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VICTOR A. FRIEDMAN
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МАКЕДОНСКА АКАДЕМИЈА НА НАУКИТЕ И УМЕТНОСТИТЕ

Виктор А. Фридман

МАКЕДОНИСТИЧКИ СТУДИИ 2



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Preface

This collection of articles represents of more than four decades of my work on Macedonian published in English. Given the opportunity to revisit work I first published decades ago, I was pleasantly surprised that I still agree with myself for the most part. But, of course, neither knowledge nor events have stood still, and so relevant interventions were made. Many references were added to subsequent work, and I have taken these works into account in many places. The final article also contains a postscript owing to events and data not available when the article was originally published.

Each of the articles in this collection can still stand alone, and they appeared in venues with different audiences. As a result, some of them contain repetitions of basic facts or of my own previous work that will be noticed by those who read this collection as a book rather than selecting this or that article. Nonetheless, I chose to retain the basic shape of each article.

Chicago
4 January 2014

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Grammatical Categories and a Comparative Balkan Grammar*

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In the past half-century since Sandfeld's (1930) synthesis of "problems and results" which led to the establishment of Balkan linguistics as a field within the broader framework of areal and typological linguistics, certain general directions have been more consistently pursued than others. As Masica (1976:5) has observed in the context of areal linguistics in general: "Simply discovering and demonstrating individual instances of convergence has absorbed much of the time and energy of those interested in such phenomena". There is a general consensus that two of the most important goals for Balkan linguistics, whether seen as remedies for a perceived "crisis" or "stagnancy" in the field (Steinke 1976:21) or as the next natural step in the maturation of the discipline, are a Balkan linguistic atlas (mentioned at least as early as Skok and Budimir 1934:15; see now also Sobolev et al. 2002-) and a Balkan comparative grammar (Kazazis 1968; see now also Feuillet 2012). In order to achieve these goals, it will be necessary to broaden the scope of the bases of comparison. Until now, the overwhelming emphasis in comparative Balkan linguistics has been on readily perceptible surface phenomena, especially lexical borrowing, calquing, and a relatively small number of phonological and morpho-syntactic features such as the use of schwa or the replacement of the infinitive. Even in treating these phenomena, the lack of complete consistency in the facts of their occurrence within the *a priori* defined linguistic territory has lead scholars to attempt to define "cluster" phenomena (Hamp 1979, 1989), to suggest the elimination of some of the often reiterated examples of common features (Desnickaja 1979:9-11), or to

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suggest that the Balkans do not even constitute a Sprachbund (Andriotis and Kourmoulis 1968:30). Consider in this light Aronson's paper on English as a Balkan language (revised and published as Aronson 2006), in which he points out that English is characterized by loss of case, loss of the infinitive, formation of the future with invariant 'will', presence of stressed schwa, presence of a definite article (preposed as in Greek and sometimes in Albanian and Romanian), etc. The point is not that English is a Balkan language but rather that questions of mutual influence versus internal development must be carefully weighed. There can be no doubt that the languages of the Balkans have influenced one another: this is clear from lexicon and phraseology. The question is how far does this influence extend into the structure of the respective languages. The answer to this question must be sought in a comparative grammar, and that section of the grammar dealing with the comparison of grammatical categories — i.e., those parts of the meaning conveyed by changes in form which do not affect lexical meaning — will be essential in this regard. In order to illustrate the theoretical possibilities of such a comparison, this paper will give a contrastive outline of the grammatical categories of the Standard Albanian and Standard Macedonian indicative systems, showing their basic similarities and differences, their respective hierarchical arrangements, and the significance of these facts for the development of Balkan linguistics.

In beginning our discussion of the treatment of verbal categories in a comparative Balkan grammar, Jakobson's (1932, 1957) pioneering work can serve as a point of departure. Given the ten generic categories identified by him, viz. gender, number, person, voice, mood, status, aspect, tense, taxis, and evidential, this discussion will be restricted to those categories which change between conjugational paradigmatic sets below the level of mood in a hierarchical schema of verbal categories. Thus excluded are the lowermost categories of gender, number, and person, as those only change within a given paradigm, and the superordinate category of voice, as well as the Macedonian aspectual opposition perfective/imperfective, as these are inherent in the verbal stem and thus stand above mood in a grammatical hierarchy (see Aronson 1981). Our first consideration then will be the definition of mood, which, according to Jakobson, characterizes the relationship between the narrated event and its participants and the participants in the speech event (Jakobson 1957:4). This is essentially the traditional definition of mood. An ever increasing number of linguists, however, have pointed out that the feature common to all moods other than the indicative and shared by them with the various forms of the so-called future tense is the fact that they all describe events that are not ontologically real, i.e., they represent an objective evaluation of the reality of an event such that an event described by a present or past indicative has actually occurred or is occurring

while an event described by any of the other forms has not actually occurred and is not occurring (Gołąb 1964:1; Janakiev 1962:428; Kuryłowicz 1956:26; Lunt 1952:82; Lyons 1968:304ff.). On the basis of this, Aronson has convincingly argued that mood should be defined simply as the qualification of the narrated event without reference to its participants or those in the speech event (Aronson 1977:12-15). He then points out that Jakobson defines status as qualifying the narrated event but gives examples involving the speaker's evaluation, e.g., the English assertive using stressed *do* (e.g., *He DID go home last night.*), in which the speaker is editorializing on the truth of the statement. As a result, Aronson suggests that the term *status* be redefined to mean the relationship between the speaker and the narrated event. This has two advantages. One is that it places mood and aspect together as the (objective) qualifier and quantifier, respectively, of the narrated event, a fact which can be used to explain intersections between mood and aspect which, because they involve nonindicative modality, are beyond the scope of this paper.¹ The other is that it is now possible to account for the similarities and differences between modal forms such as the optative, which expresses the speaker's wish for an event which is not ontologically real, and indicative forms such as the Albanian admirative (to be discussed below), which expresses the speaker's attitude toward an ontologically real event. Both are marked for the category of status but only the former is marked as a nonindicative mood.

Let us now consider the Macedonian and Albanian paradigmatic sets subsumed under the label *indicative mood*. Both languages' sets of paradigms can be divided into three series. The first is synthetic and contains the present (1 sg 'work' Macedonian *rabotam*, Albanian *punoj*), the imperfect (*rabotev*, *punoja*), and the aorist (*rabotiv*, *punova*). The imperfect and aorist in Macedonian are collectively referred to as the definite past (*minato opredeleno*), and this label will be employed for the sake of convenience and ease of recognition. The second series comprises those paradigms using a free-standing form of the auxiliary 'have' and a nonfinite form of the main verb: neuter verbal adjective in Macedonian, participle in Albanian.² The Macedonian forms do not have traditional labels and will therefore be referred to on the basis of the auxiliary as the

¹ An example of such an intersection is the use of the future marker *kje* with an imperfect in Macedonian to indicate either iterativity (aspect) or an irreal condition (mood), e.g., *Što kje rečea čuvarite, toa pravev* 'Whatever the guards would say, that's what I would do' but *Da znaev, kje rečev nešto* 'If I had known, I would have said something'. Aronson (1977) labels the category containing this intersection *manner*.

² In Albanian, 'have' is replaced by 'be' in the medio-passive. This fact will not materially affect the phenomena discussed here.

ima-perfect (*imam raboteno*), the *imaše*-perfect (*imav raboteno*) and the *imal*-perfect (*sum imal raboteno*).³ The Albanian forms are the perfect (*kam punuar*) and the two pluperfects, which for the sake of clarity will be labeled according to the aspect of their auxiliaries as the im-pluperfect (*kisha punuar*) and the aor-pluperfect (*pata punuar*). The third series in Macedonian consists of the auxiliary of the 'be' and the so-called *l*-participle, which can be either imperfect or aorist. The forms with the auxiliary in the present tense will be called by the traditional name of indefinite past (*minato neopredeleno*: *sum rabotel*, *sum rabotil*) while those with the definite past auxiliary will be labeled the *beše*-pluperfect for the sake of clarity (*beše rabotel*, *beše rabotil*). The third series in Albanian is the so-called admirative, with four paradigmatic sets traditionally labeled present (*punuakam*), perfect (*paskam punuar*), imperfect (*punuakësha*), and pluperfect (*paskësha punuar*).⁴

³ Macedonian *ima* 3 sg present, *imaše* 3 sg imperfect, *imal* 3 sg past indefinite.

⁴ Macedonian forms of the type *bil rabotel*, *bil rabotil* are archaic and dialectal (Koneski 1967b:482), while those of the types *bev imal raboteno* are hypothetical but non-occurring, and in the form *beše sum imal raboteno*, the *beše* is an invariant emphatic particle which does not define a paradigmatic set (Friedman 1977:14-15). These are all, therefore, excluded from consideration. The Albanian compound forms of the type *ka pasë punuar* and *kisha pasë punuar* will also be excluded. Although they are accepted as part of the literary language, they are basically Geg forms and are defined as synonymous with the perfect and im-pluperfect but used for events in the distant past (Demiraj 1976:269, 271). Aside from the fact that the term *distant past* cannot be defined with any precision, there are examples which this term cannot account for, such as the following, in which a partisan is describing an ambush he had just witnessed earlier that night:

(i) Isha me Rexhepin te varret e xhamisë, në pritë. Nën ne mbatanë *kishte pasë qenë ngjuar* prita e italianeve. (Kelmendi 1973:72)

I was with Rexhep at the graveyard of the mosque, in ambush. Below us on the other side the Italians' ambush *had been set*.

Boretzky (1966:101-102) has observed that the compound im-pluperfect has the potential for developing the basic meaning of anteriority to the ordinary pluperfect, but as it is neither restricted to nor required for this function it cannot be said to have a basic meaning of its own. In view of these facts, these forms will be excluded as variants which cannot at this stage be assigned independent meanings, but which are rather colloquial variants much like the French compound pluperfect (*J'ai eu travaillé*) used colloquially to replace the past anterior (*J'eus travaillé*). The compound admiratives of the type *paska pasë punuar* and *paskësha pasë punuar* will be excluded on similar grounds, to which can be added the fact that they are not mentioned in the Academy grammar (Demiraj 1976).

The first series we shall consider will be the perfects using 'have'. The superficial resemblance between the Macedonian and Albanian forms has been noted at least since Sandfeld (1930:130), but these forms play very different roles in the structures of their respective languages. The Macedonian perfects describe the relationship between a past narrated event and another event defined by a point of reference such that the verb presents the event as a state resulting from some previous action (Friedman 1977:82-89). In the case of the *ima*-perfect the reference is contemporaneous with the speech event, i.e., present, while it is anterior to the speech event, i.e., past, for the *imaše*- and *imal*-perfects. The generic verbal categories as outlined by Jakobson and modified by Aronson do not provide for the resultative relationship, and so this category, which can be labeled *resultativity*, must be added to those listed above. It is the specification of this category which separates the Macedonian 'have' perfects from all other indicative forms, and thus in a hierarchical arrangement of verbal categories it will come immediately below mood. As the *ima*-perfect is marked for present resultativity, it cannot refer to a definite time in the past, a restriction which does not apply to the Albanian perfect, as in example (1):

- (1) *Včera go imam videno vo dva saatot.
 Dje e kam parë n'orën dy.
 *Yesterday I have seen him at two o'clock.

In addition to being used for definite past, nonresultative events, the Albanian perfect can be used in connected narrative for sequential events, and from a comparative point of view, it can correspond to the Macedonian definite and indefinite pasts in both the aorist and imperfect aspects, as can be seen from examples (2) and (3), which are drawn from a much larger corpus:

- (2) Robërve që ishin rreth 15.000, perandori Vasilij *ka urdhëruar* që t'u nxirren sytë, kursë çdo të një qindit t'i lihet njëri sy dhe nën prirje e këtyreve i *ka dërguar* Samoili. (Qorvezirovski 1978:158)
 Na fatenite što bile do 15000 duši carot Vasilij *na redil* da im se izvadat oçite, a na sekoj stoti da mu se ostavi po edno oko, i pod vodstvoto na ovie gi *pratit* kaj Samuil. (Kjorvezirovski 1980:158)
 [As for] the prisoners, who numbered around 15000, the emperor Basil, *ordered* that their eyes be put out but that one eye be left in every hundredth person, and under their leadership he *sent* them back to Samuil.

- (3) Para luftës gati të gjitha minierat e Jugosllavisë *kanë qenë* në duart të huajve, . . . Minatorët atëherë *kanë punuar* për rroga të vogla, . . . (Qorverzirovski 1978:56)
Pred vojnata povekjeto od rudnicite vo Jugoslavija *bea* vo racete na tugjincite, . . . Rudarite togaš *rabotea* za mali plati, . . . (Kjorvezirovski 1980:56)
Before the war, almost all the mines *were* in the hands of foreigners, . . . The miners *were working* for small wages, . . .

Although such phenomena are said to be more characteristic of colloquial and of northern Albanian, they are nevertheless a common and accepted feature of the literary language (Demiraj 1976:269, Dodi 1968:66-67). The Albanian perfect, therefore, cannot be marked for resultativity and must be opposed to the aorist and imperfect in some other way. Given the fact that the perfect can be used nonresultatively (1) and for both completed (2) and durative (3) actions, and in view of Demiraj's (1977:119-120) analysis, we would propose that the perfect neutralizes the aspectual oppositions distinguishing the aorist and imperfect and functions as the unmarked past, as has been the fate of the perfect in many European languages.

This leads to the question of the relationship of the aorist/imperfect opposition to the perfect. We should suggest that the situation is as follows. The perfect is clearly closer in meaning and use to the aorist than to the imperfect (1977:119-120). The imperfect is distinguished from both the aorist and the perfect by the fact that it can occur with the progressive particle *po* and cannot express limited duration (Dodi 1968:65). The aorist is then distinguished from the perfect by the fact that it cannot be used in the type of durative contexts where the perfect is functioning as the equivalent of the imperfect, e.g., with the adverb *gjithënjë* 'always' (Dodi 1968:66). There are thus two aspectual distinctions: imperfect vs aorist/perfect, for which the imperfect is marked, and then aorist vs perfect, for which the aorist is marked.⁵

This in turn brings us to the question of the opposition imperfect/aorist. In Macedonian, as I have argued elsewhere (Friedman 1977:28-33, 190), the

⁵ It should be noted that while the perfect is the paradigmatic set generally used to render the meaning of resultativity, this use is not distinctive, as the aorist can also be resultative even in nonexpressive contexts:

(ii) - Kjo është përpjekja jonë e fundit, Mevla Çelebi, - tha kryeveqilharxhi. - Ne *bëmë* çmos por fati gjer tani *s'na buzëqeshi*. (Demiraj 1971b:55)

"This is our final attempt, Mevla Çelebi", said the commander-in-chief. "We *have done* our utmost, but up until now fate *has not smiled* upon us".

imperfect is the marked member of the opposition (the most commonly held opinion, based on its greater semantic and syntactic limitations and lesser frequency of occurrence) and that the feature for which it is marked is absolute duration.⁶ In Albanian, I would argue, the imperfect is marked for unlimited duration while the aorist, in opposition to the perfect, is marked for completeness or wholeness (Demiraj 1976:265-266; Demina 1960:29). There is one important context in which the Macedonian imperfect cannot be translated by the Albanian — if the event is limited and fills those limits without going beyond them as seen in examples (4) and (5):

- (4) *Greva zgjati 48 orë.* (Qorvezirovski 1978:160)
Štrajkot traeše 48 časa. (Kjorvezirovski 1980:160)
 The strike lasted for 48 hours.
- (5) *Popujt e Jugosllavisë jetuan në këtë mënyrë plot 23 vite, gjer në vitin 1941.* (Qorvezirovski 1978:130)
Vaka narodite na Jugoslavija živeeja celi 23 godini, do 1941 godina. (Kjorvezirovski 1980:130)
 The people of Yugoslavia *lived* like this for 23 whole years, until 1941.

In Macedonian, the fact of the duration of the event itself is what is of significance, and so the imperfect is used. In Albanian, the specification of a time limit completely filled by the event is incompatible with the type of durativity expressed by the imperfect, and so only the aorist is acceptable. In examples such as these, the aorist is being used for durative actions because they are conceived of as completed wholes.⁷

Since the Macedonian imperfect/aorist opposition is the same in all the sets of paradigmatic sets in which it occurs (Friedman 1977:52-53, 103), we will now consider the opposition between the definite and indefinite pasts in

⁶ The other feature for which the Macedonian imperfect is sometimes said to be marked is coordination, but examples such as *Kaži kako begaše* 'Tell [the story of] how you eloped' show that the imperfect can be used to describe an event as taking place over many points in time, i.e. duratively, without referring to some coordinated event. The Macedonian imperfect can also be used in sequences with aorists with which it is not coordinated. Hence, coordination is a contextual variant meaning.

