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Abbreviations

ACC	accusative	NOM	nominative
ADJ	adjective	O	object
ADV	adverb	QU	interrogative
AO	aorist	P	perfective
AUG	augmentative	PL	plural
AUX	auxiliary	PR	present
C	consonant	PRO	pronoun
COL	collective	PX	proximal
DAT	dative	S	subject
DEF	definite	SU	subjunctive
DIM	diminutive	SG	singular
DS	distal	TR	transitive
EX	expectative (future)	V	verb
F	feminine	VA	verbal adjective
HY	hypothetical	VL	vowel
HUM	human	VN	verbal noun
I	imperfective	VV	verbal adverb
IDF	indefinite	∅	morphological zero
IM	imperfect	[]	phonetic transcription
ITR	intransitive	{ }	morphemic transcription
IV	imperative	//	phonemic transcription
LF	l-form	< >	orthographic symbol
M	masculine	>	results in
N	neuter	<	comes from
NEG	negative	~	alternates with
NN	noun	' '	English glosses

Italics are used for the transliteration of Macedonian Cyrillic orthography, which is mostly phonemic.

The citation form for verbs is the third singular present unless otherwise indicated.

0 Sociolinguistic and Geolinguistic Situation

0.1 Geography

Macedonia has been the name of a Balkan region since ancient times, when it was bounded by Epirus, Thessaly, and Thrace on the southwest, south, and east. At present geographic Macedonia is best defined as the region bounded by a series of mountains and ranges (Olympus, Pindus, Šar, Rhodopes) and the lower course of the river Mesta (Greek: Néstos). It comprises the Republic of Macedonia, the Blagoevgrad District in southwestern Bulgaria (Pirin Macedonia), and the district of Makedhonía in the province of Northern Greece (Aegean Macedonia). Two small parts of eastern Albania — one around Lakes Ohrid and Prespa and the other around Golo Brdo (Albanian: Golobordë) — can also be included in a geographic definition of Macedonia (cf. Vidoeski in Koneski 1983:117).

0.2 Terminology and History

The geographic region, like the rest of the Balkans, has always been multilingual. For our purposes, Modern Macedonian (henceforth, Macedonian) can be defined as the Slavic dialects spoken on the territory of geographic Macedonia.¹ Macedonian is a South Slavic language in the Indo-European language family. Together with Bulgarian, Macedonian comprises the East South Slavic sub-group. The West South Slavic languages are Slovenian and the former Serbo-Croatian.²

Ancient Macedonian, an independent Indo-European language of uncertain affiliation, was spoken in at least part of Macedonia in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. and presumably both earlier and later. This gave way to Greek, which was in turn supplanted by Slavic when the Slavs invaded and settled in the Balkans in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. The Ottoman conquest of the Balkan peninsula in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries brought about a disruption of cultural continuity with regard to Slavic literacy in that region. The history of Modern Literary (or Standard, for the purposes of this exposition, the two terms are synonymous) Macedonian begins in the latter part of the eighteenth century with the birth of South Slavic nationalism. Until about 1840, publications using Macedonian dialects were ecclesiastical and didactic works that were influenced by Church Slavonic but had clearly identifiable colloquial bases. The goal was to establish a vernacular-based Slavic literary language in opposition to both the archaizing influence of those who would have imposed some form of 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 on the Ottoman territory that later became Macedonia and Bulgaria called their vernacular language *Bulgarian*. By the mid-nineteenth century, a struggle over the dialectal base of the emerging vernacular literary language became manifest. Two principal literary centres

¹ The dialects of the Slavic-speaking Muslims of the Gora region on the eastern and northern slopes of Mts. Korab and Šar in Albania and Kosovo are also classed as Macedonian by Vidoeski (1986), a view that is implicitly accepted by the Croatian and Serbian linguists Brozović and Ivić (1988:70-71). Other languages spoken on the territory of geographic Macedonia include Albanian, Aromanian, Bulgarian, Greek, Megleno-Romanian, Romani, Serbian, and Turkish. Until the Holocaust, Judezmo was also an important language in Macedonia, and it is still spoken by some survivors.

² The West South Slavic dialects adjacent to Macedonian are all Serbian, and the variant of the former Serbo-Croatian standard of the former Yugoslavia that had the most influence in Macedonia was the Serbian variant. Thus, in this work I use the term *Serbian*, depending on the context, to refer to the Serbian variant of the former Serbo-Croatian, the current standard of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, or to the Serbian dialects. The term *Serbo-Croatian* is used to refer to the standard language of former Yugoslavia as such.

arose: One in northeastern Bulgaria and the other in southwestern 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. This period was marked by considerable struggles and polemics over the publication and use of textbooks with Macedonian dialectal bases.

The establishment of an independent Bulgarian Church (the Exarchate) in 1870-72 marked a 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 (Pulevski 1875:48-49), although these ideas were expressed during the preceding period in private correspondence and similar documentation. In his book *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, i.e. precisely the dialects which later served as the basis of Literary Macedonian. This work documents the coherent formulation of a Macedonian literary language and nationality from the beginning of the twentieth century, thus belying the claim that Macedonian separateness dates only from the end of World War Two.

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 1946-1948, 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 accordance with article 9 of the Treaty of Sèvres (10 August 1920) concerning minority population language rights in Greece, a commission of three men, probably from Bitola and of Aromanian origin, composed a Macedonian primer entitled *Abecedar* printed in Athens in 1925 using a Latin orthography and based on dialects spoken between Bitola and Lerin (Greek Florina). The book was never used, however, and most copies were destroyed. In Yugoslavia, Macedonian was treated as a South Serbian dialect, which was consistent with claims that had been advanced since the nineteenth century, but the Yugoslav government permitted Macedonian literature to develop on a limited basis as a dialect literature. Some Macedonian poetry was also published in Bulgaria under the guise of (Bulgarian) dialect literature. It was during this interwar period that linguists from outside the Balkans published studies in which they emphasized the distinctness of Macedonian from both Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian (Vaillant 1938).

0.3 Standardization

Although efforts at the creation of a Macedonian literary language date from the nineteenth century, it was not until 2 August 1944 that 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 dialect (Bitola-Veles-Prilep-Kičevo), which was the largest in both area and population, supplied a base to which speakers from other areas could adjust their speech most easily. In many respects these dialects are also maximally differentiated from both Serbian and Bulgarian, but differentiation was not an absolute principle in codification. A significant sociolinguistic issue now, for Literary Macedonian, is the fact that Skopje — the capital and principal cultural and

population centre — is peripheral to the West Central dialect area and the Republic as a whole has been subject to considerable Serbian influence (see Minova-Ćurkova 1987). For more details see Friedman (1985, 1998, 2000), and Lunt (1984, 1986).

0.4 Status

Literary Macedonian is the official language of the Republic of Macedonia. It was recognized as such by all countries except Bulgaria — where it was an official minority language 1946-48 and subsequently officially viewed as a “regional norm” or “dialect” of Bulgarian — and Greece, where Macedonian is usually 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 (see Human Rights Watch/Helsinki 1994). In 1999, the Bulgarian government officially recognized the standard language of the Republic of Macedonia as an independent language, but did not recognize the dialects spoken outside the Republic as part of that language. Nonetheless, there are citizens of and emigrants from both Bulgaria and Greece who identify their native (Slavic) language as Macedonian. It is also spoken in about 50 to 75 villages in eastern Albania and Southwestern Kosovo, where it is used as a language of instruction in elementary schools up through grade 4 only in the southwestern villages of the Ohrid-Prespa region. The relationship of Macedonian to Bulgarian is *mutatis mutandis*, comparable to that of Dutch to German. The main difference is that no serious modern scholar, nor even journalistic authors, would describe Dutch as a codified German dialect, whereas such misstatements of the relationship of Macedonian to Bulgarian continue to appear. See Haugen (1968) for relevant comparative material on the Scandinavian languages.

0.5 Dialects

The map shows the location of the thirty pre-1996 municipal centers of the Republic of Macedonia as well as rivers and regions of dialectological significance.³ Locations outside the Republic of Macedonia of significance for Macedonian dialectology are also indicated. Names in parentheses in Greece and Albania are in Greek and Albanian, respectively. In Bulgaria, the pre-1950 names are given in parentheses. The names of the major dialect groups are given below the map. The towns given in parentheses are included in the given group.

0.5.1 Major Isoglosses

The major East-West bundle of isoglosses runs roughly from Skopska Crna Gora along the rivers Vardar and Crna, east of Lerin (Greek Florina) and then bifurcates south of Lerin separating the Korča-Kostur (Albanian Korçë, Greek Kastoria) dialects into a separate group (see Vidoeski in Koneski 1983). A significant North-South bundle separates the Lower Polog and Kratovo-Kriva Palanka dialects from the rest. Skopje is located roughly at the intersection of these two main bundles of isoglosses.

0.5.2 Vocalic Inventories

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-Golobrd, Radožda-Vevčani, Nestram, Korča, and parts of Lower Prespa, all the remaining dialects also have phonemic schwa. Phonemic

³ For administrative purposes, Skopje was divided into five municipalities, bringing to total to 34. The number of municipalities was increased from from 34 to 122 on 14 September 1996.

/ã/ or /ɔ/ is found in all of these latter schwa-less dialects except Mala Reka and Korča. Phonemic /ã/ occurs in Radožda-Vevčani, Suho and Visoka, and Korča. Vocalic /ɫ/ occurs in Mala Reka. Vocalic /r̥/ is absent from those dialects that decompose original *r̥, except Radožda-Vevčani. Korča also has phonemic /ü/.

Table 0.1: *Diagnostic reflexes of Common Slavic phonemes*

phoneme	ǔ	ǐ	r̥	ɫ	ɔ
North	<i>sǎn</i>	<i>dǎn</i>	<i>krv</i>	<i>vuk</i>	<i>put</i>
Central (east)	<i>son</i>	<i>den</i>	<i>krv</i>	<i>vǎk</i>	<i>pat</i>
Central (west)	<i>son</i>	<i>den</i>	<i>krv</i>	<i>volk</i>	<i>pat</i>
Debar*	<i>son</i>	<i>den</i>	<i>korv</i>	<i>volk</i>	<i>pot</i>
Peripheral†	<i>son</i>	<i>den</i>	<i>kǎrv</i>	<i>vǎlk</i>	<i>pǎt</i>
Seres/Nevrokop	<i>sǎn</i>	<i>den</i>	<i>kǎrv</i>	<i>vǎlk</i>	<i>pǎt††</i>
	‘dream’	‘day’	‘blood’	‘wolf’	‘road’

*Debar itself has the Peripheral reflexes. Those given in the table represent Reka, Drimkol, and Golobrd, where /o/ stands for /o/, /ɔ/, or /ã/. Mala Reka has *krv*, *vlk*, *pot*. Gora has *den*, *son*, *krv*, *vuk*, *pǎt* but *ɫ generally gives /lǎ, ǎl, ǎv, ov, ou/, depending on village and lexical item.

†For /ã/ Nestram has /ã/, Korča and the northernmost villages of Kostur have /a/. Kostur-Korča has vowel plus nasal sonorant from Common Slavic nasal vowels before some stops: Kostur *zǎmb*, Nestram *zǎmb*, Korča *zamb* ‘tooth’. Radožda-Vevčani has *pǎt*, *kǎrv*, *volk* (but *kǎlk* ‘thigh’), historically /ã/ after bilabials, /ǎ/ elsewhere; both only under stress. Lower Prespa (eastern shore from German and Dolno Dupeni southward) has *pǎt*, *krv*, *vǎk*, (but *pǎlno* ‘full’).

†† *pǎnt*’ in Suho and Visoka (northeast of Salonika).

0.5.3 Prosody

Stress in the dialects of the Western region is normally fixed, antepenultimate in the Republic of Macedonia, penultimate in Greece and Albania. The dialects of the Eastern region all have varying degrees of non-fixed stress. In Tikveš-Mariovo stress is paradigmatically mobile and limited to the antepenultimate and penultimate syllables. In Dojran-Gevgelija/Lower Vardar stress is paradigmatically fixed and limited to the final two syllables, but is not permitted on final open syllables in substantives. Kumanovo-Kriva Palanka and Štip-Strumica have free but paradigmatically fixed stress and do not permit stressed final open syllables in substantives, while Maleševo-Pirin and Nevrokop/Seres-Drama have free and paradigmatically mobile stress. In the Lower Vardar and Seres-Nevrokop dialects unstressed /a, e, o/ are reduced, i.e. raised. Reduction is strongest in the south, most restricted in the north and west.

0.5.4 Morphology

The dialectal morphological and syntactic features of the greatest relevance to the codification of Literary Macedonian are given in Table 0.2.

Table 0.2: Morphological and syntactic features

West	East
M-DEF <i>-o</i>	M-DEF <i>-ot</i>
Deictic definite articles <i>-v, -n</i>	No deictic definite articles
Synthetic dative pronouns (1-SG <i>nam</i>)	Analytic dative pronouns (<i>na nas</i>)
3 SG M NOM PRO <i>toj</i> (also Seres-Drama, Nevrokop)	<i>on</i> (also Northwest)
Monosyllabic M-PL <i>-ovi, -oj</i> (also Tikveš-Mariovo)	Monosyllabic M-PL <i>-ove</i>
Oblique forms of personal nouns (also Northeast)	No oblique noun forms
Quantitive plural not used consistently	Quantitative plural used consistently (also Northwest)
3-SG-PRES <i>-t</i>	3-SG-PRES \emptyset (also Northwest)
<i>se</i> 'they are'	<i>sa</i> (also Northwest)
no 3-SG/PL-AUX with I-form	3-SG/PL-AUX with I-form
perfect series with <i>ima</i> 'have'	no perfect series with <i>ima</i> 'have'
Imperfective aorist obsolete	Imperfective aorist used
Perfective present always subordinated	Perfective present occurs independently
Sentence initial clitics	Clitics never sentence initial

0.6 Number of Speakers

According to the final results of the 1994 census in the Republic of Macedonia, out of a total population of 1,945,932, the number of those declaring Macedonian as their mother tongue was 1,332, 983. In addition to Macedonian, the following languages are in official use in the Republic of Macedonia: Albanian, Turkish, Romani, Aromanian, and Serbian. The vast majority of Macedonian citizens declaring a different mother tongue also speak Macedonian. 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 (*Nova Makedonija* Feb. 2, 1990). This insistence is based on the fact that this Albanian census only counted the Macedonian-speaking Christians of the Ohrid-Prespa region of Albania, whereas Macedonian-speaking Christians and Muslims live in villages all along Albania's border with geographic Macedonia as well as in larger cities and towns. The 1991 Albanian census did not record ethnicity. The number of Macedonians living in Bulgaria has been estimated at 250,000 (*Nova Makedonija* 16 May 1991), and a similar figure has been cited for Greece (Human Rights Watch/Helsinki 1994:11). See Popovski (1981) for details. Based on 1994 census figures and other estimates, the total number of speakers with Macedonian as a first or second language is probably somewhere around 3,000,000, many of whom have emigrated to Australia, Canada, and the United States (Friedman 1985).

1 Phonology

1.1 Orthography

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. The alphabet was officially established on 3 May 1945 and is given in Table 1.1 with its codified Latin transcription equivalent.

Table 1.1: *Standard Macedonian orthography*

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 or lʹ	Рр	r	Хх	h
Гг	g	Сс	dz	Мм	m	Сс	s	Цц	c
Дд	d	Ии	i	Нн	n	Тт	t	Чч	č
Ѓѓ	ǰ	Јј	j	Њњ	nj	Ќќ	k	Џџ	dž
								Шш	š

In standard orthography, schwa, which is not considered part of the alphabet, is indicated by means of an apostrophe, in standard transcription, by means of <ă> (see 1.2.1.3). Orthographic rules are given in the paragraphs concerning the relevant phonemes and alternations (see 1.2.1.5-7, 1.2.2.11-13)

1.2 Phonemic Inventory and Phonotactics

1.2.1 Vowels

The vocalic phonemic inventory of standard Macedonian is given in Table 1.2

Table 1.2: *Vocalic phonemic inventory*

	front	central	back
high	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
mid	<i>e</i>	(<i>ă</i>)	<i>o</i>
low		<i>a</i>	
	unrounded		rounded

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

1.2.1.2 There is considerable variation among speakers in the realization of the mid vowels /e/ and /o/ from [ɛ] and [ɔ] to [e] and [o]. The higher variants are particularly characteristic of the Western dialects and also of modern educated Skopje speech, especially among women of the younger generation. This general raising is different from the vowel reduction characteristic of the southeastern dialects. Under expressive stress in open syllables, /e/ may be realized almost as [æ], e.g., *le le* [lælə] ‘Oh dear!’

1.2.1.3 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 1.2.1.5); (2) for dialectal effect in words of Slavic or Turkish origin as in [păt] for standard *pat* ‘road’, [săza] for standard *solza* ‘tear’, [kăsmet] for standard *kasmet* (< Turkish *kismet*) ‘fate’; (3) in spelling aloud, each consonant is followed by schwa: *Friedman* [fă-ră-i-e-dă-mă-a-nă]. The names of letters in some abbreviations are pronounced differently, e.g. *SSSR* [eSeSeSeR] ‘USSR’, *MT* [emte] a brand of cigarettes, but *MVR* [mă vă ră] = *Ministerstvo na Vnatrešni Raboti* ‘Ministry of Internal Affairs’. The exceptions should probably be considered lexicalized acronyms.

1.2.1.4 Phonemic /i/ is realized as /j/ in final position after a vowel colloquially, but can contrast with /j/ in careful speech: *odai* ‘Turkish style room’ PL – *odaj* ‘betray’ IV.

1.2.1.5 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: *porti* – *po’rti* ‘doors’ – ‘begin to sprout’. However, the realization of vocalic /r/ can be [ǎr] (see 1.2.1.3). Note that vocalic /r/ is to be spelled <’p> in initial position and after a vocalic morpheme boundary. Vocalic /r/ occurs in final position only in a few foreign and onomatopoeic words: *tembr* ‘timbre’, *kotrr* ‘cry used for driving cattle’, *prrr* ‘sound of birds taking flight’.

1.2.1.6 Sequences of two identical vowels are permitted: *taa* ‘she’, *pee* ‘sing’, *sesii* ‘sessions’, *poora* ‘plough a bit’, *uu!* ‘Goodness gracious!’. Literary pronunciation has two syllable peaks, some speakers have one long vowel. A third vowel is usually separated from the second by /j/ in both speech and orthography: *bea* ‘be’ 3.PL.IM, *živeeja* ‘live’ 3.PL.IM, but *naii* ‘nahija’ PL (Ottoman administrative unit; the variant *naiii* is preferred). Cyrillic <j> is always written between the sequence <H> plus <a>.

1.2.1.7 The grave accent is used to distinguish the following homonyms: $\text{CÈ} / \text{sè}$ ‘everything’ - $\text{CĚ} / \text{se}$ ‘are, self, ITR’; $\text{HÈ} / \text{nè}$ ‘us’ ACC - $\text{HĚ} / \text{ne}$ ‘not’; $\text{HÌ} / \text{i}$ ‘her’ DAT – H/ i ‘and’.

