PROCEEDINGS
SECOND SYMPOSIUM of the
INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL for TRADITIONAL MUSIC
STUDY GROUP on MUSIC and DANCE in
SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

HOW DO PUBLIC PRESENTATIONS AFFECT PERCEPTIONS and PRACTICES of MUSIC and DANCE?
REGIONAL AND NATIONAL EXPERIENCES

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS of MUSIC and DANCE
(LEARNING and TEACHING PROCESSES)

ICTM Study Group on Music and Dance in Southeastern Europe
Ege University State Turkish Music Conservatory
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Editors
Elsie Ivancich Dunin and Mehmet Öcal Özgilin

editorial assistance by Study Group members
Belma Kurtişoğlu, Liz Mellish, Lozanka Peycheva, Gonca Girgin Tohumcu

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Balkan _chalgija_ music in general and Macedonian _chalgija_ music in particular can be seen as a quintessentially Ottoman urban phenomenon whose life and practice arguably has survived into the present, albeit with a mixture of significant changes added to selective continuities. Seeman (1990), based on fieldwork done in the 1980s, has documented vividly how Ottoman, especially Romani Ottoman, instrumental practice in Macedonia was adapted and co-opted in connection with the state sponsorship of modern Macedonian national identity, especially during the crucial period that led up to Macedonian independence, when changing geopolitical and socioeconomic circumstances and relationships were encoded into musical indexicalities of national belonging. In this article, I examine some representations of Macedonian _chalgija_ from the decade or so before Seeman conducted her field work in the 1980s, as well as some more recent post-independence manifestations. I shall argue that what we can call the Macedonian nationalization of _chalgija_ that Seeman describes in musical terms is also to be seen in physical representations, orthographies, and lyrics. These representations, however, also represent a complex series of relationships between Macedonia and its Ottoman past.

My data base for this work is a collection of 45rpm and 33rpm records and their covers from the 1960s and 1970s. It so happens that this period witnessed the relatively brief efflorescence of representational cover art. The appearance of this cover art coincided with a loosening of political restrictions and a new wave of consumerism that made the mass marketing of certain genres of (by definition) state-approved music widely available. These representations were reduced or lost with the advent of cassette tapes and then compact disks. This democratization of the means of production of sound recordings (both privatization and piratization) reduced or even eliminated the role of cover art, since the medium became obsolete, he covers, which were more ephemeral, were often lost or discarded. Thus, for example, one car find many examples of such 45rpm in the bazaars of Turkey, but almost always in blank cardboard covers. The records themselves were produced primarily by Jugoton in Zagreb and RadioTV Beograd (RTB), and to a lesser extent Diskoton in Sarajevo and rarely, by other labels in places like Ljubljana and Krusevac. It is interesting to note that during this period there was virtually no production coming from Skopje itself.

Since a complete survey is beyond the scope of this article, I shall select some representative samples from three groups, illustrative of four currents in Macedonian _chalgija_. The groups are the ensembles Chalgija, Hilmi Baci, and Biljana. I call the currents 1) the Ottoman, 2) the ethnic, 3) the lyric, and 4) the national. These concepts are not mutually exclusive but rather indicate trajectories that can intersect and overlap. By Ottoman I mean production that makes explicit or implicit reference to the time when Macedonia was part of the Ottoman Empire. By ethnic I mean production that uses a language other than that of the Macedonian republic's majority or makes explicit reference of some sort to ethnicity. By lyric I mean a song whose themes are the type found in folksongs classified as lyric in Balkan (and other) folklore collections, that is, songs about love and related topics that can broadly be construed as social/domestic relations and gossip. A given _chalgija_ production can represent any or all of these trajectories, but they can also be distinct. Thus, for example, an ethnic trajectory can simultaneously index the Ottoman, as can the lyric trajectory. The national often corresponds thematically to folk songs traditionally classified as epic.
although musically they are identical to the lyric. Rather, their themes concern political events, or in some way index national belonging. The ethnic can similarly index nationality, but need not, as we shall see below. The Ottoman by its very nature is imperial as opposed to national—in the late Ottoman period to which nationalist refers here, millef 'nationality' was defined by religion and not by language or some other nation-state characteristic. Ottoman and national can also co-occur by the very fact that they were historically—and to some extent still are—in simultaneous competition. Even lyric and national are not entirely mutually exclusive, since the tropes of lyrical songs sometimes occur as metaphors for the national. It is during the period of 45pm and 33rpm cover production in the 1960s and 1970s that we can trace movements along these various trajectories using the three groups that will be the focus of this article.

