

LANGUAGES OF THE BALKAN SPRACHBUND			
Victor A. Friedman			
Romani Balkan I South II North Vlax South North	Balkan Romance Daco-Romanian Wallachia Moldavia Banat Crişana Maramureş Istro-Romanian		Turkic Turkish Gagauz Rumelian East West
Albanian Geg Tosk Lab Çam Arvanitika Arbëresh	Vlah Aromanian North/West South/East Megleno-Romanian Tsãrnareca Other	Hellenic Greek North South Tsakonian Judezmo East West	Balkan Slavic Torlak (SE BCS) Timok-Nishava Prizren-South Morava Macedonian East West Bulgarian East West

Jazici se bogatstvo [Macedonian]

Limbali san avuti [Aromanian]

Limbili să vut [Megleno-Romanian]

Ezikät e bogatstvo [Bulgarian]

‘Languages are wealth’

Sa më shumë gjuhë të dish, aq më tepër vlen

[Albanian]

So pobuter čhiba džaneja pobuter vredineja

[Romani (Arlı)]

‘The more languages you know, the more you are worth’

Što više jezika znaš, to više ljudima vr(ij)ediš

[Serbian/(Bosnian/Croatian//Montenegrin)]

‘The more languages you know, the more people you are worth’

Bir lisan, bir insan; iki lisan, iki insan

[Turkish]

‘One language, one person; [one who knows] two languages [is worth] two people’

[also cited in Turkish by Judezmo-speakers]

Cu fiecare alta limba traieshti o nouă viață

[Romanian]

‘With each new language you live a new life’

Quintus Ennius tria corda habere sese dicebat quod loqui Graecae et Osce et Latine sciret.

[Latin; 2nd cent. CE] --Aulus Gellius, Noctes Atticae, 17.17.1

‘Q. E, used to say that he had three hearts, because he knew how to speak Greek, Oscan, and Latin.’

No such proverb exists in Ancient or Modern Greek.

Ἄλβανοὶ, Βλάχοι, Βούλγαροι, Ἀλλόγλωσσοι χαρῆτε,
Κ' εἰτοιμασθήτε ὅλοι σας Ῥωμαῖοι νὰ γενῆτε.
Βαρβαρικὴν ἀφήνοντες γλῶσσαν, φωνὴν καὶ ἥθη,
Ὅπου στουὺς Ἀπογόνους σας νὰ φαίνωνται σὰν μῦθοι.

Albanoì, Blákhoi, Boúlgari, Allóglō:ssoi kharé:te,

Albanian, Vlachs, Bulgarians, allophones rejoice.2pl:IMP

K' etoimasthé:te óloi sas Ro:maîoi nà gené:te.

and'prepare:2pl:IMP all you Greek SP become:2pl:PRES

Barbarikè:n afé:nontes glō:ssan, fo:nè:n kai è:the:

barbarian forego.PART:PL language:ACC speech:ACC and customs:ACC

Opoû stous Apogónous sas nà faíno:ntai sàn mûthoi.

so.that to.the descendants yours SP appear:3pl:PRES like myths

Albanians, Bulgars, Vlachs and all who now do speak

An alien tongue rejoice, prepare to make you Greek,

Change your barbaric tongue, your customs rude forego,

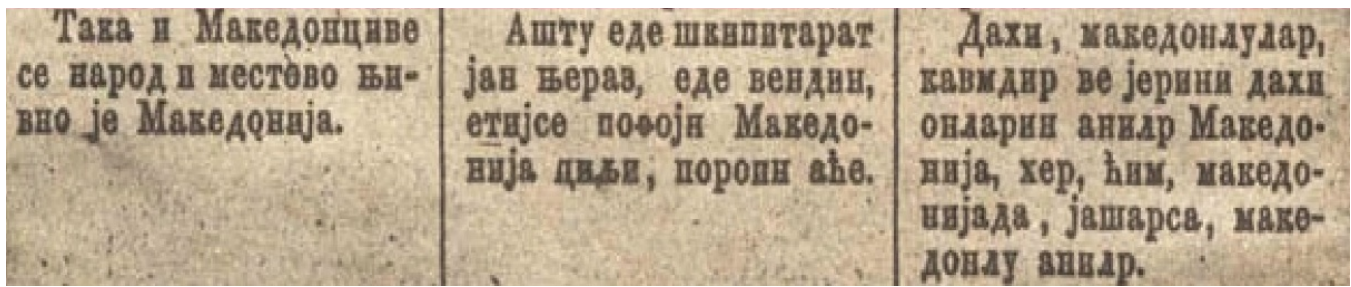
So that as byegone myths your children may them know

