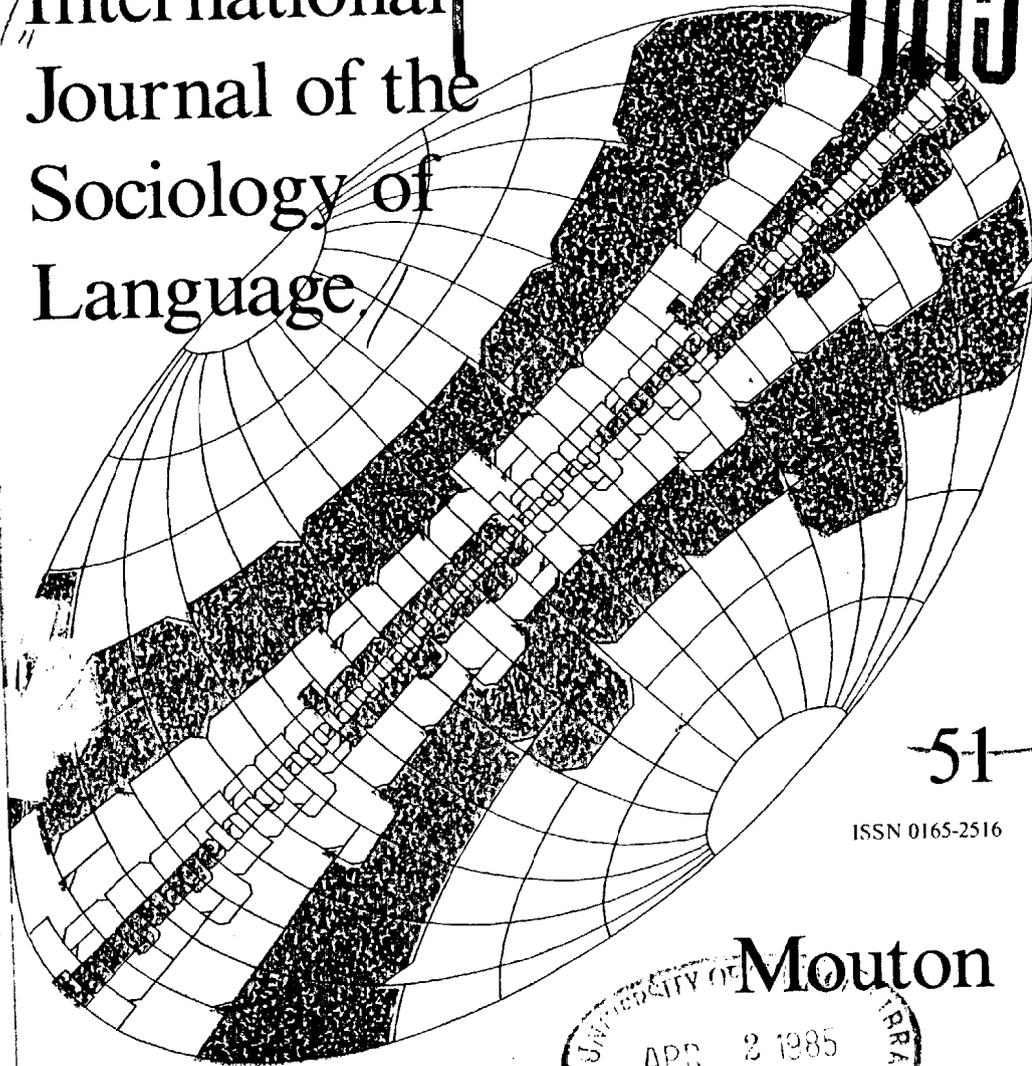


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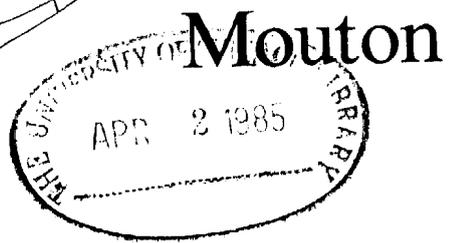
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Language and Work 2:
The Health Professions

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Demography

Macedonian is the official language of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia (SRM) in the Socialist Federated Republic of Yugoslavia. According to the 1981 census (*Statistički bilten broj 129.5* 1981: 8, 12, 18; *Nova Makedonija* 17.1J.82: 1,3), Yugoslav citizens declaring their nationality (**narodnost**) as Macedonian constitute 6% (1,341,598) of the total population (22,427,585). Of these Macedonians, 95% (1,281,195) live in the SRM, where they constitute 67% of the total population (1,912,257). Of the remaining 60,603 declared Macedonians in Yugoslavia, 81% (48,986) live in Serbia, where they constitute 0.5% of the population, 5362 live in Croatia, 3288 in Slovenia, 1892 in Bosnia and Hercegovina, and 875 in Montenegro.

The identification of ethnicity and language, however, is not a simple one-to-one relationship. While it is safe to assume that virtually all those who declared Macedonian nationality have Macedonian as their mother tongue, there are other census categories that include some native speakers of Macedonian. Of these, the two largest are the 39,555 Moslems (2.1% of the SRM) and the 14,240 Yugoslavs (0.7%). The former category includes Macedonian-speaking Moslems, popularly known as *Torbeš*, but it also includes Moslems with other native languages, viz. Serbo-Croatian, Albanian, Turkish, and Romani. The latter category includes (but is not limited to) children of mixed marriages, some of whom undoubtedly have Macedonian as their native language. Other census categories which might include native speakers of Macedonian are the following: Undeclared (508), Regional (956), Unknown (4037), Jewish (28).¹

The other language-based nationalities of the SRM with populations over 5000 are the following: Albanians 337,726 (19.8%), Turks 86,691 (4.5%), Serbs 44,613 (2.3%), Roms (Gypsies) 43,223 (2.3%). Aromanians (Vlahs) 6392 (0.3%).² The capital of the SRM and its largest city is Skopje, with a population of 409,626, of whom 69% are Macedonians. The metropolitan area of Skopje includes 120 villages, bringing the total population to 506,545,

of whom 63.1% are Macedonian. Of the remaining population of Skopje Proper/Greater Skopje, the ethnic percentages are the following: Albanians 11.5%/17.1%, Roms 5.6%/4.8%, Turks 3.3%/4.1%. The second-largest city is Bitola, with a population of 78,761, of whom 87.7% are Macedonian.

There are significant numbers of Macedonians living outside of Yugoslavia as well. These can be divided into two groups: those living in neighboring Balkan countries and those who have emigrated outside the Balkans. We will discuss these groups in later sections, but for the moment we can say that the former arc in Bulgaria, Greece, and Albania as a result of the breakup of the Ottoman Empire and the subsequent partition of Macedonia in 1912-1913 and the various border adjustments of the years that followed. The latter are concentrated chiefly in the USA, Canada, and Australia, although many Macedonians also work in industrialized Western Europe, and some fled from Greece to Eastern Europe (chiefly Poland) in the wake of the Greek Civil War of 1948. While it is difficult to determine the total number of speakers of Macedonian due to the official policies of the neighboring Balkan states and the fluid nature of emigration, various estimates indicate that the total number of Macedonian-speakers both in Yugoslavia and abroad is somewhere between 2,000,000 and 2,500,000.