⁷ We should note that iterative actions, for which the aorist can also be used if they are conceived of as a limited whole, involve a type of broken duration in time, and thus iterativity is a variant of durativity.

comparison with the Albanian opposition admirative/nonadmirative. As I have presented the comparison of these categories in detail elsewhere (Friedman 1981), only the outlines of the argument will be given here. The Macedonian definite past specifies the speaker's personal commitment to the truth of the statement as evidenced by the fact that the only context in which a definite past can never occur is one which directly contradicts this confirmative meaning, e.g., subordination to a verb of disbelief as in example (6):

- (6) *Ne veruvam deka toj go *napravi* toa.
I don't believe that he *did* it.

The indefinite past can occur in any kind of past context, confirmative or nonconfirmative, definite or indefinite, resultative or nonresultative, etc. Example (7) illustrates all these facts:

- (7) *Sum stanal nokjeska vo eden, sum zel lepče, sum mu dal da jade.*
(Koneski 1967b:462)
I *got up* at one this morning, *got* some bread, and *gave* him something to eat.

Thus the indefinite past is unmarked with respect to the definite past, i.e., it specifies pastness only. Nonetheless, because the definite past specifies confirmativity, the indefinite past most frequently implies nonconfirmativity, e.g., reported speech, irony, etc.⁸ This implication is not invariant, however, as can be seen from (7). The Albanian opposition admirative/nonadmirative is a mirror image of the Macedonian opposition confirmative/nonconfirmative.⁹

⁸ It should be noted that when the definite past is used to render a report of a statement originally made in the present tense, this is a form of tense agreement with a deleted verb of reporting or the ontological pastness of the original statement. Similarly, the dubitative or ironic use of the indefinite past refers to a previously uttered statement. Z. Šanova's (1979) attempt to define a separate category of reported speech in Macedonian is impossible without accepting the notion of assigning different grammatical meanings to identical paradigms.

⁹ We are omitting from consideration nonstandard uses of the admirative, e.g., in Geg epic poetry and in the dialects of Bulgaria and the Ukraine, where the form corresponding to the standard present admirative appears to continue to function as an inverted, perhaps expressive, perfect. These represent usages from systems which differ significantly from the standard one and which are thus beyond the scope of this paper. (Cf. Friedman 2010a.)

The admirative is used to express irony, doubt, supposition, reported speech, and surprise, which last refers to a time in the past when the speaker would not have vouched for the truth of the event whose subsequently revealed veracity evokes the surprise (cf. Fiedler 1966, Schmaus 1966, Demiraj 1971a). Additional evidence that the admirative specifies nonconfirmativity is to be found in the fact that it cannot be subordinated to clauses indicating the speaker's personal opinion, as in example (8):

- (8) *Mendoj se e bëka këtë punë.
I think he's doing this job.

As can be seen from the foregoing, the Macedonian and Albanian oppositions under discussion here are manifestations of the same type of category. Sytov (1979) has observed that the admirative, which is traditionally defined as a mood (Demiraj 1977:102-104), is not like other Albanian moods in that it denotes ontologically real events and takes the indicative negators *nuk* and *s'* rather than the modal negator *mos*, and he suggests the possibility of using some category inspired by Jakobson's *evidential* to account for it. Jakobson exemplifies this category by means of the Bulgarian forms used for reported speech, another phenomenon which has been treated as a mood unlike other moods and one which has been compared to the Albanian admirative (Demina 1959:359). Leaving aside the Bulgarian question, which I have treated in detail elsewhere (Friedman 1982a), it can be seen from the foregoing discussion of the distinction between status and mood that since the Macedonian definite past specifies the speaker's evaluation of the narrated event as personally confirmed while the Albanian admirative specifies the speaker's present or past unwillingness to do the same, both these phenomenon can be said to be marked for status.¹⁰ But since they render ontologically real events, they are unmarked for mood, i.e., they are indicative. In this manner, it is unnecessary to speak of different types of modality, and the difference between these two types of grammatical category can be made clear.

¹⁰ The so-called admirative use of the Macedonian indefinite past, e.g., *Toj bil bogat!* 'My but he's rich!', is actually limited to verbs of state such as "be" and "have" and expresses the speaker's surprise at a state which has come to pass in the past, i.e., it refers to a past event which the speaker would not have confirmed before the moment of speech. This usage does not correspond to the Albanian present admirative but to the same use of "be" and "have" in all four admirative paradigmatic sets as well as the non-admirative perfect. Cf. Friedman (1981, 2000) as well as Fiedler (1966:563).

As was mentioned above, the admirative has four paradigmatic sets: present, perfect, imperfect, and pluperfect. The first two are vastly more common than the second two. The present admirative, like the Albanian nonadmirative present and the Macedonian present, is unmarked for (past) tense, i.e., it does not specify the narrated event as preceding the speech event. Among the past admiratives, the imperfect can be taken as marked for durative aspect in opposition to the perfect, which is clearly unmarked. The pluperfect is distinguished from both by its marking for anterior taxis, which bring us to the consideration of that category.

Jakobson (1957:4/1971:135) defines taxis as the category expressing the relationship of two narrated events to one another, so a form marked for anterior taxis specifies the action described by the verb as having taken place before some other past action or point in time, which is the standard definition of a pluperfect. In Macedonian, the *imaše-* and *imal-*perfects, which are in effect pluperfects, are marked for both past reference and resultativity, i.e., they present the event as a state in the past resulting from some previous event, and thus they do not need an additional specification for taxis. Taxis is only needed to distinguish the *beše-* pluperfect from the indefinite past. The difference between the anterior taxic and past resultative paradigmatic sets of Macedonian can be seen in example (9):

- (9) Taa mi go pokaža, no jas vekje go
(a) bev videl.
(b) imav videno.
She pointed him out to me, but I had already seen him.

The taxic pluperfect (a) means that I spotted him just before she did, e.g., on the street, whereas the resultative pluperfect (b) can only be used if I had seen him on some previous occasion, i.e., if having seen him was a kind of state resulting from a previous action (Friedman 1977:120). Within the *beše-* pluperfect the imperfect/aorist distinction is of the same nature as for the other relevant past paradigmatic sets. The distinction between the *imaše-* and *imal-* perfects is the status opposition found in the definite and indefinite pasts, but with one modification. Although nonconfirmativity is the chief contextual variant, but not the invariant, meaning of the indefinite past, it appears that the double marking for past reference and resultativity causes nonconfirmativity to become the only meaning for the *imal-* perfect. Thus, while it is acceptable to say *Jas vidov kako toj go napravil toa* 'I saw how/that he did/had done it', it is not acceptable to substitute *imal napraveno* to render a purely resultative pluperfect,

only *imaše napraveno* could be substituted here in subordination to the verb of witnessing (Friedman 1977:110).

The Albanian indicative has only two pluperfects (excluding the compound forms mentioned in note 4), and they are distinguished formally by the aspect of the auxiliary (aorist/imperfect). These forms are sometimes said to be distinguished by the same aorist/imperfect opposition occurring in the synthetic forms, although it has also been said that due to the blurring of the aspectual differences in the verbs 'be' and 'have' the two pluperfects are virtually synonymous (Demiraj 1976:271). If the distinction is in fact in the process of being lost, in which case one would expect one of the forms to be disappearing, which appears to be true of the aor-pluperfect, then it would be difficult to find a consistent criterion of distinction. Rexhep Ismajli (p.c.) has been suggested that the aor-pluperfect is limited to witnessed or nonreported events, in opposition to the im-pluperfect, and it is true that a number of speakers reject aor-pluperfects in subordination to clauses such as *Dëgjova se* and *Kam dëgjuar se* 'I heard/have heard that', but consider the evidence of examples (10) and (11):

- (10) Më e madhja, Pashua, tha se i *qe nxirrë* jeta dhe shpërtheu në lotë.
(Godo 1972:161)

The older one, Pasho, said that her life *had been ruined* and burst into tears.

- (11) Mbase *patën ardhur* aty, që në kohën e Skenderbeut. Të tjerë thonë se . . . (Godo 1972:76)

[Speculating on the origin of the mountain villagers of Suli] Perhaps they *had come* there in Skenderbeg's time. Others say that . . .

If the distinction is in the process of shifting from the category of aspect to that of status, however, then inconsistencies in usage are to be expected. Regardless of the nature of the distinction, one thing is certain: the aor-pluperfect is marked with respect to the im-pluperfect.

This concludes our comparative survey of Macedonian and Albanian indicative verbal categories. Let us now consider the respective hierarchical arrangements of the generic categories. In Macedonian, the top position below mood in the hierarchy is occupied by resultativity, which sets off the 'have' perfects from the rest of the system, whereas in Albanian, which lacks resultativity altogether, this position is occupied by status, which separates the admirative paradigms. Tense (or reference, in the resultative paradigms) is the next category in both systems, as none of the non-pasts (presents) need be marked for any other category. The third position in Macedonian is occupied by status,

which is the only other category needed for both resultative and nonresultative forms, whereas in Albanian this position must be occupied by taxis in order for the remaining relevant aspectual distinctions to apply to the pluperfects. The lowest two positions in the hierarchy have four sets of oppositions in both languages, but in Macedonian these consist of one opposition for taxis and three for one type of aspect whereas in Albanian there are two pairs of different aspectual oppositions. It should be noted that Macedonian, too, has a second aspectual opposition, but it is one which is superordinate to mood (namely the perfective/imperfective opposition). The greater use of taxis and aspect in Albanian can be accounted for by its lack of resultativity, which in Macedonian distinguishes the perfect and two of the pluperfects. The most crucial difference between the two hierarchies, however, is the position of status. Graphically, these relationships can be illustrated as shown in Tables 1 and 2 for Albanian and Macedonian, respectively.

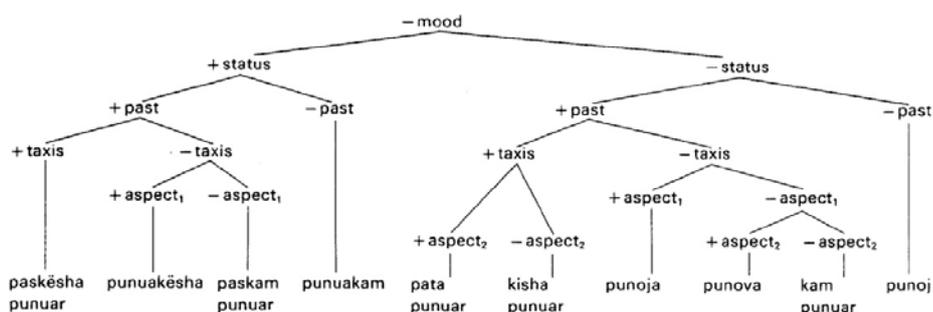


Table 1: Graphic representation of the hierarchy of generic verbal categories of the Albanian indicative.

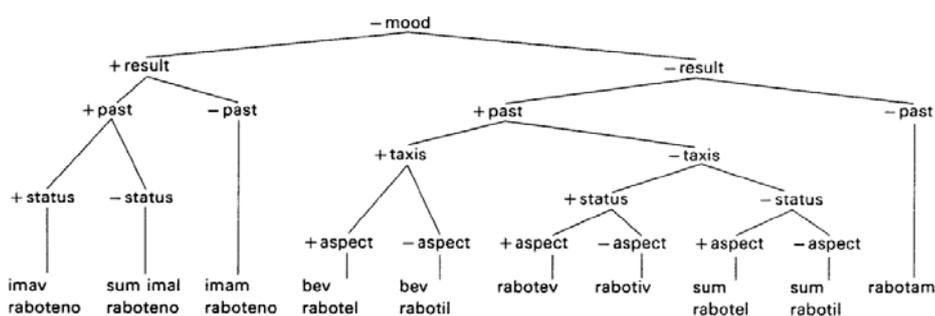


Table 2: Graphic representation of the hierarchy of generic verbal categories of the Macedonian indicative (cf. Friedman 1977:116).

Let us now turn to the meanings of those generic categories which the two systems have in common. Tense has the same meaning for both (past vs nonpast), and taxis may represent the same type of anteriority in both systems, but given its complicated relationships with resultativity and aspect, this point is in need of further investigation. The two types of aspect are clearly very similar but just as clearly not identical. We have suggested the distinction between absolute and unlimited duration for the Macedonian and Albanian imperfects, but the problem of relating the Macedonian perfective and the Albanian aorist, which aside from their similar markings for completeness and wholeness also show some strikingly similar modal functions, must be left for future work.¹¹ The category of status is at once the most and least similar in the two languages. Not only are the Albanian admirative and Macedonian confirmative mirror images of one another, which has resulted in the structurally inappropriate comparison of the Macedonian unmarked nonconfirmative with the Albanian marked admirative, but if the Albanian aor-pluperfect is developing some sort of nonreported meaning, then both Macedonian and Albanian have secondary markings in one of their pluperfects (Macedonian *imal*-pluperfect, Albanian aor-pluperfect) which is the opposite of the marking of their primary status distinctions.

In investigating the concept of comparing the meanings and hierarchies of grammatical categories in a comparative Balkan grammar, we have seen that differences in hierarchical ordering correspond to essential differences in the respective systems. Moreover, aside from position, inventory, and relative exploitation of generic grammatical categories, there can be basic differences in the meanings of categories which, on the surface, appear to resemble one another. To return to our statement at the beginning of this paper on the role of grammatical categories in a comparative Balkan grammar in determining the depth of resemblances in the Balkan *Sprachbund*, we can say that in this realm of grammar, the theory of independent internal development leading to some superficial convergence bears at least as much weight as that of mutual influence. This fact by no means detracts from the concept of a Balkan *Sprachbund*, however, but rather emphasizes the necessity of distinguishing those features which should be attributed to mutual influence from those features which should not. The comparison of features of independent origin is also an important and valid goal for Balkan linguistics in its contribution to general and typological linguistics. Our understanding of such generic categories as resultativity,

¹¹ For example, these forms are commonly used to express conditions after the appropriate particles and conjunctions. On similar Bulgarian phenomena see Aronson (1977).

aspect, and status can be greatly enhanced by our comparison of their treatment in the Balkan languages, since the similarities are close enough to assure us that we are actually comparing members of the same generic category while the differences are deep enough to demonstrate different possibilities for the development of the same category. Thus the methods of Balkan linguistics need not all be directed toward the demonstration of areal phenomena. Our goals must include the comparison of the divergent as well as the convergent.

Remarks to the Discussion

I would like to begin my remarks by thanking all of my colleagues for their valuable and perspicacious comments. I am both very gratified and a bit overwhelmed by the number and variety of responses, and I shall do my best to answer them all as thoroughly as possible. Nevertheless, limitations of time and space will necessitate my abbreviating some answers and referring to other works with more detailed treatments, as otherwise my responses would constitute papers in themselves.

I would like to add to Prof. Rosetti's comment that Balkan dialects of Turkish and Spanish also display loss of the infinitive with substitution of the optative or subjunctive.

With regard to Prof. Feuillet's comments, I would like to make the following three points:

1. Whether the grammatical distinctions discussed are treated as representing generic categories or sub-divisions of generic supercategories, the oppositions must nonetheless be accounted for independent of one another. I am not in principle averse to the idea that taxis or resultativity can be included in an expanded definition of tense and aspect, but the essential differences and concepts will remain the same. Similarly, an expansion of a definition of mood to include status is not impossible, but ultimately the distinctions will have to be made, whether as categories or sub-categories.

2. I agree that the so-called perfect of Bulgarian (type [*e*] *ispil*) is not resultative. It is comparable to the unmarked pasts of French, German, and Russian, as well as those of Macedonian and Albanian. In my discussion of resultativity, however, I was referring to the Macedonian forms with *ima*, which do not constitute fixed paradigms in the Bulgarian literary language (v. Georgiev 1957, Aronson 1967, Teodorov-Balan 1957), as opposed to Macedonian, where they do.

3. The so-called reported/indicative distinction in Standard Macedonian has no morphological marker whatsoever, since there is never any auxiliary in the third person of the indefinite past. I have discussed the Bulgarian problem in

Friedman 1982a (see now also Friedman 2002), but I could add here that in actual use, this distinction does not occur as it is described in prescriptive grammars, as can be seen from the data in Roth (1979).

This brings me to some of the comments by Profs. Duridanov and Assenova. The most salient differences between the Standard Macedonian and Standard Bulgarian indicative systems in the context of my paper are the following:

1. The lack of the three types of 'have' perfects as analytic paradigms in Bulgarian as referred to above.

2. The total absence of the auxiliary in the third person of the indefinite past in Macedonian, also mentioned above.

3. The use of the indefinite past of 'be' as an auxiliary in Bulgarian (e.g. *Toj bil došāl*), which does not occur in Standard Macedonian. It is also worthy of note that the use of the imperfect *l*-participle with the past definite of the auxiliary 'be', e.g. *beše pravel*, is permissible in Macedonian but never mentioned in the grammars of Standard Bulgarian (only the aorist *l*-participle, e.g. *beše pravil*, is used in these forms), and many, but not all, speakers of Bulgarian will reject such forms.