We begin with the eponymous Ansambl Chalqija, featured on the earliest cover to be considered here (Jugoton EPY 3663; Figure 1), which dates from the early 1960s. The representation shows five men, standing outdoors, bare headed, with kamar, clarinet, dhumbsh, violin, and tarabuka.1 Marked clothing items are embroidered elek, sash, bechvi (also with a bit or embroidery), and opinci laced up outside the bechvi to just below the knee. The title is in Croatian: Makedonska Narodna Pjesma Pjeva i Srivu Ansambl Calqija 'The Ensemble Chalqija plays and sings Macedonian folk songs'. The songs are all lyric, one with a non-standard title (&x7f 20 mome, mala&mome 'Oh you maiden, young maiden', where the &x7f in mala lit. 'small, young' is an archaism; modern mali, older mulo).

The second Chalqija cover (Jugoton EPY 4218; Figure 2), from the late 1960s, projects a distinctly related but different image. The title is the same as on the previous cover, but an oud has been added to the instrumental ensemble, two female vocalists are also included, the players of the oud, kamar, and dhumbsh are seated cross-legged (that is, alatukra) on the ground in front of the other members of the ensemble, the women are dressed alagranja in pre-War World One style long-sleeved long dresses, while the men are wearing town shoes and kalpaks and sashes but the bechvi and elek are unembroidered. Moreover, the themes of the songs are all of the national/Ottoman type dealing with Macedonian insurrections at the end of the Ottoman period plus one instrumental number entitled Starogradsko makedonska oro 'Old town Macedonian oro'. The timing of this record is the period after Aleksandar Ranković (head of Yugoslavia's secret police) in 1966, when there was an upsurge in national sentiments in the various Yugoslav republics and regions. In the third Chalqija cover (EPY 4324; Figure 3), entitled simply Ansambl Calqija, all six men are seated on the ground alatukra, an oud has replaced the dhumbsh (so there are two ouds), there are four women singers standing behind the seated musicians, and everyone is wearing ordinary modern street clothes. The songs are an interesting mixture of Ottoman/national, lyric, and ethnic. Kati&cacute;eno danam kajmaklijio 'Dear Katushena, O you with the complexion like cream' is lyric.2 Devet stota osma godina '1908' and Sardisale L&oacute;esqkio manastir 'They have surrounded the Leshok monastery' both refer to political events, in the case of the second song, the burning of the monastery at Leshok by Albanian Muslims from the neighboring village of Slatinoto at the orders of a pasha seeking komiti. The instrumental piece on this record, Topomasnko oro 'Oro from Topama', refers to one of the oldest Romanii quarters of Skopje, and is thus ethnically marked.

In our final example from this group (RTB 14709, Figure 4), which is from 1964 or 1965, the Ansambl Calqija is called Orkestar Calgija R&aelig;dio-Televizija Skopje. There is a single featured cut on the front cover—the instrumental Turska &ocirc;enka igra (Chockek) 'Turkish women's dance (Chockek)—as opposed to a complete listing, and the cover itself displays a folk motif rather than a picture of the orchestra.3 The entire record is ethnically marked since the other instrumental piece Çifetelli (turska igra) Chifetelli (Turkish dance) and the two songs—Da&ccedilt; dan dala (Turska &ccedil;i&vacute;ija pesma) 'jickled/unsteady [literally 'from branch to branch'] (Turkish humorous song)' and Gide gide (turska &ccedil;i&vacute;ayma pesma) 'Gradually/more and more [literally 'going, going'] (Turkish love song)—are all in current usage chockeh refers to the chifetelli, on this record.

Turkish songs are not traditionally orthographically incorrect: in the dative case, it is worth noting that all songs were once given in Turkish.