1.2.2 Consonants

Table 1.3 gives the consonantal phonemic inventory of standard Macedonian. Voiceless consonants precede voiced.

Table 1.3: *Consonantal phonemic inventory*

TYPE	PLACE						
	bilabial	labio-dental	dental	alveolar	alveo-palatal	palatal	velar
stop	<i>p b</i>		<i>t d</i>			<i>k ĝ</i>	<i>k g</i>
fricative		<i>f v</i>	<i>s z</i>		<i>š ž</i>		<i>x</i>
affricate			<i>c ʒ</i>		<i>č ǰ</i>		
glide						<i>j</i>	
lateral			<i>l</i>	<i>l</i>			
nasal	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>			<i>ń</i>	
trill				<i>r</i>			

1.2.2.1 Stops are not aspirated.

1.2.2.2 Consonantal /r/ is trilled not flapped.

1.2.2.3 The phoneme /n/ is velarized to [ŋ] before /k, g/: *banka* [baŋka] ‘bank’, *mangal* [maŋgal] ‘brazier’. Palatal /ń/ does not occur initially except in a few loans such as *Nju Delhi* ‘New Delhi’, *Njutn* ‘Newton’ (note also vocalic /n/, which is not otherwise permitted).

1.2.2.4 The phoneme /ʒ/ is more widespread in the dialects than in the literary language. Underlying /ʒ/ does not occur word finally (cf. 1.2.2.8). Phonemic /ǰ/ occurs in the following contexts: (1) loans: *džudže* ‘dwarf’, *budžet* ‘budget’, (2) voicing of underlying /č/: *lidžba* ‘beauty’ derived from *liči* ‘suit’, (3) affrication of etymological /ž/, generally before a consonant, sometimes for expressive effect: *džvaka* ‘chew’, *džbara* ‘rummage’, *džgan* ‘mob’.

1.2.2.5 The velars /k, g, x/ may be slightly fronted before front vowels, but the norm separates pairs such as *kuka* ‘hook’ – PL *kuki* from *kuĝa* ‘house’ – PL *kuki* and *laga* ‘lie’ – PL *laji* ‘lie’ from *laĝa* ‘boat’ – PL *laĝi* (pace de Bray 1980:147). The palatal stops /k, ĝ/ 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 et al. 1982:22, 30-34). Possible realizations vary from [t', d'] (for example, Ohrid speakers of the oldest generation) to [č, ǰ] to complete merger with /č, ǰ/ (for example, Prilep speakers born after 1930, cf. Lunt 1952:13). The velar fricative /x/, which is rendered by *h* in standard transliteration and transcription, does not occur natively in the West Central dialects on which the standard language is based. It has been introduced or retained in Literary Macedonian under the following circumstances: (1) new foreign words: *hotel* 'hotel', (2) toponyms: *Ohrid*, (3) Church Slavonicisms: *duh* 'spirit', (4) new literary words: *dohod* 'income', (5) disambiguation: *hrana* 'food', *rana* 'injury'.

1.2.2.6 The chief exception to the one-to-one correspondence between letters and phonemes is in the lateral liquids, where Cyrillic <Л> represents clear /l/ before front vowels and /j/ but velar /l/ elsewhere, while <Љ> is used for clear /l/ before back vowels, consonants, and finally. There is considerable difference between the prescribed norm and actual pronunciation: *ЉУБОВ* /*ljubov* 'love', *БИЉБИЉ* /*biljbilj* 'nightingale', but *БИЉБИЛИ* /*biljbili* 'nightingales'. An example of a minimal pair is *БЕЛА* /*bela* [bela] 'white' F – *БЕЉА* /*belja* [bela] 'trouble'. The contrast between clear [l] and the sequence [lj] is illustrated by *ЗЕЛЕ* /*zele* [zele] 'took' 3.PL.LF – *ЗЕЛЈЕ* /*zelje* [zelje] 'greens' COL. Note that in the standard transliteration, which is influenced by Serbo-Croatian practice, the sequence <lj> can represent both [l] and [lj]. In actual pronunciation, there is a tendency to pronounce *Љ* as [lj] or like the Serbian palatal /l'/ due to the influence of that language and of the local Skopje dialect, which also has palatal /l'/. Thus, for example, the proper name *Лилјана* /*Liljana* is sometimes misspelled *Лиља̀на* due to confusion between the norm and colloquial usage. There is also a tendency among some speakers of the youngest generation to pronounce *Л* as [ɬ] in all positions.

1.2.2.7 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: *zaben* 'toothed' – *bezzaben* 'toothless', but *zvučen* 'sonorous' – *bezvučen* 'soundless'. Geminates are sometimes eliminated where they could be permitted: *rassali* 'render (fat)', but *seče* 'chop' I – *raseče* 'chop up' P. There are also some doublets: *odade* and *oddade* 'give up'. Geminate /n/ is avoided: *kamenen* '(made of) stone', F *kamena*. Other geminate sonorants are permitted: *najjak* 'strongest', *kalliv* 'muddy', *osummina* 'eight' M.HUM, also *titovveški* '(pertaining to) Titov Veles' M/P.⁴ Gemination can be distinctive: *proleta* 'fly by' – *proletta* 'spring' DEF. (See also 1.2.2.12). Colloquially, consonant clusters are simplified word finally: *radost* = [rados] 'joy'.

1.2.2.8 Distinctively voiced consonants /b, v, d, z, ʒ, ʒ, g, ġ/ are automatically devoiced in final position and before a voiceless consonant: *zob* [zop] 'oats', DEF *zobta* [zopta] 'oats', *zobnik* [zobnik] 'oat-sack'. Non-distinctively voiced consonants may be finally devoiced, especially in informal speech. Voiceless consonants are voiced before distinctively voiced consonants: *sretne* [sretne] 'meet' P, *sredba* [sredba] 'meeting' NN. There is some regressive assimilation of voicing across word boundaries within a phrase: *Jas da si odam* = [Jaz da si odam] 'Let me go'. 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 <Ѣ> is never altered, in numerals <Т> is not altered, <Д> and <Г> are retained before certain voiceless suffixes, e.g. *-ski*, *-stven*, *-stvo*, as in *gradski*

⁴ The town's name has been changed back to Veles.

‘urban’, *begstvo* ‘escape’. The feminine definite article does not alter the spelling of a final voiced consonant.

1.2.2.8.1 Cyrillic <Б> is pronounced [f] in the first person plural aorist/imperfect marker, for example *bevme* [befme] ‘were’ 1.PL.IM, by analogy with the first singular and second plural as in *bev* [bef] ‘was’ 1.SG.IM and *bevte* [befte] ‘were’ 2.PL.IM. After /s/, /v/ can be pronounced [f]: *svoj* [sfoj] ‘one’s own’ M.SG, but *voj* [foj] ‘your’ M.SG is substandard, and /v/ is always pronounced [v] in words like *kvasec* ‘yeast’, *žetva* ‘harvest’. There is considerable dialectal variation in this regard, and /v/ remains [v] even after /s/ in the younger generation.

1.2.2.9 The prefixes *bez-*, *iz-*, *raz-* are spelled *bes-*, *is-*, *ras-* before *č/š* and are pronounced [beš-, iš-, raš-]. Prefixal *s-*, *z-* are pronounced [š, ž] before */č, ž, š, ž/* (if the result would be [šš, žž]), this is simplified to */š, ž/*: *rasčisti* [raščisti] ‘clean up’, *izdžvaka* [ižžvaka] ‘chew up’, *obesšteti* [obešteti] ‘reimburse’, *izživee* [iživee] ‘live through’. Although the devoicing of underlying /z/ in the prefixes *raz-*, *iz-*, *bez-*, is spelled, the shift to a palatal articulation before a palatal is not.

1.3 Prosody

Literary Macedonian has fixed antepenultimate stress (see Franks 1987): *vodéničar* ‘miller’ SG, PL *vodeničari*, PL-DEF *vodeničárite*, but there is considerable variation in the dialects and in colloquial speech. Exceptions in standard Macedonian can be classed as lexical, usually unadapted loanwords or suffixes, and phrasal, usually from an expanded word boundary, that is antepenultimate stress within a phrasal (accentual) unit.

1.3.1 Lexical Exceptions

Lexical exceptions only permit penultimate or final stress. Some are idiosyncratic: *eptén* ‘completely’. Others result from contraction: the verbal adverb suffix *-ájki*, *-éjki* < *-áeki*, *-éeki*, *sabájle* < *sabah ile* ‘in the morning’ (Turkish). A number of productive derivational morphemes have penultimate or final stress, e.g. verbal *-íra-*, nominal *-íst*, (M) *-ístka* (F). Due to lexical exceptions, stress can be distinctive: *kraváta* ‘necktie’ but *krávata* ‘cow’ DEF. Note also the following type of minimal pair, originally due to contraction: *letóvo* ‘this summer’ ADV, *godínáva* ‘this year’ ADV versus *létovo* ‘this summer’ NN.DEF.PX, *godínava* ‘this year’ NN.DEF.PX. There is also a strong tendency among some speakers to violate the antepenultimate stress rule in foreign words regardless of the prescribed norm, e.g. *Kanáda* for *Kánada* ‘Canada’, *sendvič* for *séndvič* ‘sandwich’. The norm also permits some variation, e.g. *bálet* or *balét* ‘ballet’.

1.3.2 Phrasal Exceptions

Phrasal exceptions can have stress more than three syllables from the end of the unit: *noséjki_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 Serbian) 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 *Évé_ti_go* (as opposed to *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: *Né_znam* ‘I don’t know’ *Štó_sakaš?* ‘What do you want?’ Shifts onto monosyllabic prepositions with pronouns is also regular: *só_mene* ‘with me’.

1.4 Morphophonemic Alternations

1.4.1 Velar with Palatal

Velar with palatal: /k/ ~ /č/, /g/ ~ /ž/, /x/ ~ /š/ (also /c/ from etymological /k/ ~ /č/ and /v/ from etymological /x/ ~ /š/). These are productive in some nominal derivations: *grev* ‘sin’, *greška* ‘mistake’; *glupak* ‘fool’ M, *glupačka* ‘fool’ F; *gramatika* ‘grammar’, *gramatički* ‘grammatical’. They also occur in the vocative: *bog* ‘god’, VOC *bože*; *Vlav* ‘Vlah (Aromanian)’, VOC *Vlaše*; *volk* ‘wolf’, VOC *volče*; *starec* ‘old man’, VOC *starče*. Two plurals also show the alternation: *oko* ‘eye’, PL *oči*; *uvo* ‘ear’, PL *uši*. In verbs, the alternation is reflected in both conjugation and derivation but is not productive: *reče* ‘say’, 1.SG.AO *rekov*; *potstriži* ‘trim’, 1.SG.AO *potstrigov*; P *izvleče* ‘drag’, I *izvlekuva*.

1.4.2 Velar with Dental

Velar with dental: /k/ ~ /c/, /g/ ~ /z/, /x/ ~ /s/. In nouns, the morphophonemic alternation is productive in the masculine plural: *parking* ‘parking space’, PL *parkinzi*, *uspeh* ‘success’, PL *uspesi*. Nouns ending in *-a* do not have the alternation except, *vladika* ‘bishop’, PL *vladici* (as opposed to, for example, *motika* ‘hoe’, PL *motiki*). This alternation applies to *v* (from etymological *x*) only in two items: *Vlav* ‘Vlah (Aromanian)’, PL *Vlasi*, and *siromav* ‘pauper’, PL *siromasi*. There are also two feminine plurals (etymologically duals) with the alternation: *raka* ‘hand’ PL *race*, *noga* ‘leg’, PL *noze*. In verbs, the alternation occurs only in two stems, namely *-lez-* ‘go’ and *molz-* ‘milk’ show /g/ in the aorist stem: *vleze* ‘enter’, 1.SG.AO *vlegov*, *molze* ‘milk’, 1.SG.AO (*iz*)*molgov*. Younger speakers now have (*iz*)*molzev* (identical with the IM).

1.4.3 Dental or Velar with Palatal

Dental or velar with palatal: /t, k/ ~ /k/, /d, g/ ~ /g/, /ʔ/ ~ /l/, /n/ ~ /n/, /st/ ~ /št/ (verbs only). In verbal derivation, the imperfectivizing suffixes *-(j)a* and *-(j)ava* condition these alternations but are limited to a few lexical items. Many verbs originally prescribed or at least accepted with *-(j)ava* have been replaced by corresponding forms with *-uva* in educated practice: P *fati*, I *faka* ‘grab, get’, P *rodi*, I *rađa* ‘give birth’, *gosti* (biaspectual), I *goštava* ‘treat’ (now archaic, replaced by (*na*)*gostuva*), P *meni*, I *menjava* ‘exchange’ (now replaced by *menuva*). The collective suffixes *-je* and *-ja* condition these alternations in nouns: *rabota* ‘work’, COL *raboke*; *livada*, COL *livađe* ‘meadow’; *godina* ‘year’, COL *godinje*. Alternations of dental with dorso-palatal stops are facultative in monosyllabics: *prat* ‘twig’, COL *pratje~prake*; *grad* ‘town’, COL *gradje~građe*; *rid* ‘hill’, COL *ridje~ridje*. Note that the specific collective forms produced by these suffixes differ among themselves in use and meaning, but this is irrelevant to morphophonemic alternations.

1.4.4 Cluster Simplification

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 with vowel~zero alternations (see 1.4.7), and rarely in the aorist stem of verbs: {*radost + ta*} gives *radosta* ‘joy’ DEF, {*list + je*} gives *lisje* ‘leaves’ COL, similarly *grozd* ‘grape’, COL *grozje*, {*mest- + na*} gives *mesna* ‘local’ F, *postele* ‘spread’ has 3.SG.AO *posla*.

1.4.5 Dissimilation with -če

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 *voz* ‘train’ and *voška* ‘louse’ both give DIM *vovče*; similarly *nož* ‘knife’ and *noga* ‘leg’ give DIM *novče*, *grozd* ‘nail’ and *groš* ‘penny’ give DIM *grovče*, *guska* ‘goose’ and *guša* ‘throat’ give DIM *guvče*, *glužd* ‘ankle’ and *glušec* ‘mouse’ give DIM *gluvče*; other examples are *klas* ‘ear (grain)’, DIM *klavče*, *list* ‘leaf’, DIM *livče*, *maska* ‘mule’, DIM *mavče*, *kniga* ‘book’, DIM *knivče*. However, *glasče* ‘voice’ DIM is prescribed for *glas* to avoid homonymy with *glavče* ‘head’ DIM from *glava*. Other consonants simply drop before this suffix, although /j/ can also be retained as /i/ or, by analogy, it can also be replaced by /v/: *šamija* ‘scarf’ DIM *šamiče* is prescribed but *šamivče* and *šamiče* also occur, the same is true of other nouns in /-ija/, most of them of Turkish origin.

1.4.6 Progressive Voicing Assimilation

The progressive devoicing of /ž/ to /č/ in the suffix /-žija/ (FEM /-žika/) constitutes a morphophonemic alternation in Macedonian whose origin is an automatic alternation in Turkish, e.g., *sladoletčija* ‘ice-cream seller’ from *sladoled* = [sladolet] ‘ice-cream’ (see 2.1.5.6).

1.4.7 Isolated Consonantal Alternations

Isolated consonantal alternations: *dete* ‘child’ PL *deca*, (also DIM *detence* PL *dečinja*), *Turčin* ‘Turk’, PL *Turci*, *pes* ‘dog’, PL *pci*.

1.4.8 Vowel~Zero Alternations

Vowel~zero alternations occur in masculine definite and both definite and indefinite non-masculine adjectives, in plural nouns, the vocative, and in verbal conjugation (aorist stem, non-masculine verbal 1-form) and derivation (perfective). High vowels do not participate in this alternation except in the word *ogin* ‘fire’ PL *ognovi* (DEF *oginot* and variant *ogan* DEF *ognot*).⁵ Some masculine substantival suffixes show the alternation in both the definite and plural, others only in the plural, and some substantives permit variation, e.g. *realizam* ‘realism’ DEF *realizmot*, PL *realizmi* but *starec* ‘old man’ (< *star* ‘old’) DEF *starecot*, PL *starci*, VOC *starče*, *veter* ‘wind’ DEF *vetrot* or *vetar* DEF *vetarot* PL *vetrovi*. 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: *nizok* ‘low’, F *niska*; *mesten* ‘local’, N *mesno*; *dostoen* ‘worthy’, M.DEF *dostojniot*. The relevant noun suffixes are /-en/, /-el/, /-ol/, /-ot/, /-ok/: *kamen* ‘stone’, PL *kamni* (but now replaced by COL *kamenja*); *jazel* ‘knot’, PL *jazli*; *sokol*, PL *sokli* also *sokoli* ‘falcon’; *nokot* ‘(finger/toe)nail’, PL *nokti*; *predok* ‘ancestor’, PL *predci*. Note fleeting vowels in lexical items such as *den* ‘day’, PL *dni*. Note also that vowel~zero alternation is not predictable from surface shape, e.g. *drven~drvena* ‘pertaining to wood’ M~F, *drven~drvena* ‘wooden’ M~F. The alternation is highly limited in verbs (classes 3c, 3d, 3g, see 2.5.1.2.2), e.g., *bere* ‘gather’, 2.SG.AO *-bra*; AO.M.LF *rekol* ‘said’, F *rekla*; P *umre* ‘die’, I *umira*.

⁵ Note that the form *ognevi* is not sanctioned in Tošev (1970) or Koneski (1999), pace Mareš (1994:22).

1.4.9 Vocalic Alternations

Remnants of etymological length alternations occur in verbal derivation (perfective becoming imperfective): P *rodi* ‘give birth’, I *raĝa*; P *sobere* ‘gather’, I *sobira*; but P *zatvori* ‘close’, I *zatvora*.

2 Morphology

2.1 Nouns

2.1.1 Gender

The gender opposition masculine-feminine-neuter exists only in the singular. It is neutralized in the plural, except for a highly restricted distinction in quantified plurals (see 2.4.2). Masculine nouns (kinship terms, hypocorisms, pejoratives, or recent loans) can end in any vowel, in which case they are animate, usually human; such nouns in a high vowel are all recent loans: *sluga* ‘servant’, *tatko* ‘father’, *ataše* ‘attaché’, *dendi* ‘dandy’, *guru* ‘guru’. The names of the months that end in *-i* are masculine: *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 end in *-a* or refer to a female being, e.g. *Bosanskata leđi* ‘the Bosnian lady’, otherwise they are neuter. Some recent loans such as *viski* ‘whiskey’ show hesitation between masculine and neuter, although prescriptively they are neuter. Neuter gender can refer to animate beings:

<i>Ličnoto</i>	<i>momče</i>	<i>došlo</i>
handsome-N.DEF	lad	came-N.LF
‘The handsome lad has come’		

<i>Ubavoto</i>	<i>devojče</i>	<i>došlo</i>
beautiful-N.DEF	girl	came-N.LF
‘The beautiful girl has come’		

Feminine nouns can be used expressively to refer to males as in the following example, where the referent is *bradata* ‘the beard’ used as the nickname of a man:

<i>i</i>	<i>koga</i>	<i>ovaa</i>	<i>ideše</i>	<i>vo</i>	<i>Veprčani</i>
and	when	this-F	came-3.SG.IM	in	V.
‘and when he (literally ‘this one’ F) came to Veprčani’					

Since animacy is distinguished by the use of special quantifiers for some male humans and mixed groups (see 2.4.2) and the rare oblique forms are limited to nouns denoting male humans (see 2.1.4.1), one can describe Macedonian as having virile or animate gender distinctions.

