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Forms of Address with Emotional Components in the Macedonian Language

Introduction

During the past few years, the forms and manners for establishment of linguistic contact between interlocutors have evolved. Today, the distance in interpersonal communication increases, and hence new forms appear and old ones reappear, which it seemed to have irretrievably disappeared during the Yugoslavian communist era. These include addressing forms such as *господин / госпоѓа* (Mister/Madam) or official phrases used in official meetings including: *дамаи и годнода* (ladies and gentlemen) or politically colored phrases including: *другари / другарки* (comrades). At the same time, a tendency to decrease the distance between interlocutors in public communication appeared – the tendency to use the addressing form *ТИ* (singular You) became widespread, not only among citizens of rural regions, but also among those in urban regions, and it is increasingly being accepted in everyday communication.

Recently, forms of address, not so widespread before, are becoming particularly common forms of address in different language registers in Macedonia. These include: *господин / госпоѓа* (Mister/Madam) in (most often in vocative) form of an appeal used together with the name, title of dignity or last name of the person being addressed:

Господине Поповски повеќе од провидна е Вашата загриженост...

Mister Popovski, your concern is more than just thin...

Прво, господине претседателе, на барање на нашиот колега...

First of all, Mister President, on the request of our colleague...

Ви благодарам господине претседател, почитувани колеги...

Thank you Mister President, respected colleagues...

In the Macedonian language, the form of address takes vocative case. Remnants of this form usually appear in relation to nouns denoting a human being, for example, *жено, господине* (woman, sir). In nouns of masculine gender, the form of address is created by infliction of suffixes *-y* or *-e*. The suffix *-y* can be found in polysyllabic words and the suffix *-e* in monosyllabic ones, whereas some nouns can take both inflections interchangeably, for example: *маж – мажу, вол – волу, коњ – коњу, професор – професоре, годподин – господине*. Personal names ending in vowel do not have vocative form, and those ending on consonant take the suffix *-e*, for example *Стојане, Зоране*. In nouns of feminine gender, the form of address is formed by the suffixes *-e* and *-o*. The suffix *-e* is more often used with polysyllabic words ending in *-ица* or *-ка* (*Милице, директорке*), while others are formed by use of the suffix *-o* (*ќерко, сестро*).

Forms of address in contemporary Macedonian language can be divided in two types – generally in view of the societal conditions in which communication is directed towards establishing a contact. These forms have been and will be a constant expression of a society that is changing alongside the dynamics within the frame of one group, to which one can feel they belong. However, the form *ТИ* is mainly used within the family and among closest friends.

Sometimes, the form *Ти* involves an emotional function and can be offensive since it may express disrespect. When few years ago one famous television speaker addressed a police officer using the form *Ти*, the case ended up in court. In his defense, the speaker stated that address on *Ти* is his normal form of communication. The court followed this argumentation, otherwise he would have had to pay 500 euros fine.

Use of the form *ТИ* can be particularly offensive in the modern political discourse when political party adversary addresses their interlocutor by using the humiliating form *ТИ* in the media.

- (a) (...) *по овој разговор можам да ти се обраќам само на „ти“*. *Ти си обичен насилник (...)*
 (...) after this conversation, I can address you with “ти”. You are just a thug (...).¹

Во тоа значење може, исто така, да се употреби формата: **човек/(/абе) човек / овој човек** (man, oh this man) in the function of the offensive *ТИ*:

- (b) *Го гледам пред некој ден така засилен и раскомотен малку, подолабавена кошулата, демек неформален е. Вика гордо, ако треба и крв ќе падне. Слушам не ми се верува, враќам назад, пак слушам, стварно тоа го збори, си велам абе човек, седи мирен и не си играј играчки, тешки зборови кажуваш, не си играј играчки, да не те лаже ѓаволот да правиш глупости, зашто ако седиме мирно и те пуштаме на глава да ни се качуваш, не значи дека ќе дозволиме и граѓански конфликт да направим (...)*

¹ <http://www.novamakedonija.com.mk/NewsDetal.asp?vest=4201593738&id=9 &setIzdanie=23448> (access: 12.05.2015).

I saw him the other day, stepped-up and little bit cozy, his shirt loosened up, supposedly acting informally. He said proudly that if need be, blood shall be spilled, too. I am listening to him and I can't believe it. I go back and listen to him again, but he says the same thing. So I think to myself, oh man, stay put and do not play games, you are saying big words, do not play games. Do not let the devil deceive you and make you do foolish things because if we stay put and let you do as you please, it does not mean they we will allow you to create a civil conflict (...).²

(c) *Овој човек на секој два дена зборува тотално спротивни работи.*

This man says completely opposite things every two days.

