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PETAR HR. ILIEVSKI

POSITION OF THE ANCIENT MACEDONIAN LANGUAGE AND THE NAME OF THE CONTEMPORARY *MAKEDONSKI*

1. The language spoken for centuries by people of the largest part of a small central Balkan country - Macedonia - is known under the name *Makedonski* (Macedonian). Rich folklore has been created in *Makedonski*, and during the last fifty years widely acknowledged literary writings have appeared in it. Under this name it has been taught abroad in a certain number of university centres, and it is included among the other European languages as a specific Balkan Slavic language.

However, the southern neighbours cannot reconcile themselves to this name, because they think that it is Greek, taken by the "Republic of Skopje as a pretext for some territorial claim". In their thesis, thunderously propagated throughout the world, they identify themselves with ancient Macedonians, emphasising that ancient Macedonian was a Greek dialect like Ionian and Aeolian.

The aim of this paper is to throw some light on the problem imposed on the political, scientific, scholarly and cultural circles of the world, in order to answer the question whether somebody's rights are usurped by the use of the name *Macedonia/n*. An analysis of the scarce survivals from the ancient Macedonian in comparison with some Greek parallels will show whether ancient Macedonian is a Greek dialect, or a separate language, different from Greek. But, as the modern Greeks now pretend to an ethnical identity with the ancient Macedonians. I cannot avoid some historical data about the relations between classical Greeks and their contemporaneous Macedonians.

2. The origin of the ancient Macedonians and the affiliation of their language have been vividly discussed for nearly 200 years. The insufficient number of survivals from ancient Macedonian gives reason for the different interpretations and opinions of the scholars. While some of them (e.g. K. O. Müller, G. Meyer, A. Thumb - E. Kiekers, M. Vasmer, M. Budimir, V. Pisani, I. I. Russu, P. Chantraine, etc.) think that the ancient Macedonians were a separate people and their language different from Greek, others (e.g. W. Sturz, A. Fick, P. Kretschmer,

G. N. Hatzidakis, O. Hofmann, F. Solmsen, C. D. Buck, J. N. Kalléris, etc.)¹ admit the possibility that they might have been a Greek tribe and their language close to Greek, but existing for a long time in cultural isolation far from Greek, it has developed some specific features.

Modern Greek linguists are the most zealous defenders of the second thesis which supports the neo-Hellenistic conception of *μεγάλη Ελλάδα*. The founders of this ideology, A. Korais and church leaders from Phenar in the late 18th century, firstly threw off the ethnonym *Ρωμαίοι*, which the Greeks had been using for about 1500 years, and changed it to *Έλληνες* in order to remind themselves always of the ancient Hellenes' glory.

When finally, with the aid of many Balkan and European phil-Hellenes, the Greeks were liberated from Turkish domination, in the thirties of the last century numerous scholars (historians, geographers, ethnographers, etc.) from Europe hastened to Greece in order to see what had survived of the classical Greek glory. They were disappointed when they noticed that only insignificant traces of ancient Greece were left. Their pieces of information could not be brought together into the conception of a pure-blooded Hellas. Therefore the Greeks undertook an organised action for creating an ethnically pure state by different means (school, church, science and administration).

The great migration of peoples which fundamentally changed the ethnic map of Europe, especially on the Balkans, in early Byzantine times is regarded by them with depreciation. While Constantine Porphyrogenitus says: "*Εσθλαβόθη δέ πάσα ή χώρα και γέγονε βάρβαρος*", the contemporary Greek authors (with a few exceptions²) affirm that there were only sporadic intrusions by raiding groups of barbarian Slavic peoples.

During the last 50 years (after M. Vasmer's study *Die Slaven in Griechenland*, 1941, and especially after the establishment of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia in the framework of the Confederative Socialist R. of Yugoslavia, 1944/5) an intensive campaign was undertaken in Greece with the aim of abandoning the thesis of the non-Greek origin of the ancient Macedonians, which, according to them, had been a result of pan-Slavic ideas, and to corroborate the thesis that the ancient Macedonians were Greeks. The books *Les anciens Macédoniens* by J. N. Kalléris, 1954, and *The Confederate State of Skopje and Its Language*, a political pamphlet by N. P. Andriotes, 1957, were written in this spirit.