Historical overview

Before the Balkan Wars

For reasons which will become increasingly apparent as this article progresses, the discussion of the history of the Macedonian language is treated by some groups as a highly charged political issue rather than as a linguistic study. The geographic definition of Macedonia, however, is relatively undisputed, and so we will begin with it. The strictly geographical entity known as **Macedonia** comprises the SRM in Yugoslavia (Vardar Macedonia), the Blagoevgrad district in the southwestern corner of Bulgaria (Yirin Macedonia), the province of northern Greece between Epirus and Thrace called **Makedonza** (Aegean Macedonia), and two small parts of Western Albania, the one around Lakes Ohrid and Prespa and the other just south of Debar.

The Slavs came to Macedonia and the rest of the Balkan peninsula during the sixth and seventh centuries of the early medieval period (see Fine 1983: 25-73 for the most recent analysis of the details). The Ottoman Turkish conquest in the 14th century brought with it a disruption of cultural continuity, however, so that a historical outline of the development of modern literary Macedonian is best begun at the close of the 18th century (cf. Lunt

1953: 364). At this time, the principal determining factor in ethnic identification was religion, and the majority of Slavs in Bulgaria and Macedonia were Orthodox Christians. As the Orthodox Church in European Turkey was controlled by the Greek patriarchate of Constantinople, which by 1767 had succeeded in eliminating the last vestiges of the independent Slavic churches in its jurisdiction, these Orthodox Slavs were considered **Greek**. The Greek Church actively sought to extend this definition to all spheres of cultural life, i.e. it sought to Hellenize those peoples under its jurisdiction." Thus, for example, while the few literate Orthodox Slavs of this period had essentially two literary languages at their disposal — dialectally influenced recensions of Church Slavonic and Greek (Koneski 1967: 88) — the Greek Church vigorously discouraged the use of the former and wished to replace it completely with the latter (cf. Friedman 1975: 86).

With the rebirth of South Slavic nationalism at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries came the concomitant creation of the modern South Slavic literary languages. For the Slavs of Macedonia and Bulgaria, this formation took place in the context of three struggles: (1) against Hellenization, (2) against archaization (i.e. the use of Church Slavonic), (3) over the choice of a popular dialectal base. During the first half of the 19th century, the Macedonians and Bulgarians were united in their struggle against Hellenization, and both groups contained archaizers whose views were ultimately vanquished. All the writers of this early period who were attempting to combat Hellenization and archaization and to raise vernacular Slavic to literary status called their language **Bulgarian**. The distinction between **Macedonian** and **Bulgarian** is essentially immaterial for this time, as the proponents of a literary language based on colloquial Slavic all wrote in their local dialects. In their struggle with Hellenization and archaization, these writers did not concern themselves with the choice of a particular dialectal base.

In the 1840s, however, with the spread of Slavic literacy in European Turkey, a conflict arose between two major centers of Macedo-Bulgarian literary activity: one in northeastern Bulgaria, the other in southwestern Macedonia. The Macedonians envisioned a single Macedo-Bulgarian literary language called **Bulgarian** but based on or at least significantly influenced by the dialects of Macedonia. The Bulgarians rejected this idea, insisting that their **Thracio-Moesian** (Eastern) standard be adopted without compromise and attacking those Macedonians who attempted to introduce Macedonian elements into their literary work (see Friedman 1975: 87-88). By the 1860s, Macedonians were publishing textbooks based on Macedonian dialects while still publicly advocating a Macedo-Bulgarian compromise. Nonetheless, until the establishment of the Bulgarian exarchate in 1870-1872, this conflict was subordinated to the greater struggle for Slavic independence from the Greek Church, i.e. the battle against Hellenization took precedence over the choice

of a dialectal base, although the latter already contained the beginnings of Macedonian separatism.

With the establishment of an independent Bulgarian Church, however, the Bulgarians publicly and uncompromisingly adopted the attitude that Macedonian was a degenerate dialect and that Macedonians should learn literary Bulgarian (Lunt 1953: 369-370; Koneski 1967: 251). The Macedonians likewise rejected a Macedo-Bulgarian compromise, but their rejection was in favor of a separate Macedonian language and nationality.⁴ The first published statement of Macedonian national and linguistic separatism was made in 1875 (Pulcvski 1875: 48-49). The first complete definitive statement of Macedonian nationalism and linguistic policy was published in 1903 by Krste Misirkov (1903: 131, 145), who concluded his book on the Macedonian question (published in response to the failure of the *Ilinden* 'St. Elijah's Day' rebellion of August 2, 1903 [N.S.]) by calling for the establishment of a Macedonian state independent from both Bulgaria and Serbia and for the creation of a Macedonian literary language based on the Prilep-Bitola dialect group, i.e. precisely those dialects which served as the basis of modern literary Macedonian. Misirkov's book was confiscated at the printing shop in Sofia by the Bulgarian police, and most of the copies were destroyed. Its significance lies in the fact that it documents the fact that the concept of a Macedonian nationality and literary language was already clearly defined by the beginning of the century and not created *ex nihilo* by Yugoslav fiat in 1944, as is sometimes claimed even in Western sources (cf. King 1973: 2 18; Skendi 1980: 37, 46).

The First and Second Balkan Wars (1912-1913) resulted in the liberation of Macedonia from Turkey and its subsequent partition among Bulgaria, Greece, and Serbia, all of whom had conflicting territorial claims to the region. At this point, the history of literary Macedonian must likewise be divided, as its subsequent development was effectively stifled in Greece and, except for the period 1946-1948, in Bulgaria. We will therefore treat developments in Aegean and Pirin Macedonia in the section on the relationship of Macedonian to other languages and limit the remainder of this section to Vardar Macedonia.

After the Balkan Wars

During the period between the two World Wars, Vardar Macedonia was treated as a part of Southern Serbia, and Macedonian was treated as a Serbian dialect. This was consistent with the Serbian claims which had been advanced since the 19th century (Clissold et al. 1968: 145; Koneski 1959: 15).⁵ Literary Serbo-Croatian was the language of the schools, press, and all facets of

public life. Despite intensive efforts at Serbianization, however, Macedonian literature was permitted to develop on a limited basis as a dialectal, folkloristic genre. I have been able to examine the manuscripts of a number of the literary works of this period and can attest to the fact that their language is extremely close to what became the codified literary norm. In addition to Serbian permissiveness with regard to literature, another factor in the development of Macedonian national and linguistic consciousness during this period was the attempt at Serbianization itself. Forcing Macedonians to attend Serbian schools had the effect of increasing Macedonian self-awareness and unity by bringing together Macedonians from different parts of the country and compelling them to learn a language which was obviously different from their native one (Koneski 1967: 96; Lunt 1959: 21). *

In 1934, the Cornintern ruled that the Macedonians had a right to exist as a separate people with a separate language, and illegal Communist Party newspapers began to be published and circulated (Apostolski 1969: 85, 101, 106). During World War Two, Macedonia was occupied by the Bulgarian fascists, who set up Bulgarian-language schools. At the same time, among the Communists, the Yugoslavs won jurisdiction over Macedonia and followed Tito's policy of cultural autonomy by issuing leaflets and news bulletins in Macedonian (Lunt 1959: 23). On August 2, 1944, Macedonian was formally established as a literary language and the official language of the Macedonian Republic at the first session of the Anti-Fascist Assembly of Macedonia (ASNOM). This declaration confirmed what was already *de facto* practice. It did not create a literary language out of the air, rather it granted recognition to a literary language whose modern development began in the 19th century and which had achieved the basic features of its distinctive form during the first four decades of the 20th. The subsequent history of Macedonian in the SRM is essentially the history of its standardization, and so it will be discussed in the section devoted to that topic.