Daniil Mihali Adami Hadzhi of Moschopolis. 1802. Eisagogiki Didaskalia. Venice[?]: Nektarion Bishop of Pelagonia. p. 7

Transl. Wace, A.J.B. & M.S. Thompson. 1913. *The Nomads of the Balkans*. New York: Dutton. p. 6

Narod se veljid, ljudi koji se od eden rod i koji zboruvajed ednakov zbor, i koji, žuvuvajed i drugarad eden, so, drugi, i koji, imajed, jednakvi, obiçaji i pesni i veselja, tije ljudite ji vikajed narod a mesto, vo koje žuvuvad narod, se veljid oteçestvo, od toi, narod. (Pulevski 1875:49)

Nation is said [of] people who are of one kind (*rod*), and who speak the same speech, and who live and associate with one another, and who have the same customs and songs and festivals, those people are called a nation and the place (land) in which the nation lives is called [the] fatherland (homeland) of that nation.



Taka i Makedoncive se narod i mestovo njivno je Makedonija.
Thus, the Macedonians, too, are a people and their place (land) is Macedonia.

Ashtu ede shkipitarat jan njeraz, ede vendin, etijse pothojn Makedonija ciliji, poroin aqe.
(Pulevski 1875:49)
Thus the Albanians, too, are a nation, and those who live there call their place (land) Macedonia.

Dahi, makedonlular, kavmdir ve jerin dahi onlarin anilr Makedonija, her, qim, makedonijada, jaşarsa, makedonlu anilr. (Pulevski 1875:49)
The Macedonians, too, are a nation and their place, too, is called Macedonia; everyone who lives in Macedonia is called a Macedonian.

(1)--Ne var orda, bre sinko? --Var, aga, var. --E, var, ama ne var? --Var, aga, var! (Cepenkov 1972:144)
--What is that there, sonny? --Lime, sir, lime. --Well, there's something, but what is it? --Lime, sir, lime.

(2) Demek, od lepeška zelnik ne biduat! Turcite velat: Soj kovar čovekot. (Cepenkov 1972:109)
That is to say you can't make a pie with a cow patty! The Turks say: Lineage determines the person.

(3) Ela psari, den eho maheri. (Cepenkov 1972:149)
Come fish, I don't have a knife.

(4) Stambol bu, lesno aren čoek ne moži da se najdi (Cepenkov 1972:154)
[After all] this is Istanbul, a good person is not easy to find.

(5) Kje mi vikne "Dade!" -- a pak jas k'e mu rečam "Olum!"... (Cepenkov 1972:108)
He will say to me "Daddy!" -- and then I will say to him "Son!"...

(6) **Tungjatjeta ore** dervish baba! **E po bujrum** edno sari medžidija bakshish za tvojata amajlija
(Cepenkov 1972:120)
Long life to you, O father dervish! **Well, here, have a golden** coin as payment for your amulet.

(7) Došol efenidjata u edin saato: Dobro večer, dobro večer!
--Oždžldi, ožbulduk -- odgovorila mu taa. (Penushliski 1981:183)
The [Turkish] gentleman came at one o'clock: Good evening, good evening!
--Welcome, well met [Turkish: hoş geldi hoş bulduk] -- she answered him.

(8) Imaš oči/kako fildžan/jandim aman/jalvaraim/g'el januma
Pot baj ridža, čiko,/fale e češ me mu./Sojle benimle of, of!/Zbori sos mene. (Jašar-Nasteva 1987:15)
You have eyes/like little coffee cup[s]/I have burned up, alas/come to my side.
I am begging you, lassie/talk and laugh with me/talk with me, oh woe/talk with me.