After the decipherment of the Mycenaean Linear B script (1952) Greek philologists in the sixties began to search and "discover" phonetic and lexical parallels

¹ For further references see in P. HR. ILIEVSKI, *Poteklo na antičkiot makedonski i imeto na sovremeniot makedonski jazik*, Prilozi MANU, Oddelenie za lingvistika i literaturna nauka, XVII, 1992 (in the press).

² PH. MALINGOUDIS, *Studien zu slavischen Ortsnamen Griechenlands. I. Slavische Flurnamen aus der messenischen Mani*. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, 1981, Nr. 3, Mainz.

between Mycenaean and ancient Macedonian. They found that the ancient Macedonians were Indoeuropeans, proto-Hellenes, and that their language was the oldest, purest and most conservative Greek dialect, which at the same time throws new light on the oldest history of the Greek ethnos³.

The development of the thesis of "Greek Macedonia" reached its culmination in the seventies when the luxurious edition of *The History of the Greek Ethnos I* was published (1970), and especially after the grave with Philippos II's relics was discovered at Vergina. The finds in the grave, together with 13 articles by known archaeologists and historians, were published in a well illustrated publication *Philip of Macedon* in 1980, and soon an extraordinary jubilation - "4.000 years of Greek Macedonia" - was pompously celebrated in Thessaloniki.

3. The attitude of the Modern Greeks towards the question of the nationality of the ancient Macedonians and what their language was, is basically different from that of the classical Greeks who had direct contacts with them. In Homer Macedonians are not mentioned, and classical Greek historians from Vth century B.C. well know that Macedonians were not Greeks.

The Macedonian dynasty, especially beginning with Alexandros I Philhellen (498-454) led an openly pro-Hellenic policy. At their court, first in Aigai and later in Pella, educated Greeks (teachers, physicians, artists, etc.) sojourned. The Macedonian kings were fond of representing themselves as Greeks. To obtain the right to take part in the Olympic games, which was denied to him as a barbarian, Alexandros I claimed that he was descended from Argos in Peloponnesos, from the dynasty of Temenides, cf. Hdt. V, 22.

Governed by such a dynasty, the ancient Macedonians were slowly included into the sphere of Hellenic culture. However, the ancient Greeks never acknowledged them as compatriots. There are numerous testimonies from which one can see that the ancient Macedonians were barbaroi for the Greeks. I shall mention only a few of them:

Thrasimachos of Halkedon (Vth cent. B.C.) calls the Macedonian king Arkhelaos, grandson of Alexandros I, *barbaros*. According to him, the river Peneios, south of Olympus, was the ethnic and linguistic boundary between Macedonia and Hellas. In the book *Περὶ πολιτείας*, attributed to Pseudo-Herodes, (34-37) the Macedonians are called the most hostile *barbaroi*. The Athenian rhetor Isocrates (*Philippus* 106-108), who was pro-Macedonian inclined and saw in Philippos II a leader of Greeks against Persians, used to differentiate the Macedonian people from its dynasty: The ancestor of the Macedonian kings Perdika, an Argive prince, not allowed to institute tyranny in Argos, had to go to Upper Macedonia in order to rule foreign people. Plutarch (*Vita Arati* 16)

³ I. K. ΠΡΟΜΠΙΟΝΑ, *Ἡ συγγένεια Μακεδονικῆς καὶ Μυκηναϊκῆς διαλέκτου καὶ ἡ πρωτοελληνικὴ καταγωγή τῶν Μακεδόνων*, Ἀθήναι 1973, 6.

considered the Macedonian domination in Greece as foreign, imported from outside by aliens (*ἀλλόφυλοι*).

The Modern Greeks try to explain that the Macedonians were called barbaroi because they were at a lower cultural level. But this is a secondary meaning of the word. The term *βάρβαρος* comes from a linguistic sphere, not a cultural one. The ancient Greeks called *barbaroi* those who spoke other, incomprehensible languages. Persians and Egyptians who were not at lower standard than Greeks were called *barbaroi*. It is remarkable that the Dorians, who really were at a much lower cultural level than the Achaeans and Ionians, were never called *barbaroi*.

The fact that in Macedonia, especially in its capitals, numerous Greek inscriptions are found, is used as a proof that the ancient Macedonians were Greeks. But it is well known that in ancient times Greek was a language of literacy and diplomacy; it was used in all Balkan, Mediterranean and Near Eastern countries the same as Latin in medieval West Europe, or English today all over the world.

