# 6 Macedonian

*Victor A. Friedman*

## 1 Introduction

Macedonia has been the name of a Balkan region since ancient times, when it was bounded by Epirus, Thessaly and Thrace on the south-west, south and east. At present, Macedonia is best defined as the region comprising the Republic of Macedonia, the Blagoevgrad District in south-western Bulgaria (Pirin Macedonia) and the Province of Makedonia in northern Greece (Aegean Macedonia). Some adjacent portions of eastern Albania can also be included (compare Vidoeski in Koneski 1983: 117). A map is provided on page 300.

Ancient Macedonian, an independent Indo-European language of uncertain affiliation, was spoken in at least part of Macedonia in the fifth and fourth centuries BC and presumably both earlier and later. This gave way to Greek, which was in turn supplanted by Slavonic when the Slavs invaded and settled in the Balkans in the sixth and seventh centuries AD. For our purposes, Macedonian can be defined as the Slavonic dialects spoken in the territory of Macedonia.

Literary Macedonian is the official language of the Republic of Macedonia and is recognized as such by all countries except Bulgaria, where it is officially viewed as a 'regional norm' of Bulgarian, and Greece, where Macedonian is claimed not to exist – except in proclamations banning its use – or it is claimed that the term 'Macedonian' can only be used to refer to the Greek dialects of Macedonia or to Ancient Macedonian. None the less, there are citizens of and emigrants from both Bulgaria and Greece who identify their native (Slavonic) language as Macedonian. It is also spoken in about fifty to seventy-five villages in eastern Albania, where it is used as a language of instruction in elementary schools up to grade 4. Based on Yugoslav census figures for 1981 and other estimates, the total number of speakers with Macedonian as their first language is probably somewhere between 2 million and 2.5 million, many of whom have emigrated to Australia, Canada and the United States (Friedman 1985).

The Ottoman conquest of the Balkan peninsula in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries brought about a disruption of cultural continuity with

regard to Slavonic literacy in that region. The history of Modern Literary Macedonian begins in the latter part of the eighteenth century with the birth of South Slavonic nationalism. This history can be divided into five periods.

**Circa 1794–circa 1840: the first publications using Macedonian dialects**
The major figures of this period published ecclesiastical and didactic works in language based in many respects on their local dialects. Their concern was with establishing a vernacular-based Slavonic literary language in opposition to both the archaizing influence of those who would have based the Slavonic literary language on Church Slavonic and the Hellenizing attempts of the Greek Orthodox Church, to which the majority of Macedonians and Bulgarians belonged. The authors of this period in both Macedonia and Bulgaria called their vernacular language 'Bulgarian'.

**Circa 1840–70: the rise of secular works using Macedonian dialects**
The struggle over the dialectal base of the emerging vernacular literary language became manifest. Two principal literary centres arose on Macedo-Bulgarian territory: one in north-eastern Bulgaria and the other in south-western Macedonia. Macedonian intellectuals envisioned a Bulgarian literary language based on Macedonian dialects or a Macedo-Bulgarian dialectal compromise. Bulgarians, however, insisted that their Eastern standard be adopted without compromise.

**1870–1912: the rise of Macedonianism**
The establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate, that is of an autocephalous Bulgarian church, in 1870 marked the definitive victory over Hellenism. It is from this period that we have the first published statements insisting on Macedonian as a language separate from both Serbian and Bulgarian, although these ideas were expressed during the preceding period in private correspondence and similar documentation. In his book *За македонцките работи/Za makedonckite raboti* 'On Macedonian matters' (Sofia, 1903), Krste Misirkov outlined the principles of a Macedonian literary language based on the Prilep-Bitola dialect group, that is, precisely the dialects which later served as the basis of Literary Macedonian. Most copies of Misirkov's book were destroyed, but it documents a coherent formulation of a Macedonian literary language and nationality from the beginning of this century, thus belying the claim that Literary Macedonian was created *ex nihilo* by Yugoslav fiat at the end of the Second World War.

**1912–44: the Balkan Wars to the Second World War**
On 18 October 1912 the Kingdoms of Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia united against Turkey in the First Balkan War. Less than a year later Macedonia

was partitioned among these three allies, essentially marking the end of the development of Literary Macedonian outside the borders of Yugoslavia except for the period 1946–8, during which the Macedonians of Pirin Macedonia were recognized as a national minority in Bulgaria with their own schools and publications in Literary Macedonian. In Yugoslavia, Macedonian was treated as a South Serbian dialect, but the Yugoslav government permitted Macedonian literature to develop on a limited basis as a dialect literature. It was during this inter-war period that linguists from outside the Balkans published studies in which they emphasized the distinctness of Macedonian from both Serbo-Croat and Bulgarian (Vaillant 1938).

**1944: the establishment of Literary Macedonian**
During the Second World War, Tito's Communists won jurisdiction over Macedonia, and on 2 August 1944, Macedonian was formally declared the official language of the Republic of Macedonia. The standardization of Literary Macedonian proceeded rapidly after its official recognition, in part because an inter-dialectal koine was already functioning. The West Central region (see map 6.1 on page 300), which was the largest in both area and population, supplied a dialectal base to which speakers from other areas could adjust their speech most easily. In many respects these dialects are also maximally differentiated from both Serbo-Croat and Bulgarian, but differentiation was not an absolute principle in codification. A major problem now for Literary Macedonian is the fact that Skopje - the capital and principal cultural and population centre - is outside the West Central dialect area and the republic as a whole is subject to considerable Serbo-Croat influence (see Минова-Ѓуркова/Minova-Ǵurkova 1987). For more details see Friedman (1985), Hill (1982) and Lunt (1986).

# 2   Phonology

The Macedonian alphabet follows the phonemic principle of Serbian Cyrillic. With certain exceptions, each letter corresponds to a single phoneme and words are pronounced as they are spelled. It was officially established on 3 May 1945 and is given here with its codified Latin transliteration equivalent.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Аа | a | Ее | e | Кк | k | Оо | o | Уу | u |
| Бб | b | Жж | ž | Лл | l | Пп | p | Фф | f |
| Вв | v | Зз | z | Љљ | lj | Рр | r | Хх | h |
| Гг | g | Ѕѕ | dz | Мм | m | Сс | s | Цц | c |
| Дд | d | Ии | i | Нн | n | Тт | t | Чч | č |
| Ѓѓ | ǵ | Јј | j | Њњ | nj | Ќќ | ḱ | Џџ | dž |
| | | | | | | | | Шш | š |

## 2.1    Segmental phoneme inventory

**Table 6.1    Vowels**

|  | *Front* | *Central* | *Back* |
|---|---|---|---|
| High | i |  | u |
| Mid | e | (ə) | o |
| Low |  | a |  |

|  | *Unrounded* | *Rounded* |
|---|---|---|

There is considerable variation among speakers in the realization of the mid vowels /e/ and /o/ from [ɛ] and [o] to [ę] and [ǫ]. The higher variants are particularly characteristic of the Western dialects and also of modern educated Skopje speech, especially among women of the younger generation.

Unstressed vowels are not reduced, although they are slightly laxer and shorter, especially post-tonically and can be devoiced word or phrase finally in informal speech.

Although schwa is phonemic in many dialects, where its realization varies in its closeness to [ʌ] or [ɨ], its status in the literary language is marginal. According to the norm, it is limited to three environments: (1) before syllabic /r/ in absolute initial position and when preceded by a morpheme ending in a vowel (see below); (2) for dialectal effect in words of Slavonic or Turkish origin as in [səza] for /solza/ 'tear', [kəsmet] for /kasmet/ (Turkish *kısmet*) 'fate'; (3) in spelling, each consonant is followed by schwa: *Friedman* [fə-rə-i-e-də-mə-a-nə]. Schwa is spelled with an apostrophe, which is not part of the alphabet.

The consonant /r/ can normally be viewed as having a vocalic (syllabic) realization between consonants and between a word or morpheme boundary and a consonant. It is possible to have minimal or near minimal pairs with vocalic /r/ between a vowel and consonant when the vowel preceding vocalic /r/ is at a morpheme boundary: зарче/zarče 'Muslim veil (DIMIN)' – за'рчев/zaarčev 'begin to snore (1-SG IMPF)'. However, the realization of vocalic /r/ can be [ər] (see above).

Vocalic /r/ occurs in final position only in a few foreign and onomatopoetic words: обр/obr 'cry used to turn horses', жанр/žanr 'genre'.

/i/ is non-syllablic in final position after a vowel colloquially, but can contrast with /j/ in careful speech: одаи/odai 'Turkish style room (PL)' – одај/odaj 'betray (IMP)'.

Sequences of two identical vowels are permitted: таа/taa 'she'. Literary pronunciation has two syllable peaks, some speakers have one long vowel. A third vowel is usually separated from the second by /j/ according to orthographic rule: беа/bea 'be (3 PL IMPF)', живееја/živeeja 'live (3 PL

IMPF)', but наии/naii 'nahija (PL)' (Ottoman administrative unit; the variant нахии/nahii is preferred).

The developments of Proto-Slavonic vowels and liquids reflect the West Central dialects except in isolated lexical items, usually the result of inter-dialectal borrowing.

Front and back nasal vowels generally give /e/ and /a/, respectively: *rǫka › рака/raka 'hand', *pętь › пет/pet 'five'. Initial front and back nasals give /ja/: *ǫže › јаже/jaže 'rope', *[j]ęzykъ › јазик/jazik 'tongue'. Individual lexical items show the Northern (and Serbo-Croat) reflex /u/ instead of /a/ from original *ǫ as in гуска/guska 'goose'. Some of these northern reflexes represent widespread loan-words that date from the medieval period, but an /u/ may reflect an original doublet in Proto-Slavonic: *nǫd-/nud- 'need' › понада/ponada 'gift of food brought to a sick person', понуда/ponuda 'offering'.

Original strong front and back jer (that is, reflexes of Proto-Slavonic *ĭ and *ŭ in positions where they were not lost) normally give /o/ and /e/ respectively: *sъnъ › сон/son 'dream', *dьnь › ден/den 'day'. There are four types of exceptions:

1  Tense jer (that is one followed by /j/; see chapter 3, section 2.33) gives /i/: *pьji › пиј/pij 'drink (IMP)', *mъji › миј/mij 'wash (IMP)'.
2  Secondary jer (one inserted to break up a consonant cluster arising from the loss of a primary jer) was generally ъ, which gave о: *reklъ › рекол/rekol 'said (AOR M L-FORM)'. When the secondary jer was followed by /m/, the final result was /u/, presumably via /o/ as in седум/sedum 'seven' (compare редум/redum 'in order' from original /-om/). Before final /-r/, the West Central dialects developed /a/: добар/dobar 'good', but other dialects have reflexes of a back or front strong jer: добор/dobor, добер/dober. (But ветер/veter 'wind' is now the preferred alternative in Literary Macedonian.) Proto-Slavonic *ognь 'fire' gives оган/ogan, огин/ogin, оген/ogen, огон/ogon in various dialects. The first two are given in Тошев/Tošev (1970), with оган/ogan being preferred.
3  A weak front or back jer next to a sonorant whose loss would have resulted in an inadmissible cluster gives the same reflex as *ǫ: *mьgla › магла/magla 'fog', *lъžica › лажица/lažica 'spoon'. Although танок/tanok (‹ *tьnъkъ) is permitted, тенок/tenok, from those dialects where the masculine was influenced by the strong jer in the other forms, is now preferred by some younger speakers.
4  Original *v plus front or back jer gives u in цути/cuti 'bloom' (‹ *cvьt-), суни/dzuni 'ring' (‹ *ʒvъn-).

Jat' gives /e/: лево/levo 'left' (N)'. Original /y/ merges completely with /i/: *synъ 'son' and *sinь 'blue' both give син/sin.

Syllabic /r/ remains syllabic: први/prvi 'first', грло/grlo 'throat'; also крв/krv 'blood', крст/krst 'cross'. *CorC, *orC give CraC, raC: град/grad 'town', брег/breg 'shore', блато/blato 'mud', млеко/mleko 'milk', раз-/raz- (pre-verb), рало/ralo 'pair, plough', лакот/lakot 'elbow', лаком/lakom 'greedy'. Initial *čr-, *čr̥- give cr: црево/crevo 'gut', црпи/crpi 'extract'.

Syllabic *ḷ gives /ol/ in the West Central dialects and most items in Literary Macedonian: волк/volk 'wolf', солза/solza 'tear', јаболко/jabolko 'apple', жолт/žolt 'yellow'. The East Central reflex, schwa, is only acceptable for dialectal effect. The Northern reflex, /u/, is prescribed for чун/čun 'skiff', Бугарија/Bugarija 'Bulgaria' and their derivatives. Also *ḷ gives /o/ in сонце/sonce 'sun' and its derivatives.

Proto-Slavonic pitch and length distinctions have been completely lost. Literary Macedonian has fixed antepenultimate stress (see Franks 1987): воденичар/vodéničar 'miller (SG)', воденичари/vodeníčari (PL), воденичарите/vodeničárite (PL DEF). Exceptions are lexical, usually unadapted loan-words or suffixes, and phrasal, usually from an expanded word boundary, that is antepenultimate stress within a phrasal (accentual) unit.

Lexical exceptions only permit penultimate and final stress. Some are idiosyncratic: ептен/eptén 'completely'. Others result from contraction: сабајле/sabájle from Turkish sabah ile 'in the morning'. Due to lexical exceptions, stress can be distinctive: кравата/kraváta 'necktie' but кравата/kràvata 'cow (DEF)'.

Phrasal exceptions can have stress more than three syllables from the end of the unit: носејќи_му_го/nosèjḱi_mu_go 'while carrying it to him'. Many accentual units prescribed in normative grammars are now considered localisms or dialectisms by educated Macedonians, especially in the younger generations. This is due to the influence of the Skopje dialect (and Serbo-Croat) on the literary language combined with apparent resistance on the part of speakers from outside the Western area to adopt these specifically Western types of pronunciation. Thus, prescribed pronunciations such as еве ти го/evè_ti_go (as opposed to ѐве ти го/éve_ti_go) 'here he/it is for you' are now considered Western regionalisms rather than literary pronunciations. Even in those areas where accentual units are native, it seems that the educated younger generation tends to avoid them. Certain shifts occur regularly, however, especially with negated and interrogated mono- and disyllabic verbs: нѐ_знам/nè_znam 'I don't know', што_сакаш/štò_sakaš? 'What do you want?' Shifts onto monosyllabic prepositions with pronouns are also regular: со_мене/sò_mene 'with me'.

The phoneme /ʒ/ is usually represented orthographically by s and is transliterated by dz; /ł/ is represented by л/l, /l/ by љ/lj, /ǯ/ by џ/dž, /ń/ by њ/nj and /x/ by x/h.

**Table 6.2    Consonants: Voiceless precedes Voiced**

| Place<br>Type | Bilabial | Labio-<br>dental | Dental | Alveolar | Alveo-<br>palatal | Palatal | Velar |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stop | p, b | | t, d | | | ќ, ѓ | k, g |
| Fricative | | f, v | s, z | | š, ž | | x |
| Affricate | | | c, ʒ | | č, ǯ | | |
| Glide | | | | | | j | |
| Lateral | | | ł | l | | | |
| Nasal | m | | n | | | ń | |
| Trill | | | | r | | | |

Stops are not aspirated. /r/ is trilled not flapped. /n/ is velarized to [ŋ] before /k, g/: банка/banka = [baŋka] 'bank', мангал/mangal = [maŋgal] 'brazier'. /k, g, x/ may be slightly fronted before front vowels, but the norm separates pairs such as кука/kuka 'hook', plural куки/kuki from куќа/kuḱa 'house', plural куќи/kuḱi and лага/laga 'lie', plural лаги/lagi from лаѓа/laѓa 'boat', plural лаѓи/laѓi (*pace* de Bray 1980: 147).

The palatal stops /ќ, ѓ/ vary considerably both in their position and manner of articulation, although the variation for any individual speaker is quite narrow (Lunt 1952: 13). The prescribed norm is that they are dorso-palatal stops, and this is native for some speakers (Minissi, Kitanovski and Cingue 1982: 22, 30, 34). Possible realizations vary from [t', d'] to [ć, ǯ], to complete merger with /č, ǯ/.

There is considerable difference between the prescribed norm and actual pronunciation of л = [ł] or [l] and љ = [l]. According to the norm л is pronounced [ł] in all positions except before front vowels and *j*, where it is pronounced [l] while љ is always pronounced [l] but is spelled only before back vowels, consonants and word finally: љубов/ljubov 'love', биљбиљ/biljbilj 'nightingale', but биљбили/biljbili 'nightingales'. An example of a minimal pair is бела/bela [beła] 'white (F)' – беља/belja [bela] 'trouble'. In actual pronunciation, however, there is a tendency to pronounce љ/lj like the Serbo-Croat palatal [l'] due to the influence of that language and of the local Skopje dialect, which also has palatal /l'/. There is also a tendency among some speakers of the youngest generation to pronounce л as [ł] in all positions.

Geminate /t, d, s, z, l, m, j/ are permitted at some morpheme boundaries, but not if the result would be more than two consonants: пролет/prolet 'spring', definite form пролетта/proletta, but радост/radost 'joy', definite form радоста/radosta. Geminates are sometimes eliminated where they could be permitted: рассали/rassali 'render [fat]', but

расече/raseče 'chop up'. There are also some doublets: одаде/odade and оддаде/oddade 'give up'. Geminate /n/ is avoided: каменен/kamenen '[made of] stone', feminine камена/kamena. Other geminate sonorants are permitted: најјак/najjak 'strongest', каллив/kalliv 'muddy', осуммина/osummina 'eight (M HUM)', also титоввелешки/titovveleški '[pertaining to] Titov Veles (M/PL)'. Gemination can be distinctive: пролета/proleta 'fly by', пролетта/proletta 'spring (DEF)'.

