

Ancient Macedonian: A case study

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Summary:

The Macedonian dialect of Greek is known to us through limited written evidence of 100 common nouns and 250 proper nouns. Because of this fact, Macedonian Greek has been preserved only through evidence coming from scholars (lexicographers, grammarians, annotators), especially by scholars concerned with “linguistic curiosities” (what the Greeks called «γλωσσά»), i.e. dialectal words or grammatical forms, deviating from official dialects, especially from Attic Greek. The dialect has never been used as an official written language of the Macedonian State; it was a regional oral dialect. The Macedonian language was early replaced in written and oral use with Attic for political reasons. Hence, this Greek dialect has been continuously used in Macedonia from ancient years till today. This has always been known all over the world as the Macedonian language. It was only since 1944 that the Bulgaroserbian Slavic of FYROM started to be used with the pseudonymous name “Macedonian language”, a name which has created the confusion in nomenclature.

Ancient Greek Language

It is very important to emphasize that what we call “Ancient Greek”, classical Greek included, was not a common Greek language but a number of dialect groups (διάλεκτοι) and local dialects (ιδιώματα) of the Greek language, broadly or locally spoken and used as official languages for each City-State. Texts from the 15th century B.C. till the last quarter of the 4th century B.C. all over Greece show that only dialects (Greek dialects of course, but not common Greek) were spoken and written in Greece, till Alexander the Great. What is unique and worth to be mentioned is that even literature (tragedies, comedies, poetry, prose) was written and performed in dialects, which differed according to the type of literature. There were used, so to say, “literary dialects”. The dialectal differentiation of Greek was mainly due to the political system of City-State (each City-State used its own dialect in official documents) and was due also to practical difficulties in communication because of the geographical structure of Greece.

The Greeks used four (4) major dialects to speak and write Greek: *Attic, Ionic, Achaean* and *Doric*. It was only in the last quarter of the 4th century B.C. that a common Greek language was established, the so-called *Alexandrian Koine*, based on Attic dialect, with elements of Ionic dialect, and some specific lexical items from Achaean and Doric dialects (like Doric

λοχαγός, Achaean βροτός, Achaean ὄνυμα instead of ὄνομα in words like συνώνυμος, ἐπώνυμος etc.).

Alexandrian *Koine* was used till the 4th or —according to others—till the 6th century A.D. Then, the so-called *Atticistic Greek*, an imitation of classical Attic Greek, actually a scholar language, formed and used since the 1st century B.C. was established in written speech and was upgraded to official language by the Byzantine emperor Justinian [527-265]. Common people, of course, continued speaking a more simple form of Greek, the development of Greek *Koine*, which was to constitute later the so-called *δημοτική γλώσσα*.

One of the *ancient* Greek dialects spoken in Northern Greece, in Macedonia, was *Macedonian Greek*, a Greek dialect belonging —as I argue— to the Doric dialects or, according to other scholars, being a part of Achaean dialects group.

Macedonian Greek

For reasons which will be explained, oral —I emphasize oral— Macedonian Greek is known to us through limited written evidence: only 350 words (100 common nouns and 250 proper nouns). No texts. The crucial question is *why?* The answer is that Macedonian dialect has never been used as official written language of Macedonian State. That simple! Macedonian dialect was used only as oral language and, *mutatis mutandis*, could be compared to the dialects used today in Greece (what people speak, for instance, in Crete or in Mani or in Trikala or in Corfu or in Tsakonia or in Siatista): that is to say, dialects which are spoken but not written, especially in official documents.

Because of this fact, Macedonian Greek has been preserved only through evidence coming from scholars (lexicographers, grammarians, annotators), especially by scholars concerned with *“linguistic curiosities”* (what the Greeks called «γλωσσαι»), i.e. dialectal words or grammatical forms, deviating from official dialects, especially from Attic Greek.

It is important to clarify, however, that what we miss is oral dialect evidence, not evidence of the official state language, of documents (inscriptions, decrees, texts etc.). There are thousands of such documents of the official written Macedonian Greek, which was the classical Attic dialect. It was this dialect which was early established as official language of Macedonian State by King Philipp, Alexander’s father. That happened, of course, due to the high political and cultural prestige that Attic dialect had among ancient Greek dialects and, mainly, due to the political aspirations inside and outside Greece that king Philipp had.