The Macedonian dialects

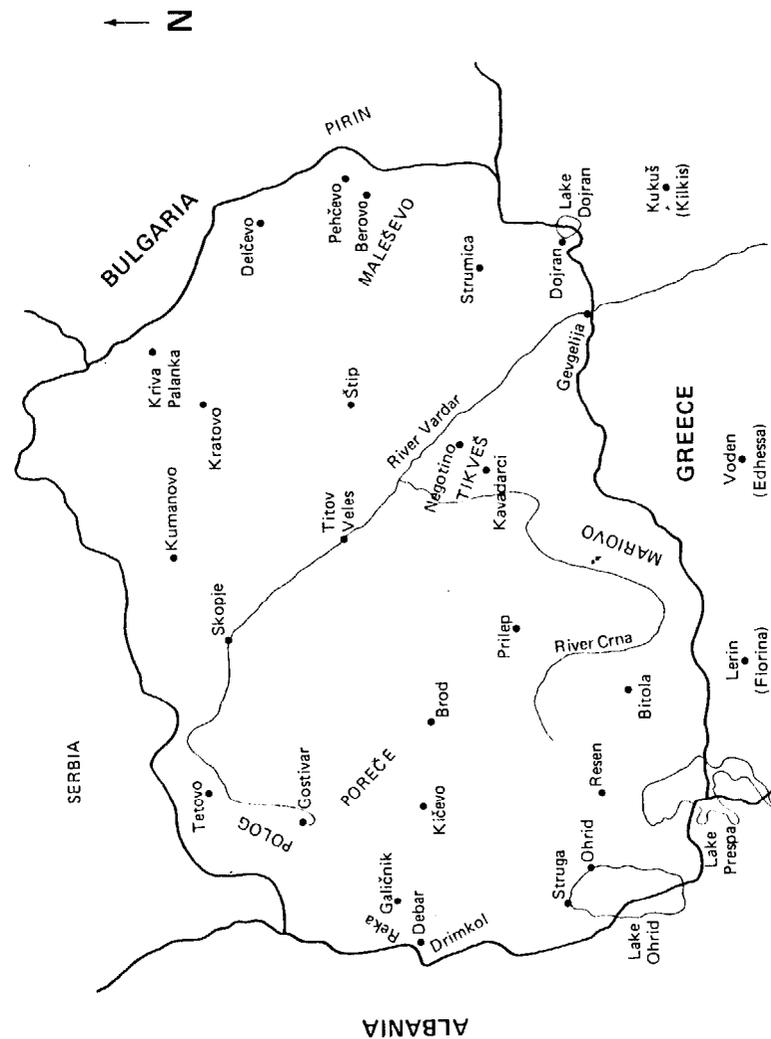
An understanding of Macedonian dialectology is essential to both the discussion of standardization and the discussion of the relationship of Macedonian to related languages. In this section, therefore, we will give a general outline of the Macedonian dialectal situation.

From a dialectological standpoint, the South Slavic languages (Slovenian, Serbo-Croatian, Macedonian, and Bulgarian) form a single continuum divided by a series of isoglosses and bundles of isoglosses. The dialects of any two proximate points along this continuum will be mutually intelligible, although the degree of similarity will vary with the number of intervening isoglosses.

Thus, dialectal differentiation takes place with greater or lesser rapidity as one moves along the continuum, depending on the specific location and direction. Although there are regions where the bundles of isoglosses are so thick that the dialects on either side are distinguished by numerous significant features, these dialects remain mutually intelligible. At no place along this continuum can one point to a given isogloss or bundle of isoglosses which, on the basis of linguistic criteria, defines the boundary between two languages. So while Slovenian and Bulgarian are clearly different enough to be defined as separate languages and are not mutually intelligible, the transitions from Slovenian to Serbo-Croatian, from Serbo-Croatian to Macedonian and to Bulgarian, and from Macedonian to Bulgarian are so gradual that no linguistic criterion such as mutual intelligibility can serve as the defining concept of language. The decision as to whether a given transitional South Slavic dialect belongs to one or another language is not a linguistic one but a sociopolitical one.

By defining Macedonian, for the purposes of this section, as the Slavic dialects spoken in geographical Macedonia as defined at the beginning of the preceding section, we can say the following with regard to the position of the Macedonian dialects within the South Slavic continuum. There is a bundle of significant isoglosses running roughly along the Serbian-Bulgarian political border, but at the Macedonian-Bulgarian political border these isoglosses fan out across Macedonia, so that while the transition from Serbo-Croatian to Bulgarian is relatively rapid, that from Serbo-Croatian to Macedonian to Bulgarian is very gradual (cf. Ivić 1956: 12-18; Lunt 1959: 21). Within geographical Macedonia, we can take the political boundaries of the SRM as defining the linguistic area which we will describe in greater detail, as the dialects of this area served as the basis of modern literary Macedonian. The following summary of the chief Macedonian dialectal divisions is based on the work of Vidoeski (1960-1961, 1962-1963, 1965).

The most important bundle of isoglosses divides Macedonia into an East dialect area (*narečje*) and a West dialect area. A second major bundle cuts across the SRM dividing the northern dialects (Tetovo-Skopje-Kumanovo-Kratovo-Kriva Palanka) from the rest. The West dialect area is characterized by a large central region (Titov Veles-Prilep-Bitola-Kičevo) surrounded by peripheral regions centered on major valleys: Lower Polog (Tetovo), Upper Polog (Gostivar), Debar, and Ohrid-Prespa. The East dialect area is characterized by the lack of a single large central region. Thus, starting from the southwest we have the following regions: Tikveš-Mariovo (Kavadarci-Negotino), which is transitional to the West dialect area, Štip-Strumica to the east, Maleševo (Delečevo-Pehčevo-Berovo) along the Bulgarian border and forming a single group with the Pirin dialects, Kratovo-Kriva Palanka (including Kumanovo) along the Serbian border, and the Gevgelija-Dojran dialects in



Map 1. Map of the SRM showing towns and regions mentioned in the text

the southeast corner, which are part of the Lower Vardar (Kukuš-Voden) dialects of central Aegean Macedonia. See Map 1 for a map of the SRM.⁶

In terms of phonological features, the entire West dialect area of the SRM is distinguished from the East dialect area by fixed antepenultimate stress, loss of the older phoneme /x/ (except Lower Polog), and loss of older /v/ in intervocalic position (except Mala Reka in the Debar region). The East dialect area preserves /x/ (except Tikveš-Mariovo and Kumanovo-Kriva Palanka) and intervocalic /v/. The different types of accentual systems are among the major criteria used to distinguish the regions of the East dialect area, but the details do not concern us here. It suffices to say that none of them are fixed antepenultimate. The modern reflexes of Common Slavic vocalic sonorants, reduced vowels (the *yers*), and the back nasal (/ɣ/) can be used to separate the Macedonian dialects into three groups: (1) the Northern group (Lower Polog, Kumanovo-Kriva Palanka), (2) the Peripheral group (Upper Polog, Ohrid-Prespa, Dojran-Gevgelija), (3) the Central group (all the rest), with the Debar region as transitional between the Peripheral and the Central. The reflexes of these phonemes occur in many common words, and Macedonians themselves perceive them as diagnostic in determining a compatriot's place of origin. Table 1 gives illustrative examples of the reflexes in question.