Distinctively voiced consonants /b, v, d, z, ʒ, ž, ӡ, g, ǵ/ are devoiced in final position and before a voiceless consonant: зоб/zob [zop] 'oats', зобта/zobta [zopta] 'oats (DEF)', зобник/zobnik [zobnik] 'oat-sack'. Underlying /ʒ/ does not occur word finally. Non-distinctively voiced consonants may be finally devoiced especially in informal speech. Voiceless consonants are voiced before distinctively voiced consonants: сретне/ sretne [sretne] 'meet (PRFV)', средба/sredba [sredba] 'meeting (NOUN)'.

Colloquially, consonant clusters are simplified word finally: радост/ radost = [rados] 'joy'. There is some regressive assimilation of voicing across word boundaries within a phrase: јас да си одам/jas da si odam = [jaz da si odam] 'let me go'. Cyrillic в is pronounced [f] in the first person plural aorist/imperfect marker, for example бевме/bevme [befme] 'were (1 PL IMPF)', by analogy with the first singular and second plural as in бев/ bev [bef] 'was (1 SG IMPF)' and бевте/bevte [befte] 'were (2 PL IMPF)'. After /s/, /v/ can be pronounced [f]: свој/svoj [sfoj] 'one's own (M SG)', but твој/tvoj [tfoj] 'your (M SG)' is non-standard, and /v/ is always pronounced [v] in words like квасец/kvasec 'yeast' and жетва/žetva 'harvest'. There is considerable dialectal variation in this regard, and /v/ remains [v] even after /s/ in the younger generation.

Palatal /ń/ does not occur initially except in a few loans such as Њутн/ Njutn 'Newton' (note also the final vocalic /n/, which is not otherwise permitted).

The prefixes без-/bez-, из-/iz-, раз-/raz- are spelled бес-/bes-, ис-/ is-, рас-/ras- before č/š and are pronounced [beš-, iš-, raš-]. Prefixal /s, z/ becomes /š, ž/ before /č, ӡ, š, ž/ (if the result would be /šš, žž/, this is simplified to /š, ž/): расчисти/rasčisti [raščisti] 'clean up', изживее/izživee [iživee] 'live through'.

Proto-Slavonic *tj/*kt + *ĭ, *dj became /ḱ, ǵ/ in the north but /št, žd/ or /šč, žӡ/ in the south. The two types of reflex met on Central territory, where they competed. In general, the /ḱ, ǵ/ reflexes predominated and this is reflected in the literary language: плаќа/plaḱa 'pay', ноќ/noḱ 'night', para/raǵa 'give birth'. As in the Central dialects, so also in Literary Macedonian, some words have /št, žd/ (or /š, ž/ from /št, žd/), sometimes with both types of reflexes in the same root: гаќи/gaḱi 'breeches, underpants' – гашник/gašnik (‹ *gaštnik) 'belt for holding up breeches'. The evidence of toponymy and medieval manuscripts indicates that /št, žd/ extended much further north in earlier centuries, but individual lexical

items with /ќ, ѓ/ such as куќа/kuḱa 'house' have been recorded in southern Aegean Macedonia.

The Proto-Slavonic palatal sonorants /l', ń, ŕ/ were either hardened or lost in the Central dialects on which Literary Macedonian is based: плука/pluka 'spit', земја/zemja 'earth', него/nego 'him (ACC)', море/more 'sea'. The Literary Macedonian and Western forms коњ/konj 'horse' and бања/banja 'bath' are borrowed from Northern dialects, which preserved /ń/. Secondary /ń/, for example in verbal nouns such as носење/nosenje 'carrying', is preserved in some Western dialects and the literary language, although in most dialects there is a tendency to eliminate it.

Proto-Slavonic /x/ is lost in most of West and part of East Macedonian. In general it was eliminated initially as in леб/leb 'bread', убав/ubav 'beautiful', and intervocalically as in снаа/snaa 'daughter-in-law/sister-in-law', but it is preserved as /v/ after /u/ or original vocalic /l/: мува/muva 'fly', болва/bolva 'flea'. Also /v/ (or [f]) occurs before consonants and word finally: тивка/tivka 'quiet (F)' (whence masculine тивок/tivok instead of expected *tiok), грав/grav 'beans'. Initial /xv/ became /f/: фати/fati 'grab'. The phoneme /x/ has been introduced or retained in Literary Macedonian under the following circumstances: (1) new foreign words: хотел/hotel 'hotel'; (2) toponyms: Охрид/Ohrid; (3) Church Slavonicisms: дух/duh 'spirit'; (4) new literary words: доход/dohod 'income'; (5) disambiguation: храна/hrana 'food', рана/rana 'injury'.

In general, original /ʒ/ and /ǯ/ from the second and first palatalizations, respectively, were levelled to /z/ and /ž/. New /ʒ/ arose from /z/ next to a sonorant or /v/ as in ѕвер/dzver 'beast', in certain lexical items such as ѕирне/dzirne 'take a peek', and was borrowed in loan-words like ѕевгар/dzevgar 'yoke of oxen'. In the case of ѕвезда/dzvezda 'star' and its derivatives, the textual evidence indicates that original /ʒ/ was preserved all along. It is more widespread in the dialects than in the literary language. New /ǯ/ occurs in the following contexts: (1) loans: џуџе/džudže 'dwarf', буџет/budžet 'budget'; (2) assimilation of voicing to /č/: лиџба/lidžba 'beauty' derived from личи/liči 'suit'; (3) affrication of original /ž/, generally before a consonant: џвака/džvaka 'chew'.

The chief exception to the one-to-one correspondence between letters and phonemes noted at the beginning of this section is in the lateral liquids, where Cyrillic л represents /l/ before front vowels and /j/ but /ł/ elsewhere while љ is used for /l/ before back vowels, consonants and finally. Cyrillic ј is always written between и and a. Final devoicing of distinctively voiced consonants is never spelled, while regressive assimilation of voicing or voicelessness is spelled in the results of some suffixal and other morphological processes, but not in others: Cyrillic в is never altered, т in numerals is not altered, д and г are retained before certain voiceless suffixes, the feminine definite article -та does not alter the spelling of a final voiced consonant. Although the devoicing of /z/ in the prefixes /raz-, iz-, bez-/ is

spelled, the shift to a palatal articulation before a palatal is not. The grave accent is used to distinguish the following homonyms: cè/sè 'everything' – ce/se 'are, self'; нè/nè 'us (ACC)' – не/ne 'not'; ѝ/ì 'her (DAT)' – и/i 'and'.

### 2.2    Morphophonemic alternations inherited from Proto-Slavonic

The reflexes of the first palatalization are $k > č$, $g > ž$, $x$ (and also $v$ from earlier $x$) $> š$. They are productive in some nominal derivation: грев/grev 'sin', грешка/greška 'mistake', граматика/gramatika 'grammar', граматички/gramatički 'grammatical'. They also occur in the vocative: бог/bog 'god', vocative боже/bože, Влав/Vlav 'Vlah (Arumanian)', vocative Влаше/Vlaše. Two plurals also show the alternation: око/oko 'eye', plural очи/oči, уво/uvo 'ear', plural уши/uši. In verbs, the alternation is reflected in both conjugation and derivation but is not productive: потстрижи/potstriži 'trim', потстригов/potstrigov (1 SG AOR), извлече/izvleče 'drag (PRFV)', извлекува/izvlekuva (IMPFV).

The reflexes of the second palatalization are $k > c$, $g > z$, $x > s$. In nouns, the morphophonemic alternation is productive in the masculine plural: паркинг/parking 'parking space', паркинзи/parkinzi (PL), успех/uspeh 'success', успеси/uspesi (PL). Nouns ending in /-a/ do not have the alternation, except владика/vladika 'bishop', владици/vladici (PL). This alternation applies to /v/ (from original /x/) only in two items: Влав/Vlav 'Vlah (Arumanian)', Власи/Vlasi (PL) and сиромав/siromav 'pauper', сиромаси/siromasi (PL) as opposed to the normal орев/orev 'walnut', ореви/orevi (PL). There are also two feminine plurals (etymologically duals) with the alternation: рака/raka 'hand', раце/race (PL), нога/noga 'leg', нозе/noze (PL). In verbs, the alternation has been eliminated in conjugation: речи/reči 'say (IMPFV)', but two stems, namely /-lez-/ 'go' and /-molz-/ 'milk', show /g/ in the aorist stem: влезе/vleze 'enter', влегов/vlegov (1 SG AOR), молзе/molze 'milk', [из]молгов/[iz]molgov (1 SG AOR). Younger speakers now have [из]молзев/[iz]molzev.

Sequences of consonant plus /j/ give the following results: /t, k/ become /ќ/; /d, g/ become /ѓ/; /љ, n/ become /l, ń/; /st/ becomes /št/ (verbs) or /sj/ (nouns). In verbal derivation, the imperfectivizing suffixes /-(j)a/ and /-(j)ava/ are limited to a few lexical items. Only /-uva/, which entails no alternations, is productive. Many verbs originally prescribed or at least accepted with /-(j)ava/ have been replaced by corresponding forms with /-uva/ in educated practice: фати/fati (PRFV), фаќа/faḱa (IMPFV) 'grab, get'; роди/rodi (PRFV), раѓа/raǵa (IMPFV) 'give birth'; гости/gosti (bi-aspectual), гоштава/goštava (IMPFV) 'treat' (now archaic, replaced by [на]гостува/[na]gostuva); мени/meni (PRFV), мењава/menjava (IMPFV) 'exchange' (now replaced by менува/menuva). The collective suffixes /-je/ and /-ja/ cause alternation (/t, d, љ, n, st, zd/ become /ќ, ѓ, l, ń, s, z/, respectively): работа/rabota 'work', рабоќе/raboḱe

(COLL); ливада/livada 'meadow', ливаѓе/livaǵe (COLL); година/godina 'year', годиње/godinje (COLL); лист/list 'leaf', лисје/lisje (COLL); грозд/grozd 'grape', грозје/grozje (COLL). Alternations of dental with dorso-palatal stops are facultative in monosyllabics: прат/prat 'twig', пратје/pratje ~ праќе/praḱe (COLL). Note that the specific collective forms produced by these suffixes differ among themselves in use and meaning, but this is irrelevant to morphophonemic alternations.

Vowel–zero alternation, which results from the loss of a jer in weak position and its retention in strong position, gives zero in masculine definite and all non-masculine adjectives, in plural nouns and in verbal conjugation (aorist stem, non-masculine verbal *l*-form) and derivation (perfective). The most common adjectival suffixes involved are /-en/ and /-ok/ (the unspecified citation form for adjectives is the masculine). Other phonotactic and orthographic rules also apply: низок/nizok 'low', feminine ниска/niska; местен/mesten 'local', neuter месно/mesno; достоен/dostoen 'worthy', masculine definite достојниот/dostojniot. The relevant noun suffixes are /-en/, /-el/, /-ol/, /-ot/, /-ok/: камен/kamen 'stone', plural камни/kamni (but now replaced by collective камења/kamenja); јазел/jazel 'knot', plural јазли/jazli; сокол/sokol, plural сокли/sokli (also соколи/sokoli) 'falcon', нокот/nokot '(finger/toe)nail', plural нокти/nokti; предок/predok 'ancestor', plural предци/predci. Note fleeting vowels in lexical items such as ден/den 'day', plural дни/dni. The alternation is highly limited in verbs: бере/bere 'gather', -бра/-bra (2 SG AOR); рекол/rekol (AOR M L-FORM) 'said', рекла/rekla (F); умре/umre (PRFV) 'die', умира/umira (IMPFV).

Remnants of old length alternations occur in the derivation of imperfective verbs: роди/rodi (PRFV) 'give birth', раѓа/raǵa (IMPFV); собере/sobere (PRFV) 'gather', собира/sobira (IMPFV); but затвори/zatvori (PRFV) 'close', затвора/zatvora (IMPFV).

### 2.3 Morphophonemic alternations resulting from changes after Proto-Slavonic

Simplifications of clusters of the type fricative plus stop plus consonant to fricative plus consonant occur in certain feminine definite nouns, collective plurals, masculine definite and (in the same lexical items) all non-masculine adjectives, and rarely in the aorist stem of verbs: /radost + ta/ gives радоста/radosta 'joy (DEF)', /list + je/ gives лисје/lisje 'leaves (COLL)', /mest + na/ gives месна/mesna 'local (F)', постеле/postele 'spread' has third person singular aorist посла/posla.

The addition of the diminutive suffix /-če/ causes a dissimilation peculiar to Macedonian: /g, s, z, š, ž, st, sk, šk, zd/ (in principle also /zg, žg/ but the few such nouns take different diminutive suffixes) all become /v/, pronounced [f], before /-če/, for example воз/voz 'train' and вошка/voška 'louse' both give diminutive вовче/vovče. Other

consonants simply drop, although /j/ can also be retained as /i/ or, by analogy, it can also be replaced by /v/: шамија/šamija 'scarf', diminutive шамиче/šamiče is prescribed but шамивче/šamivče and шамииче/ šamiiče also occur.

There are also some isolated consonantal alternations: дете/dete 'child', plural деца/deca (also DIMIN PL дечиња/dečinja); Турчин/ Turčin 'Turk', plural Турци/Turci; пес/pes 'dog', plural пци/pci.

# 3   Morphology

## 3.1   Nominal morphology

### 3.1.1   Nominal categories

Macedonian has lost the dual and most of the Proto-Slavonic cases. The maximum possible differentiation in the noun is nominative/oblique/ vocative. There is a tendency to eliminate non-nominative forms, which are always optional. Some masculine adjectives have a facultative vocative that is identical to the indefinite plural. In the pronoun, the maximum possible differentiation is nominative/accusative/dative. All the other cases have been replaced by prepositional or other syntactic constructions: чаша вода/čaša voda 'glass [of] water', тој работел папуџија/toj rabotel papudžija 'he worked [as a] slipper-maker'. After prepositions pronouns are accusative, all other nominals are nominative except the few nouns with facultative oblique forms, which can occur here (see section 3.1.2). The preposition на/na can have local and motional meanings 'on, to, at' but also marks the indirect object (dative) and possession (genitive). Likewise од/od and со/so retain their literal meanings of 'from' and 'with', but од/ od can also mark possession (especially in the West) and agentive 'by' in passives, while со/so marks instrumental 'by': му реков на брат ми дека молбата била потпишана со молив од таткото на ученикот/mu rekov na brat mi deka molbata bila potpišana od tatkoto na učenikot so moliv 'I said to my brother that the request had been signed with a pencil by the father of the pupil'.

The singular gender opposition masculine–feminine–neuter is neutralized in the plural, except for a highly restricted distinction in quantified plurals (see section 3.1.5). Neuter gender can refer to animate beings: личното момче дошло/ličnoto momče došlo 'the handsome lad has come', убавото девојче дошло/ubavoto devojče došlo 'the beautiful girl has come'. Feminine nouns can be used expressively to refer to males: брадата/bradata 'the beard' as the nickname of a man: и кога оваа идеше во Вепрчани/i koga ovaa ideše vo Veprčani 'and when he (literally 'this one (F)') came to Veprčani'. Masculine nouns (kinship terms, hypocorisms, pejoratives or recent loans) can end in any vowel, in which

case they are animate, usually human: слуга/sluga 'servant', татко/tatko 'father', аташе/ataše 'attaché', денди/dendi 'dandy', гуру/guru 'guru'. The names of the months that end in /-i/ are masculine: јуни/juni 'June'. Most nouns ending in a consonant are masculine, a few are feminine and some vacillate. All other nouns in a vowel are feminine if they are in /-a/ or refer to a female being, otherwise they are neuter. Some recent loans such as виски/viski 'whiskey' show hesitation between masculine and neuter, although prescriptively they are neuter. Since animacy is distinguished by the use of special quantifiers for some male humans and mixed groups (see section 3.1.5) virile or animate gender distinctions exist.

Definiteness is marked by means of the definite article (see also sections 4.4 and 4.7). Macedonian is the only Slavonic literary language with a tripartite distinction mirroring the same distinction in demonstratives, namely unmarked /-t-/, proximate /-v-/, distal /-n-/. Tradition treats the articles as affixes, but they are sometimes analysed as clitics. The article attaches to the end of the first nominal of the noun phrase, that is nouns, adjectives, pronouns, numerals, but not adverbs: не многу постари*те* деца/ne mnogu postari*te* deca 'the not much older children' but една од многу*те* наши задачи/edna od mnogu*te* naši zadači 'one of our many problems'. A noun phrase modified by a demonstrative does not take a definite article according to the norm, but does so in non-standard speech: овие деца*ва*/ovie deca*va* 'these here children'. The numeral еден/eden 'one' functions as an indefinite article denoting specificity and can even trigger object reduplication, especially colloquially (see section 4.7 and Naylor 1989).

### 3.1.2 Noun morphology

Because the vocative and oblique forms are marginal, facultative phenomena, it is misleading to present them together with plural formation as a reduced declensional paradigm.