(9) Ti, drugar, **tha**, ne smeeš taka da zboruvaš, **tha**. Jas k'e ti kažam, tha. Dobro. **Mirë**.
You, comrade, **he said**, do not dare to talk like that, **he said**. I'll tell you, **he said**. OK.

(10) **Ç'na duhet hoxhallarët**, pizda im materina, gi mamat lug'eto.

What do we need the clerics for, @#\$\$%^&*!, they deceive the people.

Macedonian, Albanian and Turkish all make use of local non-standard varieties for humorous

(11) Ta, bogami, adžikerdjum but butjake. Najnapred, te vakerav deka buz sine mange teško bizi buti normalni.

And, really, I waited a long time for work. First of all, let me say that it was very hard for me without a real job.

(12) Ĝelmedi se varisi işi. (Jašar-Nasteva 1970:298)

He did not come since he had work.

(13) Bana bir karta drugo mesto al.

Buy me a second class ticket. (Friedman 1982:70)

(I) Ako iskaš, mila, kompresa
Az šte ti napravja *so mangesa*
'If you want, dear, a compress
I will do for you *what you want*.

(II) Galatada Todoraki
Beyoğlunda var pilaki
Doldur doldur, ver, Yanaki

Bak benim halime, aman
Al kupayı,
Ela 'do (hos egor),
ven aki
içem boz raki

Galatanın yolu yonca
Memeler benzer turunca
Anası gül kızı gonca

Todhoraki in Galata
Bean stew in Beyoğlu
Fill, fill, give, Yanaki

Look at my circumstances.
Take the glass, *come here* [Greek], (*come here* [Armenian]) *come here* [Judezmo]
Let me drink watered raki.

The road in Gatata is clover
Breasts resemble oranges
Her mother a rose, her daughter a rosebud.

(III) Saro me kamav tut me ka lav tut
Te nashti te lav tut, ka mudarav tut [Romani]

Kako te obicham shte te otkradna
Ako ne moga, shte te ubijam [Bulgarian]

‘I love you so much that I will *take/steal* you
If I can’t [*take you*], I will kill you’

(IV) Ele, ela, imam nužda ot teb sega
Gel, gel, gel ihtiyorcum var sana
‘Come, come, I need you *now*’ (*Imam nužda ot teb*, Ljusi i Rejhan 2003 cited in Lindsey 2006)

(V) Vasilikós myrízei giá déte poiós diavénei [Greek]
Bosiljok mi mirisi, aj vitte koj pominvi [Macedonian]
‘I smell basil, oh look who is passing by’

E: agápe: mou diavaínei kaí sté:n ekkle:siá pe:gaíei [Greek]
Mojta mila pominvi, ta u carkvata mi odi [Macedonian]
‘My beloved is passing by, and she’s going to church’

Épisa miá pérdika, mó:r manná, mó:r manná [Greek]
Zura nje falaze, moj nane, moj nane [Albanian]
‘I caught a dove, oh mama, oh mama’

Thá té: válo: stó klouví, mó:r manná, mó:r manná [Greek]
Do ta ve de kafas, moj nane, moj nane [Albanian]
‘I will put it in a cage, oh mama, oh mama.’

(VI) Imash oči/kako fildžan/*yandım aman/yalvaraim/gel yanuma*
Pot baj rixha, çiko,/fale e çesh me mu./*Soyle benimle of, of!/Zbori sos mene.* (as cited in Jashar-Nasteva 1967:15)
You have eyes/like little coffee cups/*I’ve burned up, alas/I’m begging [you]/come to my side*
I’m begging you, girl/talk and laugh with me/talk with me woe, woe/Talk with me’

(VII) Kólindă, mélindă
tsáreva godina
tsintsi vake,
dă nj babă, nă kulakă
să băneadză vakă
vakă ku yitsél (Monastir, Āeigand 1895:132)

Kólindă, mélindă
a royal year! [Macedonian]
five cows
give me, grandma, a cookie
that the cow may live
the cow with the calf

(VIII) Tajane Bojane, imam brat sveti Jovane
unkeshi [=iu njkishish] *unkeshi unkeshi* po maglata
po magla, po magla, po magla, sitna rosa
po rosa, po rosa, po rosa, moma bosa. (Prilep, Koneski 1971:65)
O Tayan [from Greek *ta Yannis* '[St.] John'], O Boyan, I have a brother, O St. John
where did you go, where did you go, where did you go [Aromanian] in the fog
in the fog, in the fog, in the fog, fine dew
in the dew, in the dew, in the dew, a barefoot girl