Table 1. *Diagnostic reflexes of common Slavic phonemes*

phoneme	ū	i	r	l	ɣ
North	san	dan	krv	vuk	put
Central (east)	son	den	krv	vak	pat
Central (west)	son	den	krv	volk	pat
Debar'	son	den	korv	volk	pot
Peripheral	son	den	kərv	valk	pət
Gloss	dream	day	blood	wolf	road

The morphological and syntactic features of the greatest relevance to the codification of literary Macedonian are, for the most part, characteristic of either the East dialect area or the West dialect area in general and are given in Table 2. The Northern group occasionally belongs entirely with the East or the West, which will be indicated by an asterisk.

There are three other features pertaining to verbal morphology which are of particular relevance to the discussion of standardization. The isoglosses for these features, however, are quite complicated, and we will only treat the relevant ones in Table 3 (see Vidocski 1950a and Usikova 1967: 74-79 for more details).

Table 2. *Morphological and syntactic features*

West	East
Masc definite article-o, e.g. domo 'the house'	Masc definite article -ot, e.g. domot
Deictic definite articles-v-, -n-, e.g. domov 'this here house', moston 'that there bridge'	Absent
Synthetic dative pronouns, e.g. nam 'to us'	Analytic dative pronouns, e.g. na nas
Other pronouns: 3 sg masc nom toj 3 sg fem acc je (Northern <i>ga</i>)	*on ja (up to Vcles-Prilep-Bitola) (Northern <i>gu</i>)
3 sg fem dat je 3 pl acc i	i *gi
Monosyllabic masc pl -ovi/-oj, e.g. volovi/voloj 'oxen' (includes Tikveš-Mariovo)	Monosyllabic masc pl -ove, e.g. volove
*Oblique forms for proper names, e.g. na Marka 'to Marko'	Absent (na Marko)
Absent (dva dni/denovi/denoi)	*Consistent use of quantitative masc. pl. -a, e.g. dva dena 'two days'
3 sg pres -t, e.g. nosit 'he carries'	*3 sg pres - \emptyset , e.g. nosi
se 'they are'	* sa (Maleševci)
Absent (tie nosile)	3 sg/pl auxiliary used in past indefinite, e.g. oni sa nosili 'they have been carrying'
ima 'have' + neut verbal adj used to form perfect, e.g. ima dojdno 'he/she/it has come'	Absent
Absent	Use of imperfective aorist
Perfective present must be subor- dinated to a participle	Perfective present can be independent
Sentence initial clitics, e.g. Go vidov 'I saw him'	Absent (Vidov go)

History of standardization

The documents published during the first part of World War Two purposefully incorporated elements from a wide variety of dialects. Thus a single document would contain various forms of the same words and grammatical endings (see Koneski and Jašar-Nasteva 1966: 145-76). By the end of the War, however, the documents show a greater consistency indicative of the consensus that the dialects of the West Central region should serve as the basis of the literary norm. These dialects were a natural choice for a number of

The first ten years of the standardization of literary Macedonian saw the establishment of all the basic norms in theory, if not always in practice. One of the chief problems faced by this standardization was the selection of dialectal forms. Taking as our starting point the dialectological outline given in Tables 1, 2, and 3, we will trace the development of some of the most salient choices, as evidenced by the principal documents of this first decade, in Table 4. The documents are the 1944 resolution, the 1945 *Pravopis*, the 1948 modifications, the 1950 *Pravopis*, and Koneski's grammar (1952b-1954). A line indicates that the topic was not treated in the document of that year, while a double quotation mark indicates that the topic was treated as in the preceding document that treated it.

Table 4. *Dialect choices of the first ten years of standardization*

	1944	1945	1948	1950	1952-54
1.	antepenult. stress	--	--	(implicit)	detailed description
2.	Q → a(u)	Q → a	Q → a(u)	"	"
3.	l → ol	l → ol(u)	--	I → ol(u,o)	"
4.	ḅp	p̣,p	--	"	"
5.	--	k'smet	--	kasmct	"
6.	tova	toa/tova	--	toa	"
7.	--	-ovi/-oi	--	-ovi	"
8.	(duh)	(Ohrid)	--	hotel, duh, Ohrid, dohod, hrana	"
9.	-uc	-ue	-uva	"	"
10.	-ot	"	--	"	"
11.	-v-, -l-	"	--	"	"
12.	--	toj(on)	--	"	"
13.	--	ja, i, gi	--	"	"
14.	--	1 sg -am 3 sg -Ø se 'they are'	--	"	"
15.	--	-a-/-e-/-i- past indef. 3 sg/pl aux. absent	--	"	"
16.	--	--	--	quant. pl.	"
17.	(Go vidov Janka)	--	--	--	oblique proper names initial clitic5
18.	--	--	--	--	pres perfective must be dependent
19.	--	--	--	--	use of imperfective aorist
20.	--	--	--	--	ima perfect

The features listed in Table 4 refer, for the most part, to those listed in the first three tables. Features 1, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, and 20 were clearly established the first time they were treated and remained so. Of these features, 1, 11, 15, 18, and 20 are unambiguously Western, 10, 16, and 19 are unambiguously Eastern, while features 12, 13, and 14 show a mixture of dialect types. Thus, the Western form *toj* is preferred but the Eastern *on* is permissible; the synthetic dative (*nam*) is strictly Western, but the oblique pronouns of 13 are Eastern; the verb forms and suffixes of 14 show a mixture of Western (*-am*, se), Eastern (3sg -Ø), and scattered (the three thematic conjugations *-a-/-e-/-i-*).

Features 8 and 17 did not undergo any modification, but their formulation was absent or unclear in the earlier documents. Thus, in the case of feature 17, the 1944 proposals had a rule stating that reduplicated objects were the norm and cited the example Go *vidov Janka* 'I saw Janko' (literally 'Him I-saw Janko'). While it is true that systematic reduplication is more characteristic of the West than of the East, this phenomenon occurs throughout Macedonia. What was distinctively Western about this example but not explicitly formulated until Koneski's grammar was its use of an initial clitic and the oblique form of a proper name. Feature 8 refers to those instances when the velar fricative (Cyrillic x. Latin *h*) was retained, as in the East, rather than omitted, as in the West. The texts of the 1944 resolutions and the 1945 *Pravopis* both contained words retaining *h*, but the principles were not formulated until the 1950 *Pravopis*, viz. *h* is retained in foreign words (*hotel*), toponyms (*Ohrid*), Church Slavic words (*duh* 'spirit'), new literary words (*dohod* 'income'), and to avoid ambiguity (*hrana* 'food' / *rana* 'wound').