Macedonian has restructured plural formation, which is now based on a combination of form and gender (see table 6.3). The vowel of the singular drops before the ending of the plural unless it is stressed. The majority of masculine and feminine nouns take /-i/, most neuters take /-a/, but most monosyllabic masculines, including new loan-words, take /-ovi/ (sometimes /-evi/ after /j/ and palatals), with about ten exceptions and ten more that vacillate; masculines in unstressed /-o, -e/ add /-vci/: татко/ tatko 'father', plural татковци/tatkovci; neuters in unstressed /-e/ not preceded by /-c, -št, -i, -j/ take /-inja/. This same suffix pluralizes nouns in /-ce/ with a diminutive meaning (but diminutives in /-ence/ have plural /-enca/). Some neuter loans in stressed /-è/ take /-inja/, in which case the stress becomes antepenultimate. Other loans in stressed /-è/ normally add /-a/, but the use of /-inja/ is spreading. Occasionally, plural formation is influenced by the collective: пат/pat means both 'road' and

**Table 6.3  Examples of plural formation**

**(a)**

*Masculines*

| град | син | маж | пат | ден | корен | пријател | граѓанин | слуга |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| градови | синови | мажи | пати/патишта | дни/денови | корени | пријатели | граѓани | слуги |
| town | son | man | time/way | day | root | friend | citizen | servant |

*Feminines*

| жена | душа | робин[к]а | вест | коска | мајка | црква |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| жени | души | робин[к]и | вести | коски | мајки | цркви |
| woman | soul | slave | news item | bone | mother | church |

*Neuters*

| место | слово | срце | учење | семе | јагне |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| места | слова | срца | учења | семиња | јагниња |
| place | speech | heart | study | seed | lamb |

**(b)**

*Masculines*

| grad | sin | maž | pat | den | koren | prijatel | graǵanin | sluga |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| gradovi | sinovi | maži | pati/patišta | dni/denovi | koreni | prijateli | graǵani | slugi |
| town | son | man | time/way | day | root | friend | citizen | servant |

*Feminines*

| žena | duša | robin[k]a | vest | koska | majka | crkva |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ženi | duši | robin[k]i | vesti | koski | majki | crkvi |
| woman | soul | slave | news item | bone | mother | church |

*Neuters*

| mesto | slovo | srce | učenje | seme | jagne |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| mesta | slova | srca | učenja | seminja | jagninja |
| place | speech | heart | study | seed | lamb |

'time' but the regular пати/pati means 'times' while the collective патишта/patišta is the normal plural meaning 'roads'. Exceptions involving morphophonemic alternation were covered in sections 2.2 and 2.3. The chief remaining exceptions are the following: ветер/veter 'wind', plural ветрови/vetrov; оган/ogan 'fire', plural огнови/ognovi, шура/šura 'wife's brother'; plural шуреви/šurevi; брат/brat 'brother', plural браќа/braḱa; човек/čovek 'person', plural луѓе/luǵe 'people'; животно/životno 'animal', plural животни/životni; рамо/ramo 'shoulder', plural рамена/ramena; небо/nebo 'sky', plural небеса/nebesa; домаќин/domaḱin 'master of the house', plural домаќини/domaḱini.

Nouns of all genders can form collective plurals in /-je/, although these forms are fairly restricted in Literary Macedonian usage (see section 2.2 on morphophonemic alternations). At one time these collectives could form a plural in /-ja/, but this is now merely a competing variant (Конески/Koneski 1967: 224, *pace* Lunt 1952: 31, de Bray 1980: 170–1). Some nouns form collective plurals with /-išta/, which is homonymous with the plural of the augmentative/pejorative suffix (see section 3.3.1). Non-personal masculine nouns (and a few personal ones) also have a quantitative plural: /-a/. This suffix does not cause loss of mobile vowels: ден/den 'day', plural дни/dni and денови/denovi, два дена/dva dena 'two days' (see section 4.10).

The oblique form is a Westernism accepted into Literary Macedonian. It is always facultative and is limited to masculine proper and family names, kinship terms ending in a consonant or /-i, -o, -e/, and the nouns човек/čovek 'person', бог/bog 'god', ѓавол/ǵavol 'devil' and господ/gospod 'lord'. Oblique forms for nouns denoting domestic animals are now dialectal. Nouns in a consonant, /-o/ or /-i/ take /-a/, nouns in /-e/ add /-ta/: брат/brat 'brother', oblique брата/brata; татко/tatko 'father', oblique татка/tatka; Ѓорѓи/Ǵorǵi 'George', oblique Ѓорѓија/Ǵorǵija; Блаже/Blaže 'Blaže', oblique Блажета/Blažeta. These forms can occur wherever an oblique pronoun would occur: му реков на Ивана пред Блажета/mu rekov na Ivana pred Blažeta 'I said to Ivan in front of Blaže', ене го Ѓорѓија/ene go Ǵorǵija 'there's George!'

The vocative is limited to the masculine and feminine singular. The following have no vocative form: masculine nouns in /-c, -o, -e/, masculine proper names in /-a, -i, -k, -g/, feminine nouns in a consonant and hypocorisms in /-e, -i/. Nouns in /-džija/ drop the /-ja/ (see section 3.3.1). Feminines in /-ka/ and /-ica/ take /-e/ while according to the norm other feminines take /-o/: Станка/Stanka 'Stanka', vocative Станке/Stanke; жена/žena 'woman', vocative жено/ženo. The normative generalization for masculines is that monosyllabics take /-u/ and polysyllabics take /-e/, although there are exceptions and vacillations. The vocative is facultative, and there is an increasing tendency to avoid it

**Table 6.4   Definite singulars and plurals**

| town | news item | woman | place | seed | father | taxi |
|------|-----------|-------|-------|------|--------|------|
| **(a)** | | | | | | |
| градот | веста | жената | местото | семето | таткото | таксито |
| градовите | вестите | жените | местата | семињата | татковците | таксијата |
| **(b)** | | | | | | |
| gradot | vesta | ž">enata | mestoto | semeto | tatkoto | taksito |
| gradovite | vestite | ženite | mestata | seminjata | tatkovcite | taksijata |

because it is felt to be rude, humorous or dialectal; this is especially true of the vocative marker /-o/. To the extent that the vocative is preserved, the tendency is to generalize /-u/ for masculines and /-e/, which has hypocoristic overtones, for feminines. See section 2.2 on morphophonemic alternations in the vocative.

The shape of the definite article is based primarily on form, with some regard for gender and number. In the singular, masculines in a consonant take /-ot/, feminines in a consonant and all nouns in /-a/ take /-ta/ (a resulting /-tt-/ simplifies to /-t/ if preceded by a consonant), all remaining singulars (and collectives, including луѓе/luǵe 'people') take /-to/. In the plural, nouns in /-a/ take /-ta/, and all other plurals take /-te/. The addition of a definite article does not trigger fleeting vowels, as seen in the following paradigm of 'old man': старец/starec (SG), старецот/starecot (DEF SG), старци/starci (PL), старците/starcite (DEF PL). Table 6.4, based on table 6.3 and its exposition, illustrates the forms.

### 3.1.3   Pronominal morphology

The personal pronouns are given in table 6.5. Short forms are clitics and are used for the objects of verbs and the possessive and ethical dative (see section 4.1). Long forms are used as the objects of prepositions. The two forms are used together for emphasis and in connection with object reduplication (see sections 4.5 and 4.7). Illustrative possessive pronominals are given in table 6.6. твој/tvoj 'your', and свој/svoj 'reflexive possessive' inflect like мој/moj. ваш/vaš 'your (PL)' inflects like наш/naš. нејзин/nejzin 'her' inflects like негов/negov. нивни/nivni 'their' (нивниот/nivniot, нивната/nivnata and so on) has a remnant of the long adjective in its masculine indefinite form (see section 2.2).

The third-person pronoun тој/toj also functions as the unmarked demonstrative. The proximate demonstratives are овој/ovoj (M), оваа/ovaa (F), ова/ova (N), овие/ovie (PL) 'this'. The distal demonstratives substitute /-n-/ for /-v-/.

Koj/koj is both the animate interrogative pronoun 'who?' (ACC кого/

## Table 6.5   Personal pronouns

| Case | NOM | ACC-*long* | DAT-*long*[1] | ACC-*short* | DAT-*short* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **(a)** | | | | | |
| 1 SG | јас | мене | мене | ме | ми |
| 2 SG | ти | тебе | тебе | те | ти |
| REFL | — | себе[си][2] | себе[си] | се | си |
| 1 PL | ние | нас | нам | нè | ни |
| 2 PL | вие | вас | вам | ве | ви |
| 3 SG M[3] | тој | него | нему | го | му |
| 3 SG N | тоа | него | нему | го | му |
| 3 SG F | таа | неа | нејзе | ја | ѝ |
| 3 PL | тие | нив | ним | ги | им |
| | | | | | |
| **(b)** | | | | | |
| 1 SG | jas | mene | mene | me | mi |
| 2 SG | ti | tebe | tebe | te | ti |
| REFL | — | sebe[si] | sebe[si] | se | si |
| 1 PL | nie | nas | nam | nè | ni |
| 2 PL | vie | vas | vam | ve | vi |
| 3 SG M | toj | nego | nemu | go | mu |
| 3 SG N | toa | nego | nemu | go | mu |
| 3 SG F | taa | nea | nejze | ja | ì |
| 3 PL | tie | niv | nim | gi | im |

*Notes*: 1 All distinct dative long forms can be replaced by the preposition на/na plus the accusative.
2 The form себеси/sebesi is a variant of себе/sebe.
3 The nominative third person forms он/on (M), оно/ono (N), она/ona (F) and они/oni (PL), which are characteristic of the North and East, are officially permitted in the literary language and seem to be on the increase in Skopje.

kogo, DAT кому/komu) and the interrogative adjective 'which?' (која/ koja (F), кое/koe (N), кои/koi (PL)). The inanimate interrogative pronoun is што/što 'what'. Pronominal adjectives are чиј/čij, чија/čija, чие/čie, чии/čii 'whose', каков/kakov, каква/kakva, 'what kind', кóлкав/kólkav, кóлкава/kólkava 'what size, how big'. Similarly ваков/ vakov 'this kind', таков/takov 'of such a kind', онаков/onakov 'that kind', инаков/inakov 'another kind', óлкав/ólkav 'this big', тóлкав/ tólkav 'so big', óнолкав/ónolkav 'that big'. The interrogative pronouns, adjectives and adverbs can all be relativizers (see section 4.5) and can be prefixed with /ni-/ 'no', /se-/ 'every' and /ne-/ 'some' (specific): никој/ nikoj 'nobody', секој/sekoj 'everybody, each', некој/nekoj 'somebody'. Non-specific indefinites are formed from interrogatives according to the following models, given in order of relative frequency: кој било/koj bilo, кој [и] да е/koj [i] da e, кој-годе/koj-gode 'anybody, whoever (non-specific)'. The first two are roughly equivalent, although some speakers

**Table 6.6   Possessive pronominal adjectives 'my', 'our', 'his'**

|     | INDEF | DEF | INDEF | DEF | INDEF | DEF |
|-----|-------|-----|-------|-----|-------|-----|
| **(a)** | | | | | | |
| M  | мој  | мојот  | наш  | нашиот  | негов  | неговиот |
| F  | моја | мојата | наша | нашата  | негова | неговата |
| N  | мое  | моето  | наше | нашето  | негово | неговото |
| PL | мои  | моите  | наши | нашите  | негови | неговите |
| **(b)** | | | | | | |
| M  | moj  | mojot  | naš  | našiot  | negov  | negoviot |
| F  | moja | mojata | naša | našata  | negova | negovata |
| N  | moe  | moeto  | naše | našeto  | negovo | negovoto |
| PL | moi  | moite  | naši | našite  | negovi | negovite |

judge the first as more literary and the second as more colloquial, while the last is significantly less common and is not used by some speakers.

The word сиот/siot (M), сета/seta (F), сето/seto (N), сите/site (PL) 'all' is always definite except the neuter ce/se 'everything', 'constantly', 'even', 'all the more'.

3.1.4   Adjectival morphology
There is no opposition between long and short adjectives. Traces of the long forms survive in the /-i/ that appears when the article is added to inflecting adjectives ending in a consonant (нов/nov gives новиот/ noviot), a few vocatives (драги мој/dragi moj 'my dear!'), certain types of derived adjectives (see table 6.7), some toponyms and anthroponyms and lexicalized expressions such as Долни Сарај/Dolni Saraj 'Lower Saraj' (a neighbourhood in Ohrid) and a few ordinal numerals (see section 3.1.5).

The vast majority of adjectives (including син/sin 'blue') are hard. Even the small group of possessive adjectives in /-ji/ are mostly inflected as кравји/kravji. Adjectives that inflect only for number or not at all are of Turkish or more recent foreign origin. For the definite article, masculine adjectives add /-ot/ (/-iot/ if the adjective ends in a consonant), feminines add /-ta/, neuters /-to/, plurals /-te/.

Comparison is entirely analytic. The comparative marker is /po-/, the superlative /naj-/ written unseparated from the adjective: понов/ponov 'newer (M)', најнов/najnov 'newest'. The only irregular comparative is многу/mnogu 'much, many', повеќе/poveḱe 'more', најмногу/ najmnogu (најповеќе/najpoveḱe is no longer literary) 'most'. The comparative and superlative markers can also be added to nouns, verbs and adverbial phrases: пријател/prijatel 'friend', попријател/poprijatel 'more of a friend'; на север/na sever 'to/in the north', понасевер/ ponasever 'more northerly'; не сака/ne saka 'dislike', најнесака/

**Table 6.7 Adjectives**

| Type Meaning | Hard new/Macedonian | 'Soft' cow's/bird's | Number only lucky | Uninflecting wonderful/fresh |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **(a)** | | | | |
| M | нов/македонски | кравји/птичји | касметлија | супер/тазе |
| F | нова | кравја/птичја | касметлија | супер/тазе |
| N | ново | кравјо/птичје | касметлија | супер/тазе |
| PL | нови | кравји/птичји | касметлии | супер/тазе |
| **(b)** | | | | |
| M | nov/makedonski | kravji/ptičji | kasmetlija | super/taze |
| F | nova | kravja/ptičja | kasmetlija | super/taze |
| N | novo | kravjo/ptičje | kasmetlija | super/taze |
| PL | novi | kravji/ptičji | kasmetlii | super/taze |

najnesaka 'dislike the most'. If there are proclitic object pronouns attached to such a verb, however, then each morpheme is spelled as a separate word: нај не го сака/naj ne go saka 'he dislikes him the most'.

Neuter indefinite adjectives also function as adverbs, unless the masculine indefinite ends in a vowel, in which case that is the adverb. See section 3.2.2 for the discussion of participles.

### 3.1.5 Numeral morphology

| | Cardinal non-virile | | | Virile (male human and mixed groups) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | еден/една/едно/ едни | eden/edna/edno/ edni | | | |
| 2 | два/две | dva(M)/dve(N&F) | | двајца | dvajca |
| 3 | три | tri | | тројца | trojca |
| 4 | четири | četiri | | четворица | četvorica |
| 5 | пет | pet | | петмина | petmina |
| 6 | шест | šest | | шестмина | šestmina |
| 7 | седум | sedum | | седуммина | sedummina |
| 8 | осум | osum | | осуммина | osummina |
| 9 | девет | devet | | деветмина | devetmina |
| 10 | десет | deset | | десетмина | desetmina |
| 11 | единаесет | edinaeset | | | |
| 12 | дванаесет | dvanaeset | | | |
| 13 | тринаесет | trinaeset | | | |
| 14 | четиринаесет | četirinaeset | | | |
| 15 | петнаесет | petnaeset | | | |
| 16 | шеснаесет | šesnaeset | | | |
| 17 | седумнаесет | sedumnaeset | | | |
| 18 | осумнаесет | osumnaeset | | | |
| 19 | деветнаесет | devetnaeset | | | |
| 20 | дваесет | dvaeset | | | |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 23 | дваесет и три | dvaeset i tri | | |
| 30 | триесет | trieset | | |
| 40 | четириесет | četirieset | | |
| 50 | педесет | pedeset | | |
| 60 | шеесет | šeeset | | |
| 70 | седумдесет | sedumdeset | | |
| 80 | осумдесет | osumdeset | | |
| 90 | деведесет | devedeset | | |
| 100 | сто | sto | стомина | stomina |
| 200 | двесте | dveste | | |
| 300 | триста | trista | | |
| 400 | четиристотини | četiristotini | | |
| 500 | петстотини | petstotini | | |
| 600 | шестотини | šestotini | | |
| 700 | седумстотини | sedumstotini | | |
| 800 | осумстотини | osumstotini | | |
| 900 | деветстотини | devetstotini | | |
| 1,000 | илјада | iljada | илјадамина | iljadamina |
| 2,000 | две илјади | dve iljadi | | |
| million | милион | milion | | |
| billion | милијарда | milijarda | | |

*Definiteness*: 'One' is an adjective: едниот/edniot, едната/ednata, едното/ednoto, едните/ednite. It can function as an indefinite article, and in the plural it means 'some'. All non-virile cardinals ending in /-a/ and virile cardinals ending in /-ca/ have the definite article /-ta/, all others add /-te/ immediately after the numeral itself: двата/dvata, двајцата/dvajcata, петтемина/pettemina. Милион/milion is a noun, hence милионот/milionot.

*Ordinals*: The first eight masculine ordinals are formed as follows: прв(и)/prv(i), втор/vtor, трет/tret, четврти/četvrti, петти/petti, шести/šesti, седми/sedmi, осми/osmi. The remaining non-compound numerals up to 100 add /-ti/ to the cardinal. Other genders add /-a, -o, -i/ like other adjectives. The numerals 100–400 have two possible bases: /-stoten, -stotna/ and /-stoti, -stota/. The remaining hundreds use only /-stoten/. The ordinals for 'thousand', 'million' and 'billion' are the following: илјаден/iljaden, илјадна/iljadna (F), двеилјаден/dveiljaden 'two thousandth', милионски/milionski, милијардски/milijardski (Тошев/Tošev 1970:351). Note that quantifiers also have virile forms: мнозина/mnozina 'many', неколкумина/nekolkumina 'a few' and so on.

## 3.2    Verbal morphology

### 3.2.1    Verbal categories
Conjugation expresses person (first, second, third), number (singular, plural) and gender (masculine, feminine, neuter). Person and number are expressed in the synthetic paradigms (present, imperfect, aorist) and by the

conjugated auxiliary verbs сум/sum 'be' and има/ima 'have' which form paradigmatic sets with the verbal *l*-form, which inflects for gender and number (*sum* series), and the neuter verbal adjective (*ima* series), respectively. Joseph (1983: 24, 110–13) gives morphological and syntactic arguments for treating imperatives as non-finite: lack of person oppositions (it is always second) and clitic placement (see section 4.1). The widespread use of the second person plural as a polite singular form is a relatively recent, urban phenomenon copied from other languages (Lunt 1952: 371; Конески/Koneski 1967: 332), resulting in uncertainty in its application and variation in the agreement of adjectives (singular or plural): вие сте изморен – изморена – изморени/vie ste izmoren – izmorena – izmoreni 'you are tired (M SG, F SG, PL)'. The singular is prescribed, but plurals are frequently heard.