The so-called admirative use of the Bulgarian indefinite past first observed by Conev (1910-11) and first compared with Albanian by Weigand (1923-4) is not identical with the Albanian. The Albanian admirative is a complete set of morphologically distinct paradigms in both the present and past, whereas the Bulgarian phenomenon is just one use of a single past paradigmatic set and is in fact highly restricted. Thus for example, in the Albanian translation of Baj Ganjo by Aleko Konstantinov, two-thirds of the Albanian present admiratives correspond to simple presents in the Bulgarian original. The only real correspondence between Albanian and Bulgarian in this regard is in the use of stative verbs, almost exclusively 'be' and 'have', in any of the Albanian admirative tenses and in the indefinite past in Bulgarian, to refer to the present realization of a state which already existed in the past. Thus the Bulgarian *Toj bil bogat* meaning 'He is rich [much to my surprise]' corresponds not only to the Albanian *Ai qenka i pasur* but also *Ai paska qenë i pasur*, *Ai qenkësh i pasur*, *Ai paskësh qenë i pasur*, and even *Ai ka qenë i pasur*. (I have treated these matters in greater detail in Friedman 1981.) What we have here in Bulgarian is the special use of a past tense to refer to a pre-existent state, and the resemblance to Albanian is due to a correspondence of usages, not a correspondence of categories.

The Greek and Bulgarian examples with the particles *tha* and *šte* cited by Prof. Assenova involve modal forms, according to the definitions suggested by Janakiev (1962), Gołąb (1964), and others (e.g., Lyons 1968), and are thus

not part of the indicative system to which my paper was limited. While it is certainly true that in the Balkan grammar, to use Prof. Hamp's term from his comment, it will be necessary to discuss lexical, marked modal, and other means of expressing doubt and other forms of speaker involvement, for which I have used the term *status*, does not occur in Greek and Romanian, and thus these languages do not enter this particular aspect of the grammar. (See now, however, Friedman 1998 on the Romanian presumptive.)

I use the term *confirmative* for the definite past rather than the term *dubitative* for the indefinite past because I am referring to an invariant meaning which is always present in the definite past (hence example 6), as opposed to a contextual variant meaning which is not always present in the indefinite past (as shown by example 7). Example (7) shows that the so-called indefinite past is really an unmarked past, as it can in fact be definite as well as non-resultative (i.e. non-perfect) and non-reported. The question in this paper is the definition of morphologically marked grammatical categories. Any meaning of a form which is dependent upon context for its definition, i.e. any meaning which can only be identified on the basis of the context in which the form occurs, cannot be taken as invariant and thus cannot suffice to distinguish a grammatical category with morphological marking.

With regard to Prof. Menge's comment, I should like to suggest that the evidence indicates that the Turkish past tense in *-DI*, like the Balkan Slavic definite past, is marked for speaker's confirmation while the past tense in *-mİş*, which has both reported and non-reported functions, must be treated as the unmarked past (see Underhill 1976:170). Profs. Hazai and Tietze draw a distinction between the perfect participle in *-mİş*, which can be non-reported, and the reported *mİş*-past. It seems to me, however, that in an example such as *Bu sabah hesabettim, küçüğüm toprağa düşeli tam 73 gece olmuş* (Johanson 1971: 284) the form *olmuş* must be treated as a finite form and therefore as a confirmative use of the unmarked *mİş*-past. (Please see also examples 16-18 in Friedman 1981.) The Georgian perfect (*turmeobiti*) also has non-reported uses, although its relationship to the aorist (*c'q'vet'ili*) is more difficult to define than in the Balkan Slavic case. It should be noted that there are significant differences between the Georgian and Balkan Slavic phenomena. Thus, while the perfect of *q'opna* 'be' can be used admiratively, e.g. *Ra lamazi gogo q'opilxar!* = *Što si bila ubava moma!*, the Georgian perfect cannot be used in the dubitative function, i.e. to express sarcastic disbelief as in the following example from Macedonian where speaker 1 says: "*Toj poveke od tebe znae za boksiranje*" and Speaker 2 replies with sarcasm "*Toj poveke znael!*" Here Georgian could not use the perfect *scodnia* where Macedonian has the indefinite past *znael* (but see now Boeder 2000). Also, Georgian uses the perfect for performative acts where

Balkan Slavic, like English, uses the present, e.g. *Momilocavs!* 'Congratulations!' (literally: 'I have congratulated you'). It should also be noted that Lithuanian has uses of its past active participle which correspond to some of the reported functions in the languages under consideration here, which lends weight to Lohmann's (1937) suggestion that perfects tend to develop these types of uses by their very nature, as opposed to, e.g., external influence. For Balkan Slavic and Albanian, however, the timing of the development does point to influence from Turkish (see Friedman 2010a).

With regards to the comments by Profs. Steinke and Duridanov that it is also necessary to point out similarities and examine historical aspects of these phenomena, I should like to say that in certain cases, such as admirativity and reportedness, much attention has been paid to the similarities but not enough to the differences. Comparisons of similar categories and usages must be based on their functions within their respective systems. The question of the degree of validity of superficial resemblance as opposed to structural difference is of crucial importance and is a key issue for the further development of Balkan linguistics. As for the use of diachrony in a strictly synchronic analysis such as the one I have attempted here, I think that historical considerations must be restricted to peripheral explanations and commentary, otherwise we run the risk of mixing levels of description and confusing conjecture with fact.

With regard to Profs. Birnbaum's, Steinke's, and Reiter's comments on the use of Jakobson's theoretical framework and the question of generic grammatical categories: I am in agreement that the system as defined by Jakobson, and here I am taking *Shifters* as my starting point, my reference to *Zur Struktur* in note 10 having been for historical purposes, is in need of modification, and I suggested some directions in my paper. This is, however, a matter which requires further theoretical as well as practical investigation. (See also point 1 in my response to Prof. Feuillet; but see now also Aronson 1991.)

Prof. Birnbaum's question regarding the Balkan as opposed to the purely comparative aspect of the matters considered in my paper was treated in the comment by Prof. Hamp. I would only like to add that one of the points I wished to stress was the fact that in Balkan linguistic theory, its application, relevance, and relationship to general linguistics is a goal deserving of greater attention.

Profs. Rohr's and Reiter's comments on pragmatics, differences between narrative and discourse, writing and speech, are all well taken. Nevertheless, what I have been aiming for is a description of that system common to both speech and writing and explicitly limited to the standard languages. The difference in the use of the French aorist and perfect (*passé simple* and *passé composé*) is better compared to the situation in Croatian and North Serbian (cf.

Meillet and Vaillant 1952: 174, 178; Stevanović 1967: 628) and Romanian (outside of Oltenia). In Albanian, the difference between the uses of the perfect and the aorist is not so much a function of written vs spoken or narrative vs discourse as it is a question of whether the speaker has Geg or Tosk, and which variety of Geg or Tosk, as the base over which the standard has been laid. The problem of the relationship of dialectal Geg and Tosk substrata to the modern standard is crucial in a description of Standard Albanian, and yet the fluctuating state of usage and normative prescription at the present stage of development makes it extremely difficult if not impossible to define, except in terms of general or even temporary tendencies.

Prof. Reiter's comparison of the category of status with lexical particles such as the German *doch* is certainly cogent from the functional point of view. What is significant here, however, is that the Balkan languages under consideration are capable of using unmodified verb forms where languages such as German and English must use lexical modifiers to express the same meanings. The pragmatic and contextual are used to identify semantic variants from which the supra-pragmatic and supra-contextual semantic invariant is to be extracted.

The related problem of the so-called real world vs its linguistic representation as raised by Prof. Rohr is also extremely important and the subject of much debate. It can be argued that the two are really quite different entities and that the connection between them will vary depending on the system of the given language. This entire problem is in need of further investigation, especially insofar as it relates to Balkan linguistics.

I would like to conclude my remarks by thanking my colleagues once again and by expressing my gratitude to Prof. Reiter, The Free University of Berlin, and the Southeast European Society of Munich for this invaluable opportunity to participate in such a fruitful and worthwhile discussion.

Morphological Innovation and Semantic Shift in Macedonian*

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In the discussion of features characterizing the Balkan linguistic league, and in the description of individual Balkan languages and dialects, it is generally assumed that the presence of a given form signals the presence of an expected corresponding meaning. Thus, dialectological studies have always concentrated on phonology, morphology, and lexicology but have given little or no place to syntax and semantics. Stojkov's (1975) dialectological atlas of southwestern Bulgaria is typical in this regard: out of 314 features, 153 are phonological, 69 are morphological, 86 are lexical (e.g., *nazvanija na sofrata* 'names for table'), 3 are syntactic, and 3 are semantic in that they concern different meanings assigned to individual lexical items (*mräsen* 'dirty' vs 'greasy', *ljut* 'hot' vs 'sour', *čest* 'frequent' vs 'thick'). I intend to show here that semantic isoglosses pertaining to grammatical categories can differ from the morphological isoglosses with which they are generally associated and are thus worthy of separate study and greater attention. Such a study can also shed light on the historical processes that resulted in the current situation. In order to illustrate this point, I will examine expressions in southwest Macedonian dialects of the grammatical category that I have called *status* (cf. Friedman 1981; also known as *evidentiality*, *reported mood*, etc., but which by any other name still involves the speaker's attitude toward the reliability of the information being conveyed). While *status* is not a frequently cited Balkan feature and is not found in all the Balkan languages, it can be called a *Balkan cluster phenomenon* (cf. Hamp 1979, 1989), embracing as it does Albanian, Bulgarian, Macedonian, and Turkish with resonances in Romanian (the so-called *presumptive mood* [Graur 1966:216, 218, et passim]) and perhaps the Greek exclusion of perfects from nonvolitional clauses (Joseph Pentheroudakis cited in Friedman 1977:126-27).¹

In order to clarify the relationship of the synchronic situation to its diachronic development, I will begin with the relevant portion of the Old Church Slavonic (OCS) verbal system, which can be taken as representing the stage of

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¹ See now also "Confirmative/Nonconfirmative in Balkan Slavic, Balkan Romance, and Albanian, with Additional Observations on Turkish, Romani, Georgian, and Lak." and "Evidentiality in the Balkans." in this volume.

Common Slavic from which the current Macedonian developments originated. In terms of the development of status oppositions, the OCS preterite system can be divided into three paradigmatic sets (series): 1) the simple preterite, comprising the aorist and imperfect, 2) the perfect, composed of the present auxiliary 'be' and the resultative participle in *-l* (hereafter the *l*-form), which was based on the aorist stem, and 3) the pluperfect, based on the *l*-form with the imperfective aorist or imperfect auxiliary 'be'. For the purposes of this discussion, the standard characterizations of these series can be accepted: the simple preterite is a (definite) past, the perfect is a present resultative past, and the pluperfect is a past resultative past (Lunt 1974:98, 137).

The modern Macedonian dialect systems can be characterized by the following four types of innovation in the preterite system described above:

- 1) Auxiliary loss in the old perfect (already attested in *Suprasliensis*; Lunt 1974:98, Huntley 1979)
- 2) The development of an *l*-form based on the imperfect stem (apparently not before the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries; Dejanova 1969:20)
- 3) The use of the perfect of 'be' (*bil*, etc.) as an auxiliary with the *l*-form (attested in the thirteenth century for Serbian and fifteenth for Bulgarian; Belić 1969:83, Dejanova 1970:28)
- 4) The rise of a new perfect series using various forms of *ima* 'have' and the verbal adjective/past passive participle (attested in the eighteenth century; Koneski 1965:171).

On the basis of these innovations, the following synchronic morphological isoglosses can be distinguished, where each Arabic numeral refers to a morphological isogloss:²

1. Complete absence of the third person auxiliary in the descendants of the old perfect: west of Skopje, Veles, Ostrovo (Greek Arnisa), Kajlar (Greek Ptolemaïda) (Vidoeski 1962/63:93);
2. Presence of an imperfect *l*-form: west of an isogloss running southeast from Kumanovo into Aegean Macedonia, where it meanders eastward north of Valovište (Greek Sidorokastro), east of Serez (Greek Seres), southwest of Zilja-

² This discussion is based on the situation as it existed in the second half of the twentieth century, during which time the *ima* perfect series continued to spread in the Republic of Macedonia owing to the combination of its place in the standard language and the spread of education. It is likewise the case that the old perfect using the *l*-form has become more strongly associated with its markedly non-confirmative meanings.

hovo (Greek Nea Zihni), and north of Drama (Ivanov 1972:126);

3. Use of *bil* as an auxiliary: east of Delčevo, Kukuš (Greek Kilkis), Solun (Greek Thessaloniki) (Vidoeski 1962/63:97);

4. Use of perfect constructions in *ima*, etc. (Koneski, Vidoeski, and Jašar-Nasteva 1968:521-22, 524-35):

A. present perfect *ima dojdeno*: from Gostivar, along the river Vardar (Greek Axios), Gevgelija, Kukuš, the river Struma (Greek Strymonas), and sporadic to Tetovo, Kriva Palanka, Serez;³

B. pluperfect *imaše dojdeno*: same as above without sporadic spread;

C. *l*-form *imal dojdeno*: south of Gostivar and north of Lerin (Greek Florina), to the Vardar, with sporadic occurrence to the north and east.

For semantic isoglosses distinguishing types of status, the following gradations can be distinguished, where Roman numerals are used for semantic isoglosses:

I. Marked Non-Reported: Incompatible with verbs reporting as in example (1):

(1) **Risto tvrdi deka Kočo ja imaše svršeno rabotata.*

'Risto claims that Kočo finished the job.' (cf. Friedman 1977:110)⁴

II. Marked Confirmative: Incompatible with felicitous verbs of doubt but acceptable for information of which the speaker is certain regardless of the source, as in examples (2), (3), and (4):

(2) *Ne veruvam deka tie go napravija toa.*

*'I don't believe they did it.' but 'I can't believe they did it [despite the fact that I know they did]. (cf. Friedman 1977:43)⁵

(3) *No podocna se slučija raboti za koi ne znaev.*

³ The *ima* perfect is now well established in all of western Macedonia and also occurs in the east. Cf. note 2. The construction is also attested in some Bulgarian dialects of southern Thrace (see Bojadžiev 1991).

⁴ This situation has changed in the twenty-first century. The pluperfect in *imaše* has completely replaced the old pluperfect in *beše* in the speech of many younger speakers and can occur with such adverbs as *navodno* 'allegedly', which was not the case in the mid-twentieth century.

⁵ It is important to stress here the fact that the Macedonian example sentence is not ungrammatical in and of itself. What is ungrammatical is a felicitous (literal) reading of the sentence, and it is this fact which is basic to establishing 'confirmative' as the basic meaning of the simple preterite.

'But after that things happened that I didn't know about.'

(Friedman 1977:15)

(4) *Reče deka beše vo Ohrid.*

'He said he was in Ohrid.' (Friedman 1977:74-75)

III. Unmarked (Nonconfirmative): Compatible with any type of status meaning, as seen in examples (5)–(9):

A. Perfect/Simple past:

(5) *Dosta sme rabotele.*

'We have worked enough.' (Friedman 1977:157)

(6) *Tatko mi bil mnogu meraklija za cvekja.*

'My father used to be very fond of flowers.' (Friedman 1977:54)

B. Reported:

(7) *Čovekov bil od Amerika.*

'This man [said he] is/was from America.' (Friedman 1977:71)

C. Admirative-Dubitative:

(8) *Ti si bil Rom! Ne sum znael!*

'Oh, you're a Gypsy! I didn't know.' (Friedman 1977:78)

(9) - *Toj povekje od tebe znae za boksiranje.*

- *Toj povekje znael!*

- He knows more about boxing than you do. - He knows more, indeed! (Friedman 1977:78)

IV. Marked Nonconfirmative: Incompatible with verbs of confirmed perception, as illustrated by examples (10)–(12)

(10) **Jas vidov kako toj go imal napraveno toa.*

'He saw how/that he had done it.' (Friedman 1977:110)

(11) *Mislam deka toj go imal napraveno toa.*

'I think he did it.' (Friedman 1977:188)

(12) *Što znam, možebi sum go imal storeno.*

'Who knows, maybe I have done it.' (Friedman 1977:111)

The dialect region bounded roughly by Prilep, Veles, and Kičevo — which in this respect as in many others provides the basis of Standard Macedonian — is included within the boundaries of morphological isoglosses 1, 2, and 4(a-c) but not 3. Likewise, all the semantic status distinctions just described are

present. The simple preterite is marked for confirmative status (semantic isogloss II) and the old perfect has become the unmarked (nonconfirmative) past (semantic isoglosses III a-c). The old pluperfect and the new perfect in *ima* do not enter into status oppositions, but the new pluperfects in *imaše* and *imal* do: The former is marked nonreported (semantic isogloss I) while the latter is marked nonconfirmative (semantic isogloss IV).⁶ In terms of the historical processes that led to these developments, it would appear that the shift of meaning from 'definite' to 'confirmative' in the simple preterite and from resultative to unmarked (nonconfirmative) in the old perfect had already begun at an early date, as hints of it are found in the oldest Slavic *paterikon* (Wijk 1933). The significantly later rise of the new perfect series in *ima*, etc. is reflected in the fact that the newer confirmative/nonconfirmative distinction, which is realized privatively in the older, less marked forms, is realized equipollently as marked nonreported/nonconfirmative in the newest, most highly marked forms, i.e., those in *imaše* and *imal*.