Не е чудо што ова не им успева.

Small wonder this does not work for them.³

In cases (b) and (c), the stylistic coloration of the speaker's manner of address is very important because he is using rhetoric irony to portray his political adversary as someone who is not a serious **man**, **man** only dressed in loosened up shirt, cozy, informal, in one word, we can now freely address him by – (абе) **човек** (oh, man).

1. Basic Forms of Addressing in the Macedonian Language

Macedonian language has two basic forms of address: official and unofficial. In case of official circumstances, the forms *Вие* и *господин / госпоѓа* (plural you and mister/sir / madam) are used. In less official and unofficial (private) circumstances, the form *ТИ* (singular You) is used. In the Macedonian language, the sphere in which the form *ТИ* is used is usually much wider than it is in other Slavic languages, e.g. in the Polish language. Without exceptions, young people at same or similar age (especially within the family) address one another by using the form *ТИ*. For example, when addressing students. Moreover, this form is also used in formal circumstances (the same applies to foreigners), e.g. in stores at the market, sellers address younger people or people of the same age as them using the form *ТИ* and *vice versa*. The form *ВИЕ* (plural you) is used in superior – subordinate relations, for example: professor – student, manager – employee on a higher office position, even in everyday communication and informal contacts.

Today, the use of the form *ТИ* in the Macedonian language is much more liberal than it used to be. The form *ТИ* is especially dynamic when used in commercials: marketing experts, who naturally want the best for their clients, identify themselves with them by using the universal form *ТИ*, but rarely *ВИЕ*, e.g.:

² <http://www.telegraf.mk/aktuelno/makedonija/263841-gruevski-zaev-ne-si-igraj-danapravis-gragjanski-konflikt> (access: 12.05.2015).

³ *Ibidem*.

И ти си лицето на твојата земја, од туризмот сите добиваме.

You are also the face of your country, we all gain from tourism.

Вклучи се во најголемото истражување за социјални мрежи во светот и освој Acer таблет.

Get involved in the biggest social media research in the world and win your Acer tablet.

Еј...супер што го посетуваш Црnobело форумот.

Hey... it's great you visit Black-and-White forum.

Слободно регистрирај се приклучи ни се во дискусиите!

Register for free, join us in our discussions!

ТИ is used as a form of address by young people at same or similar age, e.g. pupils, students. However, this form also dominates the more official circumstances when addressing people who are not well known, e.g. when buying goods in a store or at the market place where the shopkeeper can address a young boy or a girl by using the form *ТИ*:

Имаш цигари?

Do you have cigarettes?

Имаш тази бурек?

Have you got freshly made burek?

Similarly, a young shopkeeper can address a customer of a similar age by use of *ТИ*. There is a full symmetry here. However, if there is an asymmetry concerning the age of one or the other party, such address is officially impossible because it creates a sense of overpowering. Regardless, nowadays, it has become more often the case, when, irrespective of their age, all shopkeepers and customers mutually use the form *ТИ*.

Young and older people address waiters by using the form *ТИ* or, more often than not, by saying *дечко* (boy), which is also functioning as the informal *ТИ* here.

Дај ми едно пиво!

Give me a beer!

Дечко, донеси едно пивоце!

Boy, bring me a beer!

But obviously, official forms exist, too:

Ве молиме пиво / Едно пиво Ве молам.

Please, a beer / One beer, please.

In Macedonian language, words referring to young women and man can have the same function, e.g.: моме or чупе (girl) and young man aged 30–35: дечко (boy), which is usual, or момче (young man). This is a rather common phenomenon, and not only in Macedonian language. It is related to the expression of dominance and control in acts of interpersonal communication. Compare: John Lyons⁴ says there is no language in which this dimension – or lack of symmetry in the use of the forms of address – is not more or less present. This is especially true when the sender uses his social position by using these forms at the beginning of a conversation in order to demonstrate power over the receiver. In language science, the essence of address forms is in the sphere of linguistic functions, among which the function of appeal, known as impressive or conative function, can be singled out. This category is used to address the addressee directly or indirectly. In scientific literature, according to Karl Bühler⁵ we can single out: pure appeal – the speaker asks the addressee to establish and maintain contact with him, for example: *Докторе, се случи несреќа* (Doctor, there's been an accident) addressing others when contact has already been established, and the nominated group is used for the purpose of its maintenance: *Знам, сестро моја, знам!* (I know, my sister, I know!) or by use of predicative phrases, when the speaker uses certain nominal groups to characterize the addressee, for example: *Злато мое!* (My darling! [My gold]), *Партал низаеден!* (You toerag!).