Macedonian maintains the imperfective/perfective aspectual distinction. Aspect can be inherent in the stem or derived (see 3.3.3). There are no special aspectual distinctions in the verbs of motion. Unlike Bulgarian, the Macedonian perfective present and imperfect cannot occur independently but only in subordination to a class of eight modal markers (*pace* de Bray 1980: 200):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | ќе/ḱe | expectative marker (future, conditional) |
| 2 | нека/neka | optative marker (first/third persons only) |
| 3 | да/da | subjunctive marker |
| 4 | ако/ako | 'if' |
| 5 | додека (да, не)/dodeka (da, ne) | 'while, until' |
| 6 | дури (да, не)/duri (da, ne) | 'while, until' |
| 7 | доколку/dokolku | 'in so far as' (frequent, but rejected by some speakers as journalistic jargon) |
| 8 | ли/li | interrogative marker when used to mean 'if' (marginal: archaic or dialectal for many speakers) |

The perfective present can occur in negative interrogative sentences colloquially: што не седнеш?/što ne sedneš? 'why don't you sit down?' but not in ordinary affirmative or interrogative sentences (Kramer 1986: 163).

Many verbs in /-ira/ are bi-aspectual (Минова-Ѓуркова/Minova-Ǵurkova 1966), and Теунисен/Teunisen (1986) gives a list of forty-two simple bi-aspectuals. Imperfective verbs can occur independently in the present and imperfect, or subordinated to phasal verbs like почна/počna 'begin'. Perfective verbs can occur with откако/otkako 'since', откога/otkoga 'after', штом/štom 'as soon as' or subordinated to успее/uspee (PRFV), успева/uspeva (IMPFV) 'succeed'. Bi-aspectuals can do both.

The aorist/imperfect opposition is prescribed for both perfective and imperfective verbs, and occasional examples of imperfective aorists occur in literature into the first half of the twentieth century (Конески/Koneski 1967: 423; Lunt 1952: 90). Today, however, imperfective aorists are virtually obsolete, unlike in Bulgarian. In the tables and rules, imperfective

aorist forms are given with a preceding hyphen to indicate that they now occur only as perfectives.

Most linguists agree that the imperfect is marked, either for duration in time (Конески/Koneski 1967: 427; Усикова/Usikova 1985: 97) or coordination with other events (Lunt 1952: 87). A few hold that the aorist is marked (Elson 1989) or that the marking is equipollent. Friedman (1977: 30–3) argues in favour of the durative viewpoint on the basis of examples in which imperfects are used to describe acts with duration in time that are in sequence with, rather than coordinated with, events described by aorists, but with the death of the imperfective aorist, it could be argued that the aorist is becoming marked.

Macedonian has preserved the Proto-Slavonic perfect in the *sum* series and has created a new series of perfects: the *ima* series. The new perfect is characteristic of Western Macedonian and is marked for present stative resultativity. The *sum* series has lost its marking for resultativity in connection with the rise of the category of **status** (see below in this section). Speakers from Eastern Macedonia use the *ima* perfect less than speakers from Western Macedonia or not at all, and consequently the *sum* series in their speech and writing has a broader range. In the south-west, the *sum* series has become limited to the expression of status. In the rest of Western Macedonia, the *sum* series retains some of its perfect uses as well as entering into status oppositions.

The major tense opposition is present/past. The imperfective present can describe past and future as well as present events: доаѓам утре/ doaǵam utre 'I am coming tomorrow', доаѓа кобна 1912 година/doaǵa kobna 1912 godina 'the fatal year 1912 comes'. The perfective present is limited to occurrence after the eight subordinators listed above. The invariant verbal particle ќе/ḱe (< *хътјетъ 'want') added to the perfective or imperfective present expresses future or habitual actions. When negated, ќе/ḱe is usually replaced by invariant нема да/nema da. Negative не ќе/ ne ḱe and positive има да/ima da also mark futurity, but carry nuances of volition and obligation, respectively. When ќе/ḱe is added to the imperfect (negative не ќе/ne ḱe + imperfect or немаше да/nemaše da + present), it forms the future-in-the-past (anterior future), the expectative unfulfillable (irreal) conditional or the past iterative: ќе дојдеше/ḱe dojdeše can be translated 'he will have come', 'he would have come' or 'he would come'.

The *beše* pluperfect normally uses the perfective aorist stem. The *imaše* pluperfect and *imal* perfect are distinguished on the basis of the category of status discussed below. The *beše* pluperfect specifies one past event as anterior to another, whereas the *imaše* pluperfect specifies a past result of an anterior event. The difference is illustrated by these sentences: тој ми ја покажа, но јас веќе ја бев видел/toj mi ja pokaža, no jas veḱe ja bev videl 'he pointed her out to me, but I had already seen her' implies I

spotted her before he did, whereas тој ми ја покажа, но јас веќе ја имав видено/toj mi ja pokaža, no jas veḱe ja imav videno 'he pointed her out to me, but I had already seen her' could only be used if I had seen her on some previous occasion (Friedman 1977: 105).

The imperative is used for commands (see section 4.2). Both perfective and imperfective imperatives are also used in reference to all three persons where other Slavonic languages can use the independent perfective present for repeated past acts and habitual acts without reference to time: јас речи, тој стори/jas reči, toj stori 'he does whatever I say' or 'he will do whatever I say'; тие бркај нас, ние криј се во дупката/tie brkaj nas, nie krij se vo dupkata 'they chase us, we hide in the hole' (Конески/ Koneski 1967: 418–20).

There are two types of conditional: the hypothetical (potential) formed with би/bi plus verbal *l*-form, and the expectative (real and irreal) formed with ќе/ḱe plus present (real, or fulfillable) and imperfect (irreal, or unfulfillable). Kramer (1986) points out that hypothetical conditions can also be fulfillable or unfulfillable. The following sentences illustrate the four possibilities: (1) fulfillable–expectative: ако ми се јавите, ќе дојдам/ako mi se javite, ḱe dojdam 'if you call me, I will come'; (2) fulfillable–hypothetical: ако ми се јавите, би дошол/ako mi se javite, bi došol 'if you called/were to call me, I would come'; (3) unfulfillable–expectative: ако ми се јавевте, ќе дојдев/ako mi se javevte, ḱe dojdev 'if you had called me, I would have come'; (4) unfulfillable–hypothetical: да може бебето да прозборува, би ти рекло/da može bebeto da prozboruva, bi ti reklo (Lunt 1952: 85) 'if the baby could talk he would say to you ...' The hypothetical conditional also occurs in the protasis of conditional sentences with ако/ako 'if' and кога/koga 'if' (literally 'when'), although its use with ако/ako is not standard. In the protasis of unfulfillable–expectative conditional sentences the imperfect is used after ако/ako 'if' or да/da 'if', as in sentence (3) above. Although ќе/ḱe is still preferred for all expectatives and би/bi for all hypotheticals, би/bi is expanding into the unfulfillable–expectative at the expense of ќе/ḱe in educated formal style (under the influence of Serbo-Croat) while ќе/ḱe is encroaching on би/bi in unfulfillable–hypotheticals in educated colloquial style.

The particles да/da and нека/neka in simple independent clauses express directives, that is permission, tolerance, concession, request, exhortation, wish: нека дојде!/neka dojde! 'let him come!'; да дојдам!/ da dojdam! 'let me come!' Ordinarily, нека/neka occurs with the third person present. Some speakers can also use it with the first person, but others reject this. On the rare occasions when нека/neka is used with a past tense form (imperfect, *sum* imperfect), it expresses an unfulfillable directive.

Да/da occurs with all persons and all finite verb forms (assuming the imperative to be non-finite), although some of these collocations are highly

restricted, marginal or dialectal. A traditional cover term for да/da is the marker of the subjunctive. See sections 4.2 and 4.5 for more details.

Macedonian has developed a distinction often described as based on the opposition witnessed/reported (so-called '**renarration**'). Friedman (1977: 7) opts for the term '**status**' meaning the speaker's qualification of the validity of the event. Friedman (1977: 52–81) argues that synthetic pasts are marked for confirmativity while Lunt (1952: 91–4) describes the *sum* aorist/imperfect as marked for distance in time or reality, that is resultative or non-confirmative (see also Усикова/Usikova 1985: 94–106). For example, тој беше во Скопје/toj beše vo Skopje means 'he was in Skopje (I vouch for it)' while тој бил во Скопје/toj bil vo Skopje means either 'he has been in Skopje' or 'he is/was in Skopje (apparently)/(much to my surprise)/(supposedly)'.

The *beše* pluperfect does not enter into this opposition. In the *ima* series, the *imal* perfect is limited to non-confirmed, usually non-witnessed (but also deduced) events. The *imaše* pluperfect is limited to witnessed events. The expectative marker ќе/ḱe with the *sum* imperfect (marginally also the *sum* aorist) is always non-confirmative, usually reported, and is the non-confirmative equivalent of ќе/ḱe plus imperfect or present. The negated realization is немало да/nemalo da and the conjugated present tense. Using ќe/ḱe with the *beše* pluperfect is marginal and is not semantically differentiated from ќe/ḱe plus *sum* imperfect in its past and modal meanings (Конески/Koneski 1967: 498). Similarly, ќe/ḱe plus *ima* series is a marginal south-westernism (Friedman 1977: 19–20, 190). The examples I have found or elicited indicate that ќe/ḱe plus *ima* perfect is suppositional (*pace* Lunt's (1952: 99) elicited future anterior example), ќe/ḱe plus *imaše* pluperfect is unfulfillable–expectative, and ќe/ḱe plus *imal* perfect would be the reported or non-confirmative equivalent of the other two.

The category of transitivity may be inherent in the stem or marked by ce/se: заспие/zaspie 'fall asleep (ITR)' се надева/se nadeva 'hope (ITR)'. In some verbs, ce/se is used as an intransitivizer: разбуди/razbudi 'wake up (TR)' се разбуди/se razbudi 'wake up (ITR)'. Lexical intransitives can also be used as causative transitives with definite objects: го заспав/go zaspav 'I put him to sleep'. For transitive verbs, 'be' plus verbal adjective is one way of forming the passive. For intransitive verbs (including some objectless transitives), 'be' plus verbal adjective is a type of perfect. The construction generally occurs with verbs of motion and in a few colloquial expressions: дојден сум вчера/dojden sum včera 'I came yesterday', веќе сум јаден/veḱe sum jaden 'I've already eaten'.

The passive is formed either with ce/se or with 'be' plus verbal adjective:

Старите треба да се слушаат./Starite treba da se slušaat.
'The old folks should be obeyed.'

Тој нареди да биде разбуден во два саатот./Toj naredi da bide razbuden vo
   dva saatot.
'He ordered that he be awakened at two o'clock.'

The agent in a passive construction is usually expressed with the preposition од/od:

Тој беше разбуден од слугата./Toj beše razbuden od slugata.
'He was awakened by the servant.'

The meaning of ce/se is 'intransitive', including impersonals, reflexives, reciprocals:

се гледа дека/se gleda deka
'it can be seen that'
Еднаш се живее./Ednaš se živee.
'One only lives once.'
Не ми се работи./Ne mi se raboti.
'I don't feel like working.'
Тој се гледа во огледалото./Toj se gleda vo ogledaloto.
'He looks at himself in the mirror.'
Ќе се стрижам на бербер./Ќе se strižam na berber.
'I'll have my hair cut at the barber's.'
Се гледаат како мачори./Se gledaat kako mačori.
'They look at one another like cats.'

The infinitive and supine are completely lost in Macedonian. Infinitival clauses in other Slavonic languages correspond to constructions with да/da plus finite verb (*da*-clauses) or constructions with the verbal noun (see sections 4.2 and 4.5). The participles have all been lost or transformed. The present active participle survives as the verbal adverb. The past passive participle survives as the verbal adjective. The resultative participle survives as the verbal *l*-form, which is limited to the *sum* series, the *imal* perfect and the hypothetical conditional. Joseph (1983: 113–14) classes it as finite on the basis of clitic placement. The present passive and past active participles survive only as a few lexical items. The verbal noun survives.

The verb сум/sum 'be' is the only verb whose dictionary citation form is first person singular present; all others are third person singular. Сум/sum occurs in the present, imperfect (1 SG бев/bev), a rare (marginal) third person singular aorist (ви/bi) and *l*-form (м бил/bil), which can be used to form a *sum* perfect and a *beše* pluperfect. The regular perfective verb биде/bide supplies the perfective present, imperative and verbal adjective (whose use is limited to the extreme south-west, as is the verbal adjective of има/ima 'have'). The verbal adverb from биде/bide, бидејќи/bidejќi, has been lexicalized as a conjunction meaning 'because'. The verbal noun can be supplied by суштествува/suštestvuva 'exist'.

**Table 6.8   Synthetic endings**

|  | *Present* | *Imperfect* | *Aorist* | *Present of 'be' (сум)* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **(a)** | | | | |
| 1 SG | -ам | -в | -в | сум |
| 2 SG | -ш | -ше | -∅ | си |
| 3 SG | -∅ | -ше | -∅ | е |
| 1 PL | -ме | -вме | -вме | сме |
| 2 PL | -те | -вте | -вте | сте |
| 3 PL | -ат | -а | -а | се |
| **(b)** | | | | |
| 1 SG | -am | -v | -v | sum |
| 2 SG | -š | -še | -∅ | si |
| 3 SG | -∅ | -še | -∅ | e |
| 1 PL | -me | -vme | -vme | sme |
| 2 PL | -te | -vte | -vte | ste |
| 3 PL | -at | -a | -a | se |

*Note*: The principal exceptions to the rules given above occur in the aorist and the forms based on it and are illustrated in table 6.9.

### 3.2.2   Conjugation

The following criteria are used here to distinguish analytic paradigms from syntactic constructions:

1   Analytic constructions with inflecting auxiliaries must require that they precede the main verb. This distinguishes the *sum* and *ima* series from constructions with 'be' plus verbal adjective agreeing with the subject, which permit both orders.
2   Analytic constructions with uninflecting clitics must require that they be bound exclusively to a single type of verb form. This distinguishes the hypothetical conditional – би/bi plus verbal *l*-form – from analytic constructions with ќе/ḱe, да/da and нека/neka, which are clitics but occur with more than one type of verb form.

Most verb forms can be predicted from the third person singular present. Those which cannot can be predicted from the first person singular aorist, which preserves some of the alternations characteristic of the infinitive stem in other Slavonic languages. The remaining anomalies are few.

Synthetic paradigms are formed by adding the person/number markers of table 6.8 to the stem. The third person singular present ends in /-a/, /-i/ or /-e/, and is identical to the present stem. In the imperfect, /-i/

## Table 6.9 Main morphological verb classes

**(a)**

| | | 1 | 2a | 2b | 2c | 3a | 3b |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 SG | PRS | чита | моли | оздрави | брои | пише | плаче |
| 1 SG | IMPF | читав | молев | оздравев | броев | пишев | плачев |
| 1 SG | AOR | -читав | -молив | оздравев | -бројав | пишав | -плакав |
| 2,3 SG | AOR | -чита | -моли | оздраве | -броја | пиша | -плаче |
| Gloss | | read | beg | get well | count | write | weep |

| | | 3c | 3d | 3e | 3f | 3g | 3h |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 SG | PRES | бере | умре | тресе | даде | рече | бие |
| 1 SG | IMPF | берев | умрев | тресев | дадев | речев | биев |
| 1 SG | AOR | -брав | умрев | тресов | дадов | реков | -бив |
| 2,3 SG | AOR | -бра | умре | тресе | даде | рече | -би |
| Gloss | | gather | die | shake | give | say | beat |

**(b)**

| | | 1 | 2a | 2b | 2c | 3a | 3b |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 SG | PRES | čita | moli | ozdravi | broi | piše | plače |
| 1 SG | IMPF | čitav | molev | ozdravev | broev | pišev | plačev |
| 1 SG | AOR | -čitav | -moliv | ozdravev | -brojav | pišav | -plakav |
| 2,3 SG | AOR | -čita | -moli | ozdrave | -broja | piša | -plače |
| Gloss | | read | beg | get well | count | write | weep |

| | | 3c | 3d | 3e | 3f | 3g | 3h |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 SG | PRES | bere | umre | trese | dade | reče | bie |
| 1 SG | IMPF | berev | umrev | tresev | dadev | rečev | biev |
| 1 SG | AOR | -brav | umrev | tresov | dadov | rekov | -biv |
| 2,3 SG | AOR | -bra | umre | trese | dade | reče | -bi |
| Gloss | | gather | die | shake | give | say | beat |

*Note*:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 = *a*-stem | 3 = *e*-stem |
| 2 = *i*-stem | a = *a*-AOR |
| a = *i*-AOR | b = *e*-AOR |
| b = *e*-AOR | c = *a*-AOR + V ~ Ø alternation |
| c = *a*-AOR | d = *e*-AOR |
| | e = *o*-AOR |
| | f = *o*-AOR + C (= dental) › Ø/AOR *l*-form |
| | g = *o*-AOR + velar alternation |
| | h = Ø-AOR |

b = *a*-AOR + velar alternation

becomes /-e/. In the aorist, /-e/ becomes /-a/. The aorist and imperfect stems are obtained by dropping the first person singular /-v/.