Keeping in mind this background of Old Church Slavonic and Standard Macedonian (based, in this regard, on the Prilep-Veles-Kičevo dialect region), we can now examine the dialectal situations to the southwest of this literary rectangle, in the regions that seem to have served as the source of the new *ima* series (Gołab 1970, 1984:135, also Gallis 1960). Within the southwest region, which is relatively uniform in terms of morphological inventory, at least distinct three semantic isoglosses can be distinguished with respect to status: 1) Korča-Kostur, 2) Ohrid-Prespa, 3) Bitola-Resen.⁷

I shall begin with the Ohrid-Prespa isogloss because it provides the clearest illustration of the deceptiveness of basing the semantic analysis of verbal categories on the appearances of morphology rather than studying the two independently. The isogloss in question separates Ohrid from Struga (cf. Hendriks 1976:221-24) and Resen, and it includes the dialects of Lower Prespa but not those of Korča and Kostur. Morphologically, the dialects of the region thus defined have an identical inventory to that of Prilep, except at the south end of Lower Prespa, where *imal* is not used as an auxiliary (Koneski, Vidoeski, Jašar-Nasteva 1968:535). Semantically, however, these Ohrid-Prespa dialects are characterized by the fact that the old perfect has become a marked nonconfirmative, i.e., it has the same types of restrictions as forms of the type *imal napraveno* in Prilep-Veles. Thus the use of the *l*-form in its old perfect function or as an un-

⁶ But see footnote 4.

⁷ It may well be that there are other semantic isoglosses and regions relating to status other than those I describe here, but these three are documentable and exemplary given the current status of available studies and my own fieldwork.

marked past (cf. examples 4 and 5 above) does not occur. In Lower Prespa, this difference is eloquently attested to by the fact that Šklifov (1979:86) could find no first person occurrences and very few second person examples.⁸ In these dialects, the perfect in *ima* has completely replaced the unmarked nonconfirmative functions of the old perfect. It is interesting to note that admirative-dubitative usage of the old perfect, which, as I have argued elsewhere (Friedman 1981) is a type of nonconfirmative does occur here:

(13) *I toj si reče: "Pošto bilo taka, ke si oda nazat. . ." I dojde doma.*
(Šklifov1979:79)

And he said to himself: "If that's the way it is, I'll go back. . ." And he came home.

The simple preterite and *imaše* perfect can also be used for unwitnessed action (cf. Šklifov1979:76, 87, 160), although it is not clear from the available data whether they can occur in overt reports.

In Kostur-Korča, the morphological inventory has essentially reinstated the symmetry of the Old Church Slavonic system due to the loss of the *l*-form. Thus the simple preterite remains the same while the perfect in *ima* has replaced the old perfect and the pluperfect in *imaše* has replaced the old pluperfect; there is no form *imal* to be used as an auxiliary. Of interest here with regard to the diachronic development of synchronic isoglosses is the fact that the rare uses of the old perfect in tales and songs are generally admirative-dubitative (Koneski 1965:148, Mazon 1936:92, Šklifov1973:95, 99) as in the following examples from Bobošćica (Korča region). Example (14) is an admirative usage, whereas (15) is, in its context, dubitative or ironic, i.e. the claim of the person being spoken of to have supernatural sight, was shown to be false:⁹

(14) *"Oh kume! tuva si bill? Shço s'iskri?"* (Mazon 1936:180)

Hey, compadre, is this where you are? Why'dja hide?

(15) - *"Ot gje znjë toj koj e kashjëjo tvoj?"*

- *"Am ka ne znjëll? Toj znjë shço çini Gospo a ne poznavo kasheiti togovi?"* (Mazon 1936:314)

- "How's he supposed to know which is your piece?"

- "But how can he not know? He knows what the Lord is doing but he doesn't know his own pieces?"

⁸ In fact, Šklifov(1979: 80) does report that first person *l*-forms occur rarely as past indefinites, but without sufficient context and explanation to determine if these might not be the result of external influence, archaism, etc.

⁹ Such usage can be felicitously compared to archaic second and third person singulars in English (thou shalt, he maketh, etc.).

In Kostur, the only survivals of the old perfect are occasional uses of *bil* 'be' (the admirative verb par excellence; see Friedman 1981) and a few occurrences in folksongs (Šklifov 1973:95, 99). With regard to the development of status, the Korča-Kostur dialects offer evidence that the old perfect had already become nonconfirmative by the time the *ima* series arose, since it is precisely the most highly marked development of unmarked nonconfirmative status that survives, but aside from these archaisms status no longer functions as a category in Korča-Kostur.

It has been observed (Koneski 1965:148) that there is confusion of the use of the simple preterite and the old perfect in Bitola, the former tending to replace the latter, a phenomenon of which speakers themselves are aware. Thus, it can happen that a speaker from Bitola will use simple preterites in contexts where a speaker from elsewhere in Macedonia will mistakenly assume that the narration is based on first-hand experience. The weakening of the confirmative-nonconfirmative sense of the opposition between the simple preterite and the old perfect extends beyond Bitola proper, however, and evidence can be found in surrounding villages and the town of Resen. Thus in the village of Dihovo, 8 km. west of Bitola, *l*-forms are not consistently used in nonconfirmative contexts so much as in contexts of taxis (anteriority; cf. Groen 1977:220-45 and Friedman 1988c). Similarly, the *imal* perfect does not appear to be a marked nonconfirmative. Thus a sentence such as example (10) is acceptable to speakers from Resen and Bitola (Friedman 1976a:98), and the one example of an *imal* perfect in Groen's (1977:244) corpus occurs in a folktale where it is not so much nonconfirmative as anterior given the overall context. Thus, the Bitola-Resen system, while containing an inventory identical to that of Prilep-Veles does not assign the same semantic values to the forms and seems in a sense to be moving toward a Korča-Kostur type of system.

The Table 1 summarizes the correspondences among the relevant semantic isoglosses (IIIa–c and IV) and the regions discussed above, where <+> indicates presence, <-> indicates absence, and <0> indicates formal absence:

	III.a	III.b	III.c	IV
Prilep-Veles	+	+	+	+
Bitola-Resen	+	+	+	-
Ohrid/Prespa	-	+	+	+/0
Korča-Kostur	-	-	+	0

Table 1: Semantic Isoglosses in Southwestern Macedonia with Reference to examples (5)–(14)

The main points which can be drawn from the data presented here are the following:

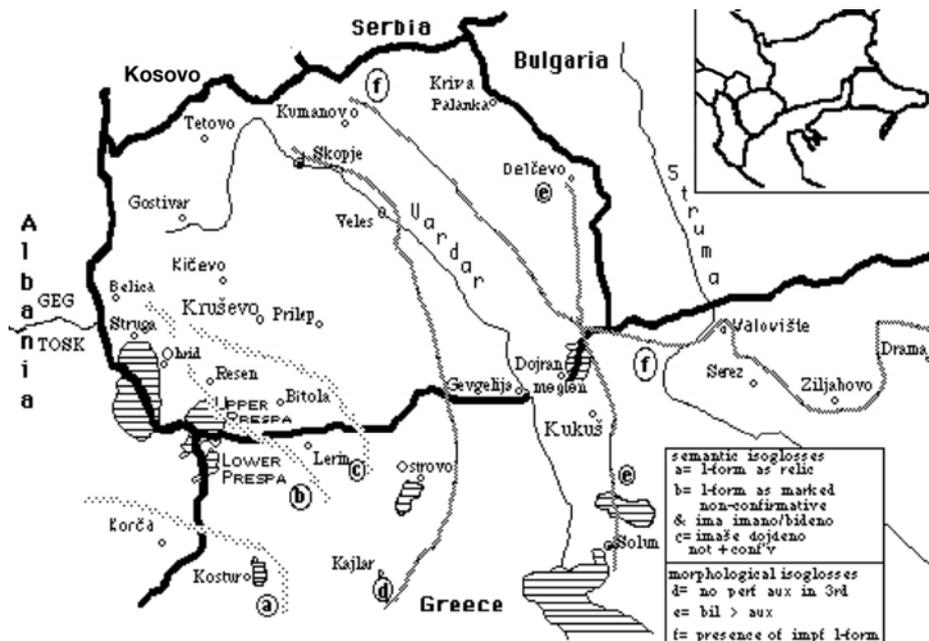
1) Dialects with identical morphological inventories can differ in the semantic values assigned to the forms. It is therefore necessary in dialectological studies to establish semantic as well as morphological isoglosses.

2) The synchronic dialectological data from southwestern Macedonia support the idea that status was established as a category in the Macedonian verbal system before the rise of the perfect series in *ima*. The current situations illustrate the various routes that competition and development can take. Prilep represents the fullest realization of maintenance of both old and new forms by means of the new category of status. Ohrid-Prespa and Bitola-Resen, whence the *ima* series spread north and east, both show tendencies to limit the old perfect and thus expand the new, albeit in different ways. Ohrid-Prespa sharpens the status distinction, thus limiting occurrences of the old perfect, while Bitola-Resen weakens that distinction (or, perhaps, transforms it into one of taxis) thus permitting other forms to substitute for it more easily. Korča-Kostur shows at once the most morphologically innovative and semantically conservative developments. Having almost completely eliminated the old perfect — a development that did not occur anywhere else in Slavic — Korča-Kostur also eliminated the status opposition, which admirative archaisms show must have existed, and have thus developed a new system that in its semantics recapitulates that of Old Church Slavonic.

While it is clear that these points are important for dialectology in general and Macedonian in particular, they are also of special relevance to Balkan linguistics. The types of semantic isoglosses I have described here might possibly be common to dialects of different Balkan languages spoken in the same region, thus creating regional Balkanisms and providing additional evidence for the type of structural borrowing that distinguishes the Balkans as a linguistic area. The Albanian admiratives as well as the compound pasts of the type *kam pasë bërë*, *kisha pasë bërë* 'I have/had done', which display considerable dialectal variation from the literary norm in their usage, could prove a fruitful comparison in this regard.¹⁰ This in turn demonstrates the need for greater attention to the semantics of grammatical categories in dialect studies.

¹⁰ Koneski (1965:148) gives an indication of this possibility in his statement that the use of simple preterites where old perfects would be expected in the Bitola dialect is connected with Aromanian influence.

Map of the Republic of Macedonia and Adjacent Regions
 Showing Semantic and Morphological Isoglosses
 for Places Mentioned in the Text
 (all borders and locations are approximate)



The Loss of the Imperfective Aorist in Macedonian: Structural Significance and Balkan Context

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The preservation of the synthetic aorist and imperfect is characteristic of only two regions of Slavic territory: One is the relatively isolated pocket of Lusatian speakers in eastern Germany and the other is a large part of the South Slavic continuum. In the case of Lusatian, the limitation of aorists to perfective verbs and imperfects to imperfective verbs effectively reduces the synthetic preterite to a single paradigm with aspectually based morphological variation (Mareš 1989). On most of Serbo-Croatian linguistic territory, the aorist and imperfect are either obsolete or limited to certain lexical items (Spasov 1989/90).¹ It is only on Balkan Slavic territory — South Serbian, Macedonian, and Bulgarian — that both the subordinate aspectual distinction aorist/imperfect and the superordinate aspectual distinction perfective/imperfective must be kept distinct. Nonetheless, the interaction of subordinate and superordinate aspectual distinctions is not uniform on the whole of this territory, as was already observed by Dejanova (1966:58-59) and by Vidoeski (1962/63). Dejanova (1966:58) noted the tendency of Macedonian to use an imperfective imperfect where Bulgarian has an imperfective aorist, while Vidoeski (1962/63), as well as Peev (1987:251-52), noted that the imperfective aorist is obsolete, or at least highly restricted or uncommon, in much of West Macedonian dialectal territory, but not in the East. In the course of my own fieldwork in Macedonia in 1973-74 I noticed that some members of my own generation (i.e., those born after the Second World War) were virtually incapable of producing or interpreting imperfective aorists (Friedman 1977:135). Nonetheless, the standard Macedonian grammar (Koneski 1967a:423-25) that is still universally cited (Spasov 1989/90) treats the imperfective aorist as a living, albeit rare or restricted, part of the system, which it still is for older speakers, even from Western Macedonia (see also Usikova 1985:97-98). Thus in my earlier analysis of the Macedonian indicative (Friedman 1977) I treated the imperfective aorist as a viable part of the system. It is my intention here to examine the loss of the Macedonian imper-

¹ But see Belyavski-Frank (1986).

fective aorist, which follows generational more than geographic lines. The usual replacement is an imperfective imperfect rather than a perfective aorist. As a consequence aspectual marking has shifted (or is shifting) from the imperfect to the aorist in Macedonian, with the aorist instantiating the perfective feature of closure at the paradigmatic level. The route of loss followed by this category in Macedonian is indicative of the semantics of subordinate aspect and the changes that are taking place in markedness relations and the hierarchy of aspectual features in the Macedonian verbal system. The nature of this shift is highlighted by a comparison with other languages of the Balkans such as Bulgarian, Turkish, and Albanian.

Although a complete account of the debates concerning the meanings of the oppositions perfective/imperfective and aorist/imperfect are clearly beyond the scope of this article, I shall give a brief overview of some of the work relevant to the discussion here. Fielder (1993), following Timberlake (1982, 1985), characterizes aspect as referring to the temporal dimension of an event, i.e. the type of space it occupies, and tense as referring to the temporal location of an event. Timberlake (1985) gives a concise overview of types of approaches to aspect as operating on a scale involving oppositions concerned with differences in the quality or structure of time as open/closed (single event; cf. Lindstedt 1985) or simultaneous/sequential (two events; cf. Galton 1976) at one pole and characters of basic types of predicates such as atelic/telic (lexical; cf. Kučera 1983, Brecht 1984) or background/foreground (discourse; cf. Hopper and Thompson 1980) at the other. He assigns an intermediate position to structuralist approaches such as those of Forsyth (1970) and Jakobson (1932/71), which treat aspect as a configuration of a predicate as whole or complete in (a juncture of) time.

In writing about Bulgarian, Aronson (1985), following Maslov (1959), considers simplex (unpaired, underived) imperfectives as grammatically and paradigmatically distinct from derived, paired imperfectives. According to Aronson, perfective verbs and their derived imperfectives form a lexically marked category that can be called 'perfective' (+P) and within this category there is a grammatical, paradigmatic opposition between those forms marked as imperfective (+I) and those not so marked (-I), which are perfective in the usual sense. Underived imperfectives and biaspectuals both stand outside this system and are -P. Such an analysis in effect puts Bulgarian underived imperfectives outside the grammatical paradigmatic superordinate aspectual opposition.² This system is represented graphically in Figure 1.

² This is similar to Lindstedt's (1985:174) view that telic verbs are the focus of the opposition perfective/imperfective.