From the fact that Alexander III spread Greek culture in the Attic dialect the Modern Greek authors conclude that he thought of Greek as his own language. But C. Rufus (VI, 9.37) gives an opposite proof that his father-language was unintelligible to the Greeks. Educated by the great Greek philosopher Aristotle, Alexander highly appreciated the classical Greek culture, the progressive ideas of which spread to central Asia. However, he had abandoned the dogma that Greeks and barbarians are different and in his policy introduced the idea of their equality, a strange thought even for his teacher who taught him to be a leader of Greeks and ruler of barbarians. In this conduct Alexander followed the philobarbaros Homer more than Aristotles who regarded barbarians as slaves by nature. According to his cosmopolitan ideology Alexander showed extraordinary magnanimity both towards the Greeks and the conquered Balkan and Asiatic peoples, whose popular customs and religious feelings he deeply esteemed.⁴

4. A proof of the Greekness of the ancient Macedonians is guessed at Hdt. I, 56. Here Herodotus relates the legend about Greek tribes, descendants of Hellen, and, among other things he narrates that the Doric tribe, oppressed by Cadmeans, had to leave Histiaiotis, south of Olympus, and emigrate to the north in Pindus, where the tribe was named *Μακεδόνν*. Later it removed to Dryotis, and finally to Peloponnesus, where it was called Doric.

Some philologists derive the name *Macedonia* (var. *Maketia*) and the ethnonym *Macedones* from the word *Μακεδνός*. They find support for such a relation in the phrase *Δαρικόν τε καὶ Μακεδνὸν ἔθνος* in Hdt. VIII, 43. On the basis of these words A. Fick⁵ supposed that the ancient Macedonians were a Hellenic tribe which on its way to the Mediterranean lagged behind in the central

⁴ Cf. M. DJURIĆ, *Ž.A.* 4, 1954, 16-59.

⁵ A. FICK, *KZ.* 22, 1874, 197, 208; *BB.* 26, 1886, 242.

Balkan⁶. He explained the ethnonym *Macedones* from *Μακεδνός* first as '(people) of high stature', then as inhabitants of high mountainous terrain. The word *Μακεδνός* is a hapax in Hom. (Od. VII, 106) with the meaning 'high, thin, tender' for the poplar tree. This isolated word is of unclear meaning. It does not define geomorphic peculiarities, as M. Budimir⁷ states. It also contradicts the name of the original territory where the *Macedones* lived, i.e. *Ἡμαθία* which means a sandy and maritime terrain.

Different interpretations have been suggested to date for the phrase *Δαρικόν τε καὶ Μακεδνὸν ἔθνος*, and serious doubts have been expressed about the etymology of *Macedones*, related to *Μακεδνός*⁸. But even if the name *Macedonia* and *Macedones* were Greek, this does not mean that the ancient Macedonians were Greeks. The etymology of ethnonyms in many cases is not clear. Often they are of foreign origin, usually given by neighbours. Thus the name *Graeci*, today a widespread name, is of Latin origin. The Romans first came in contact with a Greek tribe in Epirus - the *Grai*, whom they called *Graeci*, and then transferred this name to other Greek tribes who spoke the same language. In a similar way according to the German tribes *Nemeti* and *Suebi* all the German tribes were called *Nemci* and *Švabi* by some neighbouring Slavs. On the other hand the name *Italia*, primarily a geographic name, was created with Greek intermediation. It comes from an appellative, Lat. *vitulus* 'calf', Osc. *Viteliú* 'Land of calves'. Greeks from the colonies in South Italy could not pronounce the initial *v-*, which disappeared in Greek, and thus the horonym *Italia* was formed. Later from this geographic name the ethnonym *Italiani* was created, and the vulgar Latin spoken there - *Italian*.

Ancient Macedonia was divided into two parts: *ἡ ἄνω Μακεδονία* 'Upper M.' and *ἡ κάτω Μακεδονία* 'Lower M.'⁹ It is noticeable that Thucydides (II, 99) makes a distinction between the proper Macedonians, conquerors and Macedonians from Upper Macedonia, conquered middle Balkan tribes, which were subdued and half free. Although they were not original *Makedones*, the Greeks called them Macedonians. The number of this kind of Macedonians increased when Philip II included some other northern territories and from them took elite troops for his guard. They had great privileges and after being

⁶ The traditional theory that the Greek tribes entered Greece from the north in three successive waves is out of date since J. CHADWICK's studies: *The Prehistory of the Greek Language*, CAH, Cambridge 1963; - *Greek and pre-Greek*, TPhS 1969, 80-98; - *Who Were the Dorians*, PP fsc. 146, 1976, 103-117.