All stem vowels truncate before the first person singular /-am/. The stem vowels /-i-/ and /-e-/ truncate before the third person plural /-at/. Aside from 1 SG знам/znam 'know' (3 SG знае/znae), which has effec-

tively replaced the regular знаам/znaam (Тошев/Tošev 1970), and the verb сум/sum 'be', there are no irregularities or alternations in the present tense. According to the norm, even prefixed forms of знае/znae do not permit variation, although it occurs. Note the following irregularities:

1   When /-st-/ and /-l-/ are separated by a fleeting vowel, the resulting cluster simplifies to /-sl-/ when the vowel drops: постеле/postele 'spread', послав/poslav (1 SG AOR; type 3c).
2   види/vidi 'see' and -седи/-sedi 'sit' have type 3e o-aorists. Some i-stem verbs have facultative o-aorists: -вади/-vadi 'extract', -врти/-vrti 'turn'.
3   спие/spie 'sleep', -спав/-spav (1 SG AOR).
4   меле/mele 'grind', -млев/-mlev (1 SG AOR).
5   земе/zeme 'take', зедов/zedov (1 SG AOR), зеде/zede (2, 3 SG AOR).

There is a strong tendency to regularize verbs. Two of the four verbs cited in Lunt (1952: 77) as following type 3e are cited in Тошев/Tošev (1970) as following type 3a, although some middle-aged speakers would still treat them as 3e in 1990. The two that vacillate are везе/veze 'embroider' and гризе/grize 'gnaw'; the other two are пасе/pase 'pasture' and тресе/trese 'shake'. Similarly, there is no morphophonemic alternation of the type ž ~ z in prefixed forms of каже/kaže 'tell' (*pace* Lunt 1952: 74).

For the **verbal *l*-form** /-l/ (M SG), /-la/ (F SG), /-lo/ (N SG), /-le/ (PL) is added to the imperfect and aorist stems. The *l*-form agrees in gender and number with the subject. The following alternations and irregularities occur in the formation of *l*-forms:

1   The /-o-/ of the aorist stem (types 3e, f, g) drops when there is a vowel in the following syllable: тресол/tresol, тресла/tresla.
2   Verbs in class 3f lose both the /-o-/ and the preceding consonant in the *l*-form: дал/dal, дала/dala.
3   Some verbs vacillate between 3e and 3f: донесе/donese 'carry' has aorist *l*-form донесол/donesol (M), донесла/donesla (F) or донел/donel (M), донела/donela (F) (Тошев/Tošev 1970). The former is more common and is preferred (Корубин/Korubin 1969: 86).
4   The verb земе/zeme 'take' patterns with type 3f in this respect: aorist *l*-form зел/zel (M), зела/zela (F).
5   Verbs based on иде/ide 'come' have suppletion in the aorist *l*-form: the root consonant /-d-/ is replaced with /-š-/. If the prefix ends in a vowel, /i/ becomes /j/ except in the *l*-forms, where it disappears: отиде/otide 'leave', отидов/otidov (1 SG AOR), aorist *l*-form отишол/otišol (M), отишла/otišla (F) 'leave'; најде/najde 'find',

најдов/najdov (1 SG AOR), aorist *l*-form нашол/našol (M), нашла/našla (F).

6    For *i*-stem verbs with an *o*-aorist such as види/vidi the aorist stem is based on the second/third person singular: aorist *l*-form видел/videl (M), видела/videla (F). Verbs that vacillate in the formation of the aorist such as -врти/-vrti 'turn', may also vacillate between -*e*- and -*i*- in the aorist *l*-form.

7    If the loss of a fleeting -*o*- would create a cluster of the type -*stl*-, it simplifies to -*sl*-; расте/raste 'grow', растов/rastov (1 SG AOR), aorist *l*-form растол/rastol (M), расла/rasla (F) (Тошев/Tošev 1970). According to younger educated speakers, however, the aorist *l*-form is now растел/rastel, by analogy with the type видов/vidov, видел/videl.

Table 6.10 lists verbs according to Proto-Slavonic verb classes for comparative purposes. The third person singular present and first person singular aorist are given for all verbs. The third singular aorist and/or masculine singular *l*-form are given only when they show other alternations. The classification from table 6.9 is given on the far left.

    The **verbal adjective** is based on the aorist stem if that stem ends in /-a/, otherwise the imperfect stem is used, then /-t/ is added to stems where the vowel is preceded by /-n/ or /-nj/, otherwise /-n/ is added: покани/pokani 'invite' gives поканет/pokanet 'invited', дојде/dojde 'come' gives дојден/dojden 'arrived'. Verbs with ce/se drop it. There are three types of verbs that can use both aorist and imperfect stems: (1) *i*-verbs with an *a*-stem aorist (type 2c): -бројан/-brojan and броен/broen; (2) regular *e*-verbs (type 3a) in which the stem vowel is preceded by another vowel: пее/pee 'sing' › -пеан/-pean and пеен/peen; (3) *e*-verbs that lose their root vowel in the aorist (type 3c): -бран/-bran and берен/beren. Тошев/Tošev (1970) also permits both stems for some other *e*-verbs: црпан/crpan and црпен/crpen 'haul' (type 3a), плакан/plakan and плачен/plačen (type 3b), стриган/strigan and стрижен/strižen 'trim' (type 3g) but Конески/Koneski (1967) and Усикова/Usikova (1985) indicate only the aorist stem for these classes of verbs. Note that the norm has changed considerably since Lunt (1952: 75): поште/pošte 'search for lice' belongs to type 3d, пцуе/pcue 'curse' (type 3h) and дреме/dreme 'doze' (type 3a) no longer permit variation according to Тошев/Tošev (1970), and ниже/niže 'string' (type 2c) and пее/pee 'sing' (type 3a) are regular within their classes. In verbs that permit both stems the literary norm is to generalize the aorist stem when the verb is perfectivized by prefixation. This is strongly prescribed for class 3c and members of 3a with the root vowel -*e*-, weakly for the others (Конески/Koneski 1967: 434).

    The **verbal adverb** is formed from the imperfect stem by adding the

## Table 6.10   Conjugational patterns

*Theme in -e/-o*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3e/f | донесе/donese | донесов/donesov, донесол/donesol, донел/donel | bring, carry |
| 3f | доведе/dovede | доведов/dovedov, довел/dovel | bring, lead |
| 1a | чита/čita | -читав/-čitav | read |
| 3f/anomalous | иде/ide | -идов/-idov, -ишол/-išol | come |
| 1a | jaва/java | -jaвав/-javav | ride |
| 3a | гребе/grebe | -гребав/-grebav | scratch |
| 3a | живее/živee | -живеав/-živeav | live |
| 3g | рече/reče | реков/rekov, рече/reče, рекол/rekol | say |
| 3a | начне/načne | начна/načna | begin |
| 3d | умре/umre | умрев/umrev | die |
| 3a | стане/stane | станав/stanav | become |
| 3h | ткае/tkae | -ткав/-tkav | weave |
| 3c | зове/zove | -звав/-zvav | call |
| | (poetic/dialectal, now felt as a Serbism; literary вика/vika) | | |
| 3c | бере/bere | -брав/-brav | gather |

*Theme in -ne*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3a | стигне/stigne | стигнав/stignav | arrive |
| 3a | мине/mine | минав/minav | pass |

*Theme in -je*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3h | чуе/čue | чув/čuv | hear |
| 3a | пее/pee | -пеав/-peav | sing |
| 3h | крие/krie | -крив/-kriv | hide |
| 3h | бие/bie | -бив/-biv | beat |
| 3d/anomalous | меле/mele | -млев/-mlev | grind |
| 1a | слуша/sluša | -слушав/-slušav | listen |
| 3a | умее/umee | -умеав/-umeav | be able |
| 3a | каже/kaže | кажав/kažav | tell |
| 3a | пише/piše | пишав/pišav | write |
| 3d | [от]ме/[ot]me | [от]мев/[ot]mev | seize |
| | (occurs only prefixed; IMPFV = отима/otima; now felt as a Serbism) | | |
| 3f/anomalous | земе/zeme (‹ vъzę-ti/ vъz-ьmǫ) | зедов/zedov, зел/zel | take |
| 1a | дарува/daruva | -дарував/-daruvav | donate |
| 3a | сее/see | -сеав/-seav | sow |

*Theme in -i*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2a | моли/moli | -молив/-moliv | request |
| 2a | оди/odi | -одив/-odiv | go |
| 2a | вели/veli | -велив/-veliv | say |
| 2a | служи/služi | -служив/-služiv | serve |
| 3c | спие/spie | -спав/-spav | sleep |

*Athematic*

| anomalous | сум/sum (1 SG) | би/bi, бил/bil | be |
| 3f | јаде/jade | јадов/jadov, јал/jal | eat |
| 3f | даде/dade | дадов/dadov, дал/dal | give |
| 1a | има/ima (NEG нема/nema) | имав/imav (IMPF) | have |

*Irregular*

| not a verb | ќе/ḱe | | will |

(This reflex of *хътеть 'want' is now an invariant modal word. The conjugated verb meaning 'want' is now the regular сака/saka. There is a negated reflex of the old verb which still conjugates and serves as a variant of не сака/ne saka)

| 3d | нејќе/nejḱe | нејќев/nejḱev (IMPF) | not want |

invariant suffix /-jḱi/. This suffix always entails penultimate stress. (Historically, the /-j-/ comes from an earlier *-e-, hence the unusual stress pattern.) The verbal adverb is formed only from imperfective verbs with the lexicalized exception of бидејќи/bidejḱi 'because'.

The **verbal noun** is formed by adding /-nje/ to the imperfective imperfect stem: носи/nosi 'carry', носење/nosenje 'carrying'. The perfective verb венча/venča 'wed' has a lexicalized verbal noun: венчање/venčanje 'wedding'.

The **imperative** is based on the present stem. The stem vowel /-i/ or /-e/ is dropped, the stem vowel /-a/ is retained. When the result ends in a vowel, /-j/ is added for the singular, /-jte/ for the plural. When the result ends in a consonant, /-i/ is added for the singular, /-ete/ for the plural:

гледа/gleda 'look' › гледај/gledaj, гледајте/gledajte
носи/nosi 'carry' › носи/nosi, носете/nosete
пие/pie 'drink' › пиј/pij, пијте/pijte
земе/zeme 'take' › земи/zemi, земете/zemete
пее/pee 'sing' › пеј/pej, пејте/pejte

Exceptions:

даде/dade 'give' › дај/daj, дајте/dajte (also for prefixed forms)
кладе/klade 'put' › клај/klaj, клајте /klajte

Verbs in /-uva/ have alternative imperatives in /-uj[te]/.

## 3.3 Derivational morphology

### 3.3.1 Major patterns of noun derivation
The suffix /-nje/ derives concrete deverbal nouns from imperfectives (but see section 3.2.2); /-nie/ derives abstract deverbal nouns from perfective

## Table 6.11   Paradigm of the verb моли/moli 'request, beg'

**(a)**

### Synthetic series

| Present | | Aorist | | Imperfect | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| молам | молиме | -молив | -моливме | молев | молевме |
| молиш | молите | -моли | -моливте | молеше | молевте |
| моли | молат | -моли | -молија | молеше | молеа |

### Analytic series

#### SUM SERIES

| sum aorist | | sum imperfect | |
|---|---|---|---|
| сум -молил | сме -молиле | сум молел | сме молеле |
| си -молил | сте -молиле | си молел | сте молеле |
| -молил | -молиле | молел | молеле |

#### beše pluperfect

| beše aorist | | beše imperfect | |
|---|---|---|---|
| бев -молил | бевме -молиле | бев молел | бевме молеле |
| беше -молил | бевте -молиле | беше молел | бевте молеле |
| беше -молил | беа -молиле | беше молел | беа молеле |

#### IMA SERIES

| ima perfect | | imaše pluperfect | |
|---|---|---|---|
| имам молено | имаме молено | имав молено | имавме молено |
| имаш молено | имате молено | имаше молено | имавте молено |
| има молено | имаат молено | имаше молено | имаа молено |

#### imal perfect

| | |
|---|---|
| сум имал молено | сме имале молено |
| си имал молено | сте имале молено |
| имал молено | имале молено |

#### HYPOTHETICAL CONDITIONAL
би молел, би молела, би молело, би молеле

### Non-finite series

*imperative*
моли        молете

*verbal adverb*
молејќи

*verbal noun*
моленье

*verbal adjective*
молен, молена, молено, молени

**(b)**

### Synthetic series

| Present | | Aorist | | Imperfect | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| molam | molime | -moliv | -molivme | molev | molevme |
| moliš | molite | -moli | -molivte | moleše | molevte |
| moli | molat | -moli | -molija | moleše | molea |

## Analytic series
### SUM SERIES

| *sum aorist* | | *sum imperfect* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| sum -molil | sme -molile | sum molel | sme molele |
| si -molil | ste -molile | si molel | ste molele |
| -molil | -molile | molel | molele |

### *beše pluperfect*

| *beše aorist* | | *beše imperfect* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| bev -molil | bevme -molile | bev molel | bevme molele |
| beše -molil | bevte -molile | beše molel | bevte molele |
| beše -molil | bea -molile | beše molel | bea molele |

### IMA SERIES

| *ima perfect* | | *imaše pluperfect* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| imam moleno | imame moleno | imav moleno | imavme moleno |
| imaš moleno | imate moleno | imaše moleno | imavte moleno |
| ima moleno | imaat moleno | imaše moleno | imaa moleno |

### *imal perfect*

| | |
|---|---|
| sum imal moleno | sme imale moleno |
| si imal moleno | ste imale moleno |
| imal moleno | imale moleno |

### HYPOTHETICAL CONDITIONAL
bi molel, bi molela, bi molelo, bi molele

### Non-finite series

*imperative*
moli        molete

*verbal adverb*
molejḱi

*verbal noun*
molenje

*verbal adjective*
molen, molena, moleno, moleni

---

verbs; /-ba/ is permitted with either aspect and either meaning: самоопределување/samoopredeluvanje 'an act of self-determining', самоопределба/samoopredelba 'self-determination', решавање/rešavanje 'an act of deciding', решение/rešenie 'decision'. The relative productivity of these suffixes can be seen in Миличиќ/Miličiḱ (1967): approximately 8,500 entries with /-nje/, 220 with /-ba/ and 150 with /-nie/. Other suffixes for deverbal nouns are -∅ or /-a/, /-ačka/ (about 275 total including both abstract nouns and feminine actors), /-ež/ (about 75), /-ka/, /-stvo/.

The masculine agentive suffixes /-ar/, /-ač/ and /-tel/ all add /-ka/ to form the feminine, whereas /-ec/ and /-nik/ have the feminine form /-(n)ica/. The suffixes /-ec/, /-ka/, /-ica/ are sometimes extended by

/-al-/ or /-av-/. The verb вража/vraža 'perform sorcery, tell fortunes' provides examples of many of these suffixes in Конески/Koneski (1961–6), according to which they are synonymous in the case of this particular verbal base, all meaning 'sorcerer' and 'sorceress': вражар/vražar, вражач/vražač, вражалец/vražalec, вражарка/vražarka, вражачка/vražačka, вражалка/vražalka, вражалица/vražalica. Inanimates also have the suffix /-lo/: лепи/lepi 'stick', лепило/lepilo 'glue'.

For de-adjectival nouns, the main suffixes are /-ec/, /-ica/, /-(n)ik/, /-(j)ak/, /-(j)ačka/, /-ina/, /-stvo/, /-ost/, /-еž/: убавец/ubavec 'handsome one', убавица/ubavica 'beautiful one', убавина/ubavina 'beauty'. Many of these same deverbal and de-adjectival suffixes can derive nouns from other nouns: свиња/svinja 'swine', свињар(ка))/svinjar(ka) 'swineherd' (M (F)), свињарник/svinjarnik or свињарница/svinjarnica 'pigsty', свињарство/svinjarstvo 'hog raising', свинштина/svinština 'swinishness'.

Diminutives apply to all three genders: брат/brat 'brother', diminutive брате/brate, братле/bratle, братче/bratče, братенце/bratence, братец/bratec, братуле/bratule, браток/bratok (see also section 2.3). The augmentative suffix is -иште/-иšte and is neuter: му свикало жеништето/mu svikalo ženišteto 'his shrewish wife yelled at him'. The chief pejorative suffixes are all neuter in appearance but agree with real gender if they refer to animate beings: /-ko/, /-(a)lo/, /-le/: моч/moč 'urine', мочко/močko and мочло/močlo 'little squirt', мочало/močalo 'organ of urination (colloquial)'.

There are also three derivational suffixes of Turkish origin that are still productive with nouns: /-džija/ (F /-džika/; /dž/ gives /č/ after voiceless consonants due to Turkish rules for voicing assimilation) meaning 'someone who does something regularly' (about 250 items), /-lak/ for abstract nouns (about 200 items) and /-àna/ for nouns of location (about fifty items). These suffixes are used in common words of Turkish origin: јабанција/jabandžija 'foreigner', јавашлак/javašlak 'slowness (pejorative)', меана/meana 'tavern (archaic)'. They are productive with Slavonic roots: ловција/lovdžija 'hunter', војниклак/vojniklak 'army service (colloquial)', пилана/pilana 'saw-mill'. They remain productive in recent loan-words, although frequently with pejorative or ironic overtones: фудбалција/fudbaldžija '(inept) soccer-player', асистентлак/asistentlak 'assistantship (ironic)', хидроелектрана/hidroelektrana 'hydroelectric power station (colloquial but neutral)'. There are also a few derivational affixes of more recent foreign origin: /-ist/ '-ist', /-izam/ '-ism'.

Compounding with the linking vowel /-o-/ is still productive: минофрлач/minofrlač 'mine-thrower'. The Turkish type of compound lacks a linking vowel: тутунќесе/tutunḱese 'tobacco pouch'. There are also native formations without linking vowels, although these generally use

disparate parts of speech: зајдисонце/zajdisonce 'sunset'.

Noun prefixation is limited and marginal. The border between suffixation and compounding is clear (suffixes do not possess independent lexical meaning and never stand alone), but the border between prefixation and compounding is hazy. Many items functioning prefixally also function as independent words: само-/samo- 'self-' as in самопридонес/samopridones 'voluntary contribution' also functions as an independent adjective сам(о)/sam(o) 'oneself'. Other prefixal items are capable of standing alone: /anti-/ 'anti-' can be used predicatively to mean 'against' or 'opposed'. Some prefixes such as /pra-/ 'proto-, great-' are capable of being repeated: прапрадедо/prapradedo 'great-great-grandfather'.