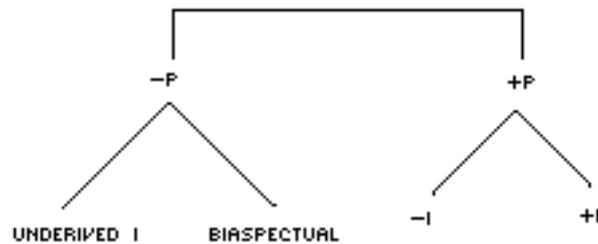


Figure 1

Aronson (1985:276), citing Forsyth (1970:18) and Stankov (1980:20), writes that the perfective *seems* to present an invariant meaning “expressing the action as a total event summed up with reference to a single specific juncture.” But, Aronson continues, given the variety of meanings carried by +P forms, given the fact that an invariant cannot be identified for -P forms, and given the tendency of underived imperfectives to develop into perfectives via biaspectuality, then perhaps -P is a formal rather than a semantic category. He then defines +P verbs as those with the formal opposition -I/+I and goes on to suggest that aspect in -P forms is strictly lexical and that +I forms are both formally and semantically marked. Chvany (1988) in her description of the Bulgarian preterite system in terms of universal notional categories as well as language-specific morphemes tentatively identifies the feature shared by +P forms as [+DISCRETENESS]³ and suggests that +I may differ from -P forms in that the latter are marked [+CONTINUITY]. She also argues that the “stem extended with E [i.e., the imperfect and present] denotes the “continuative” meaning, while “non-continuative” forms *connote* temporally limited action, as an imperfective aorist does when placed in a narrative sequence of perfective aorists” (Chvany 1988:73). Such a formulation can be interpreted as supporting the idea that the imperfect is marked for durativity. Giving a succinct summary of the debate between those who view the aorist/imperfect opposition as temporal and those who view it as aspectual, Chvany (1988:85) approvingly cites Lindstedt’s (1985:279) statement “the opposition is temporal, and therefore aspectual; or aspectual and therefore temporal” as “a recognition that traditional terms are

³ Elsewhere in the same article she states “Bulgarian perfective verbs are marked for [+DISCRETENESS]” (Chvany 1988:73).

inadequate.”⁴ She states that the question is whether reference (imperfect as present in the past) is taken as primary or whether some form of durativity (continuative in Chvany's terms) is basic, the former being the view of the temporalists, the latter of the aspectualists.

This type of approach to Bulgarian aspect (see also Kučera 1983) must, in my opinion, be modified for Macedonian. From a morphological point of view, Bulgarian verbs that are +P and -I are characterized by paradigmatic gaps that are filled in all the other types, e.g. the lack of a gerund. This corresponds to the same lack of a verbal adverb in corresponding Macedonian verbs. As we shall see, however, in the emergent system of Macedonian, perfective verbs are also characterized by the presence of an aorist paradigm, which is lacking in both derived and simplex imperfective verbs.⁵ Moreover, the various forms lacking in the perfectives can all be characterized as non-finite.⁶ In the aorist/imperfect opposition we have a gap in the finite verbal paradigm. Thus, even if the -P/+P opposition is taken as lexical (or lexicalized) it is nonetheless necessary to account for the Macedonian situation on the level of morphology and morphosyntax.

Turning now to the traditional definition of the Macedonian aorist/imperfect opposition, the standard view of the aorist is exemplified by Koneski (1967:423), who writes: “*So ova vreme se iskažuva minato dejstvo što go sfakjame vo negovata završenost*” [By means of this tense is expressed a past act that we grasp (understand) in its completion].⁷ According to Lunt (1952:90), the action is viewed as having taken place before the moment of ut-

⁴ Elsewhere Lindstedt (1985:137) makes it quite clear that he regards the aorist/imperfect opposition as aspectual, and that this fact involves it in differences of temporal reference.

⁵ The situation in biaspectuals is vexed. Most are *a*-stem verbs and will therefore only have a completely distinct form in the second singular (in the third singular homonymy allows interpretation as an historical present while in the other persons there is homonymy with the imperfect). For the time being, they shall remain outside the discussion just as they are, in a sense, outside the system of aspectual oppositions.

⁶ This includes the negative imperative, which in any case can occur in Macedonian, albeit as a pragmatic threat rather than a true imperative. See Joseph (1983) for arguments concerning the non-finite status of the imperative. To this can be added the fact that the lack of perfective imperatives in negation can be viewed as syntactic rather than morphological.

⁷ I will not be discussing issues of status (confirmativity). This category is not relevant for the purely aspectual features under consideration here and therefore discussion of it will be excluded.

terance and, unlike the imperfect, the aorist does not specify contemporaneity. Usikova (1985:95) writes that the aorist ordinarily expresses an action in its concrete entirety (*v ego konkretnoj celostnosti*). Proposed meanings of the imperfect in Macedonian, as in Bulgarian, can be divided into two principal groups: durativity or progressivity on the one hand and coordination or simultaneity on the other. Thus, for example, Koneski (1967:426) represents the first view when he writes: “*So ova vreme se iskažuva dejstvoto što ni se pretstavuva vo svoeto odvivanje, što go vospriemame kako izvesen tek, a ne go opfakjame vo negovata izvršenost*” [By means of this tense is expressed an action that is presented to us in its development, which we perceive as a kind of process and which we do not comprehend in its completion]. On the other hand, Lunt (1952:87) espouses the second view with the statement that the general meaning of the imperfect is that of "action viewed as contemporaneous with another moment in the past."

Thus in Macedonian the aorist is traditionally viewed as denoting a single, punctual, usually completed, event as a point advancing a connected narrative, whereas the imperfect denotes duration, coordination, an event in progress or backgrounded and not advancing the narrative.

Because of the similarities of meaning in the aorist and perfective, the imperfective aorist has always presented problems for analysis and classification. The imperfective aorist in Macedonian is mostly described in the dialectological literature. Koneski (1967:424) discusses the meaning only of repeated imperfective aorists, which describe events lasting a long time but presented as a series of repeated segments, as in (1) and (2):

(1) *Nè jade što nè jade dodeka ne nè izede.*

'It ate us, and ate us until it had eaten us up.' (Galton 1976:160)

(2) *Toj uči, uči, sedumnaest godini!*

'He studied and studied, for seventeen years!' (Lunt 1952:90)

Vidoeski (1958:78) describes the imperfective aorist as denoting limited duration (“*trajno dejstvo [koe] vo eden vremenski moment prestanalo da se vrši*”), Gołąb (1960/61:160) treats the difference between the imperfective aorist and the perfective aorist as *trajnost* 'durativity' vs *momentnost* 'punctativity'; Hill (1991:142) writes that the imperfective aorist is used for durative or repeated actions that are completed, or at least over; and Hendriks (1976:222) suggests that the imperfective aorist is used due to lexical properties of individual verbs as in examples (3) and (4), where the perfective of *jade* 'eat' would require a direct object and the imperfective aorist *sede* 'sit' can be used because of time

limit:

(3) *Nie jadovme pred da dojdeš ti.*
'We ate before you came.' (Based on Hendriks 1976:222)

(4) *Tri dni sede.*
'He stayed for three days.' (Based on Hendriks 1976:222)

As was indicated above, Lindstedt (1985) analyzes Bulgarian aspect at its various levels -- morphological/paradigmatic, lexical, propositional, etc. -- as a series of relations between openness (O) and boundedness (B). He writes: "Imperfective aorists represent the structure B(O) in its purest form" (Lindstedt 1985:178) and "[i]n both the imperfective aorist and perfective imperfect, the aorist/imperfect opposition dominates the perfective/imperfective opposition (cf. Comrie 1976:32) -- it can impose boundedness on non-boundedness or vice-versa" (Lindstedt 1985:171). Compare Galton (1976:154-55), who views the aorist as a tense denoting a fixed place within the past stretch of time and, when it is imperfective, as dwelling on the event itself, in temporary disregard of the succession, a duration in a series of successions. He views both aspect and tense as "grammatical relations of temporal categories," but tense as reflecting the "relation to the basic point of orientation" and aspect as reflecting "the fundamental properties of time itself -- the contrast between the succession of changing events and the immutability of preserving states." If Lindstedt's concept of "dominate" is equated with Galton's concept of relative "depth", then it can be argued that Macedonian developments reflect the "strength" of the deeper/dominated category.

According to Guentchéva (1990:115), however, the Bulgarian underived imperfective aorists, unlike their perfective counterparts, say nothing about achievement, while derived imperfective aorists specify an achievement without claiming that it was realized as such.⁸ (Not being sequential, the imperfective aorist can refer to a specific interval that may overlap another.) She sees the basic meaning of the aorist as denoting a past event not in process but appearing the moment it is stated ("*au moment où il est énoncé*") and writes: "... *de nombreuses caractéristiques attribuées à l'aoriste imperfectif comme 'duré limitée'* (Galton 1976:163), '*fait non attendu*' opposé à '*fait attendu*' pour l'aoriste perfectif (Stankov 1976:61-71), de '*fait isolé*' (Lindstedt 1985: 231) ..., *ne peuvent pas être intégrées dans la valeur fondamentale de la forme verbale et doivent être considérées comme des effets de sens*" (Guentchéva 1990:115).

⁸ For an excellent outline of Guentchéva's framework, see Chvany (1991).

Fielder (1993) accepts the basically aspectual nature of the aorist/imperfect opposition. In her view, the imperfect's marking for durativity enables it to include or imply "a secondary orientation point (Reichenbach's [1947] R[eference]T[ime]) and thus perform tense functions. The aorist forms do not include a secondary orientation point, but rather co-occur with a bounded interval for their RT." The aspectual nature of the imperfect derives from its simultaneity with its reference point, as opposed to occurring prior to it, as is the case in resultative forms. I would argue, however, that tense is strictly the relationship of event time (ET) to speech time (ST) in Reichenbach's terms -- narrated event (Eⁿ) to speech event (E^s) in Jakobson's approach (1957/71), and that relations to Reference Time necessarily involve aspect, resultativity, or some similar category (cf. Aronson's 1991 modification of Jakobson's schema). In discussing the difference between the imperfective aorist and the imperfective imperfect, Fielder (1993) adduces the following examples:

- (5) **Raboteše/Raboti tāj dva dni, bez da vdigne lice od masata. Čertaeše, režeše, lepeše.*
'He worked this way for two days, without lifting his face from the table. He drew, he cut, he glued.'
- (6) *Toj *ležese/leža ošte njakolko minuti, kato se boreše sās sebe si, posle stana i tihčko se promākna do legloto ì.*
'He lay for a few more minutes as he struggled with himself, then he got up and quietly crept over to her bed.'

In both examples, the duration requires imperfectivity while the limitation requires the aorist.

The treatment of such sentences in Macedonian constitutes an essential difference between it and Bulgarian. The Macedonian equivalents of (5) and (6) would require imperfective imperfects. The imperfective aorist would be rejected as obsolete or dialectal. Similarly, in his analysis of Bulgarian, Lindstedt (1985:169-70), adduces a series of examples illustrating differences in the admissibility of the imperfective aorist, the perfective aorist, and the imperfective imperfect in various contexts, where it can be seen that the imperfective aorist is required for limited duration but not permitted for completed duration:

- (7) a. *Tja pja pesen[ta] tri minuti.*
'She sang a (/the) song for three minutes.'
- (7) b. **Tja pja pesen[ta] za tri minuti.*

'She sang a (/the) song in three minutes.'

(7) c. **Tja izpja pesen[ta] tri minuti.*

'She sang a (/the) song for three minutes.'

(7) d. *Tja izpja pesen[ta] za tri minuti.*

'She sang a/the song in three minutes.'

(7) e. *Tja peeše pesen[ta] tri minuti.*

'She used to sing a/the song for three minutes'

(7) f. *Tja peeše pesen[ta] za tri minuti.*

'She used to sing a/the song in three minutes'

The imperfective imperfect (7e, 7f) can only be used with a habitual or unlimited (open) durational meaning. In the case of (7e) the openness could be specified with an adverb such as *veče* 'already' to mean she had already been singing the song for three minutes.

A comparison with analogous Macedonian examples shows that the imperfective aorist is completely obsolete and that its meaning of limited duration is picked up by the imperfective imperfect.⁹

(8) a. **Taa [go] pi pivo[to] tri minuti.*

'She drank [the] beer for three minutes.'

(8) b. **Taa [go] pi pivo[to] za tri minuti.*

'She drank [the] beer in three minutes.'

(8) c. **Taa [go] ispi pivo[to] tri minuti.*

'She drank [the] beer for three minutes.'

(8) d. *Taa [go] ispi pivo[to] za tri minuti.*

'She drank [the] beer in three minutes.'

(8) e. *Taa [go] pieše pivo[to] tri minuti.*

'She drank [the] beer for three minutes.'

(8) f. *Taa [go] pieše pivo[to] za tri minuti.*

⁹ I purposefully chose the verb *pie* 'drink' instead of *pee* 'sing' because in the survey I describe later, the latter showed a higher level of acceptance in the imperfective aorist.

'She used to drink [the] beer for three minutes.'

In another example, Lindstedt (1985:181) illustrates the fact that in Bulgarian, the imperfective aorist must be used for certain types of sequential events, especially in contexts of limited duration:

- (9) a. **Tja speše edin čas i započna da raboti.*
b. *Tja spa edin čas i započna da raboti.*
'She slept for an hour and began to work.'

This is not the case in Macedonian, however, for which the reverse was true for some speakers:

- (10) a. *Taa spieše eden čas i počna da raboti.*
b. **Taa spa eden čas i pocna da raboti.*
'She slept for an hour and began to work.'

Other speakers were not willing to accept the combination of imperfect followed by aorist as it stood, but suggested as an acceptable alternative either turning the imperfective imperfect into a perfective aorist *otspa* 'slept' or transforming the perfective aorist into an imperfective imperfect *počnuvaše*; in the latter instance, it was acceptable to have two imperfects describing sequential acts.

As I noted earlier, the loss of the imperfective aorist has been in progress for some time, a fact that I observed in the course of my fieldwork in Macedonia in 1973-74. I investigated the current situation in greater detail in Macedonia in October 1991.¹⁰ For this purpose I devised a questionnaire consisting of 37 Macedonian sentences containing a total of 41 imperfective aorists. Of these, 32 sentences were taken from Macedonian sources, four were translated from Bulgarian and one from Old Church Slavonic. Consultants were told that all the sentences were supposed to be in the past and were asked to correct any that contained mistakes. Most of the questionnaires were distributed in college classes, and thus the majority of respondents represented the youngest genera-

¹⁰ Research for this article was supported in part by a grant from the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX), with funds provided by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the U.S. Department of State. None of these is responsible for the views expressed. I also wish to thank the University of Skopje, Ministry for Information of the Republic of Macedonia, and my many Macedonian colleagues, friends and consultants who helped me with this work. They, too, are not responsible for the views expressed here.

tion of educated speakers (39 born between 1962 and 1973). Also surveyed were four educated speakers born in the 1950's and three born in the 1930's for a total of 46. In terms of regional distribution, 18 were born in the West, eight in the East and 18 in Skopje.¹¹ Of the 79 parents born in Macedonia, however, only seven were from Skopje, 24 were from the East and 48 from the West.¹² The total number of imperfective aorists was 1886 (41 occurrences times 46 consultants). Of this total, about two-thirds were replaced by imperfective imperfections, one quarter were accepted with imperfective aorists, about 7% were replaced by perfective aorists, and most of the remainder were replaced by imperfective presents (there were also five occurrences of *ima* perfects or pluperfects). The distribution of replacements and acceptances, however, followed generational lines more than regional ones. According to the number of imperfective aorists accepted, the consultants could be divided into three groups:

1. Twenty-three consultants, i.e. half of those surveyed, accepted fewer than five of the sentences. All but one of these were born after 1962; seven were from the east or with at least one parent from there. Seven consultants (four west, two east, one indeterminate), i.e. a little more than 15% of those surveyed, rejected all imperfective aorists.

2. Thirteen consultants accepted five to twelve sentences. All but one of these were born after 1965, and eight were born in or had at least one parent from the east.

3. Ten consultants accepted 20-36 sentences. Five were born in the west before 1953, and three were born after 1968 in the East or with parents from there; one consultant was from Gostivar, and one was a child of two of the consultants in this group.

There was considerable variation in the number of speakers that found any given example acceptable with an imperfective aorist. Although only one sentence was rejected by all 46 consultants, none was accepted by more than 23, i.e. half of those surveyed. The ranges of acceptance were the following: one sentence by one and two consultants, respectively, twelve sentences by six to nine consultants, eighteen sentences by 10-13 consultants, six sentences by

¹¹ One consultant was born abroad and one did not indicate her place of birth. As a result of massive urban immigration since the Second World War combined with the fact that it is located at the intersection of major bundles of isoglosses, Skopje is so dialectally mixed that it must be considered separately from both East and West.

¹² In view of the fact that most speakers still use their native dialects at home, place of parents' birth can be taken as a significant factor. One pair of respondents consisted of siblings, and their parents were only counted once. Other parents were either not born in Macedonia or their place of birth was not indicated on the questionnaire.

14-18, and one each by 20 and 23 consultants.

