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### *Linguistic Features of Giannelli and Vaillant's 16<sup>th</sup> century Macedonian Lexicon*

1. First scholarly edition: Ciro Giannelli, André Vaillant, "Un lexique macédonien du 16e siècle", Paris 1958. 72 pp. with 2 illustrations from the original manuscript.
2. The manuscript: Codex 152 (Capitular Library, St. Peter's, Rome); donated to St. Peter's in 1620 by Sylvester, a prominent orthodox prelate of Jerusalem; discovered in 1940, by Cardinal Giovanni Mercati; script (Classical and Demotic Greek); size (222 folia/leaves); contents (miscellanea, two of Aristophanes' comedies, Hesiod's *Theogony* folia 103-149, Gennadi Scholarius' *De fide christianorum, Ad Turcas*); general purpose (instruction in Classical Greek literature and the teachings of Orthodox Christianity); the marginalia in folia 134-137 contain a brief, thematically organized Macedonian-Greek lexicon plus two short folksongs; date of folia 103-155 (early-mid 16<sup>th</sup> c.).
3. Layout of the **Macedonian-Greek lexical** portion of the manuscript (folia 134-137):
  - a. **Heading (in Demotic Greek) translated into the Koine'**
  - b. 301 entries of which 272 = Macedonian words or short phrases in Greek transcription (in black ink), with Demotic Greek translation immediately below (in red ink); the entries consist mainly of nouns drawn from all spheres of daily life
  - c. Entries 56-71 and 88-100 = Two unglossed Macedonian folk-/lovesongs
4. Reference to the village of *Bógacko* (Kostur, Pópole region, see MAP)
  - a. *Ot kója στρáνata pólýntime βo Μπóγασκo* = *Ot koja strana da pojdim vo Bogasko* = *Om koja страна да нόждиме во Бóгаско* 11 < \*Bogaz-sko (Tk bogaz 'narrow pass');
5. Historical significance of the "Lexicon" for Macedonian linguistics:
  - a. one of the earliest (early-mid 16<sup>th</sup> c.) vernacular texts (probably earlier than Grigorij of Pelagonia's translation of Damascene Studite's *Thesaurus*, ca. 1550-1560);
  - b. Kostur dialect provenance (compare Hadži Daniil of Moschopolis' *Tetraglossen*, 1764/1802)
  - c. archaic features (e.g., reflex of *jat'* vowel, retention of /x/)
  - d. specific innovations (paroxytonic stress)
6. Greek transcription of Macedonian sounds
  - a. Affricates: η, ϣ > τζ (ζάετζου = зáеу[у] 15, τζέλo = чéло 178)
  - b. Alveopalatal fricatives: ζ, ρ > ζ (ζάετζου = зáеу[у] 15), ς > σ (o Σσι = эши 184)
  - c. De-voiced (?) labiodental fricative: ντάσι στράν = δá си здрáе 3;
  - d. Voiced stops: δ > μπ (μπράτε = брáме!), π (πράτou = брáму); η > ντ (πόιñтime = нóждиме), τ (τνoβi > днови); ρ > γκ, γ, γγ (γκοσπoνtíne = господíне 1);
  - e. /ä/ = the reflex of Common Slavic \*ě, cf. Old Church Slavonic *jat'* (ѣ)
  - f. Soft consonants
  - g. Rare use of Cyrillic letters: áржc[у] 103 'rye' (\*гъžь);