Acronyms also occur, but are not as important as the various processes already discussed thus far.

### 3.3.2   Major patterns of adjective derivation

There are three suffixes used to derive possessives: (1) /-in/ for nouns in /-a, -e/: мечкин/mečkin 'bear's'; (2) /-ov, -ev/ for nouns in a consonant or /-o/ (masculine and neuter): дабов/dabov 'of oak'; (3) /-ji, -ki, -i/ for people and animals: жабји/žabji 'frog's'.

Adjectives of quality can be formed with /-est/, /-at/, /-[ov]it/, /-(l)iv/ (highly productive): трнлив/trnliv 'thorny'. Another highly productive suffix is /-ski/, /-ški/, which shows reflexes of the first palatalization (and regressive assimilation of voicing) if the stem ends in an underlying velar: бензински/benzinski 'gasoline', филолошки/filološki 'philological'.

The following suffixes are most common for deverbal adjectives: /-en/, /-liv/, /-čki/, /-telen/ (bookish), /-kav/: реши/reši 'decide (PRFV)' gives решен, решлив, решителен/rešen, rešliv, rešitelen 'decided, soluble, decisive (person)'.

The suffixes /-(š)en/ and /-ski/ derive adjectives from adverbs: сегашен/segašen 'present', лански/lanski 'last year's'.

Adjectives can be rendered expressive by a variety of suffixes, some of which are illustrated here with the adjective црн/crn 'black': црникав/crnikav, црничок/crničok, црнкавест/crnkavest, црнулав/crnulav, црнулест/crnulest.

Two of the most productive suffixes are /-av/ and /-en/, which can also be added to many loans to create doublets: ал/al or ален/alen 'scarlet', ќор/ḱor or ќорав/ḱorav 'blind, one-eyed'. The Turkish suffix /-lija/ (all genders, PL /-lii/) is used to form about 250 adjectives and nouns from all types of nouns – Turkish, Slavonic and international: касметлија/kasmetlija 'lucky', ѕвездаллија/dzvezdallija 'kind', пубертетлија/pubertetlija 'teenager (ironic)'.

Compound adjectives can be formed with or without the linking vowel -o- and with or without a suffix: гологлав/gologlav 'bareheaded'.

### 3.3.3   Major pattern of verb derivation

Taking unprefixed imperfectives as basic, perfectives are derived by pre-fixation and suffixation. The following pre-verbs are used: /v-, vo-, do-, za-, iz-, na-, nad-, o-, ob-, od-, po-, pod-, pre-, pred-, pri-, pro(z)-, raz-, s-, so-, u-, (o)bez-, (s)protiv-, su-/. Pre-verbs can also be added to one another: тепа/tepa 'beat (IMPFV)' поизнатепа/poiznatepa 'beat to a pulp (PRFV)' (see Угринова-Скаловска/Ugrinova-Skalovska 1960 for detailed discussion). The suffix /-ne/ usually forms perfective verbs: седи/sedi 'sit', седне/sedne 'sit down', although a few verbs in -не/-ne are imperfective or bi-aspectual: кисне/kisne 'become sour (IMPFV)', гасне/gasne 'quench, extinguish (bi-aspectual)'. Imperfectives are derived productively from perfectives by means of the suffix /-uva/: седнува/sednuva 'keep sitting down'. Other suffixes such as /-(j)a(va)/ are unpro-ductive or obsolete (see section 2.2).

The suffix /-uva/ is also productive in forming verbs from other parts of speech: збор/zbor 'word', зборува/zboruva 'speak', старт/start 'kick-off (NOUN)' стартува/startuva (VERB). Two other productive suffixes are the Greek /-sa/ (Greco-Turkish /-disa/) and the West European (from Latin through French to German to Slavonic) /-ira/. Verbs in /-sa/ are often perfective and form imperfectives by means of /-uva/ with pre-fixation deriving new perfectives: калај/kalaj 'tin', perfective калаиса/kalaisa 'plate with tin', imperfective калаисува/kalaisuva, прекалаиса/prekalaisa 're-tin (PRFV)'. Verbs in /-ira/ are often bi-aspectual, but show a tendency to be treated as imperfective, with per-fectives being derived by means of prefixation (see section 3.2.1): интерес/interes 'interest', imperfective интересира/interesira 'interest', perfective заинтересира/zainteresira. In some cases, the suffixes con-tribute to semantic differentiation: критика/kritika 'criticism', критикува/kritikuva 'to critique', критизира/kritizira 'to criticize'. While some new loans permit formation freely with more than one of these suffixes, others do not: флерт/flert 'flirt' permits the formation of the verb флертува/flertuva but not флертира/flertira (see Минова-Ѓуркова/ Minova-Ǵurkova 1966).

The suffixes /-ka/ and /-oti/ are diminutive and augmentative, respec-tively: копа/kopa 'dig', копка/kopka 'scratch the surface'; тропа/tropa 'knock', тропоти/tropoti 'pound'. The suffix /-i/ can form verbs from nouns and adjectives, and some of the de-adjectival causatives in /-i/ form intransitives in /-ee/: црн/crn 'black', црни/crni 'blacken', црнее/crnee 'become black'. Verbs are also derived by compounding: обелоденува/ obelodenuva 'reveal' from бел ден/bel den 'broad daylight' (literally 'white day').

# 4  Syntax

## 4.1   Element order in declarative sentences

The unmarked order of main constituents is subject–verb–object (if the object is definite, a reduplicative object pronoun must precede the verb): кучето ја каса мачката/kučeto ja kasa mačkata 'the dog bites the cat' (literally: dog (N DEF) it (F ACC) bites cat (F DEF)). In unmarked order, the subject is topic and no constituent bears special sentential emphasis (focus). Topicalization and focus are rendered by a combination of word order and intonation within the context of the discourse. In general, given the appropriate intonation, the position immediately before the verb phrase is that of the topic. If the verb phrase is initial, it is the focus of the sentence, and the topic will depend on intonation. Inversion of subject and object will topicalize the object without focusing on it, while placing both constituents before the verb will focus on the topic. The following examples illustrate the possibilities:

Мачката ја каса кучето./Mačkata ja kasa kučeto.
'The dog bites the cat (topic).'
Кучето мачката ја каса./Kučeto mačkata ja kasa.
'The dog bites the cat (topic/focus).'
Мачката кучето ја каса./Mačkata kučeto ja kasa.
'The dog (topic/focus) bites the cat.'
Ја каса кучето мачката./Ja kasa kučeto mačkata.
'The dog bites (focus) the cat.'
Ја каса мачката кучето./Ja kasa mačkata kučeto.
'The dog bites (focus) the cat.'

There are four possible positions for an adverb, illustrated by the numbers in square brackets: [I] кучето [II] ја каса [III] мачката [IV]/ [I] kučeto [II] ja kasa [III] mačkata [IV] '[I]the dog [II] bites [III] the cat [IV]'. The neutral position for the adverb is usually [I] or [IV]. The position of focus is usually [II] or [IV]. Position [IV] is more likely to be neutral with time adverbs but focus with manner adverbs, but judgments vary from speaker to speaker. Position [III] is acceptable but more likely if the subject is omitted.

Clitics precede finite verb forms. The order is subjunctive – negator – mood marker – auxiliary – ethical dative – dative object – accusative object – verb: да не ќе сум си му го дал/da ne ḱe sum si mu go dal '(they didn't say) that I won't have given it to him (did they)?'. The subjunctive marker follows the expectative in colloquial suppositions: па ќе да има кај четириесет/pa ḱe da ima kaj četirieset 'well, he must be around forty'. The hypothetical marker does not occur after the subjunctive except in old-fashioned curses and blessings, in which case clitic order can be violated: да би волци те јале/da bi volci te jale 'may wolves eat you'.

Clitic pronouns occur on either side of the auxiliary in the *beše* pluperfect: се беше заборчил ~ беше се заборчил/se beše zaborčil ~ beše se zaborčil 'he had got into debt'. The sense of past resultativity is stronger when the auxiliary is closer to the verb (Конески/Koneski 1967: 482–3). Clitics precede the forms of има/ima in the *ima* series, and non-clitic words may come between има/ima and the neuter verbal adjective: не ги има наполнето/ne gi ima napolneto 'he has not filled them'; ги немам видено/gi nemam videno 'I have not seen them'; го имаше сам направено/go imaše sam napraveno 'he has done it himself'. The negative equivalents of ќе/ḱe using нема да/nema da have clitics attaching to the main verb: нема да ги видам/nema da gi vidam 'I will not see them'. The interrogative clitic ли/li normally comes after the first stressed word in the clause or after the verb (see section 4.2).

Present-tense forms of сум/sum 'be' that function as auxiliaries – the first two persons – have auxiliary–clitic order even when functioning as the copula. Other forms of 'be' behave as full verbs when functioning as the copula and are preceded by clitic elements: Jac сум му пријател/jas sum mu prijatel 'I am his friend'; тој ми е пријател/toj mi e prijatel 'he is my friend'; јас му бев пријател/jas mu bev prijatel 'I was his friend'.

Clitics follow non-finite verb forms (including the imperative) донесете ми ја книгата/donesete mi ja knigata 'bring me the book'; донесувајќи му ја книгата/donesuvajḱi mu ja knigata 'bringing him the book'.

Macedonian permits both head–genitive and genitive–head order in prepositional possessive constructions. A dative possessive clitic – limited to a few kinship terms – must follow the kinship term: мајка му на царот/majka mu na carot (literally: mother to-him of the-king) or на царот мајка му/na carot majka mu (more colloquial) 'the mother of the king/the king's mother'. In attributive noun phrases, the clitic comes after the first element. Note that attributes normally precede but can also follow the nouns they modify: мајка му стара/majka mu stara, старата му мајка/starata mu majka 'his old mother'.

The normal order within the noun phrase is determiner – adjective – noun: сите овие три бедни мачки/site ovie tri bedni mački 'all three of these poor cats'. A possessive adjective normally precedes a numeral as in English: моите три пријатели/moite tri prijateli 'my three friends'. However, the numeral precedes if the quantity is not the totality: еден мој пријател/eden moj prijatel 'a friend of mine (one of my friends)'.

## 4.2    Non-declarative sentence types

Interrogatives are marked by a rising intonation on the verb or the focus of the question: ќе одиш во Битола?/ḱe odiš vo Bitola? 'are you going to Bitola?' Focus on the topic can also be achieved by inversion: во Битола ќе одиш?/vo Bitola ḱe odiš? 'are you going *to Bitola*?' The interrogative particle ли/li is used less in Macedonian than in Bulgarian. In Englund's

(1977: 137–43) corpus of yes–no questions, 60.4 per cent of the Bulgarian questions used ли/li as opposed to 30 per cent in Macedonian, and 44.1 per cent of her Macedonian questions had no lexical interrogative marker but only 19.9 per cent in Bulgarian. Another difference between Macedonian and Bulgarian is that ли/li is more strictly bound to follow the first stressed element in the clause of the verb in Macedonian. Thus if the focus is anywhere but on the verb, that element must be at the beginning of the clause: ќе одиш ли во Битола?/Ќe odiš li vo Bitola? 'will you go to Bitola?'; во Битола ли ќе одиш?/vo Bitola li ќe odiš? 'is it to Bitola you will be going?'; во Битола ќе одиш ли?/vo Bitola ќe odiš li? 'are you going to go to Bitola?' but not *ќе одиш во Битола ли?/*ќe odiš vo Bitola li? Englund's corpus contains six exceptions to these generalizations, but I found that speakers rejected such sentences, indicating that this aspect of the norm has become more stable. A conceptual entity is treated as one stressed unit: Нова Македонија ли му ја донесе?/Nova Makedonija li mu ja donese? 'was it (the newspaper) Nova Makedonija that you brought him?'

Other interrogative particles for yes–no questions:

дали/dali 'request for information': дали знаеш/dali znaeš 'do you know?' зар/zar 'surprise': зар знаеш/zar znaeš 'you mean, you know?!' зар не знаеш/zar ne znaeš 'don't you know?!'

да не/da ne 'tag question': да не си нешто болен/da ne si nešto bolen 'you're not sick, are you?' (Unlike Bulgarian, Macedonian rarely uses да/da by itself for a yes–no question.)

али/ali is a colloquial variant of дали/dali. Зер/zer is a dialectal and зарем/zarem a less preferred variant of зар/zar. Нели/neli can both introduce a negative interrogative and follow as a tag meaning 'isn't that so?' А/a normally occurs at the end of a question, after a pause.

Macedonian can also introduce a question with the following WH words:

| кој | како | колку | каков | колкав | што | каде/кај | кога | зошто | чиј |
|-----|------|-------|-------|--------|-----|----------|------|-------|-----|
| koj | kako | kolku | kakov | kolkav | što | kade/kaj | koga | zošto | čij |
| who, which | how | how much, many | what kind | how big, much | what, why | where | when | why | whose |

Indirect questions can be introduced by a WH word or the interrogative marker дали/dali: тој ме праша/toj me praša 'he asked me' колку години имам/kolku godini imam 'how old I was' дали ќе дојдам/dali ќe dojdam 'whether I would come'.

An interrogative can be answered with да/da 'yes', не/ne 'no' or with a repetition of the focus of the question, which in itself can constitute affirmation. Typical responses to a negative interrogative such as зар не сакаш да дојдеш?/zar ne sakaš da dojdeš? 'don't you want to come?' are

како не/kako ne 'of course', да/da 'yes', сакам/sakam 'I want to', or не/ne 'no', па нејќам/pa nejḱam or не сакам/ne sakam 'I don't want to', јок!/jok! 'no way!'

The normal form of a command is the perfective imperative (all examples are given in the singular, the plural can also be a polite singular): дојди/dojdi 'come!' A *da*-clause with the perfective present expresses a wish and can function as a more polite command or request: да ми го напишеш/da mi go napišeš 'write it down for me'. Negative commands are normally formed with the corresponding imperfective: не доаѓај/ne doaǵaj, да не доаѓаш/da ne doaǵaš 'don't come'. The expression немој/nemoj (plural немојте/nemojte) 'don't!' can be used by itself or with a perfective *da*-clause to form a negative imperative with other verbs: немој да дојдеш/nemoj da dojdeš 'don't come'. A negative *da*-clause with a perfective verb constitutes a warning: да не дојдеш/da ne dojdeš 'you'd better not come'. A negated perfective imperative is a challenging threat commanding the addressee to perform the action: не дојди/ne dojdi 'just don't you come (and see what happens)!' A *da*-clause with an imperfect can function as a request: да ми ја донесеше книгата/da mi ja doneseše knigata 'bring me the book, would you please'. The second person future (ќе/ḱe + present) can also be used as an imperative either peremptorily or in giving directions: ќе одиш право, па десно/ḱe odiš pravo, pa desno 'go straight, then (take a) right'. Indirect commands are expressed with *da*-clauses: кажи му да оди/kaži mu da odi 'tell him to go'.

## 4.3   Copular sentences
The usual copula is the verb сум/sum 'be' and is not omitted (see section 4.1). There is no nominative/instrumental contrast in Macedonian since there is no instrumental. There is no long/short adjective distinction, although morphological traces of the masculine long form survive (see section 3.1.4).

## 4.4   Coordination and comitativity
Coordination is normally marked between the last two elements (orthographically, a comma is never used in this position): семинар за македонски јазик, литература и култура/seminar za makedonski jazik, literatura i kultura 'seminar for Macedonian language, literature and culture'. An и/i 'and' before each element gives the meaning 'both ... and ...'. Prepositions can be conjoined: состојбата во македонија во и непосредно по првата светска војна/sostojbata vo Makedonija vo i neposredno po prvata svetska vojna 'the situation in Macedonia during and immediately after the First World War'. Coordinated singular adjectives modifying the same noun but denoting different entities are both definite and have a singular noun but plural verb agreement, while coordinated

adjectives modifying a single entity will take one article and singular agreement: нашата и вашата екипа беа таму/našata i vašata ekipa bea tamu 'your team and our team were there' versus нашата и ваша екипа беше таму/našata i vaša ekipa beše tamu 'your team and ours was there' (see section 3.1.1). Non-pronominal adjectives modifying conjoined nouns of different genders can be plural: љубезни Елена и Виктор/ljubezni Elena i Viktor 'kind Elena and Victor', but *овие маж и жена/*ovie maž i žena *'these man and woman'. Conjoined subject nouns govern a plural verb regardless of word order (but see the end of section 4.10).

Comitative constructions with a coordinative meaning occur colloquially: ние со Јола одевме крај него/nie so Jola odevme kraj nego 'Jola and I (literally: 'we with Jola') walked alongside him'. There is significant variation in the treatment of agreement; considerations of style, region and generation all appear to be relevant: тој со Виктор отиде/отидоа/toj so Viktor otide/otidoa (3 SG/3 PL) 'he left with Victor' or 'Victor and he left'. The use of singular agreement is favoured by the younger generation of Skopje speakers and is considered correct by strict normativists; the use of plural agreement is favoured by some older speakers, who consider it more literary, and in the south-west.

## 4.5 Subordination

All the WH words given in section 4.2 except зошто/zošto 'why' can function as relativizers. Except for што/što 'which, that, who' and – according to the modern norm – кога/koga 'when', the relativizing function can be indicated by adding што/što, written without any space after кој/koj and чиј/čij (hence, којшто/kojšto), and written as a separate word after all others. Корубин/Korubin (1969) suggests that што/što be used for restrictive clauses and кој(што)/koj(što) for the non-restrictive but practice varies. In general, кој(што)/koj(što) is preferred after a preposition: детето што го сретнавме/deteto što go sretnavme 'the child whom we met', човекот со кого(што) се шеташе вчера/čovekot so kogo(što) se šetaše včera 'the person with whom he walked yesterday'. A specific indefinite referent triggers pronoun reduplication: во одајата влезе еден човек кого го видов порано на улица/vo odajata vleze eden čovek kogo go vidov porano na ulica 'into the room came a person whom I had seen (him) earlier on the street' (Topolińska 1981: 114). Relativizers can occur without any overt antecedent: кој вино пие, без невеста спие/koj vino pie, bez nevesta spie 'he who drinks wine sleeps without a bride'. Subjects and objects can both be extracted out of subordinate clauses: човекот за кого(што) мислам дека (ти) си го видел/čovekot za kogo(što) mislam deka (ti) si go videl 'the person that I think you saw'; човекот кој(што) мислам дека (тој) те видел тебе/čovekot koj(što) mislam deka (toj) te videl tebe 'the person that I think saw you'.