Features 2 and 3 underwent only slight modification. As can be seen from a comparison with Table 1, these are features which the West Central region shares with at least one other region, viz. the reflexes of the Common Slavic back nasal and vocalic /l/. In both cases the modification involved the specification of certain lexical items in which the Northern (and Serbian) reflex /u/ was to be used instead of the expected /a/ or /ol/. The 1944 resolutions contained such specifications for the back nasal, but they were omitted from the 1945 *Pravopis* and it was found necessary to restate them in 1948. The 1944 resolutions used /ol/ consistently (e.g. *bolgarski* 'Bulgarian'): the 1945 *Pravopis* had one class of exceptions (*Bugarija* 'Bulgaria', *Bugarin*, *bugarski* 'Bulgarian'), and the 1950 *Pravopis* added the exceptions *čun*, *čunče* 'rowboat' and *sonce* 'sun', *sončev* 'sunny'. The exceptions with the reflex /u/ represented individual lexical items whose Northern forms had spread beyond the Northern region due to earlier Serbian influence.

Features 6, 7, and 9 involve the presence or absence of intervocalic /v/ in certain morphemes as well as a choice of conjugational type. For feature 6, the text of the 1944 resolutions used the Eastern form *tova* 'this', although it

was not part of the prescriptions. The 1945 **Pravopis** permitted both Eastern and Western forms, but the **1950 Pravopis** permitted only the Western form. The opposite direction of selection took place with regard to the pl morpheme for monosyllabic masc **nouns**. Whereas the 1945 **Pravopis** permitted the West Central *-oi* (pronounced [oj]) as well as the Tikveš-Mariovo *-ovi* (transitional to the more eastern *-ove*), the 1950 **Pravopis** permitted only the form which retained intervocalic /v/, viz. *-ovi*.⁹ Feature 9 corresponds to feature 3 of Table 3. The Northern form, which is used in Skopje and is virtually identical with Serbo-Croatian, was used in 1944 and prescribed in 1945 but changed to the Prilep form in 1948.

Features 4 and 5 refer to the representation and use of vocalic /r/ and schwa. The representation in the 1944 alphabet has already been discussed. The 1945 **Pravopis** specified the use of **p** for vocalic /r/, except in initial position, where it prescribed 'p'. This prescription is still the source of some debate (see Jankuloski 1972). Elsewhere, the apostrophe is only used to represent schwa, which the 1945 **Pravopis** permitted in dialectal forms and Turkisms, e.g. *k'smet* 'fate' but which the **1950 Pravopis** permitted only in dialectal forms, recommending that the West Central reflex /a/ be used in Turkisms, e.g. *kasmet*, thus 'naturalizing' those words of Turkish origin which were retained in the literary language.

On 19.I.5 1 the Ministry of Education appointed a commission for the compilation of a dictionary of the Macedonian language. The first of the three volumes appeared ten years later, but the second two (1965, 1966) were delayed by the terrible Skopje earthquake (26.VII.63). The dictionary gives Serbo-Croatian translations of all the entries, grammatical and prescriptive-stylistic information, and, for some entries, Macedonian definitions and examples of usage. This dictionary was a landmark in the codification of literary Macedonian, but it suffers in two ways: (1) many words are identical in Serbo-Croatian and Macedonian and are given without any definition, e.g. *abadžija* ('maker of coarse woolen cloaks'), and in this respect it is only orthographic; (2) with its 64,522 main entries there are still many words which were not included. The Institute for the Macedonian Language has an enormous card file for a new, revised dictionary, but as yet there are no concrete plans for its publication.

In 1970, a revised and expanded **Pravopis** was published under the general editorship of Krum Tošev with 148 pages of rules and a 30,000-word dictionary. A significant difference between this **Pravopis** and the first two is the lack of a morphological outline, the appearance of Koneski's grammar and the three-volume dictionary having obviated the need for it. Of particular interest is a new 33-page section on the proper transcription of words from foreign languages. Such a section indicates the stability that literary Macedonian had already achieved, insofar as scholars could turn their attention to

other languages. The choice of languages is also significant, as it represents those perceived as most important for Macedonian. The languages chosen are of four types: (1) Slavic (except for Lusatian), (2) Western Classical (Latin and Greek, including Modern Greek), (3) dominant West European (English, French, German, Italian, Spanish), (4) official languages of the SRM (Albanian and Turkish). This definition of the fourth category explains the absence of Romanian and Hungarian, which are official languages elsewhere in Yugoslavia (e.g. Vojvodina), as well as the absence of Aromanian and Romani, which are not official languages of the SRM.

An excellent measure of the progress of the standardization of literary Macedonian is the journal **Makedonski Jazik**. During its first four years of publication (1950-1953) as the Bulletin of the Department of South Slavic Languages of Skopje University, appearing ten times a year, the articles were predominantly practical. They were especially concerned with questions of standardization and description. In 1954, the journal began to be published semiannually by the newly founded Institute for the Macedonian Language. The stabilization that literary Macedonian had already achieved was reflected by the fact that the articles were now more concerned with dialectological and historical materials, lexicological questions, and the finer points of morphology and syntax. The journal began to come out annually in 1958, and its horizons expanded to a wide variety of theoretical issues connected with Macedonian linguistics. In 1977, the Institute began to issue a second journal (published irregularly): **Makedonistika**. This publication consists entirely of historical, dialectological, and other materials of the type that constituted a major part of contributions to **Makedonski Jazik** during its early years. It reflects the fact that **Makedonski Jazik** has become a journal concerned with Slavic and theoretical linguistics as well as Macedonian linguistics. As in the case of the new foreign-language transcription section of the 1970 **Pravopis**, this expansion of horizons indicates the level of stability and maturity which has already been achieved over the course of the past 40 years.

Implementation of standardization

In the preceding section, we discussed problems faced by the codifiers of literary Macedonian, viz. choice of orthography, dialectal base, etc. In this section we shall discuss problems faced by the users of the literary language, i.e. problems in the implementation of the standard.

With regard to the alphabet, the chief problems have been the availability of typefaces and typewriters. Thus, for example, when the official Macedonian alphabet was first published in **Nova Makedonija**, the newspaper itself

had to use a number of digraphs (кј, гј, лј, нј, дз, дж for ќ, ѓ, љ, њ, ѕ, ц) until enough typeface could be made (Stamatoski 1975: 8). Even today, an occasional non-Macedonian letter, e.g. Serbian ћ, will slip in. A related problem is the use of the Latin alphabet in official documents, signs, and other public notices. This has been due in part to the readier availability of Latin typewriters, but it arouses the ire of many Macedonians, for whom the Macedonian Cyrillic alphabet is an integral part of Macedonian language and nationalism (cf. e.g. *N.M.* 21.VI.75: 7). Aside from the problem of typefaces and the use of the Latin alphabet, the two major problems in the implementation of the standard have been and remain the influence of Serbo-Croatian and local dialects.

In the early years after the War, the influence of Serbo-Croatian was especially strong in all the major printed media due to the need for hasty translation. This was especially true of lexicon and syntax, e.g. the use of subordinating *da* 'that where Macedonian has **deka**, the separation of clitics from verbs where Macedonian does not permit the separation, etc. There was also significant Bulgarian lexical and grammatical influence during these early years, due to the fact that either Bulgarian or Serbo-Croatian had been the language of education for virtually all literate Macedonians in the SRM (see Ugrinova 1950b; Dimitrovski 1951a, 1951b; *N.M.* 8.VI.80: 9).

