THE SPEECH OF GORANIES[*]

In the 1991 census more than half of the inhabitants of Gora declared themselves as members of the Gorany ethnic group. In an approximate measure (54.8%) they reported that the Gorany tongue is their mother tongue. Slightly less than half of them regarded Serbian as their mother tongue[44]. Although the speech of Goranies had not been listed in the questionnaire such a reaction could be expected because their tongue represents a symbol of delimitation in regard to the neighboring groups with the same religious beliefs in the first place, and the symbol of their Slavic (Serbian) origin at he same time. When they join a multi-language group with a dominant non-Gorany language system they accept the speech of the major group, preserving at the same their Gorany speech, which they use in inter-personal communications. As soon as they break connection with their Gorany speech they become ethnically assimilated.

The speech of Goranies in relation to the neighboring Serbian and Macedonian speeches

Goranies use their speech 'in their way of speaking'. It represents a specfic Slavic language system which points to various language strata and reliably testifies that there were language movements and influences not only in Gora and the region of Šar Mountain on the Serbian and Macedonian sides but in the broader territory of languages in Macedonia, the Šar Mountain region, Metohia and south Kosovo as well. The nature of its dialectal nook added to preservation of many archaisms. That is why the Gorany speech remained aside

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[44] Радовановић М. (1995), **Антропогеографске и етнодемографске-особености шарпланинских жупа Гора, Опоље и Средска** *(Anthropogeographical and Ethnodemographic Characteristics of the Župas Gora, Opolje and Sredska in the Šar Mountain Region),* у: **Шарпланинске жупе Гора, Опоље и Средска** *(The Šar Mountain Župas Gora, Opolje and Sredska),* Географски институт "Јован Цвијић" САНУ, Посебна издања, књ. 40/II, Београд, стр. 28, 47.

of language innovations in the neighboring languages, and developed the features of local character.

Reflexiveness of the old groups *tj, *dj, *kt' in the south-Slavic languages clearly points to the existence of a limit between the Serbian and Bulgarian speeches before the 6th century AD. The Gorany speech with the affricates ħ, ђ (кућа, међа) clearly illustrates the genetic relationship between that speech and the west-south-Slavic-Serbian current. The presence of ħ, ђ in the neighboring Macedonian speeches does not contradict that fact; on the contrary it testifies that the Serbian language involved the speech areas more to the south of Gora, which - similarly to the Gorany speech – were overflown with Macedonisms untypical of the Serbian language. It therefore happened that the Gorany speech in its oldest differential layer is the Serbian speech, which in further development came into a more intensive contact with the Macedonian speeches.

Antepenult accent, semivowel vocalization (сон, дењ), ending-ме in the first person of the plural verb forms (носиме), development of the postpositional member (мужов) belong to Macedonisms.

However, there are many features which connect that speech with the Serbian language: three-gender nouns (људи, жене, села), good preservation of the flexible dative of both numbers of all semantic types, preservation of singular genitive with some prepositions, of personal pronouns (ja, он, мије), of the ending - ићи in the speeches of Prizren and the Јужна Морава region (in the Gorany speech - ића: кучића).

Non-correlativities in development of certain sounds and the appearance of various values (рука - нараче, с∂бица - слубице, с∂нце - слнце, буха - боха), then the presence of various grammatical endings (дава *жени -* дава *жене, носет - носит, зборет - имаје)* point to different dialectal Slavic systems incorporated in that speech.

Dialectal micro-differentiation of the Gorany speech

Dialectal micro-differentiation of the Gorany speech points to the fact that it stemmed from a mixture of language characteristics of the speeches in northern Macedonia, of the Serbian speeches in the Šar Mountain region, and the speeches in Metohia.

The region of Šar Mountain pastures is the greatest in the Balkan Peninsula. It is the widest and the richest in grass and water in the area of Gora[45]. Owing to such advantage the Šar Mountain region has been densely populated

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[45] Лутовац М. (1955), **Гора и Опоље** *(Gora and Opolje),* Српски етнографски зборник, LXIX, САНУ, Београд, стр. 20-21; Николић.С. (1994), **Шарпланинске жупе Гора, Опоље и Средска и њихове границе** *(The Šar Mountain Župas Gora, Opolje and Sredska and their Borders)* , у: **Шарпланинске жупе Гора, Опоље и Средска** *(The Šar Mountain Župas Gora, Opolje and Sredska)*, Географски институт "Јован Цвијић" САНУ, Посебна издања 40/I, Београд.

since the Middle Ages until today[46]. Because of rich pastures a greater number of immigrants came to Gora from regions along the Macedonian borders, particularly in the 16th and 17th centuries. Therefore, the population of Gora increased five times[47] in the course of the 140-year period. Immigration from that direction was going on throughout the later centuries as well.