The chief phrase subordinators are the indicative дека/deka, оти/oti, што/što and the subjunctive да/da (see also sections 3.2.1 and 4.2): им реков да дојдат/im rekov da dojdat 'I told them to come'; им реков дека/оти ќе дојде/im rekov deka/oti ḱe dojde 'I told them that he will come'; добро е што ги гледаш/dobro e što gi gledaš 'it is good that you are watching them'; добро е да ги гледаш/dobro e da gi gledaš 'it is good (for you) to watch them'.

The verbal adverb normally denotes an action performed by the subject simultaneously with the action of the main verb: одејќи по патот, тој си најде едно ќесе пари/odejḱi po patot, toj si najde edno ḱese pari 'while going along the road, he found a bag of money'. Occasionally the verbal adverb does not refer to the grammatical subject of the main verb or the action is not simultaneous with it: одејќи по патот, ми падна чантата/odejḱi po patot, mi padna čantata 'while walking along the road, my hand-bag fell'; затворајќи ја вратата, се упатив кај Виктор/zatvorajḱi ja vratata, se upativ kaj Viktor 'having closed the door, I set out for Victor's'. Such usage is rejected by strict normativists.

The most common equivalent of the infinitive is a *da*-clause: сакам ти да ми кажеш/sakam ti da mi kažeš 'I want you to tell me'. As Čašule (1988) points out, the verbal noun can also serve this function: тој има желба за правење штета/toj ima želba za pravenje šteta 'he likes to cause damage'.

## 4.6  Negation

Sentence negation is expressed by placing не/ne before the verb: Томислав не дојде вчера/Tomislav ne dojde včera 'Tomislav didn't come yesterday'. Constituents can also be negated by не/ne: него го најдов а не неа/nego go najdov a ne nea 'I found him, but not her'; Нина дојде не вчера туку завчера/Nina dojde ne včera tuku zavčera 'Nina came not yesterday but the day before yesterday'; со куче а не со пиле/so kuče a ne so pile 'with a dog and/but not with a chicken'. The position of не/ne with relation to да/da affects meaning: јас дојдов не да те спасам, ами да те убијам!/jas dojdov ne da te spasam, ami da te ubijam! 'I have not come to save you but to kill you!' versus да не те спасам/da ne te spasam 'let me not save you'. A sentence can have more than one negative element, and if a negative pronoun is used the verb must also be negated: никој никому/на никого ништо не рече/nikoj nikomu/na nikogo ništo ne reče 'no one said anything to anyone (West, literary/East, Skopje)'; нема ни месо/nema ni meso 'there isn't even any meat/there isn't any meat, either'.

Since the accusative/genitive distinction does not exist, there can be no such contrast for the direct object. Absence is signalled by the impersonal нема/nema 'it is not' (literally: 'it does not have'): нема никакви директори тука/nema nikakvi direktori tuka 'there aren't any directors

here'. If the entity is definite, the verb takes an accusative reduplicative pronoun: директорот го нема/direktorot go nema 'the director isn't here'. The verb 'be' cannot be used in this way: *директорот (го) не бил/било/*direktorot (go) ne bil/bilo.

### 4.7 Anaphora and pronouns

Macedonian has pronominal anaphora and anaphora without an overt lexical marker (zero anaphora). It also omits unstressed subject pronouns, which normally occur only for emphasis, contrast, disambiguation or formality. Definite and sometimes specific direct objects and all indirect objects trigger reduplicative clitic pronouns within the verb phrase agreeing in gender, number and case with the object.

Subject nominals can have zero anaphora subject marking on the finite verb: човекот влегуваше во собата и се сопна/čovekot vleguvaše vo sobata i se sopna 'the person entered the room and (he) tripped'. A subject nominal eligible for anaphora is replaced by a personal pronoun for emphasis, contrast or disambiguation: ги чекав Кирил и Лиле. Тој дојде, а таа не/gi čekav Kiril i Lile. Toj dojde, a taa ne 'I was waiting for Kiril and Lile. He came, but she didn't'. Otherwise, the presence of a subject pronoun is normally interpreted as non-anaphoric: го видовме Владо, кога Ø/тој влезе/go vidovme Vlado, koga Ø/toj vleze 'we saw Vlado when he (Vlado/someone else) entered'. However, if this were part of a sentence that began: 'we were expecting Peter, but ...', then the subject pronoun could be interpreted as coreferential with Vlado.

Direct-object nominals are eligible for zero anaphora only when they are non-specific indefinite: барав една марка но не најдов/barav edna marka no ne najdov 'I was looking for a stamp but didn't find one'. If there is an anaphoric pronoun, the indefinite object nominal is interpreted as specific (note that ja/ja is the third-person accusative clitic pronoun): барав една марка но не ја најдов/barav edna marka no ne ja najdov 'I was looking for a stamp but didn't find it'. Although not in the norm, it is also possible to mark an indefinite object as specific by means of a reduplicated object pronoun within the verb phrase, in which case the anaphoric pronoun is required: ја барав една марка но не *Ø/ја најдов/ja barav edna marka no ne *Ø/ja najdov 'I was looking for a stamp but didn't find it'. If the direct object is definite, both reduplicated and anaphoric pronouns are required: ja/*Ø барав марката и не *Ø/ја најдов /ja/*Ø barav markata i ne *Ø/ja najdov 'I was looking for the stamp and didn't find it.'

Anaphora with other nominals is by means of pronouns. Macedonian also has anaphoric expressions such as гореспоменатиот/gorespomenatiot 'the above-mentioned' and претходниот/prethodniot 'the preceding'.

## 4.8   Reflexives and reciprocals

Reflexivity is expressed by reflexive personal pronouns (се/se, си/si, себе/sebe, себеси/sebesi), the reflexive pronominal adjective (своj/ svoj), the emphatic pronominal adjective (сам/sam), the adjective сопствен/sopsten 'one's own' (also 'characteristic') and the verbal prefix само-/samo-. For details on the uses of се/se see section 3.2.1. On the possessive use of си/si see section 4.9. The prefix само-/samo- and the pronoun себе(си)/sebe(si) refer unambiguously to the subject as both the source and the goal of the action, whereas the intransitive marker се/se has additional uses and interpretations: залаже се/zalaže se 'be deceived' or 'deceive oneself', but самозалаже се/samozalaže se = залаже себеси/ zalaže sebesi 'deceive oneself'. The emphatic pronominal adjective сам/ sam is normally definite when it means 'self' and indefinite when it means 'alone' (Topolińska 1981: 94–5): Петре доjде самиот/Petre dojde samiot 'Peter came himself'; Петре доjде сам/Petre dojde sam 'Peter came alone'; самиот Петре доjде/samiot Petre dojde 'Peter himself came'; *сам Петре доjде/*sam Petre dojde. With marked intransitives, however, the indefinite can have a reflexive meaning: сам кога ќе се удри човек .../sam koga ќe se udri čovek ... 'When a person hits himself' (Lunt 1952: 39).

A non-reflexive preceding a subject noun phrase is interpreted as refer-ring to someone other than the subject: каj него/каj себеси Коста ги наjде потребните пари/kaj nego/kaj sebesi Kosta gi najde potrebnite pari 'Kosta found the necessary money on him (someone else/himself)'. If the pronoun follows, however, it is possible for the regular third person to have a reflexive interpretation: Коста си ги нашол парите каj него/ себеси/Kosta si gi našol parite kaj nego/sebesi 'Kosta found the necessary money on him (someone else or himself)/himself'. Unlike other Slavonic languages, the pronominal adjective своj/svoj is becoming like the English emphatic 'one's own', as in the following example: директорот доjде со неговата/своjата   сопруга/direktorot   dojde   so   negovata/svojata sopruga 'the director came with his/his-own spouse'. Although normal usage would have no possessive pronominal adjective and 'spouse' would simply be definite, the use of неговата/negovata 'his' is unremarkable and would not be interpreted as referring to someone else's wife. Rather, the use of своjата/svojata 'his own' would be taken to imply that it was unusual for him to come with his own wife rather than someone else's.

Reflexives   normatively   have   subject-nominative   antecedents,   and although the following examples show dative object referents, they are unusual or marginal. The following sentence was uttered in a formal speech, but a strict normativist informant rejected it when it was submitted for testing: пожелуваjќи ви среќно враќање во своjата средина/ poželuvajќi vi sreќno vraќanje vo svojata sredina 'wishing you a happy return to your surroundings'. Only some speakers accepted the following

invented sentence: своjата слика ѝ се покажа на неа/svojata slika ì se pokaža na nea 'her own picture appeared to her'. Reflexives are normally bound to the clauses in which they occur, but the following example shows a reflexive referring outside its clause: Рада ме замоли да купам една кутиja цигари за ќерка ѝ и една за себеси/Rada me zamoli da kupam edna kutija cigari za ḱerka ì i edna za sebesi 'Rada asked me to buy a package of cigarettes for her daughter and one for herself'. Although this translation was spontaneously supplied by an educated speaker with excellent English, on later reflection he noted that according to the norm only 'myself' could be used.

The following expressions render reciprocity: еден (на) друг/eden (na) drug 'one another' (other prepositions can also be used); меѓу себе/meǵu sebe 'among our-, your-, them- selves'; меѓусебно/meǵusebno 'mutually'; ce/se (see section 3.2.1). The following sentences illustrate various possibilities of order and scope: тие си даваат пари еден на друг/tie si davaat pari eden na drug 'they give money to one another'; еден на друг си даваат пари/eden na drug si davaat pari 'to one another they give money'; тие сакаат да си помогнат еден на друг/ tie sakaat da si pomognat eden na drug 'they want to help one another'; тие сакаат еден на друг да си помогнат/tie sakaat eden na drug da si pomognat (acceptable, but not as good); jac би сакал тие да си помогнат еден на друг/jas bi sakal tie da si pomognat eden na drug 'I would like them to help one another'; еден на друг да си помогнат тие, тоа е моjата желба/eden na drug da si pomognat tie, taa e mojata želba 'that they help one another is my desire' (acceptable if the referent of 'they' is already known); ти ги ставаш чиниите една врз друга/ti gi stavaš činiite edna vrz druga 'you put the plates one on another'.

## 4.9    Possession
The verb има/ima 'have' is the normal clausal expression of possession. The prepositions на/na, од/od 'of' mark nominal possession: книгата на/од Блажета/knigata na/od Blažeta 'Blaže's book'. The use of од/od in this meaning is a Westernism. The normal order is head–prepositional phrase, but the order prepositional phrase–head also occurs, especially colloquially: даj ми ja од Конески граматиката/daj mi ja od Koneski gramatikata 'give me Koneski's grammar' (see section 4.1).

Unlike Bulgarian, Macedonian clitic dative pronouns are not used with noun phrases to indicate possession, except with kinship terms and similar expressions (see section 4.1). Such constructions no longer take the definite article, but, as with body parts, the definite form by itself can be understood to refer to the possessor. Terms denoting close relationships can add a possessive pronominal adjective (without the definite article) for emphasis: татко ми моj/tatko mi moj 'my father'. The reflexive dative clitic си/si can be used in a verb phrase with the definite form of a noun that does

not normally take the possessive dative clitic to indicate possession: земи си го палтото/zemi si go paltoto 'take your coat!'

Possessive adjectives, both pronominal (see section 3.1.3) and those derived from proper nouns and kinship terms (see section 3.3.2), normally precede the head, but can also follow, especially colloquially and vocatively. The first item in a phrase involving a possessive adjective normally takes the definite article except some kinship terms and the vocative: нејзиниот сопруг/nejziniot soprug, сопругот нејзин/soprugot nejzin 'her spouse'.

### 4.10   Quantification

Quantifiers do not enter into the few existing case oppositions and normally take the plural. Singular agreement is prescribed for numerals ending in '1', but in practice only the nearest item or noun phrase will be singular. Thus 'thirty-one beautiful girls were dancing' is prescribed as триесет и едно убаво девојче играше/trieset i edno ubavo devojče igraše, but most speakers use a plural verb играа/igraa and some even use a plural noun девојчиња/devojčinja. A verb preceding such a numeral is plural. See sections 3.1.2 and 3.1.5 on the morphology of quantitative plurals and virile numerals. The quantitative plural is obligatory only after два/dva 'two' and неколку/nekolku 'a few'. It is especially common with certain frequently counted nouns such as ден/den 'day'. The most likely environments for the quantitative plural are unmodified monosyllabic nouns of Slavonic origin quantified by numerals under '11'. Although, according to Topolińska (1981: 71), adjectives block the quantitative plural as in пет тома/pet toma 'five volumes' but пет дебели томови/pet debeli tomovi 'five thick volumes', one can also encounter examples such as два лични дохода/dva lični dohoda 'two incomes'. Virile numerals, used for masculine persons or groups of mixed gender (двајцата родители/dvajcata roditeli 'both parents'), are not used with absolute consistency: два човека/dva čoveka 'two persons' as opposed to двајца луѓе/dvajce luѓe 'two people'.

Collective nouns are not quantified, except by indefinite quantifiers: изминале многу годиње/izminale mnogu godinje 'many years passed'. The neuter numerical adjective едно/edno '1' can be used to collectivize, quantify or approximate other numerals, except '2', which is rendered approximate by being postposed, an option not open to other numerals: едно осум години/edno osum godini 'about eight years'; година две/godina dve 'a year or two'; *години осум/*godini osum, *едно две години/*edno dve godini. Approximation can also be rendered by juxtaposing two adjacent numerals: две-три, два-триесет/dve-tri, dva-trieset 'two or three, twenty or thirty'. Partitive quantification is done without any preposition: чаша вода/čaša voda 'a cup of water'. With definite quantified entities, од/od can mean 'some of', 'any of': дај ми од млекото/daj

mi od mlekoto 'give me some of the milk'; имате ли од тие мали сливи/imate li od tie mali slivi 'do you have any of those little plums?'

Since quantification does not involve the case complications found in most other Slavonic languages, neither does verb agreement. It is now the norm for collectives to take plural agreement, although singular agreement also occurs. Collective entities that are not morphologically collective take singular agreement: јавноста знае/javnosta znae 'the public knows (SG)'. Expressions such as народот дојдоа/narodot dojdoa 'the people came (PL)' are now considered dialectal but occur colloquially. Quantifiers that take the plural can be used with singulars in an expressive collective meaning: кај се најде толку скакулец?!/kaj se najde tolku skakulec?! 'where did all these grasshoppers come from?!' One problem is when a singular noun quantifies a plural which is followed by a verb: 'a group of journalists came'. The singular quantifier meaning 'group' should determine the number of the verb, but in practice the proximity of the plural quantified entity often causes plural verb agreement as in the following translations: група новинари дојде/grupa novinari dojde (SG), група новинари дојдоа/grupa novinari dojdoa (PL). Some Macedonians faced with this stylistic problem solve it by moving the verb: дојде една група новинари/dojde edna grupa novinari.

# 5 Lexicon

## 5.1 General composition of the word-stock
In the absence of an etymological dictionary, it is not practical to attempt an estimate of the proportion of inherited or borrowed items. The standard dictionary (Конески/Koneski 1961–6) contains 64,522 main entries, but the literary language has a much larger vocabulary. Various studies give about 1,000 words each from Greek and Bulgarian, between 4,000 and 5,000 Turkisms and over 100 Germanisms. English and French are also important non-Slavonic, recent sources.

## 5.2 Patterns of borrowing
Конески/Koneski (1967: 81–3) prescribed the following hierarchy of Slavonic sources for Literary Macedonian: Macedonian dialects; devices such as semantic extension, calquing and neologisms; Church Slavonicisms; Bulgarian and Serbo-Croat; and Russian. Bulgarian and Russian influences were stronger before 1912, Serbo-Croat since 1944. The remaining sources of Macedonian vocabulary can be divided into two groups: the Balkans, that is Turkish, Greek, Albanian and Arumanian (as well as the ancestors of these last two, Thracian and/or Illyrian and Balkan Latin, respectively), and the west, namely Italian, French, German, English and the so-called international lexicon (words of Greco-Latin origin used

**Table 6.12   Patterns of borrowing from other Slavonic languages**

| English | Macedonian | Serbo-Croat | Bulgarian | Russian |
|---------|-----------|-------------|-----------|---------|
| **(a)** | | | | |
| hero | **херој** | хѐрōј | герóй | герóй |
| journal | **спиcaние** | чȁсопис | списáние | журнáл |
| class | **класа** | клȁса | клáса | класс |
| autonomy | **автономија** | аутонòмија | автонóмия | автонóмия |
| aristocracy | **аристократија** | -тија/-ција | -ция | -тия |
| guarantee | **гаранцija** | -ција/-tija | -ция | -тия |
| | | | | |
| **(b)** | | | | |
| hero | **heroj** | hèrōj | gerój | gerój |
| journal | **spisanie** | čȁsopīs | spisánie | žurnál |
| class | **klasa** | klȁsa | klása | klass |
| autonomy | **avtonomija** | autonòmija | avtonómija | avtonómija |
| aristocracy | **aristokratija** | -tija/-cija | -cija | -tija |
| guarantee | **garancija** | -cija/-tija | -cija | -tija |

in many languages for modern or western concepts). Many international words entered through the intermediary of other Slavonic languages. The diversity of correspondence can be seen in table 6.12, in which the forms corresponding to Macedonian are in bold type. Literary Macedonian shows a preponderance of the type illustrated by 'hero', whereas some writers in the nineteenth century were even closer to Russian than is Literary Bulgarian.