Our second group is titled in his brother Raim. The first appears in the late 60s or early 70s. These have songs and dances. Two of the three have original cover titles. Turkish sitting room of the young man in a turban and the cushion on the floor and he upward. There are five men, and clarinet while the woman

in the middle. The implication is Macedonian: Najnovi &cacute;e&cacute;koj &cacute;tituca K&Cacute;k of Hilmi Baki. The dance is

Macedonian-based Latin or avasi, Jorgoj çifetelli (staya çifetelli). The use of the alphabet which corresponds to Turkish omission of the cedilla from faced even by Macedonian below the letter where a cedilla is The double &x7f in Rumeli Rumeli no to the altar of Rum 'Rome' whence 'The

Rumelian Turkish dialect for &x7f is definitely dialectal, that

The other staging (R7) has musicians holding the same one on the floor next to the minaret or other. This time the extra player is Turkish: Hilmi Baki ve onu ve Baki and his orchestra name orthography are the same as above but diereses are used and is used for the representation Macedonian Latinization—Turkish halk miziçi) 'folk music'.

One of the Romanii crimson violin, and clarinet—all in the bridge. The title is in Macedonian ortography of Hilmi Baki with
(Turkish love song)—are all Turkish. Several points about this record are worth noting. Although in current usage chacok refers to a variety of rhythms, including the 2/4 or 4/4 rhythms used for the chipetelli, on this record the dance specified as a chacok is a karslama in 9/4. Also, the Turkish songs are not translated into Macedonian but simply described, and the first one is orthographically incorrect: it should be daldan da[a], that is, dal'branch' in the ablative and then in the dative case. It is worth noting here that at the same time in Bulgaria, the names of Turkish songs were never given in Turkish on the covers but only in Bulgarian (and later, also in English). Our second group is that of Hilihi Baki, who also played with the Chalpiga ensemble as did his brother Raim. The first three examples are from around 1965, while the fourth dates from the late 60s or early 70s. Those can all be classified as ethnic records. Three are instrumental and one has songs and dances. Two are Romani—both instrumental—and the other two are Turkish. Only three have original cover illustrations. Of these, the two Turkish records show an elaborately staged Turkish sitting room of the Ottoman type, with a mindar and, in the first, a mangal. In both, a young man in a turban and furry Turkish clothes is posed with a young woman in fancy Ottoman (or orientalizing Ottoman) women's attire. In one (RTB 14731, Figure 5) she is reclining on a cushion and he is kneeling behind her looking down at her and holding a pistol pointed upward. There are five men and a woman around them: the men pay a violin, two oduhd, tarabuka, and clarinet while the woman plays a tambourine. The male musicians are all in simple Ottoman attire with fezzes and the woman with the tambourine is dressed a bit more simply than the woman in the image. The implication is that some sort of karem drami is taking place. The title is in Macedonian: Najnovi čocici so orkestarot na Hilihi Baki 'Newest chочекs by/with the orchestra of Hilihi Baki.' The dances listed on the back cover (Figure 4) are in Turkish written as a Macedonian-based Latin orthography with some dialectisms: Haç' ajanu, Didar ajanu, Rumi avasi, Jorgun cifteteli (standard Turkish Hazar oyunu, Didar oyunu, Rumeli havası, Yorgun cifteteli). The use of the apostrophe is standard Macedonian orthography for representing schwa, which corresponds to Turkish ç'. The use of ç' for ç' is also standard Macedonian. The omission of the cedilla from ç'-ç' may explained by the lack of an appropriate typeface, a problem faced even by Macedonian (cf. note 5). On other albums, an inverted hachek is sometimes placed below the letter where a cedilla is used in Turkish. The title Rumeli avasî has three peculiarities. The double ç' in Rumelli avasî is based on a misunderstanding of the word as deriving from a ghost form Rumel to which the attributive -i has been added. In fact, the word is from Rum eli 'the land of Rum (Rome) whence Byzan'tium whence European Turkey'. The form avasî is the West Rumelian Turkish dialect form for standard (and East Rumelian) avası, while the absence of ç is definitely dialectal, the final ç could just be a matter of typeface limitations.

The other staging (RTB 16233, Figure 7) is the same sitting room with the same five male musicians holding the same instruments but no woman musician. The man in the turban is seated on the floor next to the mindar, on which the woman is seated playing an oud as they gaze at each other. This time the extra props are a floor narghile and an ibrik on a small table. The title is in Turkish: Hilihi Baki ve onun "YILDÎRIM" adlı orkestrasinin refacâyle CEVAHİR ÖMER Hilihi Baki and his orchestra named "Lightning" accompanied by Cevarî Ömêr. The problems of the orthography are the same as above (for example, all small ç-s are dotted, all capital ç-s are dotless), but dieresis are used where appropriate and, on the back (Figure 8), an interesting solution is used for the representation of ç' (yunuşık ge) —namely ç', a letter that is not needed for Macedonian Latinization—in the attribution of three of the four dances: halk müziği (standard Turkish halk müziği) 'folk music'.