2.1.2 Number

Macedonian plural formation is based on a combination of form and gender. Most nouns ending in a consonant add *-i*, but masculine nouns with the singulative suffix *-in* drop that suffix in the plural. 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*. Most monosyllabic masculines, including new loanwords, take *-ovi*, e.g. *sin* ‘son’ PL *sinovi*, *fri-šop* ‘duty free shop’ PL *fri-šopovi* (note that the element *fri-* is treated as an uninflecting modifier). There are about ten exceptions that take *-i* and ten more that vacillate between the two possibilities. A few monosyllabic nouns in *-j* or a palatal can take *-evi*, e.g. *kraj* ‘region’ PL *kraevi* (also *kraišta*) *nož* ‘knife’ PL *noževi* or *nožovi*, and this suffix has spread by analogy to a few other nouns, all ending

in dentals, e.g. *kurs* ‘course’ PL *kursevi*. Masculines in unstressed *-o*, *-e* add *-vci*: *tatko* ‘father’, PL *tatkovci*.⁶ 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 PL *-enca*). Some neuter loans in stressed *-é* take *-inja*, in which case the stress becomes antepenultimate. Other loans in stressed *-é* normally add *-a*, but the use of *-inja* is spreading. Occasionally plural formation is influenced by the collective: *pat* means both ‘road’ and ‘time’, but the regular plural *pati* means ‘times’ while the collective *patišta* is the normal plural meaning ‘roads’. Because the vocative and oblique forms (see 2.1.4) are marginal, facultative phenomena, it is misleading to present them together with plural formation as a reduced declensional paradigm.

Table 2.1 *Examples of Plural Formation*

MASCULINES							
<i>grad</i>	<i>zab</i>	<i>pat</i>	<i>den</i>	<i>prsten</i>	<i>Srbin</i>	<i>kolega</i>	<i>čičo</i>
<i>gradovi</i>	<i>zabi</i>	<i>pati/patišta</i>	<i>dni/denovi</i>	<i>prsteni</i>	<i>Srbi</i>	<i>kolegi</i>	<i>čičovci</i>
‘town’	‘tooth’	‘time/way’	‘day’	‘ring’	‘Serb’	‘colleague’	‘uncle’
FEMININES							
<i>žena</i>	<i>čest</i>	<i>ledi</i>					
<i>ženi</i>	<i>česti</i>	<i>ledi</i>					
‘woman’	‘honor’	‘lady’					
NEUTERS							
<i>mesto</i>	<i>srce</i>	<i>učenje</i>	<i>seme</i>	<i>nivó</i>	<i>taksí</i>	<i>klišé</i>	
<i>mesta</i>	<i>srca</i>	<i>učenja</i>	<i>seminja</i>	<i>nivóa</i>	<i>taksíja</i>	<i>klišéa/klíšinja</i>	
‘place’	‘heart’	‘study’	‘seed’	‘level’	‘taxi cab’	‘ cliché’	

2.1.2.1 Exceptions. Morphonemic alternations in plural formation are treated in 1.4.1, 1.4.2, 1.4.6, 1.4.7, 1.4.8. The chief remaining exceptions are all masculine and neuter: *šura* ‘wife’s brother’, PL *šurevi*, *domákin* ‘master of the house’, PL *domákini*, *brat* ‘brother’, PL *brača*, *čovék* ‘person’, PL *luđe* ‘people’, *životno* ‘animal’, PL *životni*, *ramo* ‘shoulder’, PL *ramena*, *nebo* ‘sky’, PL *nebesa*.

2.1.2.2 Collectives. Nouns of all genders can form collective plurals in {-je}, although these forms are fairly restricted in Literary Macedonian usage (see 1.4.3, 1.4.4 on morphophonemic alternations). At one time these collectives could form a plural in {-ja}, but this is now merely a competing variant (Koneski 1967:224, pace Lunt 1952:31, de Bray 1980:170-71). Some nouns form collective plurals with *-išta*, which is homonymous with the plural of the augmentative pejorative suffix (see 2.1.5.5). Collectives have singular morphology and plural agreement, e.g. *svet* ‘light, world’ in the meaning ‘people’, *lisje* ‘leaves’:

<i>Videte</i>	<i>gi</i>	<i>svetot</i>	<i>što</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>gledaat</i>	<i>rabotata</i>
see-2.PL.IV	them-ACC	people-DEF	that	self-DAT	it-F.ACC	watch-3.PL.PR	work-DEF
‘Look at the people who mind their own business’ (Lunt 1952:26; folk expression)							

<i>Lisjeto</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>veke</i>	<i>požolteni</i>
leaf-COL.DEF	are-3.PL.PR	already	yellowed-PL
‘The leaves are already yellowed’			

⁶ The suffix *-(o/e)vci* can be added to any masculine proper name to mean ‘the family of...’, e.g. *Jordan* gives *Jordanovci*, *Metodija* gives *Metodievci*, *Blaže* gives *Blaževci*, *Božo* gives *Božovci*.

The singular of non-human animates can function as a kind of collective, e.g. *odi po riba* ‘go after (hunt) fish’ but *odi po ženi* ‘go after (chase) women’.

2.1.2.3 Quantitative plurals. Non-personal masculine nouns (and a few personal ones) also have a quantitative plural: *-a*. This suffix does not cause vowel~zero alternation: *den* ‘day’, PL *dni* and *denovi*, *dva dena* ‘two days’ (see 2.4.2).

2.1.2.4 Pluralia tantum: *ališta* ‘clothes’, *bečvi* ‘trousers’ (archaic), *gaki* ‘underpants, shorts’, *gradi* ‘chest’, *jasli* ‘manger’, *nogari* ‘leggings’, *nočvi* ‘bread-trough’, *očila* ‘glasses’, *pleki* ‘shoulders’, *šalvari* ‘pantaloons’.

2.1.3 Definiteness

Definiteness (see also sections 3.4 and 3.7). Macedonian is the only Slavic literary language with a tripartite distinction mirroring the same distinction in demonstratives, viz. unmarked {-t-} proximate {-v-}, distal {-n-}. Tradition treats the articles as affixes, but they are sometimes analyzed as clitics, which is their etymological origin. This origin is reflected in the inconsistency with which the masculine definite article triggers vowel~zero alternations in substantives (see 1.4.7). Lunt (1952:41) equivocates: “They are enclitics and can be termed suffixes.” The article attaches to the end of the first nominal in the noun phrase, that is nouns, adjectives, pronouns, numerals, but not adverbs:

<i>ne</i>	<i>mnogu</i>	<i>postarite</i>	<i>deca</i>
not	much	older-DEF	children-PL
‘the not much older children’ = ‘the children that are not much older’			

<i>edna</i>	<i>od</i>	<i>mnogute</i>	<i>naši</i>	<i>zadači</i>
one	from	many-DEF	our-PL	problems-PL
‘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 substandard speech: *ovie decava* ‘these here children’. Proximal and distal articles, which are difficult to translate into English, do not always refer to literal location, as can be seen from the following colloquial example:

<i>Edno</i>	<i>rakivče</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>dadeš</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>prijatelov</i>	<i>od</i>	<i>našana</i>	<i>vo</i>	<i>frizerov</i>			
one-N	brandy-DIM	EX	him-DAT	give-2.SG.PR	to	friend-DEF	PX	from	our-DEF	DS	in	freezer-DEF	PX
‘Give a little glass of brandy to our friend here, from that stuff of ours, in the freezer here’													

In this example, the freezer marked by the proximal article and the ‘our stuff’ marked by the distal article are physically equidistant from the speaker (although the brandy is inside the freezer). The choice is determined by other factors such as speaker attitude or the fact that the brandy in the freezer is taken from a larger whole (insofar as there are other bottles not in the freezer) or temporally distant (insofar as it was distilled at some earlier date). Although the proximal article is often used literally, e.g. *Vo pismovo se vključva...* ‘In this letter is included...’, the distal article often has an affective value. Long-time residents of Skopje refer to the landmark old stone bridge in the center of town as *moston* ‘that bridge’, while a spouse who does not get along with his/her partner might refer to her/him as *ženana/mažon* ‘that woman[wife]/man[husband]’. The numeral *eden* ‘one’ functions with the meaning of an indefinite article denoting specificity and can even trigger object reduplication, especially colloquially (see 3.7 and Naylor 1989).

2.1.3.1 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 *luđe* ‘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 vowel~zero alternation (1.4.7) as seen in the following paradigm of ‘old man’: SG *starec*, DEF SG *starecot*, PL *starci*, DEF PL *starcite*. Table 2.2, based on Table 2.1 and its exposition, illustrates the forms.

Table 2.2: *Definite Singulars and Plurals*

<i>gradot</i>	<i>česta</i>	<i>ženata</i>	<i>mestoto</i>	<i>semeto</i>	<i>čičoto</i>	<i>taksito</i>
<i>gradovite</i>	<i>čestite</i>	<i>ženite</i>	<i>mestata</i>	<i>seminjata</i>	<i>čičovcite</i>	<i>taksijata</i>
‘town’	‘honor’	‘woman’	‘place’	‘seed’	‘father’	‘taxi’

2.1.4 Case

The maximum possible differentiation in the noun is nominative/oblique/vocative, and this only in certain male proper names and kinship terms. The vocative forms occur in some other masculine and feminine nouns. 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 (see 2.2.1). In the pronoun, the maximum possible differentiation is nominative/accusative/dative. All other cases that occurred in earlier stages of the language have been replaced by prepositional or other syntactic constructions, although a few frozen forms survive as lexical items, e.g. *zbogum* ‘farewell, adieu’ (from older *s Bog-om* ‘with God-instrumental.case’)

2.1.4.1 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, *-i*, *-o*, or *-e*, and the nouns *čovек* ‘person’, *bog* ‘god’, *đavol* ‘devil’, and *gospod* ‘lord’. Nouns in a consonant, *-o*, or *-i* take *-a*, nouns in *-e* add *-ta*: *brat* ‘brother’ OBL *brata*, *tatko* ‘father’, OBL *tatka*, *Dragi*, OBL *Dragija*, *Goce*, OBL *Goceta*. The use of oblique forms for names of domestic animals is now considered dialectal. These forms can occur wherever an oblique pronoun would occur:

Go *vidov* *Ivana*
 him-ACC saw-1.SG.AO Ivan-OBL
 ‘I saw Ivan’

Mu *rekov* *na* *Ivana* *pred* *Goceta*
 him-DAT said-1.SG.AO to Ivan-OBL before Goce-OBL
 ‘I said to Ivan in front of Goce’

Ene *go* *Dragija*
 behold him-ACC Dragi-OBL
 ‘There’s Dragi!’

Toj *si* *otide* *nakaj* *Panka* *Biserina*
 he self-DAT went-3.SG.AO to Panko-OBL Biserin-OBL
 ‘He went to Panko Biserin’s’

but also

<i>Zemjata</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>Panka</i>	<i>Biserin</i>
land-DEF	of	Panko-PBL	Biserin-NOM
‘The land of Panko Biserin’			

2.1.4.2 The vocative is limited almost entirely 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* (*Lile*, *Viki*). Nouns in *-džija* drop the *-ja* (see 2.1.4.6). Feminines in *-ka* and *-ica* take *-e* while according to the norm other feminines take *-o*: *Stanka*, VOC *Stanke*, *sestra* ‘sister’, VOC *sestro*. Note that for *majka* ‘mother’ and *tetka* ‘aunt’, vocatives in *-o* are normal while those in *-e* are hypocoristic. Also *svaka* ‘in-law’ and *popađa* ‘priest’s wife’ take *-e*. The normative generalization for masculines is that monosyllabics take *-u* and polysyllabics take *-e*, although there are exceptions and vacillations (*čovjek* ‘person’ VOC *čovjeku/čoveče*, *brat* ‘brother’ *bratu* (kinship)/*brate* (generalized familiar). Note also *pop* ‘priest’ VOC *pope*, *kum* ‘godfather’ VOC *kume*, (vs *dzver* ‘beast’ VOC *dzveru*). The neuter plural *deca* ‘children’ has a vocative *deco*. The vocative is facultative, and there is an increasing tendency to avoid it because it is felt to be rude, humorous, or dialectal; this is especially true of the vocative marker *-o*. Thus, for example, the name *Liljana* does not form a vocative **Liljano* in the literary language. 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 1.4.1 on morphophonemic alternations in the vocative.)

2.1.5 Noun Derivation

2.1.5.1 The suffix */-nie/* derives concrete deverbal nouns from imperfectives (but see 2.1.5.6); */-nie/* derives abstractions from perfective verbs; */-ba/* is permitted with either aspect and either meaning: *samoopredeluvanje* ‘an act of self-determining’, *samoopredelba* ‘self-determination’, *rešavanje* ‘an act of deciding’, *rešenje* ‘decision’, cf. also *sredba* ‘meeting’, *prašanje* ‘question’. The relative productivity of these suffixes can be seen in Miličič (1967): approximately 8, 500 entries with *-nje*, 220 with *-ba*, and 150 with *-nie*. Other suffixes for deverbal nouns are \emptyset or *-a*, *-ačka* (circa 275 total including both abstract nouns and feminine actors), *-ež* (circa 75), *-stvo* (circa 600 items), *-ka*: *vleze* ‘enter’ gives *vlez* ‘entry’, *nameri* ‘intend’ gives *namera* ‘intention’, *jade* ‘eat’ gives *jadačka* ‘food’, *prdi* ‘fart’ V gives *prdež* ‘fart’ NN, *bakne* ‘kiss’ V gives *baknež* ‘kiss’ NN, *izraboti* ‘produce’ gives *izrabotka* ‘production’, *predava* ‘betray’ gives *predavstvo* ‘betrayal’. The suffix *-stvo* (*-štvo* when combining with a velar stem, which will lose the velar) can also be used to derive abstract nouns from other parts of speech: *car* ‘king’ gives *carstvo* ‘kingdom’, *bogat* ‘rich’ gives *bogatstvo* ‘wealth’, *junak* ‘hero’ gives *junaštvo* ‘heroism’.

2.1.5.2 The masculine agentive suffixes */-ar/*, */-ač/*, and */-tel/*, all add */-ka/* to form the feminine whereas */-ec/* and */-nik/* have the feminine forms */-ica/* and */-nica/*. The suffixes */-ec/*, */-ka/*, */-ica/* are sometimes extended by */-al/* or */-av-/*. The verb *vraža* ‘perform sorcery, tell fortunes’ provides examples of many of these suffixes in Koneski (1967), according to which they are synonymous in the case of this particular verbal base all meaning ‘sorcerer’ and ‘sorceress’: *vražar*, *vražac*, *vražalec*, *vražarka*, *vražacka*, *vražalka*, *vražalica*; cf. also *predava* ‘betray’, *predavnik* - *predavnica* ‘traitor’ M - F; with deverbal adjectives to indicate patient: from *zatvori* ‘imprison’ the adjective *zatvoren* ‘imprisoned’ gives *zatvorenik* - *zatvorenica* ‘prisoner’ M - F. Inanimates also have the suffix */-lo/*: *lepi* ‘stick’ *lepilo* ‘glue’.

2.1.5.3 Although the suffix /-ač/ was recommended by codifiers over /-tel/ in Literary Macedonian, actual usage varies. Thus, for example, *gledač(ka)* ‘viewer’ but *slušatel(ka)* ‘listener’. The word *slušač* is used for inanimate objects as well as animate agents, i.e. ‘listening device’ as well as ‘auditor’. There is also *slušalka* which means ‘stethoscope, telephone receiver, earphone’. Of the other suffixes used with verbs, one of the more productive is /-ište/ meaning ‘place’, e.g. *čekalište* ‘place where one waits’, *lovište* ‘hunting site’.

2.1.5.4 For deadjectival nouns, the main suffixes are /-ec/, /-ica/, /-(n)ik/, /-(j)ak/, /-(j)ačka/, /-ina/, /stvo/, /-ost/, /-ež/: *ubavec* ‘handsome one’ M, *ubavica* ‘beautiful one’ F, *ubavina* ‘beauty’. Many of these same deverbal and deadjectival suffixes can derive nouns from other nouns: *svinja* ‘swine’, *svinjar(ka)* ‘swineherd’ M (F), *svinjarnik* or *svinjarnica* ‘pigsty’, *svinjarstvo* ‘hog raising’, *svinština* ‘swinishness’.

2.1.5.5 Diminutives apply to all three genders: *brat* ‘brother’, DIM *brate*, *bratle*, *bratče*, *bratence*, *bratec*, *bratule*, *bratok*; *kniga* ‘book, sheet of paper (arch.)’, DIM *kniže*, *knižica*, *knivče*, *kniška*, *knižule*; *moma* ‘maid’, DIM *momička*, *momiče*, *momičence*; *meso* ‘meat’, DIM *mevce*, *dete* ‘child’, DIM *detence*, *sonce* ‘sun’, DIM *soncule* (see also 1.4.5, 2.1.2, 2.2.4.5, 2.5.3.5). The augmentative suffix is neuter /-ište/:

<i>Mu</i>	<i>svikalo</i>	<i>ženišteto</i>
him-DAT	yelled-N	woman-AUG
‘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/: *moč* ‘urine’, *močko* and *močlo* ‘little squirt’, *močalo* ‘organ of urination’ (colloquial), *nos* ‘nose’, gives *nosle* ‘snout’, *rilo* ‘jowl’ gives *rilče*, *rilčo* ‘jowly person’.

2.1.5.6 There are also three derivational suffixes of Turkish origin that are still productive with nouns (pace Koneski 1967:288): /-džija/ (FEM /-džika/; (/ž/ > /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 /-ána/ for nouns of location (about 50 items). These suffixes are used in common words of Turkish origin: *jabandžija* ‘foreigner’, *javašlak* ‘slowness’ (pejorative), *meana* ‘tavern’ (archaic). They are productive with Slavic roots: *lovdžija* ‘hunter’, *vojnislak* ‘army service’ (colloquial), *pilana* ‘saw mill’. They remain productive in recent loanwords, although frequently with pejorative or ironic overtones: *fudbaldžija* ‘(inept) soccer-player’, *asistentlak* ‘assistantship’ (ironic), *hidroelektrana* ‘hydroelectric power station’ (colloquial but neutral). The fate of these suffixes reflects the fate of Turkisms in general. They remain vital and productive but colloquial and in many cases stylistically shifted downward to the informal or the ironic. This stylistic shift has been reversed for some Turkisms since 1991, especially in the press, where many such words now occur in formal contexts. This trend is a result of an ideological equation between democratization and colloquialization (see Friedman 1998). There are also a few derivational affixes of more recent foreign origin: /-íst/ ‘-ist’, /-ízam/ ‘-ism’.