On the Greekness of Ancient Macedonian

Everybody, familiar with Greek language, will easily recognize as Greek ancient Macedonian words like:

(a) *Common nouns:*

ἀγκαλῖς “ἄχθος. καὶ δρέπανον Μακεδόνες» [Ἡσύχιος] (“sickle” from its resemblance with the form of embrace [ἀγκάλη])

<u>ἄγχαρμον</u>	«άνωφερῆ τὴν αἰχμὴν, κάγχαρμον · τὸ τὴν λόγχην ἄνω ἔχειν» [Ἡσύχ.] (<ἄνα χάρμαν<ἄνω χάρμην “pick up the lance”)
<u>ἄκρουνοί</u>	«ὄροι· ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων» [Ἡσύχ.] (<ἄκρα “boundaries”)
<u>ἀμαλή</u>	«ἀμαλή· ἢ ἀπαλή· ἢ δὲ λέξις Μακεδόνων» [Μέγα Ἐτυμ.] (“soft”)
<u>ἄργελλα</u>	«οἶκημα Μακεδονικόν, ὅπερ θερμαίνοντες λούονται» [Σούδα] (“a construction made of [ἄργιλλος] clay»)
<u>ἀργίπους</u>	«ἀετός· Μακεδόνες» [Ἡσύχ.] (“swift-footed, eagle”)
<u>ἄρκον</u>	«ἄρκον· σχολήν· Μακεδόνες» [Ἡσύχ.] (= ἄργός inactive)
<u>κάραβος</u>	«ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων ἢ πύλη» [Ἡσύχ.] (“gate”)
<u>κεβαλά</u>	[Μέγα Ἐτυμ.] (“head”)
<u>κοράσιον</u>	Σχολιαστής Ὁμήρου «εἰ δὲ τρέποιτο τὸ η εἰς α παρὰ Δωριεῦσι διὰ τοῦ α <i>πρυνάσιον, κορυφάσιον</i> . Οὕτως ἔχει καὶ τὸ <i>κοράσιον</i> , ὃ μᾶλλον ἐστὶ Μακεδονικόν» (“girl”)
<u>νικάτωρ</u>	[Πολύβιος] (“victorious, unconquerable, invincible”)
<u>παραός</u>	«ἀετός· Μακεδόνες» [Ἡσύχ.] (<παρῶς /παρώς “grey-red” color for eagle)
<u>πέλιος</u>	[Στράβων] «ὅτι κατὰ Θεσπρωτοὺς καὶ Μολοττοὺς τὰς γραιίας <i>πελίας</i> καὶ τοὺς γέροντας <i>πελίους</i> ὀνομάζουσιν, καθάπερ καὶ παρὰ Μακεδόσι» (“old man, ambassador, deputy”)
<u>πεζαίτερος</u>	(“infantry-men”)
<u>χάρων</u>	«ὁ λέων κατὰ Μακεδόνας» [Σχολ. Λυκόφρ.] (“lion”)

(b) *Proper nouns:*

Ἄεροπος, Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἀλκέτας, Ἀμύντας, Ἀντίπατρος, Ἀργαῖος, Ἀρριδαῖος, Ἀρχέλαος, Ἀταλάντη, Γυγαία, Εὐρυδίκη, Εὐρυνόη, Εὐρώπη, Κάρανος, Κάσανδρος, Κλεοπάτρα, Κοινός, Κρατερός, Μελέαγρος, Μενέλαος, Ὁρέστης, Πausανίας, Περδίκκας, Πολυπέρχων, Πτολεμαῖος, Στρατονίκη, Σωσθένης, Φίλα, Φίλιππος.

- It is remarkable that in the linguistic feeling, the experience, the knowledge and the awareness of Ancient Greeks all over Greece, especially those concerned with the language, Macedonian dialect was considered and frequently referred to as one of the Greek dialects, spoken by the Greeks.