In examining the data from the surveys, the question arises concerning what, if any, patterns can be discerned in the choice of which sentences or verbs favored shift to the imperfective imperfect, which to the perfective aorist, and which were more likely to favor retention of the imperfective aorist. At the level of morphology, there does not seem to be a clear correlation between stem class and choice of aspect. Approximately half of each stem category was represented in those sentences for which the imperfective aorist was deemed acceptable by 10 or more speakers. The proportions of stem classes in sentences favoring a shift to the perfective aorist were likewise equally representative.¹³ In terms of sentence-level aspect, it appears that telicity is the key factor in determining the likelihood of a perfective aorist vs. an imperfective imperfect substitution. Only four sentences showed a significant tendency for consultants to shift the superordinate aspect to perfective and keep the subordinate aspect as aorist, and all were highly telic, viz. (11,12,13,14) with 12, 16, 17, and 23 acceptances respectively.¹⁴

(11) *Povekje od desetina pati toj go pravi toa.* (original in Andrejčin 1938:39)

'He did it more than ten times.'

(12) *Go zel po sebe momčeto, ta go nosi vo edna pusta pustelija.* (Koneski 1967a:423).

'He took the lad with him and brought him into a barren wilderness.'

(13) *Nejko gi ispraznuva i napolnuva disagite nekolku pati.* (based on Andrejčin 1938:39).

'Nejko emptied and filled the saddle bags a few times.'

(14) *Mnogu ališta krojav.* (based on Koneski 1949:289)

'I sewed a lot of clothes.'

The shift of the subordinate aspect to imperfect occurred in every sentence,

¹³ The sample was too small to test a difference between derived and underived imperfectives, since I only had two of the former, viz. (12) and (14).

¹⁴ Fifteen other sentences had at least one shift to the perfective aorist, but 9 of these by only 1 or 2 speakers; the total number of shifts was 112, with 4 sentences accounting for 64 instances, i.e. over half the total.

the number of consultants varying from 17 at the low end to 44 at the high (22 sentences had 30 or more, 12 had 22-29, three had 17-18, viz. (15) as well as (12) and (14):

- (15) *Kaži ednaš, dosta go zavitkuva.* (Iljoski 1966:60).
'Say it right now, you've beaten around the bush enough.'

Retention of imperfective aorist did not show any clear preferences, although it seemed that those examples most likely to be accepted by the largest number of speakers involved the verb *jade*, which despite its prescription as imperfective in the three-volume dictionary behaves like a biaspectual (see Teunissen 1986). Sentences such as (16) involving *pie* 'drink' are so frequently cited in both linguistic and pedagogical literature that this may have influenced their acceptability:

- (16) *A, ne treba, Boško, dosta pivme.* (Koneski 1967a:427)
'Oh, it's not necessary, Boško, we've drunk enough.'

In his monograph on the Macedonian verb, Elson (1990) argues that the aorist is marked with respect to the imperfect on morphological grounds; namely that certain markers (stem vowels in other treatments) can occur only as indicators of the aorist (namely /o/, /i/, Ø as in *vidov*, *rešiv*, *čuv* 'I saw, decided, hears'), while the indicators used in the imperfect (/e/, /a/, as in *praveše*, *gledaše*) can also occur in the aorist (as in *počnav*, *somlev* 'I began, crushed'), to which he adds as evidence the fact that the imperfect stem provided the basis for new forms, such as the imperfect *l*-form, whereas the aorist stem did not. In my earlier work, I argued that the imperfect is marked with respect to the aorist. The analysis was based in part on the fact that the aorist displays characteristics generally associated with (although not necessarily diagnostic of) unmarked forms -- these include greater frequency and less morphophonemic regularity -- and in part on the fact that the imperfect is positively specified for durativity; the aorist lacks a subaspectual specification. I argue in favor of durativity rather than coordination as the invariant meaning of the imperfect on the basis of examples in which the imperfect is clearly describing sequential action as in examples such as (17) and (18), to which can be added the evidence discussed in connection with examples (6), and (9b) given above:

- (17) *Rabotnički igraše prvoligaški vo Kosovska Mitrovica i ottamu se vrati so dva boda.*

'The Workers [a soccer team] **were playing** big league ball in Kosovska Mitrovica and **returned** from there with two points.' (Friedman)

1977:30)

(18) *I, po edna godina se vrativ od Kuban, kukjarčeto go prodadov i otidov vo Voronjež. Prvin **rabotev** vo drvodelskiot artel, potoa **preminav** vo fabrika, naučiv za bravar.* (Šolohov 1970:7)

'And, after a year I returned from Kuban, sold the cabin and went to Voronež. At first I **was working** in a carpenter shop, then I **moved** to a factory and learned to be a locksmith.'

As can be seen from the foregoing exposition, however, the Macedonian imperfective aorist is even more marginal than it was forty years ago, when Koneski and Lunt wrote the descriptions of Literary Macedonian that still serve as the primary sources of information today. Moreover, it is clear that generational lines are even more important than geographic in determining the degree of acceptability of imperfective aorist forms.¹⁵

In describing the current Macedonian literary language, it is essential to recognize that for most speakers, especially young adults (and presumably future generations), the imperfective aorist has become obsolete. For the language of these speakers, the imperfective aorist is at best marked as both archaic and dialectal and thus has a place in their linguistic system that can be compared to a cross between the marked second singular of English (e.g., *thou goest*), which is universally recognized but never used except in ritual or ironic contexts, and such markedly dialectal (regional) constructions as *he might could go*, which are in common use within their local contexts but are unacceptable in the broader (especially written) literary standard. Thus, in a present-day description, the Macedonian verbal system must be bifurcated into conservative and innovating. The conservative system is that which I described in Friedman 1977. But the complete absence of the imperfective aorist from the speech of some speakers combined with the indication that this is not a dialectal peculiarity but rather the direction in which the language is changing, necessitates a reassessment of markedness relations within the system,

In that system in which the Macedonian aorist is limited to perfective verbs, it is for all practical purposes marked for perfectivity, i.e. +P in Aronson's terms, +DISCRETENESS in Chvany's, some sort of boundedness or closure in

¹⁵ In this context, it is important to keep in mind that the consultants born in the thirties all went to elementary school at a time when most of Macedonia was part of Bulgaria, i.e. during World War Two, and were thus required to learn Bulgarian, in which language the imperfective aorist is still a vital literary and colloquial form. This may have had some influence on their judgments and on those of their children.

systems such as those of Lindstedt and Timberlake. I would also argue that in Reichenbachian terms, the Macedonian aorist is limited to its RT (the equivalent of co-occurring with a bounded interval in Fielder's terms). On the other hand, the imperfect has the ability to occur with both perfective and imperfective verbs and can be used in all those contexts formerly reserved for the imperfective aorist, e.g. limited, general, and sequential duration in time. Thus the imperfect does not carry the aorist's limitation to perfectivity; in Reichenbachian terms it need not correspond exactly to its RT, so that in its duration it can co-occur with the boundaries of its RT or within them. These ideas can be represented graphically in Figure 2:

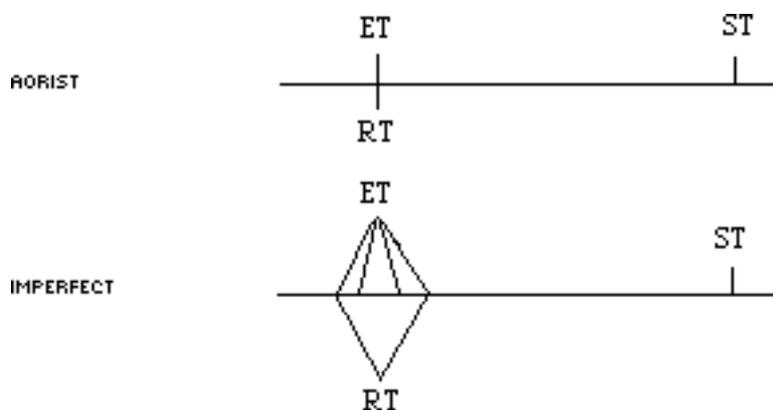


Figure 2

Leaving to one side the problem of the modality and iterativity of the perfective imperfect, which is outside the scope of this work, it would seem that in the innovating Macedonian system the extension of the imperfect into areas formerly reserved for the aorist and the aorist's exclusion from those areas has resulted in, or is at least leading to, a situation in which the imperfect's durativity is its chief meaning by contrast with the marked perfectivity of the aorist. It would thus appear that in the Macedonian literary language at the end of the twentieth century the aorist could be treated as marked or becoming marked with respect to the imperfect.

An alternative view of the situation is provided by the abovementioned framework proposed by Aronson (1988) for Bulgarian, which in effect puts undervived imperfectives outside the grammatical paradigmatic superordinate aspectual opposition. In such a system, the imperfective and perfective could each be viewed as having a single past tense -- descended from the imperfect in the

former and the aorist in the latter -- while the perfective imperfect would be treated as marked for a category such as manner (the intersection of aspect and mood, see Aronson 1977).¹⁶ The relation of the perfective imperfect to the imperfective imperfect would be regarded as a mere historical artifact rather than a morphological fact of the current system in need of integration into a complete account. Such a system is illustrated in Figure 3:

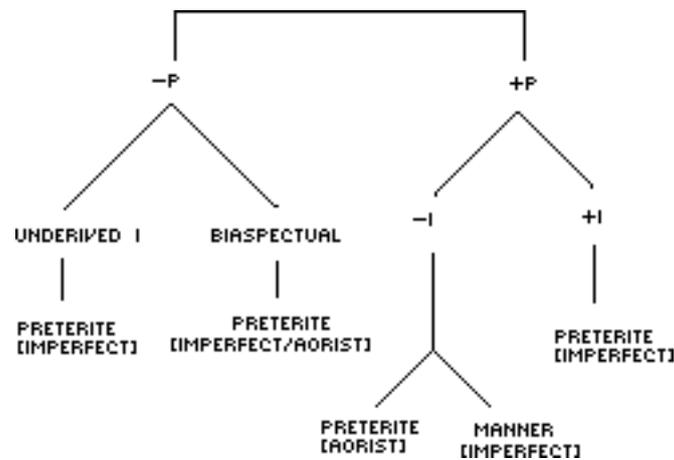


Figure 3

A comparison of Macedonian subordinate aspect to aspectual systems in other languages of the Balkans can cast additional light on its nature and functioning. I have already shown how Macedonian differs significantly from Bulgarian, its closest relative. I shall now examine the relationship to Turkish, which, among other things, is said to have influenced the Macedonian verbal system (e.g., Gołąb 1960). Basically, in both Macedonian and Turkish the aorist and imperfect are defined in virtually identical terms such as those given above in the discussion of traditional approaches. For example, the Turkish simple preterite (the *di*-past) is defined by Kononov (1956:231) as denoting a single event completely finished by the moment of speech (corresponding to the Russian perfective past). The imperfect in *-yordu* is said by Kononov (1956:231) to be used for an unfinished action taking place at a definite time in the past, and Ko-

¹⁶ The situation in biaspectuals requires further investigation. One could nonetheless argue that even if both imperfect and aorist occur in a biaspectual verb, those paradigms are merely functioning as formal manifestations of the verb's imperfective or perfective meaning in any given context. For the overwhelming majority of biaspectuals, the distinction would only occur in the second and third persons singular.

nonov adds that it corresponds to the Russian imperfective past.¹⁷ Koschmieder (1953) also observed the correspondence between Slavic perfective and imperfective aspect and the Turkish paradigms in *-di* and *-yordu*. Of interest for this article, however, are those examples where the expected correspondence does not occur, for it is precisely in those cases that we can seek those factors differentiating the Macedonian and Turkish aspectual phenomena and thus come to a deeper understanding of their respective markedness relationships. In a comparison of translations from one language into the other or from a third language into both, significant divergences from the expected correspondences do occur. Thus, for example, in the Macedonian and Turkish translations of Šoloxov's Russian novella *Sud'ba čeloveka* 'The Fate of Man', aorists and imperfects constitute virtually identical percentages of the total finite verb forms in both translations (about 30% aorist and 15% imperfect). However, there are 45 examples out of about 500 where the correspondences are the opposite of those that would be expected, that is one language's imperfect corresponds to the other language's aorist or simple preterite. Of these non-correspondences, there are 28 instances (i.e. more than 60%) in which a Macedonian imperfect corresponds to a Turkish simple preterite. In a collection of Macedonian short stories translated into Turkish (Zekeriya 1970), we find similar percentages of past tenses, and out of 42 non-correspondences, in 36 instances (i.e. 85%) a Macedonian imperfect is translated by a Turkish aorist.

Typical examples of Macedonian imperfects corresponding to Turkish aorists generally involve durative qualification by adverbs such as Macedonian *dolgo* Turkish *uzun zaman* 'for a long time' or contain explicit time limitations, as in examples (19) and (20).

- (19) a. *A zošto ti mene tolku dolgo me baraše?* (Šoloxov 1970:33)
b. *Peki neden beni bu kadar uzun zaman aradın?* (Šoloxov 1969:42)
'Well, why to you **look for** me for such a long time?'

- (20) a. *Tri meseci se miluvaa.* (Maleski 1969:101).
b. *Tam üç ay seviştiler.* (Zekeriya 1970:13)
'They **made love** for (only) three months.'

¹⁷ The pasts using the marker *-di* in Turkish corresponding to the aorist/imperfect opposition in the synthetic paradigms in Macedonian are likewise marked for confirmative status (see Friedman 1978). I am omitting any references to marking for status in this discussion, as this category does not effect the aspectual considerations at issue here (cf. note 7).

They all therefore represent the type of limitational duration that in Bulgarian is rendered — often obligatorily — by an imperfective aorist. Since the imperfective aorist is obsolete in Macedonian, however, an imperfect must be used in such durational phrases. In the case of (21), however, we have the portrayal of an achievement in the course of its development, i.e. as an activity, since the village provides a telos (goal):

- (21) a. *Taka molčejkji navleguvavme vo seloto.* (Drakul 1969:28)
 b. *Böyle susarak köye **indik**.* (Zekeriya 1970:82)
 'Thus we silently **entered** the village.'

According to Guentchéva (1990:112-13), this is also a meaning of the Bulgarian derived imperfective aorist, and in fact the village could be taken as a spatial limitation that is the equivalent of the temporal limitation in the other sentences. The Macedonian imperfects are describing events in terms of duration, whereas the Turkish aorists present these same events as past occurrences without any additional specification -- although it is clear that in terms of traditional definitions we would expect the form corresponding to the Slavic imperfective. I should also note here that all of the ten synthetic imperfective aorists in the Bulgarian translation of *Sud'ba čeloveka* correspond to imperfective imperfects in the Macedonian translation but to *di*-pasts in the Turkish.

On the other hand, examples showing Macedonian aorists corresponding to Turkish imperfects all involve activities and states that Macedonian presents as inchoative or completive moments while Turkish leaves them as progressing in time. Examples (22) and (23) are typical:

- (22) a. *Našite se **privlekoa** vo Grcija. Ostana Sandre vo Vrbjani.* (Maleski 1969:102).
 b. *Bizimkilerse Yunanistan'a **çekiliyorlardı**. Sandre Vırbyanın'de kaldı.* (Zekeriya 1970:14)
 'Our people **withdrew** to Greece. Sandre remained in Vrbjani.'
- (23) a. *Se zanišav, no dostojav na noze.* (Šoloxov 1970:30)
 b. *Ayaklarım **titriyordu**, ama yine de ayakta **duruyordum**.* (Šoloxov 1969:37).
 'I **reeled** but I **remained standing**.'

In terms of markedness relations, it is interesting to note here that the Macedonian aorists are in a sense adding a nuance of perfective markedness by telicizing events that are basically activities or states, while Turkish is using its imper-

fect to emphasize the durational nature of the events in question.

The Macedonian and Turkish aspectual oppositions aorist~simple preterite/imperfect can be characterized by the fact that in Turkish the simple preterite is clearly the least marked, most general past tense, being unmarked for aspect and carrying marking only for tense (past) and status (confirmative). In Macedonian, however, the markedness relationship between the aorist and imperfect has always been an arguable point, and now at the end of the twentieth century the restrictions appearing in the aorist offer strong motivation either for considering it marked for perfectivity with respect to the imperfect or for viewing the whole opposition itself as undergoing a restructuring into an opposition preterite vs. manner. The comparison with Turkish verbal aspect in which it can be seen that the Macedonian imperfect often corresponds to the unmarked Turkish aspect highlights the type of restructuring occurring in Macedonian.

From the point of view of Balkan linguistics we should add that the loss of the imperfective aorist originated in Western Macedonia, where linguistic contact has been most complex: with Albanian, Greek, Arumanian, Romani, and formerly with Judezmo, as well as with Turkish. In Albanian translations, too, we more often see a Macedonian imperfect corresponding to an Albanian aorist rather than vice versa, as in the Albanian translation of the second sentence in example (18), which, as in Turkish, uses an aorist for 'work':¹⁸

(24) *Në fillim **punova** në një artel të zhdukthtarëve, pastaj hyra në një uzinë dhe u bëra mekanik* (Sholohov 1978:11).