2.1.5.7 Compounding with the linking vowel /-o-/ is still productive: *zemjotres* ‘earthquake’ (= *zemj-a* ‘earth’ + *tres* ‘shake’), *zemjodelec* ‘farmer’ (= *zemj-a* ‘earth’ + *del-ec* ‘do-er’), *minofrlač* ‘mine-thrower’ (= *mina* ‘mine’; + *frl-ač* throw-er). The Turkish type of compound lacks a linking vowel: *tutunkese* ‘tobacco pouch’ (= *tutun* ‘tobacco’ *kese* ‘sack’). There are also native formations without linking vowels, although these generally use disparate parts of speech: adverb + noun *domazet* ‘son-in-law who lives with his wife’s parents’ (= *doma* ‘at home’ + *zet* ‘son-in-law’),

adjective + noun *Ilinden* ‘St. Elijah’s day’ (= *Ilin* ‘Elijah’s’ + *den* ‘day’), imperative + noun *zajdisonce* ‘sunset’ (= *zajdi* ‘go down!’ + *sonce* ‘sun’).

2.1.5.8 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: *samo-* ‘self-’ as in *samopridones* ‘voluntary contribution’ also functions as an independent adjective *sam(o)* ‘oneself’ (N). 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: *prapradedo* ‘great-great-grandfather’.

2.1.5.9 Acronyms such as *SAD* (pronounced [sat] from *Soedinenite Amerikanski Državi* ‘United American States’) ‘U.S.A.’ also occur, but are not as important as the various processes already discussed thus far.

2.2 Adjectives

2.2.1 Gender/Number

Most adjectives inflect for gender and number. A few inflect only for number and some do not inflect at all; these last two types are all of Turkish or more recent foreign origin. Most masculines end in a consonant, a few end in /-i/, feminines all end in /-a/, neuters normally end in /-o/, a very few — all possessive — end in /-e/, plurals all end in /-i/. Masculines in /-i/ include derived adjectives in /-sk-/, some toponymic, anthroponymic and other lexicalized expressions, e.g. *dolen* ‘lower’ but *Dolni Saraj* ‘Lower Saraj’ (a neighbourhood in Ohrid), *premudar* ‘extremely wise’ *premudri Solomon* ‘Solomon the most wise’ *toj pusti/kutri...* ‘that wretched...’, also *nivni* ‘their’ (but also *niven* according to Koneski 1999), and a few ordinal numerals (see 2.4). A few adjectives also have an optional masculine vocative in /-i/, e.g. *drag* ‘dear’, *dragi moj* ‘my dear!’, *počituvan* ‘respected’ *Počituvani Professore* ‘Dear Professor’ (opening for a semi-formal letter). Table 2.3 illustrates the possibilities for indefinite adjectives:

Table 2.3: *Adjectives*

type	M-Ø	M-i	N-e	number only	uninflecting
M	<i>nov</i>	<i>makedonski</i>	<i>ptičji</i>	<i>kasmetlija</i>	<i>fer / taze</i>
F	<i>nova</i>	<i>makedonska</i>	<i>ptičja</i>	<i>kasmetlija</i>	<i>fer / taze</i>
N	<i>novo</i>	<i>makedonsko</i>	<i>ptičje</i>	<i>kasmetlija</i>	<i>fer / taze</i>
PL	<i>novi</i> ‘new’	<i>makedonski</i> ‘Macedonian’	<i>ptičji</i> ‘bird’s’	<i>kasmetlii</i> ‘lucky’	<i>fer / taze</i> ‘impartial’ / ‘fresh’

2.2.2 Definiteness

The definite article in masculine adjectives is /-ot/ (/i- is inserted before /-ot/ if the adjective ends in a consonant); feminines add /-ta/, neuters /-to/, plurals /-te/. The article can trigger vowel-zero alternation, e.g. *dobar* ‘good’ M *dobriot* ‘good’ M.DEF. For the proximate and distal articles /-v-/ and /-n-/, respectively, are substituted for /-t-/, e.g. *noviot zab* ‘the new tooth’, *noviov zab* ‘the new tooth here’, *novine zabi* ‘the new teeth there’.

2.2.3 Gradation

Comparison is entirely analytic. The comparative marker is /po-/, the superlative /naj-/ written unseparated from the adjective: *ponov* ‘newer’ M, *najnov* ‘newest’. The only irregular comparative

is *mnogu* ‘much, many’, *poveke* ‘more’, *najmnogu* ‘most’ (*najpoveke* is no longer literary; note: *poveketo* ‘the majority’). The comparative and superlative markers can also be added to nouns, verbs, and adverbial phrases: *prijatelj* ‘friend’, *poprijatelj* ‘more of a friend’ *na jug* ‘to/in the south’, *ponajjug* ‘more southerly’ *ne saka* ‘dislike’, *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: *naj ne go saka* ‘he dislikes him the most’.

2.2.4 Adjective Derivation

2.2.4.1 There are three suffixes used to derive possessives: (1) /-in/ for nouns in /-a/: *mečka* ‘bear’, *mečkin* ‘bear’s’, (2) /-ov/ for masculine and neuter nouns in a consonant or /-o/ (/ -ev/ with palatals or /-e/): *tatko* ‘father’, *tatkov* ‘father’s’, *dab* ‘oak’, *dabov* ‘of oak’; *Goce* ‘Georgie’, *Gocev* ‘Georgie’s’ and (3) /-ji, -ki, -i/ for people and animals: *žaba* ‘frog’, *žabji* ‘frog’s’, *volk* ‘wolf’, *volč(k)i* ‘wolf’s’, *ovce* ‘sheep’, *ovč(k)i* ‘sheep’s’, *pes* ‘dog’, *pes(j)i* ‘dog’s’.

2.2.4.2 Adjectives of quality can be formed with /-est/, /-at/, /-(ov)it/, /-(l)iv/ (highly productive): *brada* ‘beard’, *bradat* (preferred) / *bradest* ‘bearded’, *jad* ‘poison’, *jadovit* ‘poisonous’, *trn* ‘thorn’, *trnliv* ‘thorny’. Another highly productive suffix is /-ski/, /-ški/, which shows regressive assimilation of voicing and velar alternations of the type described 1.4.1: *benzin* ‘gasoline’ NN *benzinski* ‘gasoline’ ADJ, *jagne* ‘lamb’ NN, *jagneški* ‘lamb’ ADJ, *filologija* ‘philology’, *filološki* ‘philological’, *gramatika* ‘grammar’, *gramatički* ‘grammatical’, *sadist* ‘sadist’, *sadistički* ‘sadistic’.

2.2.4.3 The following suffixes are most common for deverbal adjectives: /-en/, /-liv/, /-čki/, /-telen/ (bookish), /-kav/: *reši* ‘decide’ P gives *rešen* ‘decided’, *rešliv* ‘soluble’, *rešitelen* ‘decisive’ (person), *rešavački* ‘deciding’ (moment), also *lepi* ‘stick’ gives *lepkav*, *lepliv* ‘sticky’.

2.2.4.4 The suffixes /-(š)en/ and /ski/ derive adjectives from adverbs: *nadvor* ‘outside’, *nadvoren* / *nadvorešen* (preferred) ‘external’, *sega* ‘now’ *segašen* ‘present’, *deneska* ‘today’, *denešen* ‘today’s’, *lani* ‘last year’, *lanski* ‘last year’s’.

2.2.4.5 Adjectives can be rendered expressive by a variety of suffixes, some of which are illustrated here with the adjective *crn* ‘black’: *crnikav*, *crničok*, *crnkavest*, *crnulav*, *crnulest*.

2.2.4.6 Two of the most productive suffixes are /-av/ and /-en/: *krv* ‘blood’, *krvav* ‘bloody’, *olovo* ‘lead’, *oloven* ‘lead’, *rakija* ‘brandy’ NN *rakien* ‘brandy’ ADJ, *kamen* ‘stone’ NN, *kamenen* ‘stone’ ADJ, *elektrika* ‘electricity’, *električen* ‘electric(al)’, *sila* ‘strength’, *silen* ‘forceful’. Nouns in /-stvo/ produce adjectives in /-stven/. These suffixes can also be added to many loans to create doublets: *al* or *alen* ‘scarlet’, *Kor* or *Korav* ‘blind, one-eyed’. The Turkish suffix /-lija/ (no gender, PL /-lii/) is used to form about 250 adjectives and nouns from all types of nouns — Turkish, Slavic, and International: *kasmetlija* ‘lucky’, *dzvezdallija* ‘kind’, *pubertetlija* ‘teenager’ (ironic).

2.2.4.7 Compound adjectives can be formed with the linking vowel *-o-*: *temnozelen* ‘dark green’ (= *temen* + *zelen*). Some compound adjectives use a bare nominal stem, others add a suffix such as /-en/: from *glava* ‘head’ *gologlav* ‘bareheaded’, *glaven* ‘chief, head’, *obezglaven* ‘beheaded’; from *raka* ‘hand, arm’ *golorak* ‘empty-handed’, *ednorak* ‘one-armed’, *račen* ‘handmade’, *svoeračen* ‘personally, with one’s own hand’. Cf. also *osmi mart* ‘eighth of March’, *osmomartovski* ‘pertaining to March 8th (International Women’s Day)’.

2.3 Pronouns

2.3.1 Personal

The personal pronouns are given in Table 2.4. Short forms are clitics and are used for the objects of verbs and for possessive and ethical datives (see 3.9). Long forms are used as the objects of

prepositions. The two forms are used together for emphasis and in connection with object reduplication (see 3.7). In addition to 3 NOM forms based on /t-/, the literary norm also permits 3 NOM personal *on* M, *ona* F, *ono* N, *oni* PL, characteristic of the northern and eastern dialects.

Table 2.4: *Personal Pronouns*

case:	NOM	ACC-long	DAT-long	ACC-short	DAT-short
1 SG	<i>jas</i>	<i>mene</i>	<i>mene</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>mi</i>
2 SG	<i>ti</i>	<i>tebe</i>	<i>tebe</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>ti</i>
REFL	—	<i>sebe(si)</i>	<i>sebe(si)</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>si</i>
1 PL	<i>nie</i>	<i>nas</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>nè</i>	<i>ni</i>
2 PL	<i>vie</i>	<i>vas</i>	<i>vam</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>vi</i>
3 SG M	<i>toj</i>	<i>nego</i>	<i>nemu</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>mu</i>
3 SG N	<i>toa</i>	<i>nego</i>	<i>nemu</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>mu</i>
3 SG F	<i>taa</i>	<i>nea</i>	<i>nejze</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>ì</i>
3 PL	<i>tie</i>	<i>niv</i>	<i>nim</i>	<i>gi</i>	<i>im</i>

2.3.2 Possessive

Exemplary possessive pronominals are given in Table 2.5; *tvoj* ‘your’, and *svoj* ‘reflexive possessive’ inflect like *moj*; *vaš* ‘your’ PL inflects like *naš*; *nejzin* ‘her’ inflects like *negov*. The possessive *nivni* ‘their’ M.IDF (M.DEF *nivniot*, F.DEF *nivnata*, etc.) inflects like *negov* elsewhere (cf. 2.2.1). According to Koneski (1999) M.IDF *niven* is also acceptable.

Table 2.5: Possessive Pronominal Adjectives ‘my’, ‘our’, ‘his’

	IDF	DEF	IDF	DEF	IDF	DEF
M	<i>moj</i>	<i>mojot</i>	<i>naš</i>	<i>našiot</i>	<i>negov</i>	<i>negoviot</i>
F	<i>moja</i>	<i>mojata</i>	<i>naša</i>	<i>našata</i>	<i>negova</i>	<i>negovata</i>
N	<i>moe</i>	<i>moeto</i>	<i>naše</i>	<i>našeto</i>	<i>negovo</i>	<i>negovoto</i>
PL	<i>moi</i>	<i>moite</i>	<i>naši</i>	<i>našite</i>	<i>negovi</i>	<i>negovite</i>
	‘my’		‘our’		‘his’	

2.3.3 Deictic

The third person pronoun *toj*, etc. also functions as the unmarked demonstrative. The proximate demonstratives are M *ovoj*, F *ovaa*, N *ova*, PL *ovie* ‘this’. The distal demonstratives substitute /-n-/ for /-v-/. M.OBL forms *ovega* and *onega* are more or less obsolete.

2.3.4 Interrogative

Koj is both the animate interrogative pronoun ‘who?’ (ACC *kogo*, DAT *komu*) and the interrogative adjective ‘which’ (*koja*, *koe*, *koi* F, N, PL). In the east, analytic *na kogo* will replace the synthetic dative *komu*. In colloquial practice, oblique forms are dispensed with altogether, e.g. *So koj beše* instead of *So kogo beše* ‘With who(m) was (she)?’. The inanimate interrogative pronoun is *što* ‘what’. Pronominal adjectives are *čij*, *čija*, *čie*, *čii* ‘whose’ M, F, N, PL, *kakov*, *kakva*, *kakvo*, *kakvi*, M, F, N, PL ‘what kind’, *kólkáv*, *kólkáva*, *kólkávo*, *kólkávi* ‘what size, how big’ M, F, N, PL. Similarly *vakov* ‘this kind’, *takov* ‘of such a kind’, *onakov* ‘that kind’, *inakov* ‘another kind’, *ólkáv* ‘this big’, *tólkáv* ‘so big’, *ónolkáv* ‘that big’. The interrogative pronouns, adjectives and adverbs can all be relativizers (see 3.5) and can be prefixed with /ni-/ ‘no’, /se-/ ‘every’ and /ne-/ ‘some’ (specific): *nikoj* ‘nobody’, *sekoj* ‘everybody, each’, *nekoj*

‘somebody’. Non-specific indefinites are formed from interrogatives according to the following models, given in order of relative frequency: *koj bilo*, *koj (i) da e*, *koj-gode* ‘anybody, whoever’ (non-specific). The first two are roughly equivalent, although some speakers judge the first as more literary and the second as more colloquial, while the last is significantly less common and is not used or regarded as pejorative by some speakers.

2.3.5 Totalizing

The word for ‘all’ *siot*, *seta*, *seto*, *site* M, F, N, PL, is always definite except the neuter *se* ‘everything’, ‘constantly’, ‘even’, ‘all the more’, and the archaic adverbial *sa* limited to a few time expressions e.g. *sa leto* ‘all summer’, *sa zima* ‘all winter’.

2.4 Numerals

2.4.1 Cardinal (non-virile)

The numerals ‘one’ and ‘two’ are adjectival, as are any numerals terminating in one or two. Numerals above 999 are nouns: 1: *eden/edna/edno/edni* M/F/N/PL; 2: *dva/dve* = M/N and F; 3: *tri*; 4: *četiri*; 5: *pet*; 6: *šest*; 7: *sedum*; 8: *osum*; 9: *devet*; 10: *deset*; 11: *edinaeset*; 12: *dvanaeset*; 13: *trinaeset*; 14: *četirinaeset*; 15: *petnaeset*; 16: *šesnaeset*; 17: *sedumnaeset*; 18: *osumnaeset*; 19: *devetnaeset*; 20: *dvaeset*; 23: *dvaeset i tri*; 30: *trieset*; 40: *četirieset*; 50: *pedeset*; 60: *šeeset*; 70: *sedumdeset*; 80: *osumdeset*; 90: *devedeset*; 100: *sto*; 200: *dveste*; 300: *trista*; 400: *četiristotini*; 500: *petstotini*; 600: *šestotini*; 700: *sedumstotini*; 800: *osumstotini*; 900: *devetstotini*; 1,000: *iljada*; 2,000: *dve iljadi*; 1,000,000: *milliόν*; 1,000,000,000: *milijárda*.⁷

2.4.2 Virile

Virile numerals are used for groups of male humans or mixed gender human groups (when nouns have masculine and feminine forms, the masculine is used for mixed gender groups), e.g. *dvajca maži* ‘two men’, *dvajcata roditeli* ‘both parents’, but *dva konja* ‘two horses’, *dve sestri* ‘two sisters’. There is some competition between quantitative plural and virile numerals in monosyllabic masculine nouns: *dva popa* ‘two priests’ but *dvajcata popovi* ‘both priests’. In general virile numerals are limited to 10 and below plus hundred and thousand: 2: *dvajca*; 3: *trojca*; 4: *četvorica*; 5: *petmina*; 6: *šestmina*; 7: *sedummina*; 8: *osummina*; 9: *devetmina*; 10: *desetmina*; 100: *stomina*; 1,000: *iljadamina*. Note, however, that quantifiers also have virile forms: *mnozina* ‘many’, *nekolikumina* ‘a few’, and so on.

2.4.3 Definiteness

‘One’ is an adjective: *edniot*, *ednata*, *ednoto*, *ednite*. It can function with a meaning like that of 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: *dvata*, *dvajcata*, *pettemina*. *Milion* is a noun, hence *milionot*.

2.4.4 Ordinals

The first eight masculine ordinals are formed as follows: *prv(i)*, *vtor*, *tret*, *četvrti*, *petti*, *šesti*, *sedmi*, *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:

⁷ The form *-stotini* is replaced by *-sto* in colloquial usage and in compounding, e.g. *četiristogodišen* ‘four-hundred-year-old’ M.ADJ.

/-stoten, -stotna/ and /-stoti, -stota/. The remaining hundreds use only /-stoten/. The ordinals for ‘thousand’, ‘million’, and ‘billion’ are the following: *iljaden*, F *iljadna* ‘thousandth’, *dveiljaden* ‘two thousandth’, *milionski* (also *milioniti*) ‘millionth’, *milijardski* ‘billionth’. Ordinals are made definite just like other adjectives.

2.5 Verbs

2.5.1 Inflection

Person and number are expressed in the synthetic paradigms (present, imperfect, aorist) and by the conjugated auxiliary verbs *sum* ‘be’ and *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. All verbs enter into the superordinate aspectual distinction perfective / imperfective (although some are biaspectual). The following categories are conjugational, i.e. together with person, number, and gender they define paradigmatic sets: tense (present/past), subordinate aspect (aorist/imperfect), mood (indicative, hypothetical conditional, imperative), status (confirmative / nonconfirmative ["evidential"]), taxis (pluperfect), resultativity (perfect).⁸ Other categories, including voice (see 2.5.2.11 and 3.8), futurity, and other types of modality (see 2.5.1.1), are all expressed syntactically (by context or particles). The non-finite forms are the verbal noun, verbal adjective, and verbal adverb.⁹ The verbal l-form (old resultative participle) has non-finite properties but occurs exclusively in analytic conjugations, i.e. it cannot be used attributively.¹⁰

2.5.1.1 Owing to the high degree of analyticity in Macedonian, there is considerable difference of opinion regarding what should be considered an analytic part of the conjugational paradigm and what should be treated as a syntactic construction. 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 — *bi* plus verbal l-form — from analytic constructions with expectative (future) *ke*, subjunctive (modal) *da*, and hortative/optative *neka*, which are clitics but occur with more than one type of verb form..