7. Collaborative authors = local Macedonian speaker + local Greek scholar/student/scribe:
  - a. general context of the marginalia in the manuscript and direction of the translation;
  - b. mistakes in phonetic transcription: пишеница *ζέρο* = зéро 280 for \**(j)езеро*
  - c. apparent confusion of masc. df. sg. with neut. indf. sg. > *ήματε χλιάπο*, *ντα κούπημε* = *ймаме хлјабо*, *да купиме* 10
  - d. addition of meaningless vowels (by analogy to deleted vowels of Northern Greek dialect?): *ντα σε προστον* = да се прост[у]
  - e. attachment of “da” conjunction to preceding word
  - f. failure to translate the two folksongs
8. Historical phonology
  - a. Archaic reflex of jat' (\*ě) in both stressed and unstressed syllables, but with some ekavian forms as well: *\*xlěbъ* > *χλιάπο/хлјабо*, *\*kolěno* > *колјано* 207, *\*prě-* > *πριαβούρσκα* = прјавърска 221, череáша (as in Romanian) vs. *λέπα* = лéпа, *μπέλα* = бéла 62, *πλέννα* = *плéвна* 293; for archaic reflex, cf. Boboščica, Suxo-Visoka, Razlog, but also Voden emigree dialect in Derekjoj (SEBg), Ajvatovo (Lagadina), and Strupino (Meglen);
  - b. Lack of unstressed vowel reduction and deletion (excludes dialects to the east, such as Kajlar, Voden, Meglen, Lower Vardar)
  - c. \*x well preserved
  - d. Jers: *\*ъ > βο Μπόγασκο* 11, *μπράκοτ* = *брáком* 264, лáкот
  - e. \*čr- maintained: *ιζερεάβα* = черјáва 227;
  - f. Fluctuation in quality of anaptyctic vowel in vocalic liquid reflexes: *σούρνα* = сýрна [súrnā] 16; *βόλνα* = *вóлна* [vólnā] 149,
  - g. Near absence of nasal vowels (contra most Kostur dialects; situation partially obscured by the use of -nk-, -mp, -nt- digraphs in Greek alphabet to render Mac /g, b, d/, e.g., *\*pēdь* > *πέντα* = пéда, *\*g□zь* > *γκασ* = газ; the only possible exception is *\*r□ka*, *\*r□cě* > *ράνκα* 193, *ραντζία* 192 = рánка, рáнц'a; in 20<sup>th</sup> c. Kostur dialect only Варчор and Želevo (NE) show *зан*, whereas Bogacko (and other SW) show *зън*;
  - h. *\*tj, \*dj > \*vertja > βρέστα* = *врéшта* 292 vs. *куќа*;
9. Accentuation
  - a. Paroxytonic (antepenult) tendency: *ράκαν* = *ράκας* 218, *ρακάβι* = *ракáви* 217,
  - b. Chief exceptions in verb, cf. present (*ντα ραμπότημε* = *да рабótиме* 9), aorist (*ρασηπά σε* = *pacuná ce* 283, but cf. also *σε προμένιχ* = *ce промéних* 225), imperative (*ζάτωρι εραταμα*, *προμενí σε* = *променí ce* 224)
  - c. Phrasal stress: *□σταβίνε ντά σπίμε* = *όставí ни да спýме* 5; but cf. *ντα βέλιγ γτεν* = *на Вéлиг-ден*
10. Morphology
  - a. Merger of e-verbs with i-verbs: *πόϊντιμε* = *појдиме*, ή *ντα πίεμε* = *пíеме* 7; *□ματε βήνο ντά κούπιμε* = *ймаме вýно да кýпиме* 11;
  - b. Archaic forms, e.g., *σπίμε* = *спýме* 5 (cf. Ru спиме vs. Mac спиеме);

- c. Umlaut in masc. df. sg. *κλούτσετ* = *клучет* 118;
- d. 3pl. present –тъ: *κῆρ τε ζόβετ νά ἴηε* = *как те зовет на име* 57 (contra 20<sup>th</sup> c. Kostur dial.);
- e. Imperfective suffix \*-νva- > *δάρви* (*дарувај*)

11. Love song (88-100)

*До кóга, сердéнце моja  
 Скрíвом да се лúбиме  
 Со страхóви преголéми  
 Дноvi да се лúбиме  
 Ела стан, п[о]врáга, хóди  
 Да се везмиме. Што с[i] лéп[a]  
 Нóштха ми те украдóхе  
 Денја ми те продадóхе  
 За двана[в]десет флорин  
 Постели ми постелá-та к...  
 Ела легни покре мене, к...  
 Ни те гíбам ни те дárк[ам]*