One of the Romani covers (RTB 14756, Figure 9) has only four musicians—oud, karnan, violin, and clarinet—all in western dress (jackets with open collared shirts), seated by a wooden bridge. The title is in Macedonian: Çocici so orkestarot na Hilihi Baki 'Chочекs by/with the orchestra of Hilihi Baki' with the names of the dances in Roman and Macedonian translation in
The covers of the 33rpm albums depict the musicians standing with different parts of Ohrid in each background. The instruments depicted are the following (vocalists mean no instrument, in fact many of the musicians also sing):

- EPY 61133 - small daire, oud, clarinet, guitar, two ouds, two violins (Figures 11, 12)
- EPY 61188 - small daire, small daire, clarinet, guitar, two violins, accordion, vocalist (Figures 13, 14)
- LSY 61328 - small daire, small daire, oud, guitar, violin, accordion, electric guitar, vocalist (Figures 15, 16)
- LSY 62079 - bass, oud, clarinet, violin, accordion, electric guitar, vocalist (Figures 17, 18)

As can be seen, the band changes along a temporal line from one that is all chaljiga except for the guitar to one that is starogradska or modern starogradska except for the oud and clarinet.

The lettering used for the name of the band also has significance. The first two albums are in Latin while the second two have the title on the front cover in Cyrillic, although the names of the songs on the backs are still in Latin. Of the two covers in Latin letters, the first is in an ornate art nouveau style that indexes the late nineteenth-early twentieth century, while the second is a very plain style with scratches. The Cyrillic typeface is identical on the second two albums and is an ornate archaizing style reminiscent of medieval illuminated Cyrillic manuscripts. It thus indexes Ohrid as a seat of medieval Slavic learning (and in fact quite likely the birthplace of the Cyrillic alphabet). It also serves as an index of the specifically Macedonian. Of the four 33 rpm albums under consideration here, the first three are entitled simply Ansambli Biljana Ohrad, while the fourth of these albums bears the title of the first cut Prostino nome, abovo ‘O Prostina, you beautiful maiden!’ The title song itself is highly indexical of the Ottoman, ethnic, and lyric. The song is sung in Macedonian and is about a Greek Orthodox maiden (although her ethnicity beyond the implication that she is Christian is not specified), who was taken by Ali Pasha of Tesepel in the late eighteenth-early nineteenth century. (In fact, Ali’s wife was Greek.) Today the song would also be read as national, but in fact it pre-dates the development of national identities in the Balkans, or at the very most, dates from the inception of such identities.

In general, the repertoire on all four albums has examples of all four trajectories described so far, for example Bog da go ulje toj Sefki kačkor ‘May God kill that Sefki the kačkor’, Slalom kač bubite ‘I hear how the beech trees are rustling’, Od Bitola do Večani sve sarsidna ‘From Bitola to Večani everything is surrounded’, Čifte, čifte pajašnici (ne verdim sama) ‘The pair, the pair of coaches (that I gave you)’, Ja izlezi stara majko na predšetko ‘Come out, old mother, to the window’, Jas sum moma ohriganka ‘I am an Ohrid girl’, Bog da bie Ruse tvoja majka ‘May God strike dead, O Ruse, you mother’, Ĉe me grubit, nane, toj Nikola ‘That Nikola is going to carry me off’, Pesma za Karadža ‘Song about Karadža’.

That the Cyrillic on the two covers is emblematic in addition to being communicative is emphasized by the fact that the song titles are all in Latin letters. Moreover, the typefaces still make use of Serbian-Croatian letters, although the form ohriganka is Macedonian. Čifte, čifte pajašnici.
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Today the song would also
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four trajectories described so
The kachal, Slušam kaj
svrcašam sve suradisam 'From
verdim samo) 'The pair, the
come out, old mother, to
May God
Nikola is going to carry me

The pair, the pair of coaches (that I gave you) is a rare example of a song sung in
West Rumelian dialectal Turkish. Jas izleti stara maja na pendžetno 'I'm coming out, old mother,
to the window' is sung in its original version which has the lines 'I promine Osman begot 'Osman
be will pass by' and 'I'm going to turčam, unram za nego 'I'll become a Greek, I'll become a
Turk, I am dying for him'. The image here is of a girl so infatuated with a handsome young Turk
Turk that she wants to run off with him. In later versions, Osman bey was replaced with moeto lie 'my
beloved' and the verse 'I'm going to turčam, unram za nego' is omitted entirely. The forms monta and grabi,
are dialectal, the latter specifically Ohrid dialect, and Karadža has the same error we saw above in
danam.