⁷ M. BUDIMIR, *De Macedonum nominis vi atque origine*, ŽA 16, 1966, 176-180.

⁸ P. CHANTRAINE, *La Formation des noms en grec ancien*, Paris 1933, 194, 360; DELG s.v.; E. RISCH, *Wortbildung der homerischen Sprache*², 1974, 106; H. KRAHE, *Glotta* 17, 1929, 159, etc.

⁹ When Macedonia was conquered by the Romans, it was turned into a province. Firstly it included parts of Thessaly and Thracia, but soon it was divided into two parts: *Macedonia Prima* and *Macedonia Secunda* very likely not without reasons.

retired from military service they become Macedonian citizens (cf. Diod. Sic. 17, 109.1; 18, 12.2).

5. The thesis that the ancient Macedonians were a Doric tribe is today abandoned by official Greek scholarship. Now, Greek scholars go further into the past. On the basis of linguistic parallels between Mycenaean Greek and a few glosses denoted as Macedonian they discover, as we have already mentioned, that Macedonian was the oldest and purest proto-Hellenic dialect.

From ancient Macedonian about 100 glosses are known with different degree of certainty¹⁰. A number of them very likely belong to other paleo-Balkan languages. It has been noted that, at the time of Thucydides, not only proper Makedones were called Macedonians, but also people from other Balkan tribes in Upper Macedonia. Because of a symbiosis of the Balkan peoples in ancient times there were borrowings of words from one language to another the same as in the contemporary Balkan linguistic league. Some of the glosses denoted as Macedonian, could originate from their languages. Besides, the glosses were not always written precisely by scribes from other linguistic communities. Errors of different kind are noticeable in quite a large number of these glosses. But, even if all of them were Macedonian and accurately related, they are insufficient for a full reconstruction of ancient Macedonian, because they are known only in one form and no text has survived from this language.

This lexical stock has often been a subject of etymological analysis. While earlier attempts were made to discover Doric features, now Greek linguists are making great efforts to find archaic, Aeolic and Mycenaean parallels. In fact, the material is complex and heterogeneous. If in some words Doric forms appear (e.g. *ἀγῆμα δαίτας*), in others Attic ones are noticeable (*βηματίζειν*, not *βᾶμα* - Doric). In the personal name *Πτολεμαῖος* an Aeolic reflex can be seen (*πόλις* not *πόλις* Attic), but in many other glosses the digamma (Ϝ), typical of Aeolic, is missing. Together with examples where some features of Greek dialects can be recognised, there are glosses which cannot be explained with a Greek etymology. Nearly one half of the glosses are with a hypothetical interpretation, and of some of them nothing can be said with certainty.

Glosses with a certain or probable explanation can be divided into several groups:

a. Greek loan words in the same form, but often with changed meaning: *ἀγῆμα* 'the royal guard', Gr. 'leading division'; *ἀγκάλις* 'burden' and 'sickle', Gr. 'bent arm'; *δαίτας* 'distributor'; *ἑταῖροι* 'royal followers', Gr. 'comrades'; *ἡμεροδρόμας* 'messenger', Gr. 'long distance runner'; *λοχαγός* 'leader of an armed band', etc.

¹⁰ Cf. bibliography for every glosse in I. PUDIĆ, *Die Sprache der alten Makedonen, L'ethnogenèse des peuples balkaniques*, Sofia 1971, 207-223, cf. also R. KRATČIĆ, *Ancient Languages of the Balkans*, the Hague 1976, 100-108.

b. Adapted Greek loan words: *ἀγέρδα* 'pear', Gr. *ἀχέρδος* 'wild pear'; *ἀδή* 'sky', Gr. *αἰθήρ* 'ether, the heaven'; *ἀδραία* 'clear sky', Gr. *αἰθρία* 'clear cold air' (of night); *δάνος* 'death', Gr. *θάνατος*; *δάρυλλος* 'oak', Gr. *δρῦς* 'tree'; *δώραξ* 'spleen', Gr. *θώραξ* 'armour'; *κάναδοι* 'jaws', Gr. *γνάθος* 'lower jaw'; *κεβ(α)λή* 'head', Gr. *κεφαλή*; *κόμβοι* 'teeth', Gr. *γομφίοι*, etc.