In recent years, the problem of Bulgarian influence has become negligible, as there is now an entire generation of Macedonians educated in literary Macedonian, although there remains a legacy from earlier years (Ugrinova 1968). The problem of Serbo-Croatian influence, however, remains acute. This influence extends to all levels of the language, from phonology to syntax. Thus, for example, there is considerable confusion over the use and pronunciation of the Macedonian letters *а* (clear [ɪ] before front vowels and [j] but velar [ɪ] elsewhere), *ѝ* (clear [i], never written before front vowels and *ј*) and *ѝј* ([ɪj] or, in rapid speech palatal [ɪʲ]) due to the pronunciation of the Serbo-Croatian *а* (clear [ɪ]) and *ѝ* (palatal [ɪʲ]). There is a tendency among younger Macedonians to pronounce *а* as *ɪ* in all environments (apparently a spelling-influenced pronunciation) and *ѝ* as [ɪʲ] in imitation of Serbo-Croatian. Consequently, they have no idea when to use *ѝ* and when to use *ѝј*.¹⁰ On the level of morphology, Serbo-Croatian influence affects derivational suffixes, gender assignment, the forms of numerals, etc. (see *N.M.* 8.VII.79: 7; 18.X.75: 11; 7.VI.80: 7). In syntax, the same problems of interrogative word order, placement of adverbs, etc., prevail as they did 40 years ago (*N.M.* 9.V.82: 11; 20.VIII.77: 6). The lexicon of waiters, salespeople, and similar service personnel dealing with the public is especially strongly influenced by Serbo-Croatian, as is the language in businesses having dealings outside of the SRM and the usage of Skopje in general (*N.M.* 9.V.82: 11; 20.VIII.77: 6; 21.VI.75: 7; 21.XII.74: 9, **Sabota** 28.X.78: 2, 18.IX.78: 2). In

all three cases, the cause for this influence can be ascribed to greater frequency of contact with Serbo-Croatian.

During the early years of codification, there were also considerable problems with the use of nonliterary dialectal forms. This was especially true in the local press outside of Skopje and in textbooks which were original works. The usage in schools in this early period was likewise filled with non-literary dialectal forms. In the East, major problems were the place of stress, failure to omit the third person auxiliary in the indefinite past, lack of the deictic definite articles, and inconsistent use of reduplication. In the West and in Skopje, a major difficulty was caused by the fact that speakers, aware that their dialects served as the basis of or contributed significantly to the literary language, would use dialectal forms which had **not** been accepted as literary, e.g. local reflexes of the Common Slavic back nasal, omitted intervocalic /v/, etc. The local Prilep press was especially bad in this regard (Vidoeski 1950b; Ugrinova 1950a).

Forty years later, the problem is not as acute, but it is far from solved, as can be seen from letters to the editor in **Nova Makedonija** and in Blagoja Korubin's *Jazično katče* 'linguistic corner' published in that same newspaper. Thus, one writer complains that while literary Macedonian is used in the schools, it is not used at home or work (*N.M.* 31.X.79: 9). Another complains that except for professional news announcers, the majority of people who speak or, radio and television use dialectal forms, and that this is especially true of sports announcers (**Sabota** 20.11.82: 2). A third complains of the fact that dialectal forms are used both in the media and in everyday speech for humorous effects, but that such usage reinforces genuinely dialectal speech habits (**Sabota** 16.VIII.80: 2).¹¹ Speakers from the West still have trouble understanding that their local dialects are not identical with literary Macedonian (*N.M.* 7.V.73: 9; 3.VIII.74: 9; 4.V.77: 5), and those from the East object to Western features which they perceive as nonliterary, e.g. the (now facultative) use of oblique forms of proper names (*N.M.* 30.VIII.80: 7; 14.VI.81: 12). Also, such long-standing debates as the choice of preposition to indicate possession (East *na*, West **od [na** is usually preferred]) continue to provoke spirited public discussion (*N.M.* 31.1.82: 12).

Despite the problems and open questions which continue to be discussed in journals such as *Prosvetno delo*, *Literaturen zbor*, and in the pages of **Nova Makedonija**, the difference between the standardization of Macedonian and, for example, the maintenance and standardization of literary American English is more quantitative than qualitative. Given the fact that all languages are in a constant state of flux, and that any literary language will be mastered to varying degrees by speakers in the culture, Macedonian is distinguished from English by more regional variants and larger areas of flux. Thus, for example, the average American college freshman cannot use forms such as

lie/lay, who/whom, loan/lend, etc., according to the literary norms, and among those speakers from areas where regional variants are at greater variance with the literary norm. Difficulties similar to those occurring in Macedonian are encountered. The chief qualitative difference between the standardization of literary English and literary Macedonian lies in the fact that the latter must contend with significant influence from a dominant foreign language, viz. Serbo-Croatian.

Macedonian and other languages

Serbo-Croatian

We have already devoted considerable space to the relationship of Serbo-Croatian to the history and problems of the standardization of literary Macedonian. Serbo-Croatian must be learned by all Macedonians who wish to function in Yugoslav society, but it need not be learned by those content to function only within Macedonian society, e.g. in rural areas. Virtually all Macedonians are exposed to Serbo-Croatian through the mass media, however, especially television and domestic and subtitled foreign films. Those Macedonians with more than a high-school education must understand Serbo-Croatian in order to read some of their textbooks, a relatively simple task due to a high degree of mutual intelligibility, but the degree of active mastery varies considerably. Many Macedonians are content to alter their phonology and lexicon a bit and let the cases fall where they may.

When speaking to foreigners, Macedonians who know Serbo-Croatian will attempt to use that language on the assumption that the foreigner is more likely to know it. They will also use Serbo-Croatian when speaking with Yugoslavs from outside the SRM, despite the fact that they would probably be understood if they used Macedonian. Nonetheless, Lunt (1959: 26) is correct in the observation that Macedonians of the younger (now middle) generations have no feeling of linguistic inferiority. The switch to Serbo-Croatian is done more to prove that one is 'educated' in the sense of capable of using a foreign language.

Bulgarian

The Bulgarians continue to maintain that Macedonian is a Bulgarian dialect, or 'regional variant', to use their current terminology (BAN 1978; Veličkova 1980; Balkansko czikoznanie 1983). This attitude has remained constant

except during the periods 1946 to 1948 and 1948 to 1956-1958. From 1946 to 1948, the Macedonians of Pirin Macedonia were recognized as a national minority within Bulgaria and had their own schools and publications using literary Macedonian as it was being codified in the SRM. After the Tito-Stalin-break of 1948, the Bulgarian government followed a policy which, while recognizing the Macedonians as a separate nationality, claimed that the Macedonian literary language as codified in the SRM was a Serbian plot to Serbianize the Macedonians (see e.g. Mirčev 1952). Thenceforward, Macedonian and publications in it were not permitted in Bulgaria, a situation which obtains to this day with certain notable exceptions.* At the same time, no attempt was made to create a literary Macedonian other than that being codified in the SRM (see especially Koneski 1952a). With the Hungarian revolution of 1956 and the subsequent worsening of Yugoslav-Soviet relations which continued through 1958, the Bulgarians finally reverted to their pre-War position openly. Since that time, the openness and vehemence of Bulgarian attacks on Macedonian have varied, apparently, with the state of Yugoslav-Soviet relations (cf. King 1973: 188-192). It is difficult to assess the feelings of the Pirin Macedonians themselves."