Three of Biljana's 45's are also worth noting here. Two covers (SY 12341 & 12342; Figures
19, 20) have photos taken at the same cafe with six of the band members in Ottoman town dress
(elek, sash, bechvi, kalpak), seated around a mangal without its cover and used as an ashtray. In
12342 the photo is the front cover and they are seated on the floor ataturka, whereas in 12341 the
front cover depicts one of Ohrid's old town cobblestone streets with an old Ottoman-style house on
the left and the side of a church on the right, but the men are portrayed on the back cover seated on
low stools. The songs are national, for example, Narode makedonski 'O Macedonian people!',
and lyric/ethnic, for example, Fanče ojde vo Kalijača 'Fanče goes to Kalijeshcha' which mentions a
čamčen elbasanče 'chamche in the Elbasan style' also qualified as a Türksko čamčen 'Turkish
chamche'. The third 45 (SY 23375, Figure 21) is a rare example of a record with two Aromanian
folk songs (Bu me le dado 'Marry me off mother' and Ef ci nu ažita sera le dado 'Oh what a night
that was, mother'. The cover shows the musicians with oud [just tie edge], clarinet, guitar, violin,
accordion, electric guitar, vocalist (similar to LSY 31628). This record, however, both indexes and
instantiates the fact that Ohrid had and continues to have a significant Aromanian-speaking
community, members of whom participate in Biljana.

Thus although Biljana's instrumentation is less traditionally chaljiga than the first two
groups, their repertoire includes both Turkish and Aromanian music from the Ottoman period as
well as the kind of Ottoman Macedonian-language repertoire that has subsequently been
"nationalized".

By way of conclusion, I would like to cite three more figures that both comment on
chaljiga as presented and performed in pre-independence Macedonia in the 60s and 70s, on
chaljiga in the Republic today. Figure 22 shows Yaşar Gümüş and his friends, a 45
produced in Turkey at the same time the records considered here were being produced for the
Macedonian market in Yugoslavia: Clarinet (featured), šehbuh, violin, tarabuka, and finger
Cymbals. The performances were all instrumental dance numbers (çiftelelli, and so on). Figure 23
shows an Albanian 45 from the same period that depicts a musical group. Significant here is the
fact that this is a folk rather than a chaljiga ensemble. The combination of çiftele, kefali, drez,
sharkia, and wooden spoons (which function like finger cymbals) and the men in north Albanian
national dress mark this as a rural folk ensemble. There were also Macedonian folk ensembles at
this same time, but the point here is that Albanian-language production was entirely folk rather
than the more urban and Ottoman chaljiga. The songs performed by ensembles like Ralf Needing
were entirely lyric. This is consistent with the pre-World War Two status of Albanian
Macedonian as a language of the countryside, that is markedly rural, as opposed to Turkish, which
even as late as the 1970s was still the town language of sophistication among the older generation.
Figure 24 shows a modern chaljiga performance in Macedonia in 2008, the oud player is Raim
Baki. The repertoire consisted entirely of Macedonian songs, most of which were of the
novokompozirana narodna (newly composed folk) type, the rest being taken from what in decades
past would have been the rural rather than urban repertoire and were thus indexed as specifically
Macedonian. The national thematics tended to be modern rather than Ottoman. A striking example
of the new-national-type orientation occurred when I requested an ethnic song, since the musicians
were all Roms, I spoke to them in Romani and requested a Romani song. Rather than performing a song from the rich Macedonian Romani repertoire, they chose to play Gelem, Gelem (I went, I went), a song based on a folk tune from further north and with new words that has become the Romani national anthem (see Silverman forthcoming).

Thus, in following the representation and performance of chaljija in the Republic of Macedonia we see how an Ottoman urban genre has indexed various kinds of identities and types of belonging, including urban, local, ethnic, Ottoman, and national. While some of the Ottoman urban and local indices manage to continue, it is the national that seems to be most pervasive at the present moment.