Hesychios, a Greek lexicographer of the 5th century A.D., has collected the so-called *γλῶσσαι* (“queer”, rare, or unknown in meaning or form words from Greek dialects) and has written comments on them. Examples:

<u>ἀκόντιον</u>	δοράτιον, μικράλόγχη· Μακεδόνες· ῥάχιν δὲ καὶ στρατεύματος μέρος Ἀγριανῶν Αἰολεῖς. (“small glance”)
<u>ἄσπιλος</u>	<u>χείμαρος ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων</u> . (“torrent – goat”)
<u>γώπας</u>	<u>κολοιούς· Μακεδόνες</u> . (“magpie” [a kind of bird])
<u>Ζειρήνη</u>	<u>Ἀφροδίτη ἐν Μακεδονία</u> .
<u>κάραβος</u>	ἔδεσμα, ὡς φασιν, ὠπτημένον ἐπ’ ἀνθράκων· ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἢ πύλη· καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς ξηροῖς ξύλοις σκωλήκια· καὶ τὸ θαλάττιον ζῶον. (“shrimp – gate”)

ματτύης ἡ μὲν φωνὴ Μακεδονική, ὄρνις· καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ζωμοῦ αὐτοῦ λάχανα περιφερόμενα. [Ἀθήναιος : «ματτύην ὠνόμαζον πᾶν τὸ πολυτελὲς ἔδεσμα [...] εἴτε ἰχθὺς εἴη, εἴτε ὄρνις, εἴτε λάχανον, εἴτε ἱερεῖον, εἴτε πεμμάτιον»] (“gourmet food”)

- Macedonian is only one among Greek dialects, from which Hesychios collects his *γλῶσσαι*, with no special distinction or differentiation from the other dialects. Examples :

ἄβαгна· ῥόδα **Μακεδόνες.**
ἀβάθων· διδάσκαλος **Κύπριοι**
ἀβελιακόν· ἡλιακόν **Παμφύλιοι**
ἀβρανίδας· κροκωτοὺς **Λάκωνες.**
ἀβρεμής· ἀβλεπής **Κύπριοι καὶ Θετταλοί.**
ἀβροῦτες· ὄφρυς **Μακεδόνες.**
ἀβώρ· ἡ ὡς **Λάκωνες**

- According to **Herodotus**, the renowned Greek historian, “the father of history” (5th century B.C.), the Greek Dorians lived in the region of Mountain Pindos and their original name was *Macedonians* and it was only later that they came to Peloponnese :

«Τὸ Δωρικόν, πολυπλάνητον κάρτα ... οἴκει ἐν Πίνδῳ, **Μακεδόνων καλεόμενον·** ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ... ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐλθὼν Δωρικόν ἐκλήθη».

- The same historian states that the Spartans and Corinthians as well as the citizens of Sicyon, of Epidaurus and of Troizen were a Dorian and Macedonian «ἔθνος»
 «Δωρικόν **καὶ Μακεδόνων ἔθνος,** ἐξ Ἐρινεοῦ τε καὶ Πίνδου καὶ τῆς Δρυοπίδος ὕστατα ὀρμηθέντες».

- More characteristic is the epigram about a girl named Κοπρία:

«Οὐνομα μὲν [δηλ. Κοπρία] **Μακέταις ἐπιχώριον·** οὐνε καμεμφθῆ μηδὲ ἐνί· Κοπρίαν μὲν ὠνόμασαν γενέται».

She apologizes that her name is ill-sounding (it comes from the word κόπρος which means “dung”, “manure”) but she explains that it is a name used by Macedonians (*Μακέται* as well as *Μακεδνοί* are parallel ancient forms for *Μακεδόνες*). Therefore she asks that nobody blames her for it; after all, it were her parents who gave her that name !

- In the well-known etymological dictionary of 12th century A.D. under the title *Μέγα Ἐτυμολογικόν (Etymologicum Magnum)* the unknown lexicographer (rather a compiler of ancient information) refers to the etymology of the goddess name Ἀφροδίτη (Venus). He argues that Ἀφροδίτη comes from Ἀβροδίατη «delicately fed”. What is worth here to highlight is that the grammarian spontaneously uses Macedonian dialect to explain phonetically the name of Ἀφροδίτη. He argues that the name derives from ἀβροδίατη, and in order to justify the presence of -β- instead of -φ- that occurs in Ἀφροδίτη, he calls to Macedonian in which β occurs instead of φ. I quote:

«Ο δὲ Δίδυμος παρὰ τὸ ἀβρόν τῆς διαίτης ... το β τῷ φ συγγενές ἐστι· δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ Μακεδόνας μὲν τὸν Φίλιππον Βίλιππον καλεῖ καὶ τὸν φαλακρὸν βαλακρὸν καὶ τοὺς Φρύγας Βρύγας καὶ τοὺς ἀνέμους διὰ τὸ φυσᾶν φυσήτας, βύκτας.