c. Glosses with IE etymologies, but without corresponding Greek parallels: *ἀβροῦτες* 'brow', Gr. *ὄφρῦς*, Slav. *brovь*, Skt. *bruh*, Mir. *bruiad*. *ἄλιξα*: ἡ *λευκή τῶν δένδρων* Slav. *e/olha*; *βέδν* 'water', Phryg. 'air' and 'water', lat. *unda* < **medu-*; *γόδα* 'intestines', Gr. *ἔντερα*, Skt. *gudam*, Germ. *Kut* < **geu-*, *gu-*; *ιζέλια* 'good luck', Illyr. *veselia*; *πέλλα* 'stone' Germ. *Fels* IE **pel-sa*;

d. Glosses with uncertain etymologies and without Greek parallels: *ἄβαγνα* 'roses', Gr. *ρόδα*; *ἀκρέα* 'girl', Gr. *παῖς θήλεια*; *ἀλίη* 'boar', Gr. *κάπρος*; *βίρροξ* 'shrubs', Gr. *δασύ*; *γοτάν* 'pig', Gr. *ὑς*; *δράμις* 'bread', Gr. *ἄρτος*; *κανυσία* 'hats', Gr. *πίλος*; *σάρισ(σ)α* 'long pike', Gr. *δόρυς μακρόν*; *σιγόννη* 'spear', Gr. *δόρατα*, etc.

Greek loan words could penetrate into ancient Macedonian by different ways. It is noticeable that there are words from the administrative and military life, e.g. *βασιλεύς* 'king'. There are a number of anatomical terms, e.g. *κάναδοι*, *γνάθοι*, *κεβλή*, *κεφαλή*, *κόμβοι*, *γομφίοι*, etc. mainly from military surgery. As Greek surgeons stayed at the Macedonian palace, it is easy to understand how such terms were accepted.

From the adapted Greek loan words one can clearly see differences between Macedonian and Greek phonetics: IE vowel *o*, which is perfectly preserved in Greek, in Macedonian passes into *a*: *δάρυλλος* : *δόρυ*, *ἀβροῦτες* : *ὄφρῦς*. IE diphthong *ai* in Greek is kept well, cf. **aid^h*- *αἰθήρ*, in Macedonian it became a monophthong: *ἀδή*, *ἀδαλός*, Gr. *αἰθήρ*, *αιθαλός*.

In the consonantism there are more differences: the final *-r*, stable in Greek, cf. *αἰθήρ*, disappears in Macedonian: *ἀδή*. Sigma in initial and intervocalic position in Greek disappears through a spiritus asper, and in Maced. it is preserved, and even became sonorous, cf. *σάρισ(σ)α*, *ιζέλα*.

While the aspirate occlusives in Greek are well preserved, in Maced. a kind of Lautverschiebung appears, similar to that in Phrygian and Gothic. Thus, IE **b^h* > Gr. *φ*, Maced. *β* : *κεβ(α)λή* : *κεφαλή*, *Βίλιππος* : *Φίλιππος*, IE **d^h* > Gr. *θ*, Maced. *δ* : *δάνος* : *θάνατος*, IE **g^h*, *g^h* > Gr. *χ*, Maced. *κ/γ* : *ἀγέρδα* : *ἀχέρδα*, *κόμβοι* : *γομφίοι*.

In classical Greek, with its pitch accent, syncopes are quite rare. It seems that in Maced. the accent was dynamic and expiratory as one can infer from the forms *κεβλή*, *κέβλος* with a syncopated unaccented vowel in the middle of the word.

The strongest proof of the Greekness of the ancient Macedonians is found in their anthroponymy. A great number of personal names are Greek and archaic, cf. *Ἀλεκτρυνόν*, *Ἀντήναρ*, *Κάσσανδρος*, *Κλεοπάτρα*, *Πτολεμαῖος*, but at

the same time there are personal names of ancient Macedonians which have no relation to Greek ones: *Βυργίνος*, *Ἐπόκιλλος*, *Σαββατάρας*, etc. It is noticeable that phonetic peculiarities of the ancient Macedonian are also reflected in the Greek personal names mentioned: *Βάλακρος* : *Φάλακρος*, *Βερενίκη* : *Φερενίκη*, which denotes that they were borrowed.