(IX) Stà vátthe: têt:s Anatolè:s
stè: maúre: ksenitiá mou
ótan akoúo: *mpír aláh*
ragizetai e: kardiá mou
In the depths of Anatolia
In my black life abroad
when I hear *bir Allah* (Turkish: God is one)
my heart trembles (Petropoulos 1968:334)

(X) Od Bitola pojdv, vo Prilepa dojdov
Prilepskite momi, mori, tija tutunarki

Od Prilepa pojdv vo Veles si dojdov
Veleshkite momi, mori, tija stomnarki

Bitola, gene babam, Bitola
Manastir, lele yavrum, Manastir

I set out from Bitola, I came to Prilep
The Prilep girls, those tobacco-pickers

I set out from Prilep, I came to Veles
The Veles girls, those jug-makers

Bitola, again my father, Bitola
Bitola, oh dear my cubby, Bitola

(XI) Te akodraz Sara,	Do you remember Sara, [Judezmo]
Una noche de Alhad;	One Saturday night (eve of Sunday)
Me tomaba l'ambra,	I fell into your arms.
Me kemaz la alma.	You burned my soul.
Lagrimaz de los mis ojos	Tears from my eyes
Kaygan en tu korason.	Fall on your heart.
Ke te kemez i te asez	May you burn
Sin tener la salvasion.	With no salvation.
Te akodraz Sara . . .	Do you remember . . .
<i>Mou pes po:s m'agapas,</i>	You tell me that you love me, [Greek]
<i>Melón pezis yolas,</i>	With others you play and laugh,
<i>Ie t:os orcos seinas,</i>	You forget your promises,
<i>Kai me alis melas.</i>	You talk with others.

(Voice of the Turtle, Balkan Vistas - Spanish Dreams (Paths of Exile Quincentenary Series III

[Izmir])

In the next two examples, the first Judezmo the second Macedonian, the chorus contains the same codeswitch into Turkish. The Judezmo song is a children's song in which the codeswitch can be taken as expressive, while in the Macedonian song, given the thematics, it can be counted as communicative:

(XII) Si veriash al gameyo,
asentado en el taviero,
avriendo suz buenaz filaz,
maz delgadaz de suz caveyoz

Si veriash a la rana
asentada en la ornaya
friendo suz buenaz fritaz,
i spartiendo a suz ermanikaz. [Judezmo]

Chorus: *Ben seni severim, chok seni severim* (bis) [Turkish]

If you could only see the camel
seated on the dough board
rolling out the filo dough
thinner than his hair!

If you could only see the frog
seated on the oven
frying her lovely 'fritas'
and sharing with her little sisters! [Judezmo]

'I love you, I love you very much.' (Turkish)
(Voice of the Turtle, Balkan Vistas - Spanish Dreams (Paths of Exile Quincentenary Series III)
[Bulgaria])

(XIII) Snoshti pominav, zaminav, pokraj prilepski kasarni [chichovite bashchini]
'Last night I went to, I passed along, by the Prilep barracks/[uncles' gardens.]'

Site momchinja tam bea, samo moeto momche ne beshe.
'All the boys were there, only my boyfriend wasn't'

Stori me bože, prestori, edno sino belo galabche
Make me, O God, turn me into a blue-white dove

Beni seni severim, chok seni severim, pokraj prilepski kasarni(bis)

(*Bre Tutunche, Žolto Altanche*; KUD Mirche Acev (Tutunski kombinat Prilep) Zagreb:
Jugoton)

(XIV) Nishka banja, topla voda
za Nishlije/mangupe, živa zгода
Jekh duj, duj, duj, duj
Deshuduj, chmuidav te ando muj
Chorus:

Em kamav la, em ka[m] lav la
Ando Nishi, na mukav la

The baths at Nish, warm water
For Nishians/rascals, a lively experience
One two, two, two
Twelve I kiss on the mouth
CHORUS: *And I love her and I will take her*
In Nish I will not leave her. (Romani)