• Another grammarian derives etymologically the noun κεφαλή from the verb κυφῶ / κυφοῦσθαι, based on a word used by Hippocrates for head, again with β instead of φ, the word κύβητος and the corresponding word κεβλήν of Macedonian. Once again he explains that β stands for φ in this dialect :

«κεφαλή· ἀπὸ τοῦ κεκυφῶσθαι, ἤγουν κεκάμφαι [...] καὶ Ἰπποκράτης κύβητον, Μακεδόνες δὲ κεβλήν, τὸ β ἀντὶ τοῦ φ λαμβάνοντες, ὡς ἐπὶ Βερενίκης· Φερενίκη γὰρ ἐστίν».

• Most important is the fact that the famous grammarian Apollonius Dyscolus of the 2nd century AD, the author of «Περὶ συντάξεως» (whose nickname was «δύσκολος»), in his explanation of the formation of Homeric nouns ending in -α instead of -ης (νεφεληγερέτα instead of νεφεληγερέτης, ἰππότα instead of ἰππότης etc.) he argues that this noun formation comes either from Macedonian or from Thessalian dialect. This means that the famous grammarian felt that Macedonian was a very old Greek dialect, which could be used to explain even some peculiar Homeric forms:

«ἡ κλητικὴ ἀντ' εὐθειῶν παραλαμβάνεται κατὰ Μακεδονικὸν ἢ Θεσσαλικὸν ἔθος, ὡς οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπιστώσαντο».

Against the genuine character of Ancient Macedonian

Two main linguistic arguments were used in the past against the genuine Greek character of Ancient Macedonian:

- (i) The occurrence of the sounds β, γ, δ instead of φ, θ, χ :

Βίλιππος instead of **Φ**ίλιππος

Βερενίκη instead of **Φ**ερενίκη

κε**β**αλά instead of κε**φ**αλά

- (ii) The great number of loan words in Macedonian.

In terms of these two linguistic data it has been argued in the past by a very small number of linguists that Macedonian was a separate “mixed language”, a mixture of Greek with Illyrian and Thracian.

- (iii) Regarding the first argument, the consonants written with β/δ/γ/ were not pronounced as b d g (voiced stops) but as v đ ɣ, (voiced spirants or fricatives), just like as they are pronounced in Modern Greek, going back to 3rd century B.C. This means that this phonological pattern anticipated what was later generalized in all Greek. As v đ ɣ could easily interchange with the phonetically similar sounds f/ θ/ χ/ (they were both spirants or fricatives), to which they had very early

changed the originally *p/h/t/h/k/h/* consonants of this dialect (the so-called aspirate stops).

This means that in Ancient Macedonian Greek there has taken place very early a phonological development (named *spirantisation* or *devoicing*) which was generalized later in Greek, being the most prolific characteristic of Greek consonantism in the transition from Ancient Greek to *Koine* Greek and to Modern Greek. This has been my theoretical explanation of the issue, published in a paper under the title "*Mediae question in Ancient Macedonian Greek reconsidered*", (to honour Oswald Szemerényi), an explanation which has been almost generally accepted for the phonological structure of Ancient Macedonian.

Thus, far from being a non-Greek feature, this phonological development ($\beta/ \delta/ \gamma/$ to be pronounced as $v \text{ } \text{d}^{\text{g}}$, and $\varphi/ \theta/ \chi/$ as $f/ \theta/ \chi/$) proves to be an early systemic tendency of Greek towards a more symmetrical consonantal system, which came to be the overall characteristic of the phonological system of Greek since the time of *Koine* Greek. This change was so early achieved in Macedonian dialect, because —as we said— it was only orally used and major changes were not "blocked" by the conventional and conservative character of written language.

As to the second argument, regarding the loan-words from neighboring languages (Illyrian and Thracian), there is no reason to deny it as this is a frequent and common fact among neighboring peoples, especially at that region and in that time. This is a usual case which in no way consists an argument for "*a mixed language*" or for "*a distortion*" of the character of Greek language.

Ancient Macedonian dialect: Achaean or Doric?