The greatest part of ancient Maced. personal names which have survived belong to the members of the dynasty and aristocracy. Having in mind the fact that they intentionally carried out a pro-Hellenic policy, it is not surprising that they personal names are Greek. A difference between the king and people - *Makedones* - must always be considered. In the official documents they are mentioned separately as two parts of the Macedonian state. Thus, they both figured on the dedication for victory at Sellasia in 222: *βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος βασιλέως Δημητρίου καὶ Μακεδόνες*¹¹. Isokrates (see above) also makes a similar distinction between the king and the people.

In the toponymy there are also place names which are significant in Greek: *Ἄκεσαμεναί* (< *ἀκέομαι*), *Ἀταλάντη*, *Δίον*. But together with them there are names which cannot be related to any Greek stem, cf. *Πέλλα* < *pel-sa* 'stone'.

From the analysis of the glosses one can conclude that the ancient Macedonian is an IE language, different from Greek. However, there are some scholars who proclaim it as Greek. Thus, V. Georgiev, who tried to read even Minoan Linear A texts in Greek - though nobody accepted it - found a proof of the Greekness of the Macedonians in their toponymy, taking some pre-Greek names, e.g. *Αἰγαί*, *Ἄργος* as Greek.

On the basis of a Hesiod's fragment (7 M-W), which reads that *Magnes*, the ancestor of the Magnesians and *Makedon*, the legendary ancestor of the *Makedones*, lived round Pieria and Mount Olympus, N. G. L. Hammond¹² concludes that the ancient Macedonians were Greek-speaking. Hammond, who is not a linguist, makes such a bold conclusion. But as a historian he should know that one cannot derive such far-reaching conclusion on the basis of such mythological crumbs. History cannot be reconstructed even from complete mythological legends.

Much more faithful is the inference by A. Meillet¹³, who says that Greek is not closer to ancient Macedonian than to any other Indo-European language. Pokorny is right when in classifying the IE languages he places ancient Macedonian together with Phrygian, Thracian and Dacian¹⁴. A paleo-Balkan linguistic league, similar to the contemporary one, very likely existed in ancient times too. As a member of that league ancient Macedonian shared some lexical and gram-

¹¹ For further examples of this kind see in F. PAPAZOGLU, *Les villes de Macédoine à l'époque romaine*, École française d'Athènes, Paris 1988, 44-46.

¹² N. G. L. HAMMOND, *The Koina of Epirus and Macedonia*, ICS 16, 1-2, 1991, 183-192.

¹³ A. MEILLET, *Aperçu...*, 53.

¹⁴ J. POKORNY, *IEW*, Indices 75.

matical features with other Balkan languages, but the most typical peculiarities in its consonantism show an affinity with Phrygian.

6. In contrast to ancient Macedonian, which is a dead language, contemporary *Makedonski* exists as an undeniable fact. For Slavists and Balkanologists it is well known as a language of Slavic origin, developed in the polylingual Balkan community. Its historical development can be followed on the basis of written documents beginning with the 11th century, and on the basis of toponymy in the most southern part of the Balkan Peninsula and Slavic loan words in Byzantine Greek, even from earlier times, as Z. Golab clearly showed in a perspicuous recent study¹⁵.

As a central Balkan language in some way it connects all the Balkan languages. Some peculiarities of the Balkan Slavic and non-Slavic languages of the Balkan linguistic league are reflected in its lexical stock and grammatical structure, but at the same time it possesses its own particularities which distinguish it from the others. In the classification of the European linguistic community a special place is given to it: genealogically related to Slavic, while structurally to the Balkan languages.

In the last century there were some authors (Džinot, Žinzifov) who used to connect *Makedonski* with ancient Macedonian, and were going so far as to regard Alexander the Great as a Slav. But this is a romantic attitude which is without a scientific basis. Unfortunately today there are some extreme patriots who also claim that *Makedonski* originates from ancient Macedonian. This theory of continuity between these two languages will never have a scientific status, because it is not based on real facts.

Some influence from the substratum cannot be denied¹⁶, but nobody can say what that influence consists of because ancient Macedonian cannot be reconstructed from the surviving lexical crumbs.

Makedonski is well investigated both from the synchronic and diachronic point of view, and we are not going to speak about that. Our aim here is only its name, which is denied by the Greeks.

Fate has destined us to live in a country with a famous name, which has been attributed to different people, inhabitants of this country since ancient times. While the name of Greece used to be changed from time to time¹⁷, the name

¹⁵ Z. GOLAB, *The Language of the First Slavs in Greece*, Prilozi MANU, Oddelenie za lingvistika i literaturna nauka, 14, 2, 1989, 5-46.