The Gorany speech has been dialectally differentiated into three types (Map 5):

a) the speech of Brod;

b) the speech of Restelica, and

c) the speech of Doloište.

Language differences between certain settlements were followed by cultural differences, which appeared not only because of heterogeneous language systems incorporated in the Gorany speech, but also because of larger groups of immigrants from various regions. In that sense some similarities with the speeches of Tetovo, Gostivar, Debar, Reka and even south Metohija are interesting.

While the Brod and Restelica types include a small number of settlements and are stabilized, the speech of Doloište has subtypes according to its geographical position. The lower villages of Doloište testify to the fact that in the past that area of Gora was in touch with the speech of south Metohija through the Serbian speech of Opolje (which was pushed out because Opolje had very early been ethnically and linguistically Albanized). A stronger wave of immigrants from the south used to settle down in the upper villages. That part of Gora with the speech of Doloište, judging from a series of differential features, is half way between the speech of the villages around Dragaš on one, and the speeches of Brod, Restelica and Kruševo on the other side.
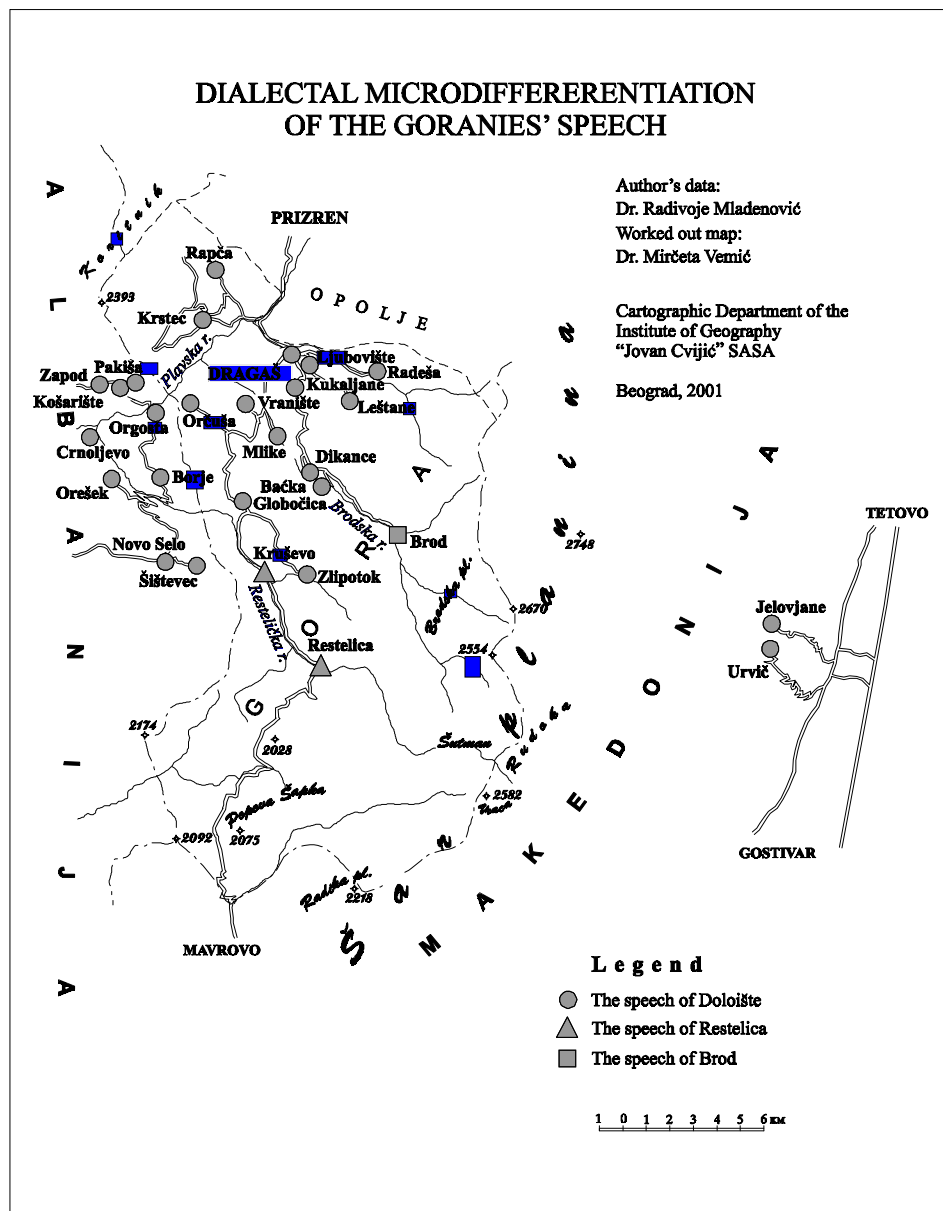
Onomastics of Gora in the light of ethnic and linguistic intermixture

The onomastic material of Gora has been brought to light in different epochs. The first reliable source of the names of settlements and their boundaries is the Charter of the Monastery of St. Archangels near Prizren with which Tzar Dušan founded it in 1348 and gave it many settlements in possession. Place-names mentioned in that charter, mostly preserved until today, authenticate the continuity of the Gorany population. It is Serbian[48] in its greater part, which is important to the establishment of the language system in Gora in the mid-14th century.