2.5.1.2 Most verb forms can be predicted from the third singular present. Remaining forms can usually be predicted from the first singular aorist, which preserves some of the alternations characteristic of the infinitive stem in other Slavic languages. There are a few anomalies. It should be noted that there is an enormous amount of dialectal variation in conjugation (see Elson 1983).

Synthetic paradigms are formed by adding the person/number markers of Table 2.6 to the stem. The third singular present ends in /-a/, /-i/, or /-e/, and is identical to the present stem. In the imperfect, /-i/ becomes /-e/. In the aorist, /-e/ usually becomes /-a/. The aorist and imperfect stems are obtained by dropping the first singular /-v/.

⁸ The aorist/imperfect opposition is prescribed for both perfective and imperfective verbs, and occasional examples of imperfective aorists occur in literature through the first half of the twentieth century (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.

⁹ Joseph (1983:24, 110-13) gives morphological and syntactic arguments for treating imperatives as nonfinite: Lack of person oppositions (it is always second) and clitic placement (see (3.1)).

¹⁰ Joseph (1983:113-14) classes it as finite on the basis of clitic placement.

2.5.1.2.1 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 *znam* 'know' (3.SG *znae*), which has effectively replaced the regular *znaam* (Tošev 1970, Koneski 1999), and the verb *sum* 'be', there are no irregularities or alternations in the present tense. According to the norm, even prefixed forms of *znae* do not permit variation, although it occurs.

Table 2.6: *Synthetic Endings and Present of 'be'*

	<u>Present</u>	<u>Imperfect</u>	<u>Aorist</u>	<u>present of 'be'</u>
1SG	-am	-v	-v	<i>sum</i>
2SG	-š	-še	-Ø	<i>si</i>
3SG	-Ø	-še	-Ø	<i>e</i>
1PL	-me	-vme	-vme	<i>sme</i>
2PL	-te	-vte	-vte	<i>ste</i>
3PL	-at	-a	-a	<i>se</i>

2.5.1.2.2 The principle exceptions to the rules given in 2.5.1.2.1 occur in the aorist and the forms based on it and are illustrated in Table 2.7.¹¹

Table 2.7: *Main Morphological Verb Classes*

		1	2a	2b	2c	3a	3b
3SG	PRES	<i>čita</i>	<i>moli</i>	<i>ozdravi</i>	<i>broi</i>	<i>piše</i>	<i>plače</i>
1SG	IM	<i>čitav</i>	<i>molev</i>	<i>ozdravev</i>	<i>broev</i>	<i>pišev</i>	<i>plačev</i>
1SG	AO	<i>-čitav</i>	<i>-moliv</i>	<i>ozdravev</i>	<i>-brojav</i>	<i>pišav</i>	<i>-plakav</i>
23SG	AO	<i>-čita</i>	<i>-moli</i>	<i>ozdrave</i>	<i>-broja</i>	<i>piša</i>	<i>-plače</i>
		'read'	'beg'	'get well'	'count'	'write'	'weep'

		3c	3d	3e	3f	3g	3h
3SG	PRES	<i>bere</i>	<i>umre</i>	<i>trese</i>	<i>dade</i>	<i>reče</i>	<i>bie</i>
1SG	IM	<i>berev</i>	<i>umrev</i>	<i>tresev</i>	<i>dadev</i>	<i>rečev</i>	<i>biev</i>
1SG	AO	<i>-brav</i>	<i>umrev</i>	<i>tresov</i>	<i>dadov</i>	<i>rekov</i>	<i>-biv</i>
23SG	AO	<i>-bra</i>	<i>umre</i>	<i>trese</i>	<i>dade</i>	<i>reče</i>	<i>-bi</i>
		'gather'	'die'	'shake'	'give'	'say'	'beat'

1 = a-stem

3 e-stem

e = o - AO

2 = i-stem

a = a-AO

f = o - AO + C (= dental) > Ø / AO.LF

a = i-AO

b = a-AO + velar alternation

g = o - AO + velar alternation

b = e-AO¹²

c = a-AO + VL~ Ø alternation

h = Ø-AO

c = a-AO¹³

d = e-AO

¹¹ In the tables and rules, imperfective aorist forms are given with a preceding hyphen to indicate that they now occur only as (prefixed) perfectives. See 2.5.2.3.1.

¹² Generally intransitives of state/becoming or unprefixed imperfectives.

¹³ All have roots ending in {-o(j)} or a palatal

2.5.1.2.3 Note the following irregularities:

2.5.1.2.3.1 When /-st-/ and /-l-/ are separated by a fleeting vowel, the resulting cluster simplifies to /-sl-/ when the vowel drops: *postele* ‘spread’, 1.SG.AO *poslav* (type 3c).

2.5.1.2.3.2 *vidi* ‘see’ and *-sedi* ‘sit’ have type 3e o-aorists. Some i-stem verbs have facultative o-aorists: *-vadi* ‘extract’, *-vrti* ‘turn’.

2.5.1.2.3.3 *spie* ‘sleep’, 1.SG.AO *-spav*

2.5.1.2.3.4 *mele* ‘grind’, 1.SG.AO *-mlev*

2.5.1.2.3.5 *zeme* ‘take’, 1.SG.AO *zedov* 23.SG.AO *zede*

2.5.1.2.3.6 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 Tošev (1970) and Koneski (1999) as following type 3a, although some middle-aged speakers would still treat them as 3e in 1990. The two that vacillate are *veze* ‘embroider’ and *grize* ‘gnaw’; the other two are *pase* ‘pasture’ and *trese* ‘shake’. Similarly, there is no morphophonemic alternation of the type *ž ~ z* in prefixed forms of *kaže* ‘tell’ (pace Lunt 1952:74).

2.5.1.3 For the **verbal l-form** add /-l/ (M.SG), /-la/ (F.SG), /-lo/ (N.SG), /-le/ (PL) 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:

2.5.1.3.1 The /-o-/ of the aorist stem (types 3e, f, g) drops when there is a vowel in the following syllable: *tresol/tresla* ‘shake’ M/F.

2.5.1.3.2 Verbs in class 3f lose both the /-o-/ and the preceding consonant in the l-form: *dal/dala* ‘give’ M/F.

2.5.1.3.3 Some verbs vacillate between 3e and 3f: *doneše* ‘carry’ has AO.LF M *donesol*, F *donesla* or M *donel*, F *donela* (Tošev 1970; Koneski 1999). The former is more common and is preferred (Korubin 1969:86).

2.5.1.3.4 The verb *zeme* ‘take’ patterns with type 3f in this respect: AO.LF M *zel*, F *zela*..

2.5.1.3.5 Verbs based on *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: *otide* ‘leave’, 1.SG.AO *otidov*, AO.LF M *otišol*, F *otišla* ‘leave’; *najde* ‘find’, 1.SG.AO *najdov*, AO.LF M *našol*, F *našla*.

2.5.1.3.6 For i-stem verbs with an o-aorist such as *vidi* the aorist stem is based on the second/third singular: AO.LFM *videl*, F *videla*. Verbs that vacillate in the formation of the aorist such as *-vrti* ‘turn’, may also vacillate between /-e-/ and /-i-/ in the aorist l-form.

2.5.1.3.7 If the loss of a fleeting /-o-/ would create a cluster of the type /-stl-/, it simplifies to /-sl-/: *raste* ‘grow’ 1-SG-AO *rastov*, AO.LF M *rastol*, F *rasla* (Tošev 1970, Koneski 1999). According to younger educated speakers, however, the aorist l-form is now *rastel*, by analogy with the type *vidov*, *videl*.

2.5.1.4 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 /-ń/, otherwise /-n/ is added: *pokani* ‘invite’ gives *pokanet* ‘invited’, *dojde* ‘come’ gives *dojden* ‘arrived’. Verbs with *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): *-brojan* and *broen*; (2) regular e-verbs (type 3a) in which the stem vowel is preceded by another vowel: *pee* ‘sing’ > *-pean* and *peen*; (3) e-verbs that lose their root vowel in the aorist (type 3c): *-bran* and *beren*. Tošev (1970) also permits both stems for some other e-verbs: *crpan* and *crpen* ‘haul’ (type 3a), *plakan* and *plačen* (type 3b), *strigan* and *strižen* ‘trim’ (type 3g), but Koneski (1967) and Usikova (1985)

indicate only the aorist stem for these classes of verbs, while Koneski (1999) gives both possibilities for *plače* and *striže* but only *crpen*. Note that the norm has changed considerably since Lunt (1952:75): *pošte* ‘search for lice’ belongs to type 3d, *pcue* ‘curse’ (type 3h) and *dreme* ‘doze’ (type 3a) no longer permit variation according to Tošev (1970) and Koneski (1999), and *niže* ‘string’ (type 2c) and *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 (Koneski 1967:434).

2.5.1.5 The **verbal adverb** is formed from the imperfect stem by adding the invariant suffix /-jki/. 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 *bidejki* ‘because’.

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

2.5.1.7 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:

<i>gleda</i> ‘look’	<i>gledaj, gledajte</i>
<i>nosi</i> ‘carry’	<i>nosi, nosete</i>
<i>pie</i> ‘drink’	<i>pij, pijte</i>
<i>zeme</i> ‘take’	<i>zemi, zemete</i>
<i>pee</i> ‘sing’	<i>pej, pejte</i>

2.5.1.7.1 Exceptions:

<i>dade</i> ‘give’	<i>daj, dajte</i> (also for prefixed forms, e.g. <i>prodade</i> ‘sell’ IV <i>prodaj, prodajte</i>)
<i>klade</i> ‘put’	<i>klaj, klajte</i>

2.5.1.7.2 Colloquialisms:

ela - *elate* (from Greek) ‘come (here)’ is classed as a verb that occurs only in the imperative. It is synonymous with *dojdi* - *dojdete* but limited to contexts in which the speaker wishes the addressee to come immediately (as opposed to at some later time). Often followed by *vamu* ‘hither’. The following are classed as particles or nouns, but in colloquial language they can also take the /-te/ of the plural imperative:

ajde ‘let’s go, c’mon’. Classed as a particle. Often used some other command or request. Also shortened to *aj* in informal conversation.

aman (< Turkish). This is a noun meaning ‘mercy’, but as an exclamation it means ‘have mercy!’

bujrum (< Turkish *buyurun*) ‘if you please, at your command, come in, sit down, help yourself’. Considered archaic, often used humorously. The Literary Macedonian expression is a literal translation, the imperative of *poveli* ‘command’, which is now rare except in this polite expression: *poveli* - *povelete*. The Serbism *izvolte* (< *izvolite*) was very common, but is on the decline since 1991.

Verbs in /-uva/ have alternative imperatives in /-uj(te)/, which is now considered slang or dialectal (pace Lunt 1952:76 and Koneski 1967:415).

2.5.1.2.8 Table 2.8 illustrates a complete verb conjugation . See note 11.

Table 2.8 *Illustrative Paradigm using the verb gali ‘caress’*

SYNTHETIC SERIES							
<u>present</u>		<u>aorist</u>		<u>imperfect</u>		<u>imperative</u>	
<i>galam</i>	<i>galime</i>	<i>-galiv</i>	<i>-galivme</i>	<i>galev</i>	<i>galevme</i>		
<i>gališ</i>	<i>galite</i>	<i>-gali</i>	<i>-galivte</i>	<i>galeše</i>	<i>galevte</i>	<i>gali</i>	<i>galete</i>
<i>gali</i>	<i>galat</i>	<i>-gali</i>	<i>-galija</i>	<i>galeše</i>	<i>galea</i>		
ANALYTIC SERIES							
<u>Sum Series</u>							
<i>sum aorist</i>				<i>sum imperfect</i>			
<i>sum -galil</i>	<i>sme -galile</i>			<i>sum galel</i>	<i>sme galele</i>		
<i>si -galil</i>	<i>ste -galile</i>			<i>si galel</i>	<i>ste galele</i>		
<i>-galil</i>	<i>-galile</i>			<i>galel</i>	<i>galele</i>		
<u>Beše Pluperfect Series</u>							
<i>beše aorist</i>				<i>beše imperfect</i>			
<i>bev -galil</i>	<i>bevme -galile</i>			<i>bev galel</i>	<i>bevme galele</i>		
<i>beše -galil</i>	<i>bevte -galile</i>			<i>beše galel</i>	<i>bevte galele</i>		
<i>beše -galil</i>	<i>bea -galile</i>			<i>beše galel</i>	<i>bea galele</i>		
<u>Ima Series</u>							
<i>ima perfect</i>		<i>imaše pluperfect</i>			<i>imal perfect</i>		
<i>imam galeno</i>	<i>imame galeno</i>	<i>imav</i>	<i>imavme</i>	<i>sum imal</i>	<i>sme imale</i>		
		<i>galeno</i>	<i>galeno</i>	<i>galeno</i>	<i>galeno</i>		
<i>imaš galeno</i>	<i>imate galeno</i>	<i>imaše</i>	<i>imavte</i>	<i>si imal</i>	<i>ste imale</i>		
		<i>galeno</i>	<i>galeno</i>	<i>galeno</i>	<i>galeno</i>		
<i>ima galeno</i>	<i>imaat galeno</i>	<i>imaše</i>	<i>imaa</i>	<i>imal galeno</i>	<i>imale galeno</i>		
		<i>galeno</i>	<i>galeno</i>				
<u>Hypothetical Conditional</u>							
<i>bi galel, bi galela, bi galelo, bi galele</i>							
NONFINITE SERIES							
Verbal Adverb:	<i>galejki</i>						
Verbal Noun:	<i>galenje</i>						
Verbal Adjective :	<i>galen, galena, galeno, galeni</i>						

2.5.1.9. The verb *sum* ‘be’ is the only verb whose dictionary citation form is first singular present; all others are third singular. The verb *sum* occurs in the present, imperfect (1SG *bev*), a rare (marginal) third singular aorist (*bi*), and the I-form (M *bil*). The present and imperfect of *sum* are used with the I-form in the *sum* series (I SG.M *sum bil*) and the *beše* series (I SG.M *bev bil*). The regular perfective verb *bide* supplies the perfective present, imperative, and verbal adjective, whose use is limited to the extreme southwest, as is the verbal adjective of *ima* ‘have’. *Ima* series

forms of the type I SG *imam bideno*, *imam imano* occur only in the southwest. The verbal adverb from *bide* (*bidejki*) has been lexicalized as a conjunction meaning ‘because’. The verbal noun of *sum* can be supplied by *suštstvuva* ‘exist’.

2.5.2 Verbal Categories

2.5.2.1 Person. 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; Koneski 1967:332) resulting in hesitation in its application and variation in the agreement of adjectives (singular or plural): *Vie ste izmoren - izmorena - izmoreni* ‘You are tired’ M.SG, F.SG, PL. The singular is prescribed, but plurals are frequently heard.

2.5.2.2. Superordinate aspect. Macedonian has a superordinate imperfective/perfective aspectual distinction. Traditionally, perfective aspect is defined as marked for completion, and imperfective aspect is unmarked. Aspect can be inherent in the stem or derived by prefixation (perfectives) or suffixation (both perfectives and imperfectives; see 2.5.3.3). 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):

<i>ke</i>	expectative marker (future, conditional)
<i>neka</i>	optative marker (first and third persons only)
<i>da</i>	subjunctive marker
<i>ako</i>	‘if’
<i>dodeka (da, ne)</i>	‘while, until’
<i>duri (da, ne)</i>	‘while, until’
<i>dokolku</i>	‘insofar as’ (frequent, but rejected by some speakers as journalistic jargon)
<i>li</i>	interrogative marker when used to mean ‘if’ (marginal: archaic or dialectal for many speakers)

2.5.2.2.1 The perfective present can occur independently in negative-interrogative sentences colloquially but not in ordinary affirmative or interrogative sentences (Kramer 1986:163):

<i>Što ne sedneš?</i>	vs	* <i>Što sedneš?</i>
what not sit down-2.SG.P.PR		What sit down-2.SG.P.PR
‘Why don’t you sit down?’	vs	‘Why do you sit down?’

2.5.2.2.2 Many verbs in /-ira/ are biaspectual (Minova-Ćurkova 1966), and Teunisen (1986) gives a list of 42 simple biaspectuals. Imperfective verbs can occur independently in the present and imperfect, or subordinated to phasal verbs like *počna* ‘begin’. Perfective verbs can occur with *otkako* ‘since’, *otkoga* ‘after’, *štom* ‘as soon as’ or subordinated to *uspee*, *uspeva* ‘succeed’ P, I. Biaspectuals can do both.¹⁴

2.5.2.3 Subordinate aspect. Most linguists agree that the imperfect is marked, either for duration in time (Koneski 1967:427, 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 (1977:30-33) argues in favor 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.

¹⁴ The use of *otkoga* ‘after’ and *štom* ‘as soon as’ are considered dialectally marked.

Rabotnički igraše prvoligaški vo Kosovska Mitrovica i
 worker-ADJ.SG.M played-3.SG.IM first.league-ADV in K.M. and
ottamu se vrati so dva boda
 from.there ITR return-3.SG.AO with 2 points-PL.Q
 ‘The ‘Workers’ (a soccer team) played big league ball in Kosovska Mitrovica and returned from there with two points’

Toj ja dade svojata poema na konkurs i so razbirlivo
 he-NOM it-F.ACC gave-3.SG.AO own-F.DEF poem to contest and with understandable-N
netrpenie go čekaše rezultatot
 impatience it-M.ACC awaited-3.SG.IM result-DEF
 ‘He submitted his poem to the contest and with understandable impatience awaited the result’

Taa spieše eden čas i počna da raboti
 she-NOM slept-3.SG.IM one-M hour and began-3.SG.IM SU work-3.SG.PR
 ‘She slept for an hour and began to work’

2.5.2.3.1 The aorist/imperfect opposition is prescribed for both perfective and imperfective verbs, and occasional examples of imperfective aorists occur in literature through the first half of the twentieth century (Koneski 1967:423, Lunt 1952:90). Today, however, imperfective aorists are virtually obsolete, unlike in Bulgarian. Instead either an imperfective imperfect or perfective aorist will be used, depending on the context and the lexical content of the verb (see Friedman 1993).

2.5.2.4. Perfects. Macedonian has preserved the Common Slavic 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 statal resultativity (resultant state). The *sum* series has lost its marking for resultativity in connection with the rise of the category of *status* (see 2.5.2.10). 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.¹⁵ In the southwest (Ohrid-Struga), the *sum* series has become limited to the expression of status, while in the extreme southwest (Kostur-Korča) the l-form and its paradigms have disappeared entirely or nearly so. In the rest of Western Macedonia, the *sum* series retains some of its perfect uses as well as entering into status oppositions.