'At first I **worked** in a carpenter shop, then I moved to a factory and learned to be a locksmith.'

Nonetheless, it appears that the Macedonian aspectual system has developed along a path consistent with the internal structure of Macedonian, which has maintained its own concept of the semantic boundaries of subordinate aspect. On the one hand, the loss of the imperfective aorist could be attributed to a systemic simplification resulting from linguistic contact.¹⁹ On the other hand, the rise of markedness in the aorist — or alternatively the creation of a new op-

¹⁸ The Turkish form is *çalışım*.

¹⁹ I should add here that intense contact with Serbo-Croatian during much of the twentieth century must also be considered as a potential factor in the loss of imperfective aorists, since these forms are extremely marginal in or completely absent from that language. Nonetheless, the process of simplification was already set in motion before Serbo-Croatian was a significant contact language beyond the northern dialect area.

position between a form marked for manner and a simple but aspectually divided preterite — is a development peculiar to Macedonian. The comparison of Macedonian with other languages of the Balkans exposes the internal mechanism of the Macedonian system even more clearly than it would appear if the language were viewed entirely by itself.

About the *ja-* in *Makedonskiot jazik* : The fate of **ě-* and **ę-*

(co-authored with Laura Janda)

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Abstract:

This paper presents evidence for a phonological change of *ě-* > *ja-* in initial position in approximately the twelfth century, a change that is not mentioned in Koneski's (1983 and 1986) books on the history of Macedonian. This change by itself affects only six roots, but there is reason to believe that *ě-* > *ja-* followed the well-documented change of *ę* > *ě*, and this fact has important implications for the so-called "confusion of nasals." The authors agree with Koneski that there probably was no confusion of nasal vowels in Macedonian (as opposed to Bulgarian), and offer this article as a further argument for this position.

As shown in the table below, there are six roots that can be identified as representing reflexes of initial **ě-* that have the sequence *ja-* in modern literary Macedonian and the west central dialects on which it is based. There is no evidence of initial **ě-* > *e-*, the expected reflex in all other environments for west Macedonian (and the only reflex for **ě* given in historical phonologies). We would like to further suggest that **ě-* > *ja-* was preceded by **ę* > *ě*, based on the data in the table. There is no evidence of *ę-* > *e-*, except in the case of words containing the root **ęk-* : *ek* 'echo,' *ekot* 'echo,' *ekne* 'resound,' *eči* 'resound.' These are undoubtedly eastern dialectisms used to avoid homonymy with the root **jak-* 'strong' (parallel, for example, to the adoption of the northern dialectal word *sud* 'court' to avoid homonymy with *sad* 'dish,' cf. Koneski 1983:43). Note, however, that the expected *jači* and *jakne* (**ę-* > *ě-* > *ja-*) 'resound; moan' also occur. It is not surprising that there should be some need to avoid homonymy when there are four original segments, all of which yield word-initial *ja-* : **ě-*, **ę-*, **(j)a-*, **q-*. Note also that initial **a-* and **q-* almost never yield anything other than *ja-*, due to the tendency to develop prothetic *j-* before back vowels (cf. Koneski 1983: 24). The only examples are **a-* > *a-* in *azbuka* 'alphabet,' *azbučen* 'alphabetical,' *alčen* 'greedy,' *alčnost* 'greed' (both of which are either Church Slavonicisms or bookish forms); and **q-* > *a-* in three words all of the same root: *aglest* 'angular,' *aglomer* 'protractor,' *agol* 'angle' (which could also be dialectal to avoid confusion with the root *jagl-* 'coal').

The table below gives the main forms of modern literary Macedonian words beginning with *ja-* and inherited from Common Slavic, arranged according to the etymology of the initial segment. Borrowings with original initial *ja-*, e.g. *javaš* 'slow' (Turkish), *jamb* 'iamb' (Greek), *Japonec* 'Japanese man', are excluded as are obvious derivatives, e.g. *jazičen* 'linguistic' < *jazik* 'tongue, language'. All words derived from the same root are grouped together.¹

***ě- > ja-**

jad	torment; anger; poison
jade (se)	eat; itch; torment
jadec	wishbone
jasje	food
jasli	manger; nursery
jasteliv, jastelit	gluttonous; edible
jastreb	hawk (if etymology as 'partridge-eater' is correct, otherwise (<i>j</i>)a- > ja-)
jasen	clear
java	ride (a horse)
jaz	dam
jazi se	clamber (or perhaps, alternatively, from <i>ęziti</i>)
jazdi	ride
jazovec	badger

***ę- > ě- > ja-**

jači	resound; moan
jakne	groan
jačmen	barley
jačmenčok	sty (on the eye)
jadar	coarse; big; strong
jadro	nucleus; essence
jatka	kernel; core; content
jandza	fever; creeps; terror
jatrva	husband's brother's wife
jazik	tongue; language

¹ The following sources were consulted in preparing the etymologies: Berneker 1913, Vasmer 1950-1958, Shevelov 1964, Georgiev et al. 1971, Skok 1971, Stevanović et al. 1973, Trubačev et al. 1979 and 1981.

***q- > ja-**

ja	3sg fem oblique pronoun
jadica	fishing hook
jaglen	coal
jaglerod	carbon
jagula	eel
jatok	woof (in weaving)
jator	croze (groove on a barrel stave for the bottom)
jazol	knot
jaže	rope; noose

***(j)a- > ja-**

jabolko	apple
jagne	lamb
jagoda	strawberry
jagurida	late green grape that does not ripen (< Gk agourída)
jagorica	swollen lymph glands
jaglika	primrose
jajce	egg
jak	strong
jalov	infertile
jama	pit; cave; hole
jare	kid
jarem	yoke
jarosten	angry
jas	1sg pronoun
jasen	ash tree
jasika	aspen (but it has o- in other Slavic languages)
jato	flock; swarm
javi (se)	announce, appear, make public
javka	slogan
javnost	the public
javor	maple

unidentified

jamka	loop; snare (perhaps a diminutive of <i>jama</i> ?; but cf. SC <i>omča</i> = <i>o+mk</i> + <i>ja</i> according to Skok along with <i>zamka</i>)
janta	shepherd's leather bag (< Tk <i>yan-</i> 'side' like <i>yandžik</i> ? or Balkan Romance?)

jarbol

mast (< lat. *arbor* according to Stevanović et al.;
but cf. Blg. *érbja/járbja* 'raise')

There was certainly a merger of the nasal vowels in the history of Bulgarian, but it appears that the same cannot be said of Macedonian historical phonology. Arguments for this merger are based on changes of ϵ - > q - and vice versa, and Koneski (1983: 24 & 41) lists *jazik* 'tongue; language' as an example of the former. Here is a summary of Koneski's discussion of the supposed nasal vowel merger in Macedonian:²

ϵ > q

— after unpaired palatalized consonants as a result of dispalatalization, found in only a few root morphemes and only in some dialects outside the west central area.

— in desinenes, where morphological analogy was more of a factor than phonology in producing change

— word initially, as in *jazik*

q > ϵ

— after paired palatalized consonants, a widespread change reflecting a continuation of Common Slavic syllabic synharmony

By presenting the data in this fashion, Koneski is able to argue against most instances of supposed nasal merger: either changes are attributed to a complementary set of environments, or to analogy. The only change that seems problematic is word-initial ϵ - > q -, which is not well-motivated phonologically, and would appear to suggest a merger of nasal vowels in initial position.³ Koneski (1983:40-41) attempts to provide a phonological explanation by suggesting that "[t]he avoidance of the sequence *j* + *front vowel* led to the change *jε*- > *jq*- " producing *jεzyk* > *jqzik*. Yet prothetic *j*- was certainly not original and probably not phonemic at the time, so a more natural solution would have been to simply

² This summary is condensed from Koneski 1983: 40-42; Koneski 1986c does not make substantive additions to the discussion of nasal vowels.

³ Koneski also mentions *jε* > *jq* in syllable initial position, but all such examples which are not word-initial are desinential and subject more to analogical than to phonological factors. We should note here that our solution applies to the West Central dialects of Macedonian, which served as the base of the literary language. The process must have been different in the peripheral western dialects, where *q* gives reflexes other than *a* (cf. Belić 1935:39).

drop it. Further, this explanation requires adding a change to the history of Macedonian that serves no purpose other than to account for about a half-dozen roots. The explanation presented in this paper posits no extra changes other than those already posited by Koneski, plus $\check{e} - > ja -$, for which there is independent evidence, and further proves that there was no merger of nasal vowels even in initial position, thus strengthening Koneski's argument in favor of a development with regard to these segments distinct from that observed in Bulgarian.

**Confirmative/Nonconfirmative in Balkan Slavic,
Balkan Romance, and Albanian with Additional Observations on
Turkish, Romani, Georgian, and Lak**

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The sections on Romani and Lak in this version have been considerably revised based on subsequent research. Other sections have also been updated.

1. Introduction

Many years ago (Friedman 1977:34–52), I proposed that the synthetic pasts of Macedonian are marked for confirmativity, i.e., the speaker’s vouching for the truth of the information rather than some more literal notion such as ‘witnessed’ (much like the situation described for Bulgarian by Aronson 1967:87). Based on the evidence of my field research, I went on to propose that the Macedonian past tense descended from the Common Slavic resultative perfect and using the verbal *l*-form (sometimes called the indefinite past) did not carry any sort of marking for reportedness, but rather was an unmarked past vis-à-vis the marked confirmative past, and thus had nonconfirmativity as its chief contextual variant meaning. Although my basic framework was informed by Jakobson (1957 [1971]), there was no place in my analysis for his category of *evidential* ($E^N E^{NS}/E^S$ in Jakobson’s formulation), since it was clear from the data that, contrary to Jakobson’s and others’ assertions, the actual source of information (“evidence”) was not crucial in determining the choice of verb form. Rather, it was the speaker’s attitude toward that information (which often, but not always, was influenced by its source) that determined the choice. Using analyses that developed from discussions with H. Aronson (published in Aronson 1977:14 and Friedman 1977:7), I argued that it was the grammatical category of *status*, defined as the relation of the participant in the speech event (P^S) to the narrated event (E^N), that was expressed by the opposition confirmative / nonconfirmative. Moreover, it also became clear that in new paradigms utilizing *l*-forms which developed in Macedonian (and utilizing the *l*-participle in Bulgarian) during the late medieval and early modern periods, it was precisely ‘nonconfirmative’ that became the invariant meaning. In subsequent research I examined related phenomena in other Balkan and also some Caucasian languages. In this

article, I shall survey the results of some of that research.¹ I shall conclude the paper with an outline of topics relevant for further investigations of status and its interactions with other grammatical categories.

2. Balkan Slavic

The relevant forms of Balkan Slavic necessary for understanding the functioning of status in those languages are outlined in Table 1 (based on Friedman 1986b:170).²

Table 1. 1sg. and 3sg. of ‘do’ (imperfective) in Bulgarian and Macedonian

Bulgarian	Confirmative Past	Unmarked Past	Nonconfirmative
AORIST	pravix pravi	săm pravil e pravil	săm pravil pravil
IMPERFECT	pravex praveše	săm pravel e pravel	săm pravel pravel
PLUPERFECT (aorist)	bjax pravil beše pravil	[săm bil pravil] [e bil pravil]	săm bil pravil bil pravil
PLUPERFECT (imperfect)	(bjax pravel) (beše pravel)	(săm bil pravel) (e bil pravel)	săm bil pravel bil pravel
Macedonian	Confirmative Past	Unmarked Past	Pluperfect
AORIST	{na}praviv {na}pravi	sum {na}pravil {na}pravil	bev {na}pravil beše {na}pravil
IMPERFECT	pravev praveše	sum pravel pravel	bev pravel beše pravel
<i>IMA</i> SERIES	Perfect imam praveno ima praveno	Pluperfect imav praveno imaše praveno	Nonconf’v Past sum imal praveno imal praveno
[] = possible () = dialectal {}=only occurs with perfective verbs			

¹ The literature on status categories and evidentiality has proliferated to the extent that a separate monograph could now be devoted just to a bibliography of works on this topic (cf. Friedman 1980:26–30). Five collections worth citing, however, are Nichols and Chafe (1986), Guentchéva (1996a), Utas and Johanson (2000), Aikhenvald and Dixon (2003), Guentchéva (2007); see also Aikhenvald (2004). Foulon-Hristova (1995:113–229) gives a treatment of Macedonian, see Friedman (1997) for a review.

² The confirmative past is also called the ‘definite past’ in traditional grammars. The unmarked past is called the ‘indefinite past’, and the nonconfirmative is called ‘reported’ or ‘dubitative’.

2.1. Confirmative vs. Nonconfirmative in Balkan Slavic

The following examples illustrate the fact that the basic meaning of the opposition in question is confirmative / nonconfirmative:³

- (1) *No potoa se slučija raboti za koi ne znaev.*
 but after.that IN they.happened things about which not I.knew
 But after that things happened which I didn't know about. (*Nova Makedonija* 19.VI.74: 5) [Mac.]
- (2) *Beše tamu.*
 she.was there.
 She was there. [said of someone who was at a conference the speaker did not attend] (May 1981) [Blg.]
- (3) *Kaži kako begaše.*
 tell how you.eloped
 Tell [the story of] how you eloped. [Said by a legitimate daughter to her mother] (September 1973) [Mac.]

³ References given as a month and year are from my own field notes, usually based on spontaneous conversations. Translations are mine unless the original source provided one. A reference in an example involving more than one foreign language refers to all the languages in question. Unreferenced examples are ordinary, common sentences. The following abbreviations are used in the interlinear glosses.

AB–ablative; AC–accusative; AD–admirative; AJd–definite adjective; AJi–indefinite adjective AO–aorist; AS–assertive; CO–conditional; D–dative; E–ergative; F–feminine; FU–future; G–genitive; GE–gerund; IE–inessive; IF–infinitive; IM–imperfect; IN–intransitive marker; IS–Instrumental; L–locative; M–masculine; N–neuter; NG–negative; P–plural; PA–past; PC–particle of concord; PF–perfect; PG–progressive marker; PR–present; Q–interrogative particle; QT–quotative particle; SP–subordinating particle; SR–super-prolative; V–Vocative; VN–verbal noun (masdar).

Various presents, auxiliaries, and synthetic pasts that mark person include the appropriate pronoun in the interlinear glosses. Balkan Slavic unmarked pasts (old perfects) use the old *l*-participle, which only marks gender/number. The Slavic and Albanian aspectual distinctions are irrelevant for our considerations here and are therefore not marked. For the other languages, I have occasionally supplied morphemic glosses, but I have not attempted to be consistent in this, since they are not important for the points being discussed here. Particularly for Lak, detailed glosses are beyond what is needed here (see Friedman 2007 for details).

- (4) a. *Ne veruvam deka toj go napravil/[*]napravi toa.*
not I.believe that he it did.M / he.did that
b. *Ne vjarvam če toj napravil/[*]napravi tova.*
not I.believe that he did.M / he.did that
I don't believe that he did it. [Mac.]/[Blg.](Friedman 1978: 110)
- (5) *Zuza: "Blaže bil vo Moskva." Kosta: "Da, beše."*
Z. B. was.M in Moscow K. Yes he.was
Zuza: "Blaže was in Moscow." Kosta: "Yes, [I know] he was." (October 1986) [Mac.]
- (6) *Mu se javiv na vujko mi. Ne beše doma,*
to.him IN I.called to uncle me.D not he.was at.home
na plaža bil.
at beach was.M
I called my uncle. He wasn't home, apparently he was at the beach.
[Based on a telephone call] (August 1992)

Example (1) is a Macedonian translation of an English sentence uttered by Richard Nixon on the Watergate tapes. The aorist clearly refers to unwitnessed events of whose veracity the speaker is nonetheless convinced. In context, the same use of confirmative aorists for unwitnessed events is true of examples (2) and (3). Example (4) shows that the confirmative past cannot be subordinated to a verb that overtly and felicitously contradicts confirmation (Friedman 1976b).⁴ Examples (5) and (6) show contrasting use of the confirmative and unmarked past. In each case, the source of the information is the same report, but the speakers relate to that information differently. Thus in (5) both Zuza and Kosta know that Blaže was in Moscow only on the basis of having been told. Zuza presents the information without confirmation and thus, by implication in this context, as hearsay, whereas Kosta responds with the confirmative since he considers the information well established.⁵ In (6), the speaker has only his aunt's

⁴ Note that if such contradiction is infelicitous, then the use of the confirmative is permissible, hence the square brackets around the asterisk. In the specific case of (4), for example, if the speaker really does believe that the person in question did it and is using the predicate *don't believe* to mean 'I am surprised at the fact that', then the use of the confirmative is acceptable and would stress the fact that the speaker really does believe he did it. Cf. English *I can't believe I ate the whole thing*.