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[46] Лутовац М. (1955), **Гора и Опоље** *(Gora and Opolje),* Српски етнографски зборник,LXIX, САНУ, Београд, стр. 238-239.

[47] Пешикан М. (1986), **Стара имена из доњег Подримља** *(Old Names in Donje Podrimlje)*, у: Ономатолошки прилози VII, САНУ, стр. 81-88.

[48] Пешикан М. (1985), **О прошлости Горанаца** *(Goranies and their Past)*, у: НИН *(Weekly Information Magazine)*, Београд, бр. 1783.

**DIALECTAL MICRODIFFERERENTIATION
OF THE GORANIES' SPEECH**

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Beograd, 2001

Legend
- ● The speech of Doloište
- ▲ The speech of Restelica
- ■ The speech of Brod

Map 5. *Dialectal micro-differentiation of the Goranies' speech*

In the oldest known Turkish record of individual names, covering the Serbian lands (KP 145/55, original in BVA, Maliye 12), the list of areas from

Paštrik to the southern part of Šar Mountain was made. A part of that registry is the nahiyah Gora. Material included in that Turkish document clearly shows that the names in Gora in the 15th century were Serbian.Of Albanian names Ђин and Ђон[49] were only once recorded.

Comparing the names in Gora with the Serbian and Macedonian samples Mitar Pešikan has convincingly shown that the names in Gora are considerably distant from the Macedonian, and identical with the Serbian models to a large extent.

The formative adaptation and expansiveness of reduced names, characteristic of the Macedonian onomastics did not more significantly affect the registry of names in Gora at that time[50]. The reduced names in - *o* are in Gora less frequent in the 15th century than those ending in - *a,* which points to the connection of Gora with Metohija, where the names ending in - *a* are dominant[51]. The present-day status in the registry of names in Gora shows that after the 15th century male names ending in - *o* and - *e* spread out from the neighboring northwest territories so that disyllabic names in - *o*, then hypocoristics in - *e* and - *ље* are prevalent in Gora.

Islamization and Albanization of some neighboring areas influenced the leveling of the registry of names, and the speeches in Gora, with the western Macedonian. "According to the 15th century material Gora on the Serbian, and the vilayets Gornji Debar, Kičevo, Tetovo (with Polog, Gostivar) and Skopje on the Macedonian side, did not have any Albanian settlement, while the population in the area of Reka (along the small river Rečica at the foot of Korab) was mixed"[52]. After early Islamization and Albanization of Opolje Slavic Gora aimed for the Slavic Orthodox Christian areas Gornji Debar, Polog, Gostivar and Tetovo. From that direction, under such circumstances the register of names in Gora was subjected to equalization with the immigrant and west- Macedonian versions in the close vicinity.

Some place-names and traces in them bear witness of eventual presence of the Vlach ethnic element in Gora. Thus place-names like Vlaška, Vlaški potok, La∂ški put, Barbula came about. Tribal names like: Јанкулофци, Чучуљефци, Мандакофци, Ренда, Балмакофци, Зиза, (whose other name is Куцовласи) were met in the study of personal names.

The presence of ethnically marked place-name testifies to the presence of Vlachs in Gora but also to the fact that they linguistically and ethnically differ from the majority of Slavic Gorany population.

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[49] Пешикан М. (1986), **Стара имена из доњег Подримља** *(Old Names in Donje Podrimlje)*, у: Ономатолошки прилози VII, САНУ, стр. 74.

[50] Пешикан М. (1986), **Стара имена из доњег Подримља** *(Old Names in Donje Podrimlje)*, у: Ономатолошки прилози VII, САНУ, стр. 75.

[51] Пешикан М. (1986), **Стара имена из доњег Подримља** *(Old Names in Donje Podrimlje)*, у: Ономатолошки прилози VII, САНУ, стр. 79.

[52] Пешикан М. (1986), **Стара имена из доњег Подримља** *(Old Names in Donje Podrimlje)*, у: Ономатолошки прилози VII, САНУ, стр. 94.

Although there are no traces of the east Slavic reflex - шт, - жд (< *tj, *dj, *kt') in the speech of Goranies rare place-names with - шт were asserted: Бабин-*пеш* ("каменит, кршевит предео"), the name of the village *Шиштевац* (confirmed in the 14th century Сиштевьць). These place-names, as well as the place-name Globočica, with an obvious non-Gorany form (in the Gorany speech it is *длбоко)* can certify either the found or the transferred toponym.