2.5.2.5 Tense. The major tense opposition is present/past. The imperfective present can describe past and future as well as present events: *doađam utre* ‘I am coming tomorrow’, *doađa kobna 1912 godina* ‘the fatal year 1912 comes’. The perfective present is limited to occurrence after the eight subordinators listed in 2.5.2.2. The invariant verbal particle *ke* added to the perfective or imperfective present expresses future or habitual actions. When negated, *ke* is usually replaced by invariant *nema da*. Negative *ne ke* and positive *ima da* also mark futurity, but carry nuances of volition and obligation, respectively. When *ke* is added to the imperfect (negative *ne ke* + imperfect or *nemaše da* + present), it forms the future-in-the-past (anterior future), the expectative unfulfillable (irreal) conditional, or the past iterative: *ke dojdeše* can be translated ‘he will have come’, ‘he would have come’ or ‘he would come’. Lunt (1952) and Kramer (1986) treat all constructions with *ke* as modal. Lunt terms the traditional future the *projective mood*. Kramer uses the term *expectative* and extends it to conditionals marked with *ke*. The relationship of future to anterior future is taxic if one takes future as a temporal category.

¹⁵ Younger generations from Eastern Macedonia, however, use the *ma*-perfect more frequently as a result of the influence of the literary language.

2.5.2.6. Taxis. Taxis is more important for distinguishing pluperfects in the *sum* series and *ima* series. 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 (see 2.5.2.10). The *beše* pluperfect specifies one past event as anterior to another, whereas the *imaše* pluperfect specifies a past result (resultant state) of an anterior event. In other words, the *beše* pluperfect is marked for past taxis, whereas the *imaše* pluperfect is marked for past statal resultativity. The difference is illustrated by the following two sentences. The first implies I spotted her before he did while the second could only be used if I had seen her on some previous occasion:

Toj mi ja pokaža, no jas veke ja bev videl
 he me-DAT her-ACC showed-3.SG.AO but I-NOM already her-ACC be-1-SG.IM see-M.SG.LF
 'He pointed her out to me, but I had already seen her'

Toj mi ja pokaža, no jas veke ja imav videno
 he me-DAT her-ACC showed-3-SG.AO but I-NOM already her-ACC have-1.SG.IM see-N.VA
 'He pointed her out to me, but I had already seen her'

2.5.2.7 Imperatives. The imperative is used for commands (see 3.2). Both perfective and imperfective imperatives are also used in reference to all three persons where other Slavic languages can use the independent perfective present for repeated past acts and habitual acts without reference to time:

Jas reči, toj stori
 I speak-SG.IV he do-SG.IV
 'He does whatever I say' or 'He will do whatever I say'

Tie brkaj nas, nie krij se vo dupkata
 they chase-SG.IV us-ACC we-NOM hide-SG.IV ITR in hole-DEF
 'They chase us, we hide in the hole'

2.5.2.8 Conditionals. There are two morphosyntactic types of conditional apodoses: The hypothetical (potential) formed with *bi* plus verbal 1-form, and the expectative (real and irreal) formed with *ke* plus present (real, or fulfillable) and imperfect (irreal, or unfulfillable). The negative is formed with *ne ke* + present/imperfect or invariant *nema da* + imperfect or *nemaše da* + present. Kramer (1986) points out that hypothetical conditions can also be fulfillable or unfulfillable. Hacking (1998:91-141) surveys all the relevant literature and, on the basis of her own field work, provides a re-analysis in which hypotheticality as graded from low to high along an access the major division of which is expectative/non-expectative. Within the non-expectative, there is a tri-partite division among past, present, and future. The following sentences illustrate the four possibilities: fulfillable-expectative (expectative), fulfillable-hypothetical (future non-expectative), unfulfillable-expectative (past non-expectative), unfulfillable-hypothetical (present non-expectative).

Ako mi se javite, ke dojdám
 if me-DAT ITR call-2.PL.P.PR EX come-1.SG.P.PR
 'If you call me, I will come'

Ako mi se javite, bi došol
 if me-DAT ITR call-2.PL.P.PR HY come-M.SG.P.LF
 'If you called/were to call me, I would come'

Ako mi se javevte, ke dojde
 if me-DAT ITR call-2.PL.P.IM EX come-1.SG.P.IM
 'If you had called me, I would have come'

Da može bebeto da prozboruva, bi ti reklo
 SU can-3.SG.I.PR baby-DEF.N SU speak-3.SG.I.PR HY you-DAT say-N.SG.P.LF
 'If the baby could talk it would say to you...'

2.5.2.8.1 The hypothetical conditional also occurs in the protasis of conditional sentences with *ako* 'if' and *koga* 'if' (literally 'when'), although such usage with *ako* is not standard. In the protasis of unfulfillable-expectative conditional sentences, the imperfect is used after *ako* 'if' or *da* in the meaning 'if'. It should be noted that there is some variation in the use of *ke* and *bi* in unfulfillable conditions. Although *ke* is still preferred for all expectatives and *bi* for all hypotheticals, *bi* is expanding into the unfulfillable-expectative at the expense of *ke* in educated formal style (under the influence of Serbian) while *ke* is encroaching on *bi* in unfulfillable-hypotheticals in educated colloquial style.

2.5.2.9 The particles *da* and *neka* in simple independent clauses express directives, that is permission, tolerance, concession, request, exhortation, wish: *Neka dojde!* 'Let him come!'; *Da dojdám!* 'Let me come!' Ordinarily, *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 *neka* is used with a past tense form (imperfect, *sum* imperfect), it expresses an unfulfillable directive. Thus, *neka* can be termed an optative marker. Unlike Bulgarian, Macedonian does not permit the collocation *neka da*.

2.5.2.9.1 The modal particle *da* occurs with all persons and all finite verb forms (if we take the imperative to be nonfinite, see note 9), although some of these collocations are highly restricted, marginal, or dialectal. A traditional cover term for *da* is the marker of the subjunctive (see 3.5).

2.5.2.10 Status. Like Bulgarian, Macedonian has developed a distinction often described as based on the opposition witnessed/reported (so-called *renarration*). This distinction is traditionally described as modal in Bulgarian grammar and also by Usikova (1985). Both Lunt (1952) and Koneski (1967) avoid the issue of how to characterize the opposition. I have argued for Aronson's use of the term *status* as opposed to Jakobson's *evidential* in this respect (Friedman 1977:7), taking *mood* as specifying the ontological qualification of the narrated event and *status* as the speaker's qualification of the validity of the event. In traditional descriptions, the synthetic aorist and imperfect together constitute what is known as the definite past and are opposed to the *sum* aorist/imperfect (the old perfect) — known as the indefinite past — in two ways: The definite past denotes events witnessed by the speaker at a definite time, the indefinite past denotes events that did not take place at a definite point in time — a remnant of its old perfect function — and events that were reported to the speaker regardless of time orientation. These are the most common uses of these paradigms, but they do not constitute invariant meanings. Friedman (1977:52-81) argues that synthetic pasts are marked for confirmativity while Lunt (1952:91-94) describes the *sum* aorist/imperfect as marked for distance in time or reality, that is resultative or nonconfirmative (see also Usikova 1985:94-106). Definite past time adverbs can be used with both the synthetic pasts and the *sum* series. Indefinite past time adverbs can be used with the synthetic pasts. The synthetic pasts are normally used to describe events witnessed by the speaker but will also be used for events not witnessed by the speaker when the speaker has reason to vouch for (confirm) their truth. The following example demonstrates clearly that synthetic pasts can be used for unwitnessed, reported, but vouched-for events:

No potoa se slučija raboti za koi ne znaev
 but after-that ITR happen-3.PL.AO works about which-PL not know-1.SG.AO
 ‘But then things happened that I did not know about’

The *sum* perfect will have a resultative or indefinite meaning when the surrounding context makes it clear that the speaker is vouching for the truth of the statement. The *sum* perfect is used when the speaker does not wish to vouch for (confirm) the truth of an event because it is based on second-hand information (report), a deduction based on evidence, or when the speaker wishes to place distance between her/himself and the statement due to a variety of factors, e.g. the speaker expresses surprise at an unexpected event or fact (admirative), the speaker sarcastically repeats the statement of another (dubitative), the event occurred by accident, etc. For example, *Toj beše vo Skopje* means ‘He was in Skopje (I vouch for it)’ while *Toj bil vo Skopje* means either ‘He has been in Skopje’ or ‘He is/was in Skopje (apparently)/(much to my surprise)/(supposedly)’.

2.5.2.10.1 The *beše* pluperfect does not enter into this opposition. In the *ima* series, the *imal* perfect is limited to nonconfirmed, usually nonwitnessed (but also deduced) events. The *imaše* pluperfect when used without a modal modifier is limited to witnessed events. The expectative marker *ke* with the *sum*-imperfect (marginally also the *sum*-aorist) is always nonconfirmative, usually reported, and is the nonconfirmative equivalent of *ke* plus imperfect or present. The negated realization is *nemalo da* plus the conjugated present tense. Using *ke* with the *beše* pluperfect is marginal and is not semantically differentiated from *ke* plus *sum*-imperfect in its past and modal meanings (Koneski 1967:498). Similarly, *ke* plus the *ima* series is a marginal southwesternism (Friedman 1977:19-20, 190). The examples I have found or elicited indicate that *ke* plus *ima* perfect is suppositional (pace Lunt’s [1952:99] elicited future anterior example, (see 3.1)), *ke* plus *imaše* pluperfect is unfulfillable expectative, and *ke* plus *imal* perfect would be the reported or nonconfirmative equivalent of the other two.

2.5.2.11 The category of transitivity may be inherent in the stem or marked by *se*: *zaspie* ‘fall asleep’ ITR *se nadeva* ‘hope’ ITR. In some verbs, *se* is used as an intransitivizer: *razbudi* ‘wake up’ TR *se razbudi* ‘wake up’ ITR. Lexical intransitives can also be used as causative transitives with definite objects: *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: *dojden sum včera* ‘I came yesterday’, *veke sum jaden* ‘I’ve already eaten’.

The passive is formed either with *se* or with ‘be’ plus verbal adjective:

Starite treba da se slušaat
 old-PL.DEF should SU ITR obey-3.PL.PR
 ‘The old folks should be obeyed’

Toj naredi da bide razbuden vo dva saatot
 he order-3.SG.AO SU be-3.SG.P.PR awaken-VA.M at two hour-DEF
 ‘He ordered that he be awakened at two o’clock’

Zelkata se vari
 cabbage-DEF ITR boil-3.SG.PR
 ‘The cabbage cooks/is being cooked’

Zelkata e varena
 cabbage-DEF is boil-VA.F
 'The cabbage is cooked'

The agent in a passive construction is usually expressed with the preposition *od* 'from, of, by':

Toj beše razbuden od slugata
 he was awaken-VA.M by servant-DEF
 'He was awakened by the servant'

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

Se gleda deka
 ITR see-3.SG.PR that
 'It can be seen that'

Ednaš se živee
 once ITR live-3.SG.PR
 'One only lives once'

Teško e da se bide glup. Ima golema konkurencija.
 difficult-N is-3.SG.PR SU ITR be.3.SG.P.PR stupid--M has-3.SG.PR big-F competition
 'It is difficult to be stupid. There is a lot of competition.'

Ne mi se raboti
 NEG me-DAT ITR work-3.SG.PR
 'I don't feel like working'

Toj se gleda vo ogledaloto
 he ITR watch-3.SG.PR in mirror-DEF
 'He looks at himself in the mirror'

Ke se bričam na berber
 EX ITR shave-3.SG.PR at barber
 'I'll get shaved at the barber's'

Se gledaat kako mačori
 ITR watch-3.PL.PR like cat-PL
 'They look at one another like cats'

2.5.2.12 Non-finite forms in historical-comparative perspective. Unlike Bulgarian, Macedonian has no remnants of the Common Slavic infinitive, and the Common Slavic participles have all been lost or transformed. Infinitival clauses in other Slavic languages correspond to constructions with *da* plus finite verb (*da*-clauses) or constructions with the verbal noun (see 2.5.1.6, 3.5). The present active participle survives as the verbal adverb. The past passive participle survives as the verbal adjective, which inflects and behaves like any other adjective and can be formed from any verb, including intransitives. The resultative participle survives as the verbal 1-form, which is limited to the *sum* series, the *imal* perfect, and the hypothetical conditional. It is therefore no longer a participle in Macedonian since it can never function attributively. The present passive participle survives in isolated adjectives, e.g. *lakom* 'greedy'. The past active participle survives in a single lexical item: *bivš* 'former'. The verbal noun survives productively (see 2.5.1.6).

2.5.3 Verb Derivation

Taking unprefixated imperfectives as basic, perfectives are derived by prefixation and suffixation. The following preverbs 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-*. Preverbs can also be added to one another: *tepa* ‘beat’ *po-iz-na-tepa* ‘beat to a pulp’ (see Ugrinova-Skalovska 1960 for detailed discussion). The suffix /-ne/ usually forms perfective verbs: *sedi* ‘sit’, *sedne* ‘sit down’, although a few verbs in *-ne* are imperfective or biaspectual: *kisne* ‘become sour’ I, *gasne* ‘quench, extinguish’ (biaspectual). Imperfectives are derived productively from perfectives by means of the suffix /-uva/: *sednuva* ‘keep sitting down’. Other suffixes such as {-(j)a(va)} are unproductive or obsolete (see 1.4.3).

2.5.3.1 The suffix /-uva/ is also productive in forming verbs from other parts of speech: *zbor* ‘word’, *zboruva* ‘speak’, *start* ‘kick-off’ (noun) *startuva* ‘kick-off’ (verb).

2.5.3.2 Verbs with the highly productive suffix /-ira/ (from Latin through French to German to Slavic) are often biaspectual, but they show a tendency to be treated as imperfective, with perfectives being derived by means of prefixation (see 3.2.1): *interes* ‘interest’ NN *interesira* ‘interest’ V.I.TR, *zainteresira*. V.P.TR

2.5.3.3 In some cases, the suffixes contribute to semantic differentiation: *kritika* ‘criticism’, *kritikuva* ‘critique’ V, *kritizira* ‘criticize’. While some new loans permit formation freely with more than one of these suffixes, others do not: *flert* ‘flirt’ permits the formation of the verb *flertuva* but not *flertira* (see Minova-Āurkova 1966).

2.5.3.4 Another productive suffix is the Greek /-sa/ (Greco-Turkish /-disa/). Verbs in /-sa/ are often perfective and form imperfectives by means of /-uva/ with prefixation deriving new perfectives: *kalaj* ‘tin’ NN, *kalaisa* ‘plate with tin’ P, *kalaisuva* I, *prekalaisa* ‘re-tin’ P.

2.5.3.5 The suffixes /-ka/ and /-oti/ are diminutive and augmentative, respectively: *kopa* ‘dig’, *kopka* ‘scratch the surface’; *tropa* ‘knock’, *tropoti* ‘pound’.

2.5.3.6 The suffix /-i/ can form verbs from nouns and adjectives, and some of the deadjectival causatives in /-i/ form intransitives in /-ee/: *crn* ‘black’, *crni* ‘blacken’, *crnee* ‘become black’.

2.5.3.7 Verbs are also derived by compounding: *obelodenuva* ‘reveal’ from *bel den* ‘broad daylight’ (literally ‘white day’).

2.6 Adverbs

Neuter indefinite adjectives also function as adverbs, unless the masculine indefinite ends in a vowel, in which case that is the adverb. Adverbs of manner, quantity, location, and time usually end in a vowel as seen in the following selected examples: *kako* ‘how’, *vaka* ‘this way’, *taka* ‘thus’, *onaka* ‘that way’, *nikako* ‘no way’, *nekako* ‘somehow’, *kolku* ‘how much’, *olku* ‘this much’, *tolku* ‘so much’, *onolku* ‘that much’, *kade* ‘where, whither’, *otkade* ‘whence’, *vamu* ‘here, hither’, *tamu* ‘here, there’, *onamu* ‘over there’, *onde(ka)* ‘there’, *tuka* ‘here’, *ovde* ‘here’, *ottuka* ‘hence’, *odovde(ka)* ‘hence’, *ottamu* ‘hence, thence’, *odonde* ‘thence’, *koga* ‘when’, *sega* ‘now’ *togaš* ‘then’, *sekogaš* ‘always’, *nikogaš* ‘never’, (*po*)*nekogaš* ‘sometimes’, etc. (cf. 2.3.4, see also 3.2). See 2.5.2.12 for the discussion of participles. For further discussion see Koneski (1967:343-53).

2.7 Prepositions

Prepositions are invariant in shape with the exception of *v* ~ *vo* ‘in’ (also ‘on’, ‘at’, etc. in context). In general *vo* is used unless the object of the preposition is an indefinite substantive that does not begin with /v/ or /f/ and is not being used in focus or contrast. Even then, there is some vacillation

(see Koneski 1967:509-514). According to the norm, usage with days of the week constitute a special case, illustrated by the following examples: *vo sreda* ‘on Wednesdays, every Wednesday’; *v sreda* ‘this (next, coming) Wednesday’; *vo sredata* ‘last (this past) Wednesday’.¹⁶

3 Syntax

Like Bulgarian and the southernmost dialects of Serbian and unlike the rest of Slavic, Macedonian has lost all but a few traces of the synthetic declensions of Common Slavic and uses prepositional or other syntactic constructions to express case relations. Nominal adposition expresses partitivity, e.g. *čaša voda* ‘glass (of) water’. The predicative instrumental constructions of North Slavic are replaced by simple nominals: *Toj rabotel papudžija* ‘He worked (as a) slipper-maker’. After prepositions, pronouns are accusative, nouns can be oblique in the rare instances where they occur, all other nominal forms are nominative. The preposition *na* can have local and motional meanings ‘on, to, at’ but also marks the indirect object (dative) and possession (genitive). Likewise *od* and *so* retain their literal meanings of ‘from’ and ‘with’, but *od* can also mark possession (especially in the West) and agentive ‘by’ in passives, while *so* marks instrumental ‘by’:

<i>Mu</i>	<i>rekov</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>brat</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>deka</i>	<i>molbata</i>	<i>bila</i>	<i>potpišana</i>
him-DAT	said-1.SG.AO	to	brother	mi-DAT	that	request-DEF	was-LF.F	signed-VA.F
<i>od</i>	<i>tatkoto</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>učenikot</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>moliv</i>			
from	father-DEF	to	pupil-DEF	with	pencil			

‘I said to my brother that the request had been signed with a pencil by the father of the pupil’

3.1 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 finite verb):

<i>Kučeto</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>kasa</i>	<i>mačkata</i>
dog-N.DEF	it-F.ACC	bites-3.SG.PR	cat-F.DEF

‘the dog bites the cat’

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 be the constituent closest to it. 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:

<i>Mačkata ja kasa kučeto</i>	‘the dog bites the cat (topic)’
<i>Kučeto mačkata ja kasa</i>	‘the dog bites the cat (topic/focus)’
<i>Mačkata kučeto ja kasa</i>	‘the dog (topic/focus) bites the cat’
<i>Ja kasa kučeto mačkata</i>	‘the dog (topic) bites (focus) the cat’
<i>Ja kasa mačkata kučeto</i>	‘the dog bites (focus) the cat (topic)’

¹⁶ This distinction is not maintained by all speakers.

There are four possible positions for an adverb, e.g. *svirepo* ‘viciously’ or *včera* ‘yesterday’ illustrated by the numbers in square brackets:

[I] <i>Kučeto</i>	[II] <i>ja kasa</i>	[III] <i>mačkata</i>	[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 to entail focus with manner adverbs. However, 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:¹⁷

<i>Da</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>sum</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>dal</i>
SU	NEG	EX	am	self-DAT	him-DAT	it-ACC.M/N	gave-M.LF

‘(They didn’t say) that I won’t have given it to him (did they)?’.