(XV)
Tebe traže oči moje mira nemaju
Poželele oči moje da te gledaju

Chorus: A tebe nema, A tebe nema, A tebe nema,
Ljubav da ti dam

Tebe traže ruke moje čežnjom gorile
Poželele ruke moje da te zagrlje

Tebe traže usne moje nada ne gube
Poželele usne moje da te poljube

Tebe traže telo moje bash ne miruje
Poželelo telo moje da te miluje (Serbian)

E Romalen, eh chhavalen aven te dikhen
Me mangav le, me ka lav le, me kamlo ka ovel (Romani)

My eyes seek you, they have no peace
My eyes wanted to see you

And you're not here, and you not here
For me to give you love

My eye seek you, they were burning with desire
My arms wanted to embrace you

My lips seek you, they don't lose hope
My lips wanted to kiss you

My body seeks you, it is quite uneasy
My body wanted to caress you

Hey Roms, hey Romani children, come and see
I love him, I will take him, he will be my beloved

(XVI)

Turkish/Greek

*Bir görüşte âşık oldum,/k' esè latreúo: mónon
Kerem eyle gel ey peru,/thà stere:thô: tòn kósmon.*

Turkish/West Bulgarian

*Bir görüşte âşık oldum,/i tebe samo lubja
Kerem eyle sen gel beru,/za teb šă se izgubja (Kappler 2002).*

In one glance I fell in love, /and I adore only you

Be merciful, come, O fairy, /I will destroy myself (lose the world/lose myself)

1953
Declared Mother Tongue

Declared Nationality	Macedonian	Albanian	Turkish	Serbo-Croat	Romani	Vlah
Macedonians	853971	1986	281	934	277	2565
Albanians	2152	153502	6569	181	70	1
Turks	32392	27087	143615	534	70	10
Roms	1040	860	2066	25	16456	1
Vlahs	137	4	2	14	0	8130
Serbs	3945	0	8	31070	41	9
Muslims	*	*	*	*	*	*
Yugoslavs	2152	25	50	563	2	4
Others	322	341	569	5258	173	31
Total	896651	183805	153160	38579	17089	10751

1994

Declared Mother Tongue

Declared Nationality	Macedonian	Albanian	Turkish	Serbo-Croat ¹	Romani	Vlah	Bulgarian
Macedonians	1289868	124	124	1938	94	259	125
Albanians	2063	426418	210	135	x	x	0
Turks	10885	906	62726	86+x	11	0	x
Roms	5974	1212	1311	14+x	34955	x	x
Vlahs	1800	x	0	12	0	6747	0
Serbs	11693	0	8	27843	x	x	32
Muslims	5552	605	180	1181	20	x	x
Bosniacs ²	36	21	x	312+x	0	0	x
Bulgarian	358	0	x	80	0	x	1216
Egyptians	961	1856	42	10	x	0	0
Others	3793	221	64	3484	40	30	75
Total	1332983	431363	64665	35095	35120	7036	1448

*Not specified
xUnder 10

1953

Declared Mother Tongue

Declared Nationality	Macedonian	Albanian	Turkish	Serbo-Croat	Romani	Vlah
Non-Co	42140 4.6	30303 16.4	9545 6.2	7509 19.5	633 3.7	2621 24.4
Total	896651	183805	153160	38579	17089	10751
Non-Co	92751 7.1					
Total	1300035					

1994

Declared Mother Tongue

Declared Nationality	Macedonian	Albanian	Turkish	Serbo-Croat ³	Romani	Vlah	Bulgarian
Non-Co	43115 3.2	4945 1.1	1939 2.9	7252 20.6	165 0.5	289 4.0	232 16
Total	1332983	431363	64665	35095	35120	7036	1448
Non-Co	57937 3						
Total	1907710						

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¹This figure represents *Serbian* and *Croatian* which were listed as separate languages in the 1994 census.

²6426 Bosniacs were listed in the column 'Other' for mother tongue. Presumably the overwhelming majority declared Bosnian. 7795 Muslims were also in the 'Other' column and presumably also listed Bosnian.

³This figure represents *Serbian* and *Croatian* which were listed as separate languages in the 1994 census.