According to Edward Tomiczek, as in the French and the German language, in the Polish language, two categories of address form can be singled out: a group of pronominal forms: *Toj / Таа, Tu, Tue, Вие* (he/she, informal you, they, formal you) and a group of nominal forms: I – name, N – last name, T – title.⁶ All these structures are also present in Macedonia, however, with different prevalence in official communication, as unofficial contacts are dominated by the class of pronominal forms: 2 person singular. *ТИ* (singular you) and 2 person plural – *ВИЕ* (plural you). This is in agreement with majority of systems containing pronominal opposition: *Ти и Вие* (for example: French *Tu – Vous*, German *Du – Sie*), where *Tu* is unofficial and informal, and *Vous* indicates an official contact. Similarly, in Macedonian unlike in the Polish language, *Вие – господин / госпоѓа (Państwo / Pan/Pani)*:

Дарко, како сте поминале во Македонија (слушнато).

Darko, you have had a great time in Macedonia (as heard).

Forms of address used in the Macedonian language are borrowed from materials of official texts – minutes of meetings of parliamentary sessions, media articles and interviews taken from the Macedonian Television and private conversations.

⁴ J. Lyons, *Semantyka*, przeł. A. Weinsberg, Warszawa 1989, t. 2. p. 191–192.

⁵ K. Bühler, *Teoria języka. O językowej funkcji przedstawiania*, przeł. J. Koźbiał, Kraków 2004.

⁶ E. Tomiczek, *System adresatywny współczesnego języka polskiego i niemieckiego. Socjolingwistyczne studium konfrontatywne*, Wrocław 1983.

The basic function of forms of address is to identify the addressee, establish contact with them and include them in situation of communication. However, before continuing towards a more developed dialogue, it is important to point out that the function of the most official form of salutation in Macedonian language is performed by the expression *добредојде/добредојдовте* (welcome) or sometimes by *добродојде/добродојдовте* [with the variant *здраво* (hello)] with compulsory and ritualistic replies: *добренајде/добренајдовне* or *добродојде/добродојдовте* with private variant of the reply *добро ве најдов* (it's good to be here) [with the variant *здраво* (hello)]. Usually, this form is used in situations when first contact is made before introduction of name and last name. When entering a Macedonian house, the host addresses the guests with the official words: *добредојдовте/добродојдовте* (welcome). The appropriate reply is: *добренајдовме/добронајдовме* (it's good to be here). In addition to the compulsory greeting ritual, the forms *добредојде/добродојдовте*, the ritual of welcoming guests also includes offering them homemade pudding/jam together with a glass of water or juice.

Добредојде Наталија, те чекаме у мкд во брзо време.

Welcome Natalia, we expect you in Macedonia soon.

Здраво Наталија, те чекаме во Македонија во брзо време (слушнато).

Welcome Natalia, we expect you in Macedonia soon (as heard).

Добредојдовте!

Welcome.

Прво се ракуваа со мудриот чичко Николов.

They first shook hands with the wise uncle Nikolov.

2. Vocative Form as a Semantic Variation of Forms of Address

Vocative form as a pure appeal is used as the basic semantic variation of address forms in the Macedonian language, as in many other languages, vocative forms dominate this function. For example:

Што работиш, сине?

What are you doing my son?

Мартине – му се обратија луѓето на стрико Мартин...

Martin – people addressed uncle Martin...

Мајко, мајчице мила!

Mother, dear mother!

These vocative forms are still present in contemporary Macedonian language, regardless of what Blaze Blaže Koneski had written in *Грамастиката на македонскиот литературен јазик* (the Grammar of the Macedonian Literary Language):

The vocative form in our language is still widely present; however, on the other hand, it is obvious that it is being affected by the process of gradual disappearance.⁷

Koneski also pointed out the existence of different vocative forms for one and the same noun – *брат* (brother), *брате*, *брату* – used for determination of semantic shades. The latter, according to the author, is used when we directly address someone who is not our brother by birth, but only a friend or a stranger. The noun without use of its vocative inflection is rarely used to address our own brother, for example:

*Ами ти, бре брат, оти ич мукает не се чиниш.*⁸

But you, oh brother, why don't you take care of yourself at all.