The subjunctive marker follows the expectative in colloquial suppositions:

<i>Pa</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>ima</i>	<i>kaj</i>	<i>četirieset</i>
well	EX	SU	have.3.SG.PR	at	forty

‘Well, he must be around 40’.

The hypothetical marker does not occur after the subjunctive except in old fashioned curses and blessings, in which case clitic order can be violated:

<i>Da</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>volci</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>jale</i>
SU	HY	wolf-PL	you-SG.ACC	eat-3.PL.LF

‘May wolves eat you’.

Clitic pronouns occur on either side of the auxiliary in the *beše* pluperfect: *se beše zaborčil* ~ *beše se zaborčil* ‘he had gotten into debt’. The sense of past resultativity is stronger when the auxiliary is closer to the verb (Koneski 1967:482-83). Clitics precede the forms of *ima* in the *ima* series, and nonclitic words may come between *ima* and the neuter verbal adjective:

<i>Ne</i>	<i>gi</i>	<i>ima</i>	<i>napolneto</i>
NEG	them-ACC	have-3.SG.PR	filled.N-VA

‘He has not filled them’

<i>Gi</i>	<i>nemam</i>	<i>videno</i>
them-ACC	not have.1.SG.PR	seen-N.VA

‘I have not seen them’

<i>Go</i>	<i>imaše</i>	<i>sam</i>	<i>napraveno</i>
it-ACC.M/N	have-3.SG.IM	self-M	done-N.VA

‘He has done it himself’

¹⁷ If the dative object clitic and accusative object clitic are both non-third-person, their co-occurrence is unacceptable. A non-third person accusative object clitic is unacceptable if there is a preceding dative object clitic. (See Rudin 2002).

Ke ima namesto tri četiri čaški napieno
 EX have-3.SG.PR instead three four cups-DIM drunk-N.VA
 'He must have drunk four instead of three shots (of liquor)'

The negative equivalents of *ke* using *nema da* (see 2.5.2.2) have clitics attaching to the main verb: *nema da gi vidam* 'I will not see them'. The form *beše* can also function as an emphatic marker added to the *sum* perfect, in which case it is not bound by the rules of auxiliary order and does not mark person: *beše sum došol* 'I did come', *tie došle beše* 'they did come', *beše sum imal dojdeno* '(they say/apparently) I **have** come'. The interrogative clitic *li* normally comes after the first stressed word in the clause or after the verb (Wackernagel's law; see 3.2).

Present tense forms of *sum* 'be' that function as auxiliaries, i.e. 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:

Jas sum mu prijatel
 I am him-DAT friend
 'I am his friend'

Toj mi e prijatel
 He me-DAT is friend
 'He is my friend'

Jas mu bev prijatel
 I him-DAT was-IM friend
 'I was his friend'

Clitics follow non-finite verb forms (including the imperative) *donesete mi ja knjigata* 'Bring me the book'; *donesuvajki mu ja knjigata* '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:

majka mu na carot
 mother him-DAT to king-DEF
 'The mother of the king'

na carot majka mu
 to king-DEF mother him-DAT
 'The mother of the king/The king's mother' (more colloquial)

In attributive noun phrases, the clitic comes after the first element. Note that attributes normally precede but can also follow the nouns they modify: *starata mu majka* or *majka mu stara*; 'his old mother'. With spousal terms, the possessive marker often follows a definite noun:

mažot mi
 man-DEF me-DAT
 'my husband'

soprugot *nejzin*
 spouse-DEF her-M
 'her spouse'

The normal order within the noun phrase is determiner - adjective - noun:

site *ovie* *tri* *bedni* *mački*
 all-DEF.PL these-PL thee poor-PL cats
 'all three of these poor cats'

istite *ovie* *tri* *bedni* *mački*
 same-DEF.PL these-PL thee poor-PL cats
 'these same three poor cats'

A possessive adjective normally precedes a numeral as in English:

moite *tri* *prijатели*
 my-DEF.PL three friends
 'my three friends'

However, the numeral precedes if the quantity is not the totality (cf. partitivity discussed above):

eden *moj* *prijatelj*
 one my.M friend
 'a friend of mine' (one of my friends)

Adjectives can follow their heads for stylistic and emotive purposes:

jazikot *naš* *denešen*
 language-DEF our today-ADJ
 'our daily language'

metla *rasipana*
 broom spoiled-F.VA
 'ruined broom' (idiomatic expression for a scanty beard)

In colloquial speech, a dative possessive clitic can be combined with a possessive pronoun for emphasis:

tatko *mi* *moj*
 father me-DAT my-M
 'my dad'

3.2 Nondeclarative Sentence Types

Interrogatives are marked by a rising intonation on the verb or the focus of the question:

Ķe *odiš* *vo* *Bitola?*
 EX go-2.SG.PR in B.
 'Are you going to Bitola?'

Focus on the topic can also be achieved by inversion:

Vo Bitola ke odiš?
 in B. EX go-2.SG.PR
 'Are you going to Bitola?'

The interrogative particle *li* is used less in Macedonian than in Bulgarian. In Englund's (1977:137-43) corpus of yes/no questions, 60.4% of the Bulgarian questions used *li* as opposed to 30% in Macedonian, and 44.1% of her Macedonian questions had no lexical interrogative marker but only 19.9% in Bulgarian. Another difference between Macedonian and Bulgarian is that *li* is more strictly bound to follow the first stressed element in the clause or the verb in Macedonian. Thus if the focus is anywhere but on the verb, that element must be at the beginning of the clause:

Ke odiš li vo Bitola?
 EX go-2.SG.PR QU in B.
 'Will you go to Bitola?'

Vo Bitola li ke odiš?
 in B. QU EX go-2.SG.PR
 'Is it to Bitola you will be going?'

Vo Bitola ke odiš li?
 in B. EX go-2.SG.PR QU
 'Are you going to go to Bitola?'

**Ke odiš vo Bitola li?*
 EX go-2.SG.PR in B. QU

Englund's corpus contains 6 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:

Nova Makedonija li mu ja donese?
 New Macedonia QU him-DAT it-F.ACC bring-2.SG.AO
 'Was it (the newspaper) Nova Makedonija that you brought him?'

Other interrogative particles for yes/no questions:

<i>dali</i>	'request for information':	<i>Dali znaeš</i> 'Do you know?'
<i>zar</i>	'surprise':	<i>Zar znaeš</i> 'You mean, you know?!' <i>Zar ne znaeš</i> 'Don't you know?!'
<i>da ne</i>	'tag question':	<i>Da ne si nešto bolen</i> 'You're not sick, are you?' (Unlike Bulgarian, Macedonian rarely uses <i>da</i> by itself for a yes/no question)
<i>ali</i>	colloquial variant of <i>dali</i> .	
<i>zer</i>	dialectal variant of <i>zar</i>	
<i>zarem</i>	less preferred variant of <i>zar</i> .	
<i>neli</i>	introduces a negative interrogative or follows as a tag	<i>Neli znaeš</i> 'Don't you know?' <i>Znaeš, neli</i> 'You know, don't you?'
<i>a</i>	tag request for affirmation	<i>Znaeš, a</i> 'You know, right?'

Macedonian can also introduce question with the following WH words:

<i>koj</i>	who, which
<i>kako</i>	how
<i>kolku</i>	how much, how many
<i>kakov</i>	what kind
<i>kolkav</i>	how big
<i>što</i>	what
<i>kade/kaj</i>	where
<i>koga</i>	when
<i>zošto</i>	why
<i>čij</i>	whose

Indirect questions can be introduced by a WH word or the interrogative marker *dali*:

<i>Toj</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>praša</i>	<i>kolku</i>	<i>godini</i>	<i>imam</i>
he	me-ACC	ask-3.SG.AO	how many	years	have-1.SG.PR
'He asked me how old I was'					

<i>Toj</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>praša</i>	<i>dali</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>dojdam</i>
he	me-ACC	ask-3.SG.AO	QU	EX	come-3.SG.P.PR
'He asked me whether I would come'					

An interrogative can be answered with *da* 'yes', *ne* 'no' or with a repetition of the focus of the question, which in itself can constitute affirmation.

<i>Zar</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>sakaš</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>dojdeš?</i>
QU	NEG	want-2.SG.PR	SU	come-2.SG.P.PR
'Don't you want to come?'				

Typical responses include *Kako ne* 'Of course' (literally 'how not'), *Da* 'Yes', *Sakam* 'I want (to)', or *Ne* 'No', *Pa nejkam* 'Well, I don't (want)' or *Ne sakam* 'I don't want (to)', *Jok!* 'No way!' (Turkish borrowing).¹⁸

The normal form of a command is the perfective imperative, (all examples are singular, the plural can also be a polite singular): *Dojdi* 'Come!' A *da*-clause with the perfective present expresses a wish and can function as a more polite command or request: *Da mi go napišeš* 'Write it down for me'. Negative commands are normally formed with the corresponding imperfective: *Ne doagaј, Da ne doagaš* 'Don't come'. The expression *nemoј* (plural *nemoјte*) 'Don't!' can be used by itself or with a perfective *da*-clause to form a negative imperative with other verbs: *nemoј da doјdeš* 'Don't come'. A negative *da*-clause with a perfective verb constitutes a warning: *Da ne doјdeš* 'You'd better not come'. A negated perfective imperative is a challenging threat commanding the addressee to perform the action: *Ne doјdi* 'Just don't you come (and see what happens)!' A *da*-clause with an imperfect can function as a request: *da mi ja doneseše knjigata* 'bring me the book, would you please'. A *da*-clause with a *sum* perfect is urgent or rude: *Vednaš da si došol!* 'Get over here immediately!' The second person future (*ke* + present) can also be used as an imperative either

¹⁸ Note that there is a distinction between the interrogative particle *neli* and the negative particle *ne* plus interrogative particle *li*, as in the following pair: *Neli doјdeš so mene?* 'Aren't you coming with me?' vs *Ne li doјdeš so mene* 'You're NOT coming with me?! [but I thought you said you were]' The two sentences will have different intonation patterns. (I wish to thank Elena Petroska for this example; see also Rudin, Kramer, Billings, and Baerman 1999).

peremptorily or in giving directions: *ke odiš pravo, pa desno* ‘Go straight, then (take a) right’. Indirect commands are expressed with *da*-clauses: *Kaži mu da odi* ‘tell him to go’.

3.3 Copular and Existential Sentences

The usual copula is the verb *sum* ‘be’ and is not normally omitted (see 3.1 on word order). Lexical verbs such as *se naoĝa* ‘be located’ *ostane* ‘remain’ are sometimes used in functions resembling those of ‘be’ in English. In newspaper headlines, the copula can be omitted, but not in the article itself:

IMER IMERI NOV LIDER NA PDP

Dr. Imer Imeri, specijalist po opšta medicina po poteklo od Čegrane e noviot lider na Partijata za demokratski prosperitet. (MILS 00.03.06)

‘Imer Imeri new leader of PDP

Dr. Imer Imeri, a specialist in general medicine originally from Čergane, is the new leader of the Party for Democratic Prosperity’

The admirative (mentioned in 2.5.2.10) is a usage that in principle can occur with any verb to refer to the unexpected result of a pre-existing state of which the speaker was unaware until the moment of discovery. In practice, however, the usage occurs almost exclusively with the copula and existentials. In the extreme southwest, where the verbal 1-form is almost completely lost, such usages are the last to disappear. Although the form is past, referring as it does to a pre-existing state, the correct translation into English is a present tense form, referring to the moment of discovery:

<i>Ti</i>	<i>si</i>		<i>bil</i>	<i>Rom!</i>		<i>Ne</i>	<i>sum</i>		<i>zrael.</i>
you	are.2.SG.PR		be.M.LF	Rom (Gypsy).		NEG	am.1.SG.PR		know.M.LF
‘You are a Rom! I didn’t know!’									

Existence is signaled by the verb *ima* literally ‘one has’. If the existent item is a pronoun, it will be accusative:

<i>Ima</i>		<i>mečki</i>		<i>vo</i>		<i>planinite</i>
has-3.SG.PR		bears		in		mountains-DEF
‘There are bears in the mountains’						

<i>Gi</i>		<i>ima</i>		<i>mnogu</i>
them		has-3.SG.PR		many
‘There’s a lot of them’				

3.4 Coordination and Comitativity

Coordination normally occurs between the last two elements (orthographically, a comma is never used in this position): *Seminar za makedonski jazik, literatura i kultura* ‘Seminar for Macedonian language, literature, and culture’. An *i* ‘and’ before each element gives the meaning ‘both ... and ...’. Prepositions can be conjoined:

<i>sostojbata</i>		<i>vo</i>		<i>Makedonija</i>		<i>vo</i>		<i>i</i>		<i>neposredno</i>		<i>po</i>		<i>privata</i>		<i>svetska</i>		<i>vojna</i>
situation-DEF		in		Macedonia		in		and		directly		after		first-F.DEF		world.F		war
‘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:

Našata i vašata ekipa bea tamu
 our-F.DEF and your-F.PL.DEF team-SG were-3.PL.IM there
 ‘Your team and our team were there’

Našata i vaša ekipa beše tamu
 our-F.DEF and your.F.PL.IDF team-SG was.3.SG.IM there
 ‘Your team and ours was there’

Adjectives modifying conjoined nouns of different genders can be plural: *Ljubezni Elena i Viktor* ‘Kind Elena and Victor’, but **Ovie maž i žena* ‘*These man and woman’. Conjoined subject nouns govern a plural verb regardless of word order (but see the end of 4.10).

Comitative constructions with a coordinative meaning occur colloquially:

Nie so Jola odevme kraj nego
 we with J. went.1.PL.IM along him-ACC
 ‘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:

Toj so Viktor otide/otidoa
 he with V. went-3.SG.AO/3.PL.AO
 ‘He left with Victor’/‘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 favored by some older speakers, who consider it more literary, and in the southwest.

3.5 Subordination

All the WH words given in 3.2 except *zošto* ‘why’ can function as relativizers. Except for *što* ‘which, that, who’ and -- according to the modern norm -- *koga* ‘when’, the relativizing function can be indicated by adding *što*, written without any space after *koj* and *čij* (hence, *kojšto*), and written as a separate word after all others (pace Lunt 1952:52). Korubin (1969) suggests that *što* be used for restrictive clauses and *koj(što)* for the nonrestrictive, but practice varies. In general *koj(što)* is preferred after a preposition:

deteto što go sretnavme
 child-DEF that it-ACC met-1.PL.AO
 ‘the child whom we met’

čovekot so kogo(što) se šetaše včera
 person-DEF with whom(that) ITR stroll.3.SG.IM yesterday
 ‘the person with whom he walked yesterday’

A specific indefinite referent triggers pronoun reduplication:

Vo odajata vlezee eden čovek kogo go vidov porano na ulica
 in room-DEF entered.3.SG.AO one person whom him-ACC saw-1.SG.AO earlier on street
 '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:

Koj vino pie, bez nevesta spie
 who wine drinks-3.SG.PR, without bride sleeps.3.SG.PR
 'He who drinks wine sleeps without a bride'

When a relative clause of quality modifies an antecedent conceived of as one of many, the relative pronominal adjective sometimes occurs in the plural, referring to the unmentioned group of which the antecedent is a member:

Vidov edna takva kuća, kakvi što ne se srekaat vo toj kraj
 saw-1.SG.AO one-F such-F house such-PL that NEG ITR meet-3.PL.PR in this region
 'I saw a house such as are not met with in that region'

Subjects and objects can both be extracted out of subordinate clauses:

čovekot za kogo(što) mislam deka (ti) si go videl
 person-DEF about whom(that) think-1.SG.PR that (you) are.2.SG.PR him-ACC saw-M.LF
 'the person that I think you saw'

čovekot koj(što) mislam deka (toj) te videl tebe
 person-DEF whom(that) think-1.SG.PR that (he) you-ACC.SG saw-M.LF you-OBL.SG
 'the person that I think saw you'

The chief phrase subordinators are the indicative *deka, oti, što* and the subjunctive *da* (see 2.5 and 3.1):

Im rekov da dojdut
 them-DAT told-1.SG.AO SU come-3.PL.P.PR
 'I told them to come'

Im rekov deka/oti ke dojde
 them-DAT told-1.SG.AO that EX come-3.SG.P.PR
 'I told them that he will come'

Dobro e što gi gledaš
 good-N is-3.SG.PR that them-ACC watch-2.SG.PR
 'It is good that you are watching them'

Dobro e da gi gledaš
 good-N is-3.SG.PR SU them-ACC watch-2.SG.PR
 '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:

Odejki po patot, toj si najde edno kese pari
 go-VV along road-DEF he self-DAT find-3.SG.AO one-N sack money
 '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:

Odejki po patot, mi padna čantata
 go-VV along road-DEF me-DAT fell-3.SG.AO bag-DEF
 'While walking along the road, my handbag fell'

Zatvorajki ja vratata, se upativ kaj Viktor
 closing-VV it-F.ACC door-DEF ITR set out-1.SG.AO at V.
 'Having closed the door, I set out for Victor's'

Such usage is rejected by strict normativists.

The verbal adjective phrase can modify a noun in a relativizing function:

četvorica do zabi vooruženi hrvatski gardisti
 foursome until teeth-PL armed-VA.PL Croatian-PL militiamen-PL
 'four Croatian militiamen (who are) armed to the teeth'

The most common equivalent of the infinitive is a *da*-clause:

Sakam ti da mi kažeš
 want-1.SG.PR you-NOM SU me-DAT tell-1.SG.P.PR
 'I want you to tell me'

As Čašule (1988) points out, the verbal noun can also serve this function:

Toj ima želba za pravenje šteta
 he has.3.SG.PR desire for making.VN damage
 'He likes to cause damage'

3.6 Negation

Sentence negation is expressed by placing *ne* before the verb:

Tomislav ne dojde včera
 T.NEG come-3.SG.AO yesterday
 'Tomislav didn't come yesterday'

Constituents can also be negated by *ne*:

Nego go najdov a ne nea
 him-ACC him-ACC found-1.SG.AO but/and NEG her-ACC
 'I found him, but not her'

Nina dojde ne včera tuku zavčera
 N. came-3.SG.AO NEG yesterday but rather day before yesterday
 'Nina came not yesterday but the day before yesterday'

so kuče a ne so pile
 with dog and/but not with chicken
 'with a dog and/but not with a chicken'

The position of *ne* with relation to *da* affects meaning:

Jas dojdov ne da te spasam, ami da te ubijam
 I came-1.SG.AO NEG SU you-SG.ACC save-!.SG.PR but SU you-SG.ACC kill-1.SG.PR
 'I have come not to save you but to kill you!'