There has been a long discussion among linguists as to which dialectal group Macedonian dialect belongs to. There have been three views:

- (i) **The Aeolean (Achaean) view.** It was mainly argued by the German linguist Otto Hoffmann (1906), the one who first proved that Ancient Macedonian is pure Greek. According to this view, Macedonian shares more linguistic features to be found in Northern Achaean, the so-called *Aeolian group*, to which there belong also ancient Thessalian, Boetian and Lesbian dialects
- (ii) **The Doric view.** This view was mainly argued by I. Kalleris (1954) (According to it, Ancient Macedonian dialect should be classified within the group of Doric or the Northwestern group, together with Epirotic, Phocian (Delphic), Locrian and Elian.
- (iii) **The mixed or "Aeolodorian" view.** That was actually the view of the famous Greek linguist George Hadzidakis (1896). According to him Ancient Macedonian (together with Pamphylian dialect in Minor Asia) could make up a dialectal group within Northwestern (that is within Doric group), as a kind of "a sub-group" .

On the basis of new linguistic arguments I have argued since 1988 (Tamis, 1992) on the occasion of the *1st International Congress Of Macedonian Studies*, organized at La Trobe University by Prof. Anastasios Tamis, that *“The Macedonian dialect, although it is presented with certain elements which are considered Achaean, has crucial Doric characteristics or, more precisely, belongs to the northwestern Greek dialects. The arguments in favor of this position are primarily based on the phonological and less on the grammatical structure of the Macedonian dialect and constitute, in my opinion, strong evidence regarding the Doric character of this dialect.”* Let me mention, by the way, that in a very recent book of 2012, published in Greece by the *Centre for Greek Language*, entitled *“Ancient Macedonia : Language, History, Culture”*, Professor Julian Mendez Dosuna (University of Barcelona) has come to the same result, after having considered all aspects of research conducted on the Ancient Macedonian dialect.

(i) Phonological level. What I have proved is that a number of characteristic features of the Achaean dialects, which would lead to classify Ancient Macedonian to the Achaean or Aeolic dialects group, are not found in Macedonian:

Maced. *δράμις* “a kind of bread”, but Achaean **δρόμις*
 Maced. *δάρυλλος* “oak”, but Achaean **δόρυλλος*
 Maced. *κο(μ)μάραι* “shrimps”, but Achaean **κομμόραι*
 Maced. *Κράτερος* (proper name), but Achaean **Κρότερος*
 Maced. *ζέρεθρον* (<*δέρεθρον*) “abyss”, but Achaean *βέρεθρον*
 Maced. *αίδῶσσα* “hall”, but Achaean *αἴθοισα*, Att. *αἴθουσα*

(ii) Grammatical level. In contrast, on grammatical level a number of characteristics of Macedonian are to be found mainly in Doric dialects:

κεβαλά, λακεδάμα – ψευδάνωρ, κοράσιον, νικάτωρ
 (*τοῦ*) *Παυσανία, Ἀμύντα, Περδίκκα* (genitive)
 (*τῶν*) *πελιγᾶν* (= *πελιγῶν*) (genitive plural)
ἡμεροδρόμας (= *ἡμεροδρόμος*), *βουκεφάλας* (= *βουκέφαλος*) (-ας formation instead of -ος)

(iii) Lexical level. Regarding the lexical level (the words of Macedonian dialect) Kalleris argues: *“It is enough to take a look at [...] the number of words found in each one of these [Macedonian and Doric] to realize that most of these words are common to Macedonian and to the Doric dialects in the broader sense (i.e. the main Doric and the northwestern), while few of them are common to Macedonian and the Aeolian dialects. This is something which allows us to come to the conclusion that Macedonian was closely related to the dialects of the first group (the Doric), but it also presents certain similarities to the Aeolian dialects”.*

Conclusion. On all levels (phonological, grammatical and lexical) common structural features of Macedonian and Doric lead us to classify Macedonian within the Doric, especially the Northwestern group of Doric dialects.

