compared to MAC identity of 5.93; and, second, subgroups with AROM mother or father (compared to MAC identity, the differences within this subgroup are, however, only small).

6.2 Concern for Maintaining the Aromanian Language and Culture

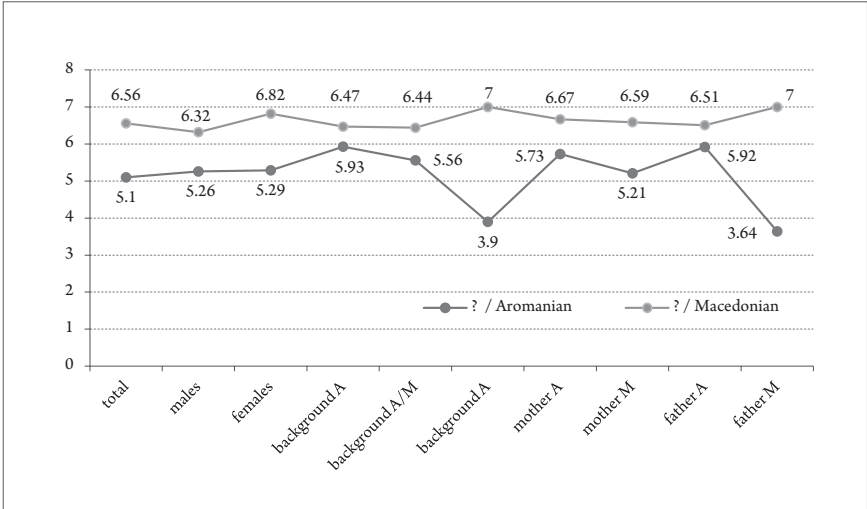
Figure 3: Question III.



The average values derived from the responses to this question are relatively very high; they, however testify only a declared, abstract degree of concern for the maintenance of AROM language and culture. The highest values were given by students of purely Aromanian background.

6.3 Self Assessment of Linguistic Competence (Aromanian; Macedonian)

Figure 4: Questions IV, V.



Self assessments (or, autostereotypes) of language competence (both in Aromanian and in Macedonian) showed considerable differences between the languages. Competence in MAC itself is reported as very good by all individual respondent cohorts (between 6.32 and 7.00); students of Macedonian background gave only a little higher values than those of Aromanian background.

Differently than for MAC, assessing one's own competence in AROM yielded a much lower range of values (around 5.5) with most of the respondents. The highest mean response was gained from the cohort with AROM background (5.93). From students of MAC background the line of the graph falls dramatically (down to 3.64).

Nevertheless, among the 49 students who answered both questions, there were five respondents who estimated their competence in AROM higher than that in MAC. Another 16 respondents considered their competence in both languages comparable.

7. Conclusion

The sociolinguistic questionnaire survey about some aspects of the ethnolinguistic situation conducted among the Aromanian young population in Kruševu (Macedonia) confirmed a number of presumed facts and hypotheses.

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. The rate of this dominance, however, fluctuated with individual language domains, and related to the respondents' language backgrounds and other aspects. In spite of the noticeable trend towards language assimilation of Aromanian in Kruševu, the complete lack of competence and zero communication in the language among its young people were not confirmed. At the same time, a statistical analysis of the survey results showed some relative strengths of the Aromanian language as well.

The level of ethnic self-identification and mother-tongue identification is quite specific, whereby most of the respondents of Aromanian background are inclined towards a Macedonian orientation.

Computing the relative homogeneity of the answers proved highly relevant as well. The survey detected a rather small homogeneity within the set – i.e., considerable differences between individual respondents, particularly in relation to their language background.

Despite certain progress in the domains of its use in the cultural area over the past two decades, Aromanian remains a highly threatened language even in Macedonia. If the assimilation trends continue, the intergenerational transfer of Aromanian may come to an end; the language may gradually retreat into the home sphere of some families, and may even die out. The young generation under observation in this study could thus become the last one for which Aromanian, at least to some extent, is the language of socialization and of use in some situational domains.

Abbreviations

AROM – Aromanian; Aromanian language background; Aromanian phenomenon

MAC – Macedonian; Macedonian language background; Macedonian phenomenon

AROM/MAC – linguistic/ethnically mixed group; Aromanian/Macedonian phenomenon

M – males

F – females

Notes

¹ The text was delivered at the International Conference on Minority Languages XIV (11 – 14 September 2013, Graz, Austria) and is an extract from a detailed study published (in Czech, Šatava 2013).