There is one other group of Macedonians in Bulgaria who should be mentioned here, viz. those Aegean Macedonians who emigrated to Bulgaria, especially in the wake of the Greek Civil War in 1948. These Macedonians consider themselves to be ethnically Bulgarian and have learned to speak literary Bulgarian, although members of the older generation are still conversant in their native dialects, which, owing to the configuration of isoglosses, belong primarily to the East dialect region, i.e. the one which is closer to Bulgarian. We should note here that many Aegean Macedonians who emigrated to Bulgaria were subsequently settled along the Black Sea, i.e. at the other end of the country from Pirin Macedonia.¹⁴

Greek

The Greek government has followed a policy of more or less active Hellenization of the Aegean Macedonians. Under the treaty of Sèvres (1920), the Greek government was obligated to provide native-language education for non-Greeks in areas where they were 'numerous'. To this end, a Macedonian primer entitled *Abecedar* was published in Athens in 1925 in a Latin orthography and based, more or less, on the dialects of Bitola and Lerin (Florina). As Hill (1982) has pointed out, this primer was intended to counteract separatism in Greece and foster irredentism in Yugoslavia. The textbook was never actually used, however, and under the Metaxas dictatorship of the

1930s the use of Macedonian, even in private, was declared illegal, and thousands of Macedonians were harassed (Apostoloski 1969: 271-272).

As we have already mentioned, many Aegean Macedonians left Greece in or about 1948. In addition to those who went to Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, many Aegean Macedonians went to the US, Canada, and Australia, and to other countries in Eastern Europe. Those in English-speaking countries fall into three groups: those who identify as Bulgarians, those who identify as Macedonians and support the SRM, and those who identify as Macedonians but do not identify with the SRM (rather, they still favor an independent Macedonian state). In 1953, an attempt was made to write a Macedonian grammar for Aegean refugees elsewhere in Eastern Europe, but it was based more on literary Bulgarian and nothing came of it (Hill 1982).

Those Macedonians who still live in Greece are rapidly being Hellenized. Macedonian is not permitted in the press, in schools, or in any phase of public life. Members of the younger generation are encouraged to assimilate by the hostile attitude of the Greek government and populace and the knowledge that this is the only way to succeed in Greek society. Members of the older generation are afraid to speak Macedonian with strangers except in Salonika, where many Yugoslav Macedonians go for tourism and shopping. The official attitude of the Greek government is that there is no Slavic minority in Greece and that Macedonian is a Greek dialect, not a Slavic language (see *N.M.* 27.X11.81: 11; also Andriotes 1957).

Other Balkan languages: Albanian, Aromanian, Romani, Turkish

Albanian is spoken throughout western Macedonia and is the majority language in cities such as Debar, Gostivar, and Tetovo. The Macedonians living in Albania are not officially recognized as a minority, and so reliable information is difficult to obtain. Estimates vary from 30,000 to 60,000 (cf. Andonovski 1974: 203). Apparently the Albanian government has attempted to provide primary schooling in Macedonian, as evidenced by the fact that a primer was published in a southwest Macedonian dialect (not literary Macedonian) and the fact that an Albanian educator on an official visit to Skopje in the early 1970s purchased a number of Macedonian elementary-school readers.

In the SRM, Macedonian has become a vehicle of assimilation, especially among the non-Slavic Christian populations, i.e. the Aromanians and Christian Albanians. It is interesting to note that religion is still a significant factor in national identification and language policies. Thus, for example, the languages of the two principal Moslem minorities in the SRM, viz. Albanian and Turkish, are official languages of the SRM with constitutional rights to

schools, publications, etc., and a third significant Moslem minority, viz. the Roms, are currently in the process of integrating into the mainstream of Macedonian national life as a distinct ethnic group demanding schools and cultural institutions of their own. The Aromanians, however, who are Christian albeit also numerically much smaller, have no such institutions.

The Aromanians and Christian Albanians appear to be gradually assimilating to a Macedonian linguistic and national identity. Among the Moslems, there is greater pressure for Roms and to a lesser extent Turks to assimilate to an Albanian identity. Although in the past most Albanians learned Turkish and very few Turks learned Albanian, due to prestige and other factors, the current sociopolitical and numerical situation has brought about the reverse, viz. some Turks are learning Albanian and fewer Albanians are learning Turkish, although Turkish still has prestige. All the minorities in urban areas, and many in rural areas as well, are at least bilingual with Macedonian and many are polyglot. This is especially true of Roms.

When discussing the relationships of Macedonian to the other languages of the Balkans, one must also mention the Balkan *Sprachbund*. Ever since Sandfeld's (1930) seminal work, it has been recognized that Greek, Albanian, Balkan Romance, and Balkan Slavic share a number of structural features due to convergence resulting from centuries of multilingual contact and thus form a linguistic league or *Sprachbund*. In many respects, Western Macedonian is the 'heartland' of this *Sprachbund*, as all four types of language are in intimate contact on a scale unequalled elsewhere in the Balkans.

The influence of Turkish on the Balkan *Sprachbund* has been seen as primarily lexical and phraseological, although in fact the Turkish dialects of the Balkans are far more 'Balkanized' than is generally recognized (see Friedman 1982).¹⁵ Under Ottoman rule, Turkish was a prestige language known by most men in Macedonia. Since the establishment of literary Macedonian, most Turkisms have been relegated to colloquial and humorous speech and have been self-consciously replaced in the written language, although many others have been thoroughly 'naturalized' (see Kazazis 1972).

One other area of mutual contact and influence is the so-called *secret languages*, i.e. the trade jargons of the various guilds and professions. These languages were Macedonian in their grammatical structure and most of their vocabulary, but contained numerous lexical items, many of them borrowed from Albanian, Aromanian, and Romani, which enabled their users to communicate without being understood by their customers, clients, officials, etc. (see Jašar-Nasteva 1953). In modern Macedonian, words from these languages occur in slang and regional speech.

Russian and the dominant languages of Western Europe

During the 19th century, those Macedonians who went abroad to be educated generally learned Russian or German, and there was significant Russian influence in the writings of Macedonians during this period. German influence also entered via merchants, miners, etc., from Austria-Hungary and Germany (see Gacov 1971; Lchiste forthcoming). Although, as we have seen, a group of codifiers favored the encouragement of Russian influence immediately after World War Two, their views were not adopted. At the present time, the most influential Western language is unquestionably English, followed by French. The language of the press and everyday speech are filled with English loanwords, e.g. *bestseler*, *fleš* 'news flash', *šoping* 'shopping abroad', *biznes*, *memorija* 'memory', *super* 'wonderful', *start* 'beginning', *startuva* 'to begin', *stavi stop na* 'put a stop to', etc. In contradistinction to the Balkan languages, however, the Western languages have only influenced Macedonian on the lexical level, although some phraseological influence also appears to be creeping in.

Special problems

Most of the topics concerning special problems in the functioning of literary Macedonian in its various roles in society are implicit or explicit in the rest of this article. In this section, therefore, we will simply summarize some of the most salient problems.