The linguistic truth for the pseudonymous “Macedonian language” of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM)

I call to your attention now; read the following sentence:

Da vi go pretstavamsina mi Blazeta ... Mu ja dador na Petrataknighta ... Go razbivaliperacot

Does anybody who knows Greek, would recognize these phrases as Greek or as anything to do with Macedonian Greek spoken in Macedonia, in Northern Greece for centuries? Yet this token of language is precisely the one which is called “*Macedonian language*” by the leadership and the people of FYROM since 1944, when this district (which was known from 1918 as “*Vardaska Banovina*”) was renamed by Tito to “*Macedonia*”. It is evident that only a completely distinctive name like *Skopja* would be suitable to denote the identity of this recent entity. As the only reason for FYROM to call their country *Macedonia* is the geographical position of this recent state, another possibility —which has been proposed by some scholars— would be a composite name like “*Slavomacedonia*” or “*Vardar Macedonia*”, which would respond to both the historical truth and geographic reality, if in this way coincidence and identification with the established name of Greek Macedonia could be avoided in practice, which I personally doubt. That FYROM, however, insists on the name “*Macedonia*” is only a provocation and an evident intention to confuse the name of Greek Macedonia with the very recent (since 1944) name of FYROM, a fact that can only serve political aspirations.

What about the “*Macedonian language*” of FYROM? Does it have any relation to ancient or modern Macedonian Greek? As it is clear from the examples illustrated above, it has nothing to do with the language spoken in Greek Macedonia. The language spoken in FYROM is a mixture of Slavic language, based on Bulgarian and artificially adjusted to Serbian. The real name of FYROM’s language —coming from its origin and its structure— would be *Bulgaroserbian* or *Serbobulgarian* or *Neoslavic* or *Slavic of Skopia*. It was Bulgarian which was spoken at this area, before this geographical region came to consist a part of Yugoslav Federation, governed by Tito. And it was the Bulgarians who always claimed that this territory belongs to them and who blamed FYROM’s government inventing an artificial Serbian language by substituting Bulgarian words and structural elements with Serbian, so that this language does not look like Bulgarian. And it was the Bulgarians who used to call this artificial language “*kolisefskian Serbian*” (after the name of the first prime-minister of Skopia, of Lazar Kolisefki).

All these agree with what great linguists teach about the Slavic language of FYROM. **Vitore Pisani**, one of the most famous Italian linguists, has written that “*In reality the term ‘Macedonian language’ is a product of an essentially political origin*”. Also the French Slavologist **Andre Vaillant** highlights that “*the name Bugari is in reality the national name of the Slavs of ‘Macedonia’ [he means FYROM], which indicates that the Slavs of this region accepted the name that the Serbians gave to them*”. He also argues that the Slavic spoken in Skopia goes back to Old Slavic and belongs to the Bulgarian dialects. Finally, **Heinz Wendt**, a German linguist, referring to Slavic languages, says “*Bulgarian and Macedonian, due to their*

outstanding structural particularities, should be considered as a separate Slavic group and be distinguished from all other Slavic languages”.

Conclusion

From what has been said they are evident, I hope, two things:

- (i) Ancient Macedonian dialect, which was spoken in Greek Macedonia was a pure Greek dialect used for oral communication, a Greek dialect classified within the Doric, esp. the Northwestern group of Greek dialects. It was early replaced in written and oral use with Attic for political reasons. This Greek dialect has been continuously used in Greek Macedonia from ancient years till today. This has always been known all over the world as the Macedonian language. It was only since 1944 that the Bulgaroserbian Slavic of FYROM started to be used with the fictitious name “*Macedonian language*”, a name which has created the confusion described above.

- (ii) Equally disorienting is the fictitious name of FYROM as “*Macedonia*”, based on a geographical definition of this new Yugoslav state, which intentionally —for political reasons— used a national name causing confusion with the preexisting for more than 25 centuries name of Greek Macedonia. The fact that the political leaders of FYROM constantly refer to Philipp and Alexander the Great as their predecessors convinces that it is not a mere historical misinterpretation but a striking case of “*stolen history*”; the very name of the Greek Macedonia and the name of the Greek Macedonian language were adopted to denote a country and a language which have nothing to do with Greek Macedonia.

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περίπου 700 π.Χ. σε σκύφο από
τον Θερμαϊκό Κόλπο επί τα λαιά
όνομα συντομογραφημένο



vacat Σχενι() *vacat* (= <Χσ>ενι())

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The inscriptions of ca. 700 BC from Methone in Pieria, Macedonia
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Οι Επιγραφές του 700 περ. π.Χ. από την Μεθώνη Πιερίας στη Μακεδονία
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Photo. 19: *Methone I - Μεθώνη I*, 369-370 no. 22