- ² Unusually for Aromanian families generally, they did not live a semi-nomadic way of life but were craftsmen and tradesmen.
- ³ The first wave of Aromanian re-settlers set out from the village of Nikolicë, which is today in southeastern Albania (Goļab 1984, 19; Trifunoski 1955–1957, 193–194; Trpkoski-Trpku 1986, 78–79).
- ⁴ For the year 1889 in Kruševo gives two Rumanian schools with the total of 200 students, a Greek school with 900 students (including 550 Aromanians) and a Bulgarian school with 250 students (Weigand 1895, 306–308).
- ⁵ Next to Greek and Romanian,, the local population, which in the second half of 20th century was not yet fully ethnically formed, was subject also to Bulgarian and Serbian propaganda (Matkovski et al. 1987, 333).
- ⁶ Popović (1937, 149) even speaks about the inhabitants of Moskopole as a unique “Aromanian nobility”.
- ⁷ Today the Aromanians in Kruševo identify with this liberation revolution tradition, even though for the early 20th century a large part of the ethnic group may, paradoxically, be allegedly described as politically pro-Ottoman and pro-bourgeois (Winnifrieth 1997). At present the search for symbolic “famous native” Aromanian patriots moves along an extraordinarily wide spectrum: from Alexander the Great or the shepherds singing to baby Jesus via Zorba the Greek to Mother Teresa, Herbert von Karajan or Michael Dukakis (Vaňková 2012).
- ⁸ Even though, according to the 2002 census, the administrative units with the highest numbers of Vlachs can be found in Skopje with over a half of a million inhabitants (2,557 Aromanians, i.e., 0.5 per cent) and also Štip in eastern Macedonia (2,074 out of the total 47,796 inhabitants, i.e., 4.3 per cent).
- ⁹ The present (2011 – research by L. Š.) estimate of an informer from Kruševo gives a 25 per cent share.
- ¹⁰ For instance, the distinguished codifier of the Macedonian version of the standard Aromanian language D. Cuvata (D. Dimčev) comes from the village of Dobrošani near Štip. The Štip (Gramostean) variety also has a strong position in Aromanian broadcasting on state Macedonian television (Friedman 2001, 43; Gica 2009/2010, 2010/2011; Kara & Guddemi 2000/2001).
- ¹¹ The difference between the two varieties is not significant enough to make understanding really difficult. The general tendency to use Macedonian as “a more appropriate” language in the social contact seems to be a greater barrier to using the language in encounters with other Aromanians not met previously.
- ¹² In the school year 2008/2009 out of the total of 207,505 pupils of elementary schools (compulsory eight-year education, age level from 7 to 15) in Macedonia, 307 (0.15 per cent) reported Aromanian ethnicity. Of 14,189 teachers, 45 (0.32 per cent) declared Aromanian nationality. Seven teachers participated in the instruction of Aromanian (Ministry of Education and Science 2010, 40–46).
- ¹³ For this and other abbreviations see the list of abbreviations at the end of the article.
- ¹⁴ For this and other abbreviations see the list of abbreviations at the end of the article.
- ¹⁵ For this and other abbreviations see the list of abbreviations at the end of the article.
- ¹⁶ Some scales were 1 – 5, others 1 – 7.
- ¹⁷ With the small size of the sample and relatively slight differences in the found values, it would not, apparently, be possible to confirm these differences at the generally accepted significance level in terms of statistics. When, however, comparing facts and tendencies obtained by means of participant observation, interviews and the like, the numerical data can still be considered a valid illustration of these facts.

- ¹⁸ The greater the value of the mean, the higher the use of Aromanian.
- ¹⁹ Out of the total of 15 situational domains under observation; calculated for the whole respondent group and for each subgroup.
- ²⁰ In the course of a current week.
- ²¹ The danger lies in the students (deliberately or unintentionally) modifying their replies to comply with the (assumed) expectations of the person carrying out the research.
- ²² The higher the value of the mean, the higher the use of Aromanian.
- ²³ In the given context, there is a similarity with a number of other minority populations in Europe, e.g., the Sorbs (Šatava 2005, 51 and others) or the Gaels in Scotland (MacKinnon 1994, 513).
- ²⁴ Based on the information (2011 – research by L. Š.) of the Aromanian section of Macedonian state TV in Skopje, its broadcasts are watched in Macedonia by about 10,000 people; together with viewers in Albania and Greece it could be approximately 40,000 recipients.
- ²⁵ To a certain extent among the pupils of Macedonian origin as well.

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