In education, Macedonian functions adequately as the language of instruction at all levels, as evidenced by the recent establishment of a second Macedonian university in Bitola (24.IV.79). A major problem at the university level, however, is the lack of textbooks in many subjects, e.g. psychology, architecture, medicine; students must use lecture notes or textbooks in Serbo-Croatian or other languages (*N.M.* 21.II.80: 10). At the high school level, a major problem is the curriculum in technical schools, where attempts are being made to reduce the number of hours required for the study of Macedonian (*Sabota* 21.II.82: 2). This, however, is comparable to the problems faced by teachers of English in America. Another source of tension faced by Macedonian in education is the fact that members of the national minorities attending their own schools (Albanians and Turks) must study two Yugoslav foreign languages, viz. Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian, whereas Macedonians can take a 'world' language (English, French, Russian, German, etc.) as their second foreign language. For members of the national minorities, this 'world' language becomes a third rather than a second foreign language.

We have already discussed the influence of Serbo-Croatian. It is felt in

the mass media and in all areas of work outside the rural areas (cf. *N.M.* 31.X.78: 9). Serbo-Croatian influence is also a problem in technical and professional schools, although among lawyers Latin is the dominant source of jargon and terminology (*Sabota* 16.VIII.80: 2). The use of dialectisms is not a serious problem in the printed mass media, but it continues to be a source of tension in the spoken media and at work.

This brings us to a particularly significant source of tension among Macedonians with regard to the literary language, viz. the linguistic generation gap. This gap has resulted from the fact that there is now an entire generation of speakers educated in literary Macedonian and an older generation that received its education in another language and still remembers the struggles for codification. The former is far less tolerant than the latter of deviations from the norm (cf. *N.M.* 8.VI.80: 9).

Apart from these internal problems, there is the external problem created by scholars and governments outside of Yugoslavia, viz. in Greece and Bulgaria. These sources continually seek to denigrate, deny, or distort the fact of the existence of a Macedonian literary language. One of the most recent open attacks occurred when the Greek government withdrew its recognition of degrees granted by the University of Skopje and called all the Greek students home (*Chronicle of Higher Education* 16.III.83). Despite political maneuvers and negative propaganda, however, Macedonian continues to fulfill its functions as a literary language. It has a clearly established basic norm, although there are many areas which remain in a state of flux. The process of codification is an open dialogue between scholars and users of the language, as can be seen, for example, in the exchanges in the popular press.

Despite problems and tensions, both internal and external, it can be said that the process begun in the 19th century and delayed during the first third of the 20th has not merely recommenced, but has made up for lost time with extraordinary rapidity, thus enabling Macedonian to become firmly established as a fully functional literary language.¹⁶

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Notes

1. The category *unknown* includes those citizens who declared a nationality unknown to the census bureau. Among those were at least **200 egipkani/egupci (gupci)** 'Egyptians/Gypsies'. At least some of these are Albanophone Roms, i.e. people of Romani descent speaking Albanian in the home (*Sabota* 6.III.82: 2).
2. Other nationalities in the SRM include Austrians, Bulgarians, Croats, Czechs, Germans, Greeks, Hungarians, Italians, Montenegrins, Poles, Ruthenians, Russians, Slovaks, Slovacs, and Ukrainians.

3. This definition of nationality is still promulgated by some Greeks, e.g. in referring to Orthodox Albanians as *Albanophone Greeks* (cf. e.g. Ruches 1967: 54).
4. We should note here that there were (and still are) also Slavs from Macedonia who considered themselves to be Bulgarian or Serbian and favored the adoption of literary Bulgarian or Serbian. Since they did not contribute to the development of literary Macedonian, however, their activities are irrelevant to the discussion here.
5. Thus, for example, the Serbian linguist Belić (1919: 250) claimed that the north and central Macedonian dialects were Serbian, while the southern dialects were Bulgarian, on the basis of the fact that the reflexes of Common Slavic */tj/, */dj/ are /k/, /g/ in the northern and central dialects (like Serbo-Croatian /č/, /ǰ/) but /šć/, /žž/ in the south (like Bulgarian /it/, /id/). This amounts to the arbitrary choice of a single isogloss as a linguistic boundary. Vaillant (1938: 19) pointed out in answer to Belić's argument that on the basis of historical phonological developments Macedonian is closer to Bulgarian than to Serbian, and he went on to note that vestiges of /št/ in the /k/ area show that the latter reflex is the result of later substitution, e.g. in Galičnik (Debar region) *gaški* 'britches' but *gašnik* (cf. Bulgarian *gaštrnik*) 'a belt for holding up *gaški*'. Vaillant (1938: 204–208), however, concluded his remarks with the observation that Macedonian was not a dialect of Bulgarian but deserved a separate place in the Macedo-Bulgarian group.
6. We should note here that the city of Skopje itself is virtually at the intersection of the east-west and north-south isogloss bundles.
7. The different dialects of the Debar region show considerable variation. The dialect of the town of Debar itself has the peripheral reflexes. Those given in the table represent the Reka, Drimkol, and Golobrdio dialects, where our use of o stands for /o/ or /ɔ/. The Mala Reka dialect has *krv*, *vlk*, *pot*.
8. The Macedonian nominal system is analytic and expresses case relations by means of prepositions, as does English.
9. The ending *-oj* is still permitted in poetry.
10. This problem is a common topic of discussion in the *Jazično katče* 'linguistic corner', a weekly feature of *Nova Makedonija* written by Blagoja Korubin (e.g. 3.V.75 to 28.V.11.75; 20.X.1.80: 7, 28.11.82: 12). Other citations from *Nova Makedonija* in this paragraph are also from Korubin's *Katče*. See also Korubin 1969, 1976, 1980.
11. The dialects from Kumanovo and Gevgelija are especially popular sources of humor in the spoken media, whereas the print media tend to favor West dialect forms for humorous anecdotes, quotations in local news stories, etc. (e.g. *N.M.* 24.1.82: 5, 7.V.1.81: 5). Dialectal effects are also rendered in the print media simply by violating orthographic norms, e.g. *nemožef* for literary *ne možev* which would in either case be pronounced [némožef] 'I couldn't'.
12. Among the exceptions have been a cooperative agreement signed between Macedonian and Bulgarian composers in both languages (*N.M.* 6.11.81: 10) and the exhibition of Macedonian books at Sofia's international book fair (*N.M.* 19.1X.79: 10).
13. Some Pirin Macedonians identify as ethnic Bulgarians, others will identify as ethnic Macedonians in private but dare not do so in public.
14. We should note here that many Aegean Macedonians identified as ethnic Macedonians and emigrated to the SRM, where they have learned the literary language and been integrated into the society. There is also another group of Macedonians in Bulgaria, viz. those Vardar Macedonians who identified as ethnic Bulgarians and

emigrated to Bulgaria. These are perhaps the bitterest opponents of a separate Macedonian language and national identity.

15. On the supposed Turkish origin of the so-called 'reported' verb forms in Balkan Slavic, which has often been cited as evidence of Turkish structural influence, see Friedman 1978. We can also note here that the place of Romani in the Balkan *Sprachbund* has been virtually totally ignored. Those dialects spoken in Macedonia and elsewhere in the Balkans are considerably more 'Balkanized' than those spoken outside of the Balkans, but much research remains to be done.
16. I should like to take this opportunity to thank the Committee for Information of the SRM, the Institute for the Macedonian Language, the University of Skopje, and the Macedonian Academy of Arts and Sciences, which have generously supplied me with many of the publications essential to this research. I should also like to note here a forthcoming book entitled *The Development of Macedonian: A Sociolinguistic Approach* by Fernando Peñalosa.

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