Da ne te spasam
 SU NEG you-SG.ACC save-1.SG.PR
 '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:

Nikoj nikomu/na nikogo ništo ne reče
 nobody-NOM nobody-DAT/to nobody-ACC nothing NEG said-3.SG.AO
 'No one said anything to anyone (West, literary/East, Skopje)'

Nema ni meso
 not have nor meat
 'There isn't even any meat/There isn't any meat, either'

However, if negation is rendered by a privative rather than a negative element, no overt negator is used:

*bez da kaže nešto/*ništo*
 without SU say-3.SG.PR something/*nothing
 'Without (his) saying anything'

Absence is signaled by the impersonal *nema* 'it is not' (literally: 'it does not have'):

Nema nikakvi direktori tuka
 not-have no-kind-PL directors here
 'There aren't any directors here at all'

If the entity is definite, the verb takes an accusative reduplicative pronoun:

Direktorot go nema
 director-DEF him-ACC not have
 'The director isn't here'

The verb 'be' cannot be used in this way:

**Direktorot (go) ne bil/bilo.*

3.7 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 their referent. Subject nominals can have zero anaphora subject marking on the finite verb:

Čovekot vleguvaše vo sobata i se sopna
 person-DEF entered-3.SG.IM in room-DEF and ITR tripped
 '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:

Gi čekav Kiril i Lile. Toj dojde, a taa ne
 them-ACC waited-1.SG.IM K. and L. He came-3.SG.AO and/but she NEG
 'I was waiting for Kiril and Lile. He came, but she didn't'.

Otherwise, the presence of a subject pronoun is normally interpreted as nonanaphoric:

Go vidovme Vlado, koga Ø/toj vlez
 him-ACC saw-1.PL.AO V. when Ø/he entered-3.SG.AO
 '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 nonspecific indefinite:

Barav edna marka no ne najdov
 sought-1.SG.IM one stamp but NEG find-1.SG.AO
 '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* is the third person accusative clitic pronoun):

Barav edna marka no ne ja najdov
 sought-1.SG.IM one stamp but NEG it-F.ACC find-1.SG.AO
 '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:

*Ja barav edna marka no ne *Ø/ja najdov*
 it-F.ACC sought-1.SG.IM one stamp but NEG Ø it-F.ACC find-1.SG.AO
 '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 barav markata i ne *Ø/ja najdov*
 it-F.ACC/Ø sought-1.SG.IM stamp-DEF and NEG Ø it-F.ACC find-1.SG.AO
 '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 *gorespomenat* ‘the abovementioned’ and *prethodni* ‘the preceding’.

3.8 Reflexives and Reciprocals

Reflexivity is expressed by reflexive personal pronouns (*se, si, sebe, sebesi*), the reflexive pronominal adjective (*svoj*), the emphatic pronominal adjective (*sam*), the adjective *sopstven* ‘one’s own’ (also ‘characteristic’), and the verbal prefix *samo-*. For details on the uses of *se*, see 2.5.2.11. On the possessive use of *si*, see 3.9. The prefix *samo-* and the pronoun *sebe(si)* refer unambiguously to the subject as both the source and the goal of the action, whereas the intransitive marker *se* has additional uses and interpretations: *zalaže se* ‘be deceived’ or ‘deceive oneself’, but *samozalaže se = zalaže sebesi* ‘deceive oneself’. The emphatic pronominal adjective *sam* is normally definite when it means ‘self’ and indefinite when it means ‘alone’ (Topolińska 1981:94-95):

Petre dojde samiot
P.came.3.SG.AO self-M.DEF
‘Peter came himself’

Petre dojde sam
P.came.3.SG.AO self-M.IDF
‘Peter came alone’

Samiot Petre dojde
self-M.DEF P. came.3.SG.AO
‘Peter himself came’
**Sam Petre dojde.*

With marked intransitives, however, the indefinite can have a reflexive meaning:

sam koga ke se udri čovek
self-M.IDF when EX ITR hit-3.SG.PR person
‘When a person hits himself’ (Lunt 1952:39).

A nonreflexive preceding a noun phrase is interpreted as referring to someone else:

Kaj nego/Kaj sebesi Kosta gi najde potrebnite pari
at him-ACC/at self-OBL K. them-ACC found-3.SG.AO necessary-PL.DEF money
‘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:

Kosta si gi našol parite kaj nego/sebesi
K. self-DAT them-ACC found-M.LF money-DEF at him-ACC/self-OBL
‘Kosta found the necessary money on him (someone else or himself/himself)’

Unlike other Slavic languages, the pronominal adjective *svoj* is becoming like the English emphatic ‘one’s own’, as in the following example:

Direktorot dojde so negovata/svojata sopruga
director-DEF came-3.SG.AO with his-F.DEF/own-F.DEF spouse
‘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 *negovata* ‘his’ is unremarkable and would not be interpreted as referring to someone else’s wife. Rather, the use of *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:

Poželuvajki Vi srečno vraćanje vo svojata sredina
 wish-VV you-PL.DAT happy-N return-VN in own-F.DEF surrounding
 ‘Wishing you a happy return to your surroundings’

Only some speakers accepted the following invented sentence:

Svojata slika i se pokaža na nea
 own-F.DEF picture her-DEF ITR show-3.SG.AO to her-ACC
 ‘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:

Rada me zamoli da kupam edna kutija cigari za kerka i
 R. me-ACC ask-3.SG.AO SU buy-1.SG.PR one-F box cigarettes for daughter her-DAT
i edna za sebesi
 and one-F for self-OBL
 ‘Rada asked me to buy a package of cigarettes for her daughter and one for herself’

The following expressions render reciprocity: *eden (na) drug* ‘(to) one another’ (other prepositions can also be used, e.g. *eden so drug* ‘with one another’); *među sebe* ‘among our-, your-, themselves’; *međusebno* ‘mutually’; *se* ‘ITR’ (see 2.5.2.11). The following sentences illustrate various possibilities of order and scope:

Tie si davaat pari eden na drug
 they-NOM self-DAT give-3.PL.PR money one-M to other-M
 ‘They give money to one another’

Eden na drug si davaat pari
 one-M to other-M self-DAT give-3.PL.PR money
 ‘To one another they give money’

Tie sakaat da si pomognat eden na drug
 They-NOM want-3.PL.PR SU self-DAT help-3.PL.PR one-M to other-M
Tie sakaat eden na drug da si pomognat
 They-NOM want-3.PL.PR one-M to other-M SU self-DAT help-3.PL.PR
 ‘They want to help one another’ (The upper version is preferred, but the lower is acceptable)

Jas bi sakal tie da si pomognat eden na drug
 I-NOM HY want-M.LF they-NOM SU self-DAT help-3.PL.PR one-M to other-M
 ‘I would like them to help one another’

Eden na drug da si pomognat tie, taa e mojata želba
 one-M to other-M SU self-DAT help-3.PL.PR they-NOM, that-F is-3.SG.PR my-F.DEF desire
 ‘That they help one another is my desire’ (acceptable if the referent of ‘they’ is already known)

Ti gi stavaš činiite edna vrz druga
 You-SG.NOM them-AC put-2.SG.PR dishes-DEF one-F on other-F
 ‘You put the plates one on another’

3.9 Possession

The verb *ima* ‘have’ is the normal clausal expression of possession. The prepositions *na* ‘to, at, on’ and *od* ‘of, from’ mark nominal possession: *Knigata na/od Blažeta* ‘Blaže’s book’. The use of *od* in this meaning is a Westernism but is sanctioned by the literary norm. The normal order is head-prepositional phrase, but the order prepositional phrase-head also occurs, especially colloquially (see 3.1):

Daj mi ja od Koneski gramatikata
 give-IV.SG me-DAT it-F.ACC from K. grammar-DEF
 ‘Give me Koneski’s grammar’

Unlike Bulgarian, Macedonian clitic dative pronouns are not used with noun phrases to indicate possession, except with kinship terms and similar expressions (see 3.1). Such constructions do not normally 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: *tatko mi moj* ‘my father’. The reflexive dative clitic *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: *zemi si go paltoto* ‘take your coat!’

Possessive adjectives, both pronominal (see 2.3.2) and those derived from proper nouns and kinship terms (see 2.2.4.1), 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: *nejziniot soprug* or *soprugot nejzin* ‘her spouse’. Phrases with certain kinship terms or the vocative do not take the article, e.g. *Dragi moj prijatele!* ‘O my dear friend’ versus *dragiot moj prijatel* or *mojot drag prijatel* ‘my dear friend’.

3.10 Quantification

Quantifiers normally take the plural. Singular agreement is prescribed for numerals ending in ‘one’, but in practice only the nearest item or noun phrase will be singular. Thus ‘thirty-one beautiful girls were dancing’ is prescribed as *Trieset i edno ubavo devojče igraše*, but most speakers use a plural verb *igraa* and some even use a plural noun *devojšinja*. A verb preceding such a numeral is plural. See 2.1.2.3 and 2.4.2 on the morphology of quantitative plurals and virile numerals. The quantitative plural is obligatory only after *dva* ‘two’ and *nekolku* ‘a few’. It is especially common with certain frequently counted nouns such as *den* ‘day’. The most likely environments for the quantitative plural are unmodified monosyllabic nouns of Slavic origin quantified by numerals under ‘eleven’. Although according to Topolińska (1981:71) adjectives block the quantitative plural as in *pet toma* ‘five volumes’ but *pet debeli tomovi* ‘five thick volumes’, one can also encounter examples such as *dva lični dohoda* ‘two incomes’. Virile numerals, used for masculine persons or groups of mixed gender (*dvajcata roditeli* ‘both parents’),

are not used with absolute consistency: *dva čoveka* ‘two persons’ as opposed to *dvajca luđe* ‘two people’.

Collective nouns are not quantified, except by indefinite quantifiers:

Izminale *mnogu* *godinje*
 passed-PL.LF many years-COL
 ‘Many years passed’

The neuter numerical adjective *edno* ‘one’ can be used to collectivize, quantify, or approximate other numerals, except ‘two’, which is rendered approximate by being postposed, an option not open to other numerals: *edno osum godini* ‘about eight years’; *godina dve* ‘a year or two’; **godini osum*; **edno dve godini*. Approximation can also be rendered by juxtaposing two adjacent numerals: *dve-tri* ‘two or three’, *dva-trieset* ‘twenty or thirty’. Partitive quantification is done without any preposition: *čaša voda* ‘a cup of water’. With definite quantified entities, *od* can mean ‘some of’, ‘any of’:

Daj *mi* *od* *mlekoto*
 give-IV.SG me-DAT from milk-DEF
 ‘Give me some of the milk’

Imate *li* *od* *tie* *mali* *slivi*
 have-2.PL.PR QU of those little-PL plums
 ‘Do you have any of those little plums?’

Since quantification does not involve the case complications found in most other Slavic 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: *javnosta znae* ‘the public knows (SG)’. Expressions such as *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 :

Kaj *se* *najde* *tolku* *skakulec?!*
 where ITR find-3.SG.AO so many grasshopper
 ‘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: *Grupa novinari dojde* (SG) *Grupa novinari dojdoa* (PL). Some Macedonians faced with this stylistic problem solve it by moving the verb: *Dojde edna grupa novinari*.

Texts

Ljubovta na stariot Sokole Kipro se zarodi tokmu ovde, pred
 love-DEF to old-M.DEF S. K. ITR born-3.SG.AO precisely here before

Bocevata berbernica, kade što toj pošetuva i sega, rano vo
 Boce's.F.DEF barber shop where that he strolls.3.SG.PR and now early.N in

ova septemvrisko utro. Ponedelnik e, i toj znae deka
 this-N september.ADJ.N morning Monday is-3.SG.PR and he knows.3.SG.PR that

berbernicata ne e otvorena, Boce sigurno otišol so
 barbershop-DEF NEG is-3.SG.PR open-F.VA B. surely went.M.LF with

decata na tutun. No drugo nešto go vodi olku
 children-DEF to tobacco but other-N something him-ACC leads-3.SG.PR so

rano ovde: deneska, po letniot raspust, pak se otvora
 early here today after summer-ADJ.M.DEF vacation, again ITR open-
 3.SG.PR

gimnazijata. Ovoj den go čekaše Sokole nestrplivo celo
 high school-DEF this-M day it-ACC awaited-3.SG.IM S. impatient-N all-N

leto. Toj e odamna sekidneven posetitel na berbernicata.
 summer he is-3.SG.PR long ago daily-M visitor to barbershop-DEF

Old Sokole Kipro's love was born precisely here, in front of Boce's barber shop, whither he is walking even now, early on this September morning. It is Monday, and he knows that the barber shop is not open; Boce surely must have gone with his children to pick tobacco. But something else brings him here so early in the morning: Today, after the summer break, the high school is opening again. Sokole has been waiting impatiently for this day all summer. He has been a daily visitor to the barbershop for a long time.

Slušaj, sinko, —reče Sokole, —da ti kažam
 listen-IV.SG son-DIM.VOC said-3.SG.AO S., —SU you-DAT tell-3.SG.PR

malku od mojata istorija. Koga bevme deca, nè
 little-ADV from my-F.DEF story when were-1.PL.IM children us-ACC

ranea so sol-piper, nè oblekuvaa vo šajačno. Vo Solun
 fed-3.PL.IM with salt-pepper us-ACC dressed-3.PL.IM in homespun in Salonica

sum gledal malku kako se nosi svetot i kako
 am-1.SG.PR watch-M.LF little-ADV how ITR carry world-DEF and how

živee. Otade me zedoa, me kladoa vo edna
live-3.SG.PR from-there me-ACC took.3.PL.AO me-ACC put.3.PL.AO in one-F

bakalnica, vo čaršijata. Mlad kolku tebe, da znaev
grocery in bazaar-DEF young-M how-much you-ACC SU know-1.SG.IM

što e žena, da znaev što bilo ljubov —ne.
what is-3.SG.PR woman SU know-1.SG.IM what was-N.LF love —NEG

Posle me proženija i sè pomina. Tuku ne
afterward me-ACC married-off.3.PL.AO and all-N passed.3.SG.AO but NEG

pominalo. Ova mi e sega kako nakazanie deka
passed-N.LF this-N me-DAT is-3.SG.PR now like punishment that

sum nemal mladost. Ako možeš da razbereš,
am-1.SG.PR not-have-M.LF youth if can-2.SG.PR SU understand-2.SG.PR

dosta ti se i ovie zborovi, a ako ne možeš,
enough you-DAT are-3.PL.PR and these-PL words and/but if not can-2.SG.PR

što deka ke ti kažuvam i cel den.
what that EX you-DAT tell-3.SG.I.PR and all-M day

Listen, sonny, — said Sokole, — let me tell you a little of my story. When we were children we had little to eat and we were dressed in homespun. In Salonica I saw a little of how people behave and how they live. They took me from there, they put me in a grocery store in the bazaar. I was as young as you are; if I had known what a woman is, if I had known what love can be — but, no. Then they married me off and everything passed by. Only, apparently it hasn't passed. This now is like my punishment for not having had a youth. If you can understand, even these words are enough for you, if not, there would be no point in my explaining it all day to you.

Excerpts from Koneski, Blaže. 1955. “Ljubov.” in the collection *Lozje*. Skopje: Kočo Racin.

Zvoni telefon i slušalkata ja krena malo devojče:
rings-3.SG.PR telephone and receiver-DEF it-F.ACC lifts-3.SG.PR little-N girl-DIM
—Aloooo?

Hellooo?

—*Te molam, vikni ja majka ti.*
you-ACC beg-1.SG.PR call-SG.IV her-ACC mother you-DAT

—*Zafatena e, ne može.*
busy-F.VA is-3.SG.PR NEG can-3.SG.PR

—*Dobro, daj go tato.*
good-N give-SG.IV him-ACC daddy

- Tato* *e* *zafaten.*
 daddy is-3.SG.PR busy-M.VA
- A* *imaš* *li* *postar* *brat?*
 and/but have-2.SG.PR QU older brother
- Imam.*
 have-1.SG.PR
- Daj* *go* *nego.*
 give-SG.IV him-ACC him-ACC
- Bato* *e* *zafaten.*
 older-brother is-3.SG.PR busy-M.VA
- A* *postara* *sestra* *imaš* *li?*
 and/but older-F sister have-2.SG.PR QU
- Imam,* *dve.*
 have-1.SG.PR, two-F
- Vikni* *nekoja* *od* *niv.*
 call-SG.IV someone-F from them-ACC
- I* *tie* *se* *zafateni.*
 and they are-3.PL.PR busy-PL.VA
- Pa* *dobro,* *što* *pravat* *site?*
 well good-N what do-3.PL.PR all-PL.DEF
- Me* *baraat* *mene!*
 me-ACC seek-3.PL.PR me-ACC

The telephone rings, and a little girl picks up the receiver: —Hellooo? —Call your mother (to the phone), please. —She's busy, she can't (come). —OK, give me your daddy. —Daddy is busy. —Do you have an older brother? —Yes. —Give me him. —Big brother is busy. —Well, do you have an older sister? —Yes, two. —Call one of them. —They're busy, too. —Well, OK, what are they all doing. —They're looking for me!

- Alo,* *dali e* *toa* *Parlamentot?*
 Hello, QU is-3.SG.PR this-N parliament-DEF
- Da,* *povelete.*
 yes command-PL.IV
- Sakam* *da stanam* *člen* *na parlamentot,*
 want-1.SG.PR SU become-1.SG.PR member to parliament-DEF
- što mi e* *potrebno* *za toa?*
 what me-DAT is-3.SG.PR necessary-N for that-N
- Dali ste vie budala?!*
 QU are-2.PL.PR you-PL.NOM fool
- Sum!* *Treba li ušte nešto?*
 am-1.SG.PR need-3.SG.PR QU already something

—Hello, is this Parliament? —Yes, how can I help you? —I want to become a member of Parliament, what do I need for that? —Are you crazy? —Yes, I am! Is there anything else?

Excerpts from Konevska, Elizabeta and Dragan Mihajlov. 1995. *Mala anatalogija na vicevi: na koi sme se smeele... i se ušte se smeeme*. Skopje: Rf Akvarel

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THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA and adjacent territory

WESTERN DIALECTS

Ohrid-Prespa Group

Lower Prespa (East Banks of both lakes)

Ohrid-Struga (Resen)

Radožda-Vevčani (Lin)

Debar Group

Drimkol-Golobrd

Debar

Mala Reka (Galičnik)

Reka

Polog Group

Gostivar (Upper Polog)

Tetovo (Lower Polog)

Gora

Skopska Crna Gora (Vratnica)

West Central (Veles, Prilep, Bitola, Lerin, Demir Hisar, Kruševo, Brod, Kičevo, Poreče)

KOSTUR-KORČA GROUP

Nestram

Korča (Bobošćica)

Kostur

EASTERN DIALECTS

Kumanovo-Kriva Palanka (Kratovo, Probištip, Sveti Nikole)

Štip-Strumica (Kočani, Radoviš)

Tikveš-Mariovo (Negotino, Kavadarci, Valandovo)

Maleševo-Pirin (Delčevo, Pehčevo, Berovo, Vinica, Blagoevgrad)

Lower Vardar (Dojran, Gevgelija, Kukuš, Lagadin, Solun, Postol, Voden, Kajlar)

Seres-Nevrokop (Visoka, Suho, Valovište)