In the Macedonian language, the vocative function is assumed by use of: name, nickname, hypocoristic forms of names, and other names with general meaning defining the social status of work and official titles, official functions, words conveying respect, family names. The system of names of relatives is especially widely developed and it is used as an integral part of the forms of address among which there are about ten precisely defined closest family relations. These are just a small part of the more than hundred lexicalized names of Macedonian family relations. The following are the most important: *татко* (father), *мајка* (mother), *син* (son), *ќерка* (daughter), *брат* (brother), *сестра* (sister), *маж* [*сопруз*] (husband [spouse]), *жена* [*сопруга*] (wife [spouse]), *баба* (grandmother), *зет* (son-in-law), *девер* (bridesman), *деверица* (maid of honor), *јатрва* (sister-in-law), *золва* (sister-in-law), *золвин* (brother-in-law), *внук* (nephew), *внука* (niece), *сват* (in-law), *сваќа* (mother-in law), *стрина* (aunt), *стрико* [*чичко*] (uncle), etc.⁹ Some of them are also used to address a person who is not related to the speaker, for example: *стрина* (aunt) or *стрико* (uncle) for addressing an elderly woman or an elderly man, respectively.

The most interesting is the use of kinship names in addressing function. Here we can mention situations in which the father or the mother in Macedonian families address their daughter as *тата/маме*, *тато/тате* or *сине* (daddy/mommy, or son),¹⁰ emphasizing the particularly strong emotional relationship with their children, for example:

⁷ Б. Конески, *Грамастиката на македонскиот литературен јазик* (The Grammar of the Macedonian Literary Language), Скопје 1976, p. 240.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 240–241.

⁹ Е. Стоевска-Денчова, *Именување на роднинските односи во македонските дијалекти од словенски и балканистички аспект*, Скопје 2009.

¹⁰ Similar phenomenon is noticed in the Serbian language.

И така еден ден ќе ѝ раскажуваш на ќерката, на скопски: сине, татко ти во тоа време беше еден транзициски фраер. Ех, транзициски, ама фраер.

And so one day you will tell your daughter, in Skopje dialect: son, at that time, your father was a transitional cool guy. Ah, a transitional but cool guy.¹¹

This is related to the increasingly common manner for the parents to address their children as *сине* (son), regardless of the gender, as well as *мама* (mom) / *тата* (dad) for the children according to the manner in which children address their parents. Specifically, the mother addresses her daughter as *мама* (mom) and the father addresses his son as *тата/тата* (dad/daddy).

Знам дека имаш алергија, сине.

I know you have an allergy son.

Дојди, мама / тато, треба да одиме дома.

Come mommy/daddy, we need to go home.

This phenomenon is especially widespread in Skopje and the address by use of *мама/сине* (**mom/son**) gets a universal dimension meaning: *моето дете* (my child). It is characteristic that the form of address *сине* (son) is used in families where the parents have only daughters, however, parents usually address them as *сине* (son). This phenomenon might be explained by verbal-psychological mechanism of composition in families which have no male children.

The position of the vocative form in function of a form of address in the Macedonian language can be: initial, medial or final.¹² Use of the vocative form at the beginning of the sentence implies an appeal to the addressee to be attentive and to engage in receiving information:

О, мили деца, бидете среќни што заврши таа проклета војна.

O, dear children, be happy that the damn war is over.

О песно, земјо, жено, о живот и смрт ведно сè што ми носиш денес сам ќе го испијам жедно.

O poem, earth, woman, o life and death together, everything you bring me today I will drink thirstily alone.¹³

Жено, мори, донеси една лубеница. (слушнато).

Wife, bring me a watermelon (as heard).

¹¹ <https://twitter.com/MakNBA/statuses/302895809236713473> (access: 12.02.2013).

¹² This question is discussed by T. Gochova, *Именското обраќање во македонскиот јазик* (Nominal Forms of Address in Macedonian Language). Master's work. University Ss. Cyril and Methodius, Faculty of Philology, Skopje 1993 (unpublished work).

¹³ А. Шопов, *Црно сонце* (Black Sun), [in:] *Одбрани дела* (Selected Works). *Поезија* (Poetry), Книга втора, Скопје 1976, p. 215.

Forms of address at initial position can be preceded by particles, exclamations and also the pronoun *ТИ*. For example: *о, ајде, де, ја, а, абе, ама, ами, аман, оф, море/ мори*, etc.

Ти, ами, ништо не си зеде за јадење!
You, why you didn't take anything to eat!

In medial position, vocative forms' function is to maintain communication, as if part of questions:

За тебе, Мартине, би прилегал звонец од некое старо прчиште.
To you, Martin, a bell from some old goat would suit you best.

Ќе престанеш бе, мрснику, или не!
Will you stop, you scum, or not!