Arumanian and Albanian loan-words are relatively rare in Literary Macedonian and are more common dialectally, colloquially and in so-called secret languages, that is trade jargons (see Јашар-Настева/Jašar-Nasteva 1970). Greek was the principal language in southern Macedonia at the time of the Slavonic invasions and remained the dominant language of Christian culture and a major contact language on the every-day level throughout the Ottoman period. Most Hellenic ecclesiastical vocabulary and some ordinary words have been retained, but many other Hellenisms are now dialectal or colloquial due to their localness. Unlike Turkish influence, which was spread more or less uniformly all over Macedonia, Greek influence decreases in the north.

Turkish was the most important source of Macedonian vocabulary during the five centuries of Ottoman occupation (1389–1912). Turkish lexical items entered all levels of vocabulary, all the traditional parts of speech and every semantic field, and they have been an issue from the beginning of codification. There was one current of thought maintaining that Turkisms should be encouraged and preserved because they were characteristic of folk speech and also emphasized Macedonian's difference

from the other Slavonic languages. The predominant current, however, encouraged Slavonic, Western and 'international' replacements for Turkisms. Some Turkisms remain standard for a concrete meaning while a replacement is used for abstractions: Turkish таван/tavan '(physical) ceiling', but French плафон/plafon '(price) ceiling'. Many Turkisms have been retained for specific stylistic nuances: old-fashioned, folksy, ironic or colloquial. The sociopolitical changes since 1989 have seen a new rise in the use of Turkisms.

Macedonian's first western contact language was Italian, particularly Venetian. French and German words entered in the nineteenth century. German terms are especially evident in vocabulary relating to technology introduced before 1944. In recent decades, the number of English loanwords has increased at all levels. Some are shifted semantically from their English sources: барел/barel 'measure of petroleum'. Anglicisms are often used with irony in the popular press, or are associated with student slang, but many expressions have entered general colloquial use.

## 5.3    Incorporation of borrowings

Researchers' attention has been directed at sources and types of foreign borrowings rather than at the mechanisms of adaptation. The main issues are stress, inflection of nouns and adjectives, and verbal aspect.

As indicated in section 2.1, many foreign borrowings do not conform to the fixed antepenultimate **stress** pattern. One tendency is in the direction of making more words antepenultimate, the other is to use post-antepenultimate stress even in words where the codified norm requires antepenultimate stress. Конески/Koneski (1967: 156) noted these problems in the early 1950s, but they are still current. Western speakers never allow the stress to move further back than the antepenultimate, and this is the norm.

Borrowed **nouns** tend to be adapted: паркинг – паркинзи/parking – parkinzi 'parking place (SG – PL)'; фри-шоп – фри-шопови/fri-šop – fri-šopovi 'hard currency store (SG – PL)'. Nouns in /-i, -u/ are no longer usually adapted: Turkish *rakı* gives ракија/rakija 'brandy', *gürültü* gives ѓурултија/ǵurultija 'uproar' versus modern такси/taksi 'taxi', интервју/intervju 'interview'; but комбе/kombe 'minibus, van' (from English *comby*, Serbo-Croat *kombi*) represents a modern adaptation to a native desinence (shift of /-i/ to /-e/ ).

Both older and newer borrowed **adjectives** may be inflected or uninflected. Adapted adjectives may or may not have a derivational suffix added: for example, Turkish *kör* 'blind' gives the inflected adjectives ќор/ќor and ќорав/ќorav, but Turkish *taze* 'fresh' gives only the non-inflecting тазе/taze; recent *normal* gives inflecting нормален/normalen, while супер/super 'terrific' is uninflecting (see section 3.1.4).

Although the **perfective/imperfective opposition** is still sharply

distinguished, a relatively large number of common native verbs are bi-aspectual. Borrowed verbs are often bi-aspectual, and prefixation has assumed an increasing role in marking perfectivity. For discussion of the main suffixes used for borrowed verbs – native /-uva/, Greek and Greco-Turkish /-sa/ and /-disa/ and western /-ira/ – see sections 3.2.1 and 3.3.3.

## 5.4 Lexical fields

### 5.4.1 Colour terms

| | |
|---|---|
| white | бел/bel |
| black | црн/crn |
| red | црвен/crven |
| green | зелен/zelen |
| yellow | жолт/žolt |
| blue | син/sin (literary), плав/plav (colloquial or dialectal) |
| brown | кафеава боја/kafeava boja |
| purple | виолетова боја/violetova boja |
| pink | каранфил/karanfil, розова боја/rozova boja, румен/rumen, ален/alen, пембе/pembe |
| orange | портокалова боја/portokalova boja, оранж/oranž (colloquial) |
| grey | сив/siv |

The native basic colour terms are black, white, red, green, yellow, grey and blue. Brown, purple and orange are 'coffee colour', 'violet colour' and 'orange colour', respectively, but are still perceived as basic. Pink is seen as a shade of red. The terms ален/alen (also ал/al, алов/alov) and пембе/pembe are from Turkish, каранфил/karanfil is from Greek and like розова/rozova means 'rose'. The only native term, румен/rumen is synonymous with ален/alen; пембе/pembe is a lighter or brighter shade. For 'blue', the literary син/sin has the broadest reference and should thus be considered basic; модар/modar is used for the darker, more purplish, end of the blue spectrum.

### 5.4.2 Body parts

| | |
|---|---|
| head | глава/glava |
| eye | око/oko, plural очи/oči |
| nose | нос/nos |
| ear | уво/uvo, plural уши/uši |
| mouth | уста/usta |
| hair | коса/kosa |
| neck | врат/vrat |
| hand/arm | рака/raka, plural раце/race |
| finger | прст/prst |
| foot/leg | нога/noga, plural нозе/noze |

| | |
|---|---|
| toe | прст на нога/prst na noga |
| chest | гради/gradi, граден кош/graden koš |
| heart | срце/srce |

## 5.4.3    Kinship terms

| | |
|---|---|
| mother | мајка/majka |
| father | татко/tatko |
| sister | сестра/sestra |
| sister (elder) | цеца/ceca |
| brother | брат/brat |
| brother (elder) | батко/batko |
| aunt (parent's sister) | тетка/tetka |
| aunt (paternal uncle's wife) | стрина/strina |
| aunt (maternal uncle's wife) | вујна/vujna |
| uncle (paternal) | стрико/striko, чичко/čičko |
| uncle (maternal) | вујко/vujko |
| uncle (aunt's husband) | тетин/tetin |
| niece, granddaughter | внучка/vnučka |
| nephew, grandson | внук/vnuk |
| cousin (female) | братучетка/bratučetka |
| cousin (male) | братучед/bratučed |
| grandmother | баба/baba |
| grandfather | дедо/dedo |
| wife | жена/žena |
| husband | маж/maž |
| daughter | ќерка/ḱerka |
| son | син/sin |

Traditional patriarchal family structure is still very much alive in Macedonia. Extended families are relatively common, especially in rural areas, and affinal kinship terms are maintained.

# 6    Dialects

A major bundle of isoglosses running roughly from Skopska Crna Gora along the rivers Vardar and Crna divides Macedonian territory into Eastern and Western regions (see Vidoeski in Koneski 1983 and Видоески/Vidoeski 1986). Map 6.1 shows the main dialect regions.

The **vocalic inventories** of the West Central dialects are characterized by a five-vowel system, /a, e, i, o, u/. With the exception of Mala Reka, Reka, Drimkol-Golobrdo, Radožda-Vevčani, Nestram, Korča and parts of Lower Prespa, all the remaining dialects also have phonemic /ə/. Phonemic /å/ or /ɔ/ is found in all of these latter schwa-less dialects except Mala Reka and Korča. Phonemic /ä/ occurs in Radožda-Vevčani, Suho and Visoka and Korča. Vocalic /ļ/ occurs in Mala Reka. Vocalic /ɼ/

**Map 6.1    The Republic of Macedonia and adjacent territory**
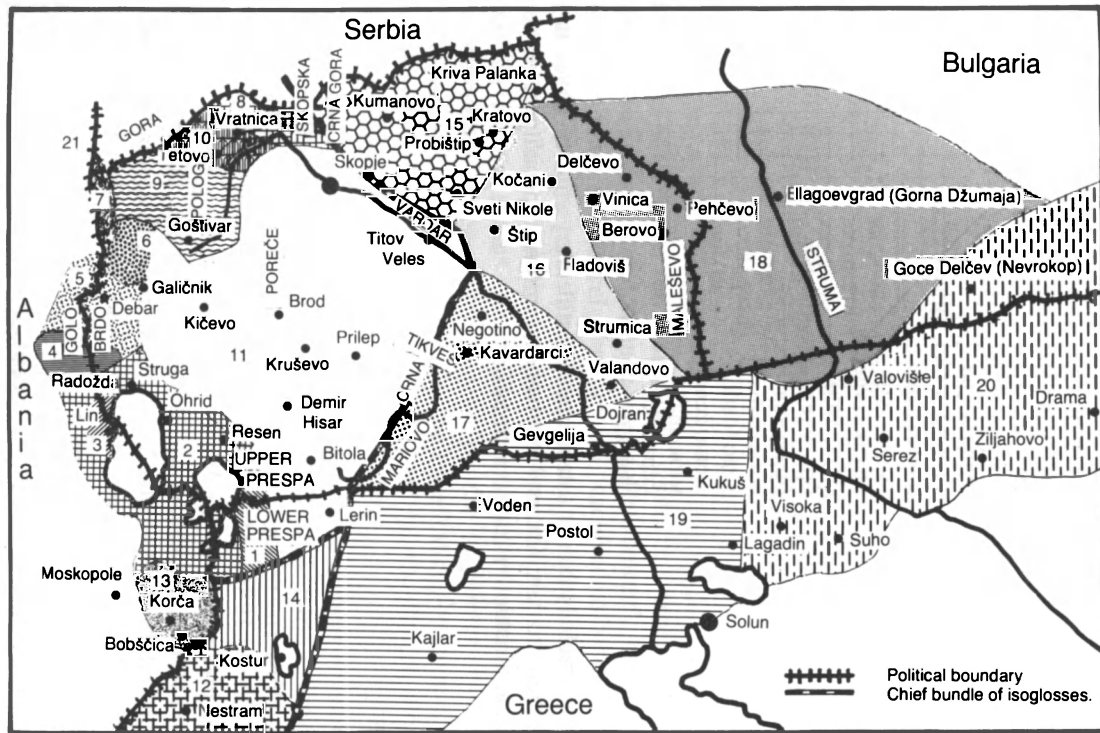
KEY

**WESTERN DIALECTS**

OHRID-PRESPA GROUP

1 = Lower Prespa
2 = Ohrid-Struga
3 = Radožda-Vevčani

DEBAR GROUP

4 = Drimkol-Golobrdo
5 = Debar
6 = Mala Reka
7 = Reka
21 = Gora
8 = Skopska Crna Gora

POLOG GROUP

9 = Gostivar (Upper Polog)
10 = Tetovo (Lower Polog)
11 = West Central

KOSTUR-KORČA GROUP

12 = Nestram
13 = Korča
14 = Kostur

**EASTERN DIALECTS**

15 = Kumanovo-Kriva Palanka
16 = Štip-Strumica
17 = Tikveš-Mariovo
18 = Maleševo-Pirin
19 = Lower Vardar
20 = Seres-Nevrokop

is absent from those dialects that decompose original *ŗ, except Radožda-Vevčani. Korča also has phonemic /ü/.

The dialects of the Western region all tend to fixed **stress**, antepenultimate in the Republic of Macedonia, penultimate in Greece and Albania. The Eastern region has various non-fixed stress systems. In Lower Vardar and Seres-Nevrokop unstressed /a, e, o/ are reduced (raised) to /ə, i, u/.

Most dialects have /e/ from original *ě, but the Eastern region is characterized by the development of *ě to /a/ after /c/: Eastern *cal*, Western *cel* 'whole'. In easternmost Aegean and Pirin Macedonia *ě gives /a/ or /ä/ under stress, in the Aegean dialects regardless of the environment, in the Pirin dialects /a/ if there is a back vowel in the following syllable, /e/ if there is a front vowel, as can be seen in 'white' (F – PL): Seres-Drama *b'ala* – *b'ali*, Suho and Visoka *b'äla* – *b'äli*, Nevrokop *b'ala* – *beli*. In Korča, *ě gives /i̯ä/ under stress.

The modern reflexes of the Proto-Slavonic reduced vowels (jers), vocalic sonorants and the back nasal (*ǫ) can be used to separate the dialects into six groups: (1) North (Tetovo, Skopska Crna Gora, Kumanovo-Kriva Palanka), (2) Peripheral (Gostivar, Ohrid-Prespa, Kostur-Korča, Lower Vardar), (3) West Central, (4) East Central (Tikveš-Mariovo, Štip-Strumica, Maleševo-Pirin), (5) Debar and (6) Seres-Nevrokop. Table 6.13 gives illustrative examples.

**Table 6.13   Diagnostic reflexes of Proto-Slavonic phonemes**

| Phoneme | ŭ | ĭ | ŗ | ļ | ǫ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| North | sən | dən | krv | vuk | put |
| Central (east) | son | den | krv | vək | pat |
| Central (west) | son | den | krv | volk | pat |
| Debar[1] | son | den | korv | volk | pot |
| Peripheral[2] | son | den | kərv | vəlk | pət |
| Seres/Nevrokop | sən | den | kərv | vəlk | pət[3] |
| Gloss | dream | day | blood | wolf | road |

*Notes*: 1 Debar itself has the Peripheral reflexes. Those given in the table represent Reka, Drimkol and Golobrdo, where /o/ stands for /o/, /ɔ/ or /å/. Mala Reka has /krv, vlk, pot/. Gora has /krv, vuk, pət/ but *ļ generally gives /lə, əl, əv, ov, oṷ/, depending on village and lexical item.
2 For /ə/ Nestram has /å/, Korča and the northernmost villages of Kostur have /a/. Kostur-Korča has vowel plus nasal sonorant from Proto-Slavonic nasal vowels before some stops: Kostur /zəmb/, Nestram /zåmb/, Korča /zamb/ 'tooth'. Radožda-Vevčani has /påt, kärv, volk/ (but /kälk/ 'thigh'), historically /å/ after bilabials, /ä/ elsewhere; both only under stress. Lower Prespa has /påt, krv, våk/ (but /pålno/ 'full').
3 pənt´ in Suho and Visoka (north-east of Salonika).

**Table 6.14   Morphological and syntactic features**

| *West* | *East* |
|---|---|
| M DEF /-o/ | M DEF /-ot/ |
| Deictic definite articles /-v/, /n-/ | No deictic definite articles |
| Synthetic dative pronouns (/nam/) | Analytic dative pronouns (/na nas/) |
| 3 SG M NOM /toj/ (also Seres-Drama/ Nevrokop) | /on/ (also North-west) |
| 3 SG F ACC/je/ (Tetovo and Gora /ga/) | /ja/ (up to Titov Veles–Prilep–Bitola) |
| 3 SG F DAT /je/ | /i/ |
| 3 PL ACC /i/ | /gi/ (also North-west) |
| Monosyllabic M PL /-ovi/, /-oj/ (also Tikveš-Mariovo) | Monosyllabic M PL /-ove/ |
| Oblique forms of personal nouns (also North-east) | No oblique noun forms |
| Quantitative plural not used consistently | Quantitative plural used consistently (also North-west) |
| 3 SG PRES /-t/ | 3 SG PRES -∅ (also North-west) |
| /se/ 'they are' | /sa/ (also North-west) |
| No 3 SG/PL AUX with *l*-form | 3 SG/PL AUX with *l*-form |
| *ima* series | No *ima* series |
| Imperfective aorist obsolete | Imperfective aorist used |
| Perfective present always subordinated | Perfective present occurs independently |
| Sentence-initial clitics | Clitics never sentence-initial |

For **consonantal** features, the entire Western region is distinguished from the East by loss of /x/ (except Tetovo, Gora and Korča) and loss of /v/ in intervocalic position (except Mala Reka and parts of Kostur-Korča): /glava/ 'head' = [glā], /glavi/ = [glaj] 'heads'. The Eastern region preserves /x/ (except Tikveš-Mariovo and Kumanovo-Kriva Palanka) and intervocalic /v/. The East is also characterized by the development of prothetic /v/ before original *ǫ where the West has prothetic /j/: Eastern /vaglen/ 'coal' but Western /jaglen/. As indicated in section 2.2, diphonemic developments of *tj, *kt + *ĭ, *dj ranging from [št/žd] to [šč/ žǯ] or [š'č'/ž'ǯ'] once extended north and west of their current territory. The diphonemic reflexes are most characteristic of the Pirin and Aegean dialects, Kostur-Korča and Ohrid-Prespa. The Seres-Nevrokop dialects have a series of phonemically palatalized consonants.

The dialectal **morphological and syntactic** features of the greatest relevance to the codification of literary Macedonian are given in table 6.14. Occasionally Kumanovo-Kriva Palanka goes with the West, and sometimes Gora, Tetovo and Skopska Crna Gora go with the East. This is indicated in table 6.14 using the terms North-east and North-west for the respective regions. See Elson (1983) for details on verbal morphology.

No reliable population figures are available for the Macedonian dialects

of Bulgaria, Greece or Albania nor for those Macedonians living abroad. The Albanian census of 1989 officially registered about 5,000 Macedonians, but sources in Macedonia insist the number is twenty to thirty times greater. The number of Macedonians living in Bulgaria has been estimated at 250,000 (*Nova Makedonija* 16 May 1991). According to the 1981 census there were 1,281,195 declared Macedonians in Yugoslav Macedonia. Based on the census by district (*opština*) the following breakdown gives a general idea of regional population. As a result of massive urban immigration since the Second World War, the population of Skopje is so dialectally mixed that the figures for it cannot be broken down nor do they indicate the actual number of Skopje dialect speakers.

| Skopje | 321,413 |
|--------|---------|
| West   | 478,256 |
| East   | 481,526 |

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