¹⁶ Cf. P. HR. ILIEVSKI, *Balkanološki lingvistički studii*, Institut za makedonski jazik "Krstе Misirkov", Skopje 1988, 13-36, 255.

¹⁷ The Greeks changed their old name *Ἑλλήνες* into *Ρωμαῖοι* (= *Romani*) because of two reasons: Under Roman domination they had some privileges as Roman citizens, and after they accepted Christianity, where the ethnonym Hellen acquired the sense 'heathen', they had to avoid this pejorative meaning. For about 1.500 years they called themselves *Ρωμαῖοι*, and the Turks called their country *Rumelia* (= *Romania*). With the appearance of the neo-Hellenistic movement at the end of the 18 century they took the name *Ἑλλήνες* once more.

Macedonia has been constant throughout its long history. The inhabitants of the country are called Macedonians, and their language Macedonian.

Only in one period after the Balkan wars (1913) the name of Macedonia became taboo. The territory of this country, because of which these wars were waged among the Balkan peoples who had succeeded in organising their own states earlier, was divided into several parts. Thus, the southern part (with 51% of the whole territory) became "North Greece", the northern part (39%) - "South Serbia", the eastern (8%) - the western districts of Bulgaria", with 2% in South-eastern Albania. But the name was not forgotten in spite of the prohibition, especially in "Northern Greece", on using the language. Some literary writings were published in it between the two World Wars, and in a short time after the Second World War literature with high qualities appeared in *Makedonski*. Such a rapid development would have been impossible if there had not been a deep basis for it. Obviously, the statement of some Greek linguists that *Makedonski* were an artificial creation with elements from Greek, Serbian and Bulgarian for political reasons¹⁸ is not true. A language cannot appear so quickly and artificially as Andriotes would like to say of *Makedonski*.

We saw that the etymology of the name Macedonia from the Greek *Μακεδώνος* is hypothetical and uncertain. In spite of that, modern Greek philologists and historians are convinced that this is a Greek name, and accuse Skopje of appropriating it. They emphasise that in history there is no other case of a geographic name being taken as an ethnonym for another people.

As we have already mentioned, even if the word Macedonia is Greek, this is no guarantee that the ancient Macedonians were Greeks. It is well known that numerous ethnyms are derived from place-names, especially if they denote important places, e.g. *Egypt*, *Palestine*, *Macedonia*. In Greece there are also examples when an ethnonym and horonym continue to be used although that region is populated by other tribe(s) of different dialectal group. Thus, the west part of Peloponnesus is called *Achaia* according to the Achaean inhabitants in the second millennium B.C. In classical times this region was inhabited by Doric people, and the dialect they spoke was Doric, but called *Achaeon*.

Transformation of geographic names into ethnyms for people of different origin is frequent in all the continents: *America* - *Americans*, *Africa* - *Africans*, etc. Along with the example of Italia, mentioned above, it can be noted in Europe several other cases: *Holland* (Netherlands) - *Hollandese* for Dutch, *Spain* - *Spanish*, *Ukraine* - *Ukrainian*, etc.

The ethnonym *Macedonians* has also been transferred to other tribes since classical times (see above 4). This ethnonym was spontaneously transmitted to the Slavs who have lived in Macedonia for about 1.400 years, and were balkanised long ago. It is natural that their language is called *Makedonski* (*Macedonian*). The use of this name for a contemporary Balkan language spoken in

¹⁸ N. P. ANDRIOTES, o.c., 6f.

Macedonia does not usurp anybody's rights, because the ancient Macedonian is dead, and, from the analysis of its survivals, it is evident that it was a separate language, not a Greek dialect.

Some linguists have tried to differentiate the name of contemporary *Makedonski* from that of ancient Macedonian. So the Italian Indoeuropeist V. Pisani, who published several studies about the position of ancient Macedonian before the Second World War, at the beginning of the fifties suggested the terms: *macedone* for ancient Macedonian, and *macedonico* for *Makedonski*. E. Hamp writes *Macedonian* for ancient M., and *Makedonski* for the contemporary Macedonian language. H. Lunt, in a private discussion, does not find any reason for a formal differentiation with separate term for these two languages, because the name *Macedonian* for the contemporary *Makedonski* is generally accepted, and for the Macedonian of Alexander the Great can be added the epithet *Ancient M.* However, it seems that E. Hamp has given the best solution for English speakers: *Macedonian* (= ancient M.), and *Makedonski* (= contemporary Macedonian).