Glossary
alafranga - in West European fashion
alaturka - in Ottoman fashion
bechvi - homespun trousers wide above the knees and narrow below the knee
cifeli - member of lute family with two strings, small body, long neck
chamche - dance in an aksak (uneven) rhythm, from Çam, Albanian-speaker from what is today southernmost Albania and northwestern Greece
chochok - a kind of belly dance
daire - frame drum, large tambourine
dzhambush - round-bodied string instrument with a metal frame, sort of like a banjo
elek - short vest
ibrek - brass pitcher with a broad base and a long narrow spout
kachak - Albanian equivalent of komita
kuman - plucked zither
kaval - end-blown flute
komita [pl. komiti] - Macedonian revolutionary or brigand, depending whose side you were on.
mangol - large brass bowl on a pedestal filled with hot coals and covered with a decorative lidded metal cover used for heating a room.
minder - cushioned wall bench
pafla - a large, fancy women's two-part belt buckle, each half being round, oval, or paisley shaped, worn for special occasions, usually made of elaborately engraved and sometimes inlaid silver, in which a hook behind one half hooks into an eye behind the other.
pasha - the highest Ottoman civil or military rank, equivalent to a general or admiral.
tratshika - hourglass drum
oro - line dance (Macedonian)
opinci - homemade leather shoes
oul - tresses lute
sharkia - like a lute but smaller body, longer neck, 5 strings.

Endnotes
1. See also Pennanen (2008), whose work is quite relevant to this theme.
2. This usage is reminiscent of the term ethic in early US recording industry production. Ethnic records were those in languages other than English aimed at immigrant audiences and their children.
3. This is not to say that lyric themes are excluded from the traditional epic. Our point here is simply to use convenient labels for identifiable tendencies.
4. On Ottoman identity in modern Macedonia, see Ellis (2003). I can confirm that this sentiment is still present in Skopje, where Turkish-speakers expressed it to me during 2008-2009 while I was researching multilingualism with support from a Fulbright-Hays Fellowship and a grant from the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation, whose support I gratefully acknowledge. Thus, for example, an actor in the Turkish National Theater in Skopje descended from an old urban family said in conversation that by virtue of his being a Turkish-speaker he did not identify with the Turkish nation-state but rather felt himself to be Ottoman. Several other members of the theater voiced their agreement with this sentiment.

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5. Titles and words cited directly from record covers are given in the original orthography unless otherwise noted. Macedonian not cited from titles are given in Latinized transliteration (ch, sh, zh, dzh, kj, gj, and so on). A glossary at the end explains words not glossed immediately in the text for which the English would involve a descriptor or circumlocation. Words glossed in the text are not included in the glossary.

6. The <ce> in danum represents two problems. One was the absence of Macedonian typefaces for Latin transcription and the substitution of Serb-Croatian (see Friedman 1985 for further details). In this particular word, however, the dialectal confusion of mellow and strident voiced palatal affricates in Macedonian <gj/> shows up as an orthographic confusion of the Serbo-Croatian equivalents <dj/>/<dz/>, These problems occur again in other examples. In fact, every occurrence of <ce> for <cj> or <gj> should actually be <dj>, which is the same letter in both alphabets. On the other hand, the occurences of the voiceless equivalent <c£/> for <ce> or <cj> are always etymologically correct.

7. The motif itself, half of a pafia on the background of some embroidery, is suggestive of the theme, which is women's dances and lyrical songs.

8. It is important to note that there was also significant record production with songs—and covers—in Romani at this time. See Silverman forthcoming.

9. Note that Ilos is the Macedonian form of Hilmi.

10. This is in opposition to the other languages of Macedonia (except Serbian), which all use the Latin alphabet. The symbols of Cyrillic for Macedonian national identity continues to be salient in the post-independent period and has been the focus of laws requiring Cyrillic in public signage as well as media campaigns encouraging the use of Cyrillic.

11. Back cover photos are quite rare. When they occur, they always depict a group of musicians.

12. Elbasan is a city in central Albania that was a major provincial center in Ottoman times. The adverb elbasan 'in the Elbasan style' is Turkish.

13. A district of Ohrid called Vlasto moalo 'Aromanian neighborhood' is still inhabited primarily by Aromanians.

14. Albanian has a rich epic tradition, but the complexities are beyond the scope of this article. As with other Balkan epic traditions, the accompaniment is generally with a single chordophone (rarely two) that is either plucked or bowed.

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