In final position, vocative forms mainly have the function to maintain communication, but at the same time they are of an emotional character. They usually appear within structures used to praise someone or to criticize someone pointing out their wrong action by means of diminutive forms or augmentative forms, respectively. Thus, the speaker can specify their address towards the addressee as positive or a negative one:

Приказни, приказни мили мои.
Stories, stories, my dear ones.

Тоа е пример, глупаку!
It's an example, you fool!

4. Personal name, name and last name, nickname, title...

The most frequently used form of address in the Macedonian language is the personal name – it can be the name itself, name and last name, nickname, title or diminutive noun. People who use their personal name in interpersonal relations point out that they are in close relationship with the addressee – familial, friendly and sometimes in neighboring relationship. They easily turn to the use of the form *ТИ* with their interlocutors. In the Macedonian language, there is also the possibility for addressing by use of the last name. However, this is when the last name is followed by an appellative – colleague, friend, mister + last name including their feminine equivalents: *колешка, другарка, госпоѓа + име*, (colleague, friend, madam + last name) for example:

Господине Богоевски, дојдовме и до Вас.
Mister Bogoevski, it is your turn now.

Какво е Вашето мислење?

What is your opinion?¹⁴

Знаете, госпоѓо Костова, јас во стартот поинаку би го поставил прашањето...

You know, madam Kostova, I would ask the question differently from the start...¹⁵

It is a very rare case when, in the Macedonian language, the last name is exclusively used as a form of address. This occurs only when the relations between the speaker and the addressee are symmetrical, for example: order in military, communication between soldiers and policemen as high degree expression of friendliness and solidarity. Same situation can be encountered in the Polish language when in jokes or in family relationships, the speaker and the addressee address one another by use of the last name only, when it actually functions just as the *ТИ* does. For example: *Ковалски, дојди ваму!* (Kowalski, come here!), *Новак, побрзај!* (Novak, hurry up!), etc.

The same applies to official situations when Macedonians use the form of address name + last name without any context in a form of complementation, as for example:

(1) *другар, колега, госпоѓа/господин* (+ name and last name)

friend, colleague, madam/mister (+ name and last name).

with variants:

(2) *другар, колега, госпоѓа/господин* (+ last name).

friend, colleague, madam/mister (+ last name).

The second (2) type of construction of forms of address, for example, in the Polish language is very rare. This is discussed by Małgorzata Marcjanik in her work *Politeness in Linguistic Communication*:

In Polish customs, common forms of address are: *господине Валчак* (Panie Walczak) (Mr. Walczak), *госпоѓа Ковалска* (Pani Kowalska) (Mrs. Kowalska) and these are permitted in only two situations (...). First, when someone singles out (calls out) someone else from the group. Thus, the following form can be used for addressing students: *Господин Валчак (Panie Walczak), ве молам да ни ја објасните разликата меѓу самогласка и полусамогласка?* Mr. Walczak, could you please explain us the difference between a vowel and a semivowel? For addressing a participant in an excursion, we can use: *Господин Walczak, тука се вашите документи;* (...) Mr. Walczak, here are your documents. These are not especially elegant forms, however, they are convenient for the given situations because they prevent errors in identifying people. Second, these forms are used by residents of small cities where everyone knows everyone else (sometimes including people from several generations)

¹⁴ News. Македонска Телевизија (access: 12.10.2014).

¹⁵ *Ibidem*.

and these forms are considered to be polite. (...) In other situations, these forms are considered to be inappropriate.¹⁶

In the contemporary Macedonian language, such constructions enter the standard language as universal forms of address in all regions of the language, but especially the official register, as is the case in almost all European languages.

Conclusion

Forms of address can be analyzed based on examples from the Macedonian emotional discourse, having in mind the use of expressions (kinship address forms), which are typical for the unofficial language register (style).

A relatively new phenomenon, similar to the one which is more common or standard in other European languages, but unlike in the Polish language, is the use of forms of address in the Macedonian language as are: **господин (е) / госпоѓо, колега + име** (sir/madam, colleague + name): **госпоѓо Поповска / господине Николов** (Madam Popovska / Mister Nikolov) or even – **Господине колега Николов** (Mister colleague Nikolov).

The latter involves unnecessary accumulation of titles (doubling of titles), **господине (mister)** together with **колега** (colleague), just as in the Polish language, to express an emotional component with potential effect of excessive familiarity with the addressee (the respondent). For example, **Panie kolego X**.

Interesting and very characteristic for Macedonians to date is the use of familial strongly emotional forms of address used by parents to address their children. These include **мама / сине / тате**, especially when addressing daughters (or regardless of the gender), particularly if there are no male children in the family.

¹⁶ M. Marcjanik, *Grzeczność w komunikacji językowej*, Warszawa 2007, p. 46–47.