⁵ This is in direct contradiction to Lunt (1952:93), whose presentation of the facts is in this case influenced by normative rather than descriptive practices, cf. Friedman (1977a:60).

report as evidence for both statements, but he chooses to place greater emphasis on his conviction of the first statement, since his uncle would have been expected to come to the phone had he been home, whereas he might or might not have actually been at the beach.

2.2. Unmarked Past in Macedonian

The following examples illustrate the fact that the Macedonian past paradigm based on the *l*-participle functions as the unmarked past rather than being marked for nonconfirmation:

- (7) *Bugarite od Sofija —zošto ne doagjaa vo Ohrid?*
 the.Bulgarians from S. why not they.came in Ohrid?
Tie bea... ne se sekjavam točno... tie bile
 they they.were not IN I.remember exactly they were.P
vo Ohrid porano... Bea vo maj mesec! I taka
 in O. earlier they.were in May month and so
nemaše pari.
 there.wasn't money

The Bulgarians from Sofia, why didn't they come to Ohrid [in August]? They were ... I don't remember exactly, they were in Ohrid earlier — they were there in May — and so there wasn't enough money. (December 1995)

- (8) *Zatoa što formata BEŠE REŠENO odgovara na SE*
 for.that what the.form it.was decided.N answers to IN
REŠI, t.e. na minatoto opredeleno vreme, koe go
 it.decided i.e. to the.past definite tense which it
upotrebuvame za označuvanje dejstva što se vršele ili
 we.use for indication actions what IN performed.P or
se izvršile vo opredelen moment vo minatoto.
 IN accomplished.P in definite moment in the past.

It is because the form had been decided corresponds to was decided, i.e., to the past definite tense, which we use to indicate actions that were performed or accomplished at a definite time in the past. (Minova-Gjurkova 1984)

- (9) *Liceto koe podnelo baranje za nostrifikacija, odnosno*
 The.person who submitted.N application for validation or

priznavanje na ekvivalencija na svidetelstvo steknato vo
recognition of equivalence of diploma earned.N in
stranstvo, može uslovno da go posetuva narednoto
abroad he.can conditionally SP it he.attend the.appropriate
oddelenie, dokolku postapkata ne e završena do istekot
grade insofar.as the.process not is completed.F until the.expiration
na rokot za upis na učenicite vo učilište.
of the.deadline for registration of the.pupils in school

A person who has submitted an application for the validation or recognition of equivalency of a diploma earned abroad may provisionally attend the appropriate class insofar as the process is not completed before the expiration of the deadline for the registration of students in the school. (*Služben vesnik na Republika Makedonija* 20.IX.95, Vol.51, No. 44, p. 1134)

- (10) *Tatko mi bil mnogu meraklija za cvekja.*
Father me.D was.M very fond for flowers
My father was/used to be very fond of flowers. (December 1973)
- (11) *Dosta sme rabotele.*
Enough we.are worked.P
We have worked enough. (April 1974)

In (7), the alternation between confirmative and unmarked pasts has nothing to do with the source of information, but rather with the speaker's relationship to his own recollection of witnessed facts. In (8) and (9), the unmarked past is used in its neutral, defining (or perfect) function. In (8) the unmarked past is used to define the meaning of a form that is confirmative, while in (9) the unmarked past refers to any potential case of a situation. Examples (10) and (11) are both uses of the unmarked past that relate to its lack of marking for status. The first, uttered by a speaker reminiscing about her childhood memories, renders a habitual action or state in the distant past of relevance to the present (the conversation was about flowers), while the second, uttered by one old man to another referring to their right to retirement, is a simple present resultative.

2.3. Auxiliary Omission in Bulgarian

For the most part, the Bulgarian treatment of status is, *mutatis mutandis*, the same as in Macedonian. Although there are important differences in the development of new analytic paradigms based on different auxiliaries — Bulgarian

uses the unmarked past of ‘be’ (3sg. *bil*) plus the old resultative participle in *-l* while Macedonian has developed an entirely new set of perfects using the auxiliary ‘have’ (3sg. present *ima*, imperfect *imaše*, unmarked past *imal*) plus the neuter verbal adjective — the basic opposition confirmative / nonconfirmative based on the inherited tense forms is roughly the same.⁶ There is, however, one important difference between Macedonian and Bulgarian status usage in the inherited paradigmatic sets:⁷ whereas the Macedonian unmarked past never uses the auxiliary in the third person, the Bulgarian equivalent has the option of using it or omitting it.⁸ The alternation is treated in all current standard descriptions as constitutive of two separate homonymous paradigms that are differentiated only in the third person. Empirical investigation of actually occurring oral and written usage, however, reveals that the basis of auxiliary omission is neither the source of the information nor the speaker’s attitude toward the information itself (Friedman 1982a:159–160). Rather, presence versus absence of the auxiliary is a pragmatic device encoding narrative perspective (distance, see Fielder 1995, 1996:216, 1997:177–179). Space does not permit a complete elaboration of the arguments (see Friedman 2002), and so only a few examples will be adduced here.

- (12) *Ami az pomnija majka mu, bre, ... učela me e*
 But I I.remember mother him.D V taught.F me.Ac is
pesni da peja.
 songs SP I.sing
 Well, but I remember his mother, man, ... she used to teach me songs to sing. (Stankov 1967: 341)
- (13) *...vednāz e pātuval ot Burgas nadolu kām granicata — selo*
 once is traveled.M from B. down toward the.border village
Fakija — i pātuval toj — stignal e večerta do njakakvo
 F. — and traveled.M he — arrived.M is the.evening to some
selo s rejs i sled tova trjabvalo da premine
 village with bus and after that needed.N SP he.passes.on

⁶ See Friedman (1986:173–180, 1995:296) for details.

⁷ Strictly speaking, the imperfect resultative participle is an innovation rather than an inheritance from Common Slavic, in which the resultative participle was based only on the aorist stem. The innovation, however, is a common Macedo-Bulgarian one and predates later developments that differentiated Macedonian and Bulgarian. In this sense, therefore, it can be treated together with older inherited material.

⁸ Cf. example (29) and note 10.

... once he traveled from Burgas down toward the border — the village of Fakiya — and so he traveled — in the evening he got to some village by bus and then he was supposed to continue on. (Roth 1979: 177)

- (14) *V semejnite razkazi se podčertavaše, če Nanka e bila ljubimata sestra na Savata... Nanka e prodžavala da nariča brat si Sava vāpreki če toj sam se e otkazal ot tova si ime kato smjatal, če ne mu priljaga dobre i vzel imeto na vujka si...*
in the.family stories IN it.emphasized that N. is was.F
the.favorite sister of the.S.... N. is continued.F SP
she.call brother own S. despite that he self IN is renounced.M
from that own name as considered.M that not to.him it.suits
well and took.M the.name of uncle own
The family stories always emphasized that Nanka was the favorite sister of Sava... Nanka continued to call him Sava, although he himself renounced his own given name since he considered it unbecoming and took the name of his uncle. (“Septemvri” 1986, 5:115, cited in Williams 1988)

- (15) *Elica otvārna, če [e] zaspala mnogo kāsno.*
E. she.replied that [is] slept.F much late
Elica replied that she had slept very late. [author did not use auxiliary, 7 out of 8 informants insist only with auxiliary is acceptable] (McClain 1991)

Example (12) illustrates that the imperfect *l*-participle can occur with the auxiliary and moreover is not limited to reported contexts. Examples (13) and (14) show the auxiliary both present and absent when describing events known from the same source of information. The difference is clearly not one of evidentiality but of the relationship of the event to the narrative itself. In (13), the exact same event is described both with and without the auxiliary. The first usage, with the auxiliary, sets the scene, the background, while the subsequent, foregrounded narrative is without the auxiliary. In (14), the omission of the auxiliary signals a shift in narrative perspective. Although the source of information throughout is “the family stories”, the auxiliary is used in describing Nanka and then omitted when the perspective shifts to Sava’s own point of view. Example (15) illustrates the gap between prescription and practice. Although the original sentence was without an auxiliary, seven out of eight native speakers insisted that the auxiliary had to be present. In similar examples, McClain (1991) found that speakers were more or less evenly split over whether the auxiliary was re-

quired or forbidden. Although space does not permit us to enter into the details of the discourse function of third person auxiliary omission with the Bulgarian *l*-participle, the foregoing examples illustrate that this phenomenon is not paradigm-forming, neither is it conditioned by the source of information.

2.4. Bulgarian and Turkish

Let us now turn to Turkish in comparison with Bulgarian. The situation in Turkish has been described in great and admirable detail by Johanson (1971:280–310) and Aksu-Koç (1988:21–26), and so I shall only dwell here on the superficial parallels and significant differences between the two.⁹ Table 2 (cf. Friedman 1978:112) shows the apparent parallels between Turkish and Bulgarian as observed in much of the comparative literature (e.g., Mirčev 1958: 211).

Table 2. Bulgarian and Turkish “perfects” of ‘do’

	BULGARIAN		TURKISH	
	"Perfect"	Nonconfirmative	"Perfect"	Nonconfirmative
1sg	napravil sām		yapmışım	
2sg	napravil si		yapmışsın	
3sg	napravil e	napravil	yapmıştır	yapmış

Leaving to one side the specific functioning of *-miş* within the Turkish system, the key issue I wish to discuss here is the superficial parallel between the two sets of third person forms. The use of the Turkish particle *-dir* is frequently treated in comparative literature as the model for manipulations of the auxiliary in Bulgarian (see Friedman 1978:112). In fact, however, the two processes are completely different. In Turkish, *-dir* is a clitic particle that can be added to any person in a variety of tense forms as a kind of emphatic or terminative particle. In its copulative function it is normally omitted unless such emphasis is required. Examples (24) and (25) illustrate such uses of *-dir* in functions that have no Bulgarian equivalent.

⁹ Cf. also Golab's (1960:34–38) comparison with Macedonian. The striking similarity between various status categories in the Balkan languages and in Turkish has supplied considerable material for debate over contact versus autochthony (based on typological universals of development) as sources of the phenomena (e.g., Demiraj 1971a:47–48 and Ylli 1989:47 for Albanian, cf. Friedman 1978:112 on Balkan Slavic). The actual data suggest that while universal principles might be relevant, contact surely provided an impetus (cf. Friedman 2010).

- (24) *Hayat-im-da o-nun kadar çok az insan-ı beğen-miş ve*
in-my-life him-G like very few person-Ac valued-*mİş* and
say-mış-im-dir
respected-*mİş*-I.am-is
In my life, I have valued and respected very few people as much as him.
(Johanson 1971: 299).

- (25) a. *Bil-iyor-sun-uz.*
know-PG-you-P
You know. (Lewis 1967: 139)
b. *Bil-iyor-sun-uz-dur.*
know-PG-you-P-is
You surely know. (Lewis 1967: 139)

Examples (26)–(28) are taken from a Bulgarian-language grammar of Turkish. Without going into details (see Fielder 1999 for additional analysis), the main point that these examples illustrate is that there does not exist the type of isomorphism between Bulgarian and Turkish verb form usage that one might expect if Bulgarian auxiliary omission were the actual equivalent of Turkish *-dir* usage. Thus in (26) a Turkish *DI*-past, which is confirmative, corresponds to a Bulgarian old perfect without auxiliary, in (27) a Turkish *mİş*-past without *-dir* corresponds to a Bulgarian old perfect with the auxiliary, while in (28) the Turkish *mİş*-past corresponds to a Bulgarian confirmative.

- (26) a. *Zayçar naçalnik-i her hal-de Belgat'tan [sic] kat'î emir-ler*
Z. official-its every case-LC Belgrade-AB strict order-P
almış ol-malı-dir ki, kaçak-lar-ı hepsi iade et-ti.
receive-*mİş* be-must-is that runaway-P-AC all return do-*DI*
b. *Na vseki slučaj, Zajčarskijat okolijski načalnik trjabva da e*
on every case the.Z. regional official it.must SP is
polučil strogi zapovedi ot Belgrad, če vārnal vsički begalci
received.M strict orders from B. that returned.M all runaways
In any case, the Zajčar [regional] official must have received strict orders from Belgrade, so that he returned all of the runaways. (Gäläbov 1949: 270). (Turk. *DI*-past/Bulg. past indef. without aux.)
- (27) a. *Bu otuz beş sene-yi, dediğ-i-n gibi,... geçir-miş-ler.*
this 30 5 year-Ac saying-his-G as get.along-*mİş*-P
b. *Kakto kaza, tezi trideset i pet godini te sa prekarali.*
as he.said these 30 and 5 years they they.are got.along.P

As he said, they got along for these thirty-five years. (Gäläbov 1949: 114) (Turk. *mIş*-past w/out *-dir*/Bulg. past indef. + aux.)

- (28) a. *Öğretmen-ler nihayet başka bir çare düşün-müş-ler.*
 teacher-P finally other one means thought-*mIş*-P
 b. *Naj-posle učitelite namisliha drugo sredstvo.*
 most-after the.teachers they.thought other means
 Finally the teachers thought of a different means. (Gäläbov 1949: 341)
 (Turk. *mIş*-past w/out *-dir*/Bulg. past def.)

2.5. Auxiliary Omission in South Slavic

The omission of the auxiliary in the third person in Bulgarian is part of a general pattern of auxiliary loss in the Common Slavic perfect that was carried to its logical extreme in East Slavic, where the auxiliary has been lost in all three persons. In Standard Macedonian and the west central dialects on which it is based, auxiliary loss occurs only in the third person, but it is complete in that person. The situation in Southern West South Slavic (the former Serbo-Croatian) is in principle quite similar to Bulgarian insofar as the tendency to omit the auxiliary is basically pragmatically determined in the third person, as in example (29):¹⁰

- (29) *Došao, kažu, Petar*
 came.M they.say P.
 They say Peter came. (Koneski 1968: 148).

No one has ever suggested that the perfect without auxiliary in Southern West South Slavic constitutes the basis for a separate paradigm. Moreover, it should be clear that whatever the occasional superficial similarities between Bulgarian and Turkish, the two phenomena are quite distinct. The Turkish phenomenon is the result of the addition of an emphatic particle, while the Bulgarian is a pragmatically determined interpretation of the omission of an auxiliary.

2.6. Marked Nonconfirmativity in Balkan Slavic

At this point we are ready to examine the uses of the unmarked past with apparent present meaning in Balkan Slavic. The following types of usage are often

¹⁰ See Grickat (1954:18–78, 114–144, 168–205) for a detailed treatment of the phenomenon in the former Serbo-Croatian.

cited as justifications for the claim that the so-called reported neutralizes the opposition of present and past tense. In fact, however, such usages always have reference to a real or presumed past event, speech act, or state of affairs. They thus represent a kind of expressive tense agreement not unlike the English sequence of tenses in its surface realization (cf. examples 31 and 32). The apparent present usages of the unmarked past are of three types (see also Friedman 1977:72–78, 1999:515): 1) explicit nonconfirmativity with the implication or statement that the information is derived from a report (*reportedness*), 2) the expression of surprise at a pre-existing state of affairs that the speaker would not have been willing to vouch for prior to discovery (*admirativity*), and 3) the expression of sarcastic disbelief, i.e., expressively marked rejection of confirmation (*dubitativity*). In each case, the correct English translation of this type of usage involves a present tense form, but likewise in each instance there is actually some past reference that allows the Balkan Slavic unmarked past to be used, as can be seen from the following examples:¹¹

- (30) *Čovekov bil od Amerika.*
this.person was.M from A.
This guy [said he] was from America. (May 1974)
- (31) *She forgot to tell me she didn't eat meat.*
- (32) *She asked if I was the new girl, and I said I guessed I was.*
- (33) *Lidija kje reče [deka] ne znaela.*
L. FU she.says [that] not knew.F
Lidija will say she didn't know.
*Lidija will say she doesn't know. (Friedman 1977: 71)
- (34) *Ti si bil Rom! Ne sum znael.*
you are were.M Rom not I.am knew.M
Why, you are a Rom! I didn't know. (November 1973)
- (35) a. *Begal !*
ran.M
*He's running (as a thief suddenly flees) (Friedman 1982c: 66)

¹¹ These examples are all in Macedonian, however they would be identical in Bulgarian, *mutatis mutandis*, and the basic points being made are the same (see Friedman 1981).

b. *Kje vrnelo!*

FU rained.N

It will rain (according to a report)

*It will rain (upon seeing dark clouds gathering) (April 2012)¹²

- (36) —*Toj povekje od tebe znae.* —*Toj povekje znael!*
 —he more from you he.knows —he more knew.M
 —He knows more than you do. — He knows more, indeed! (Friedman 1977: 78)

In example (30), the statement was made by a cleaning lady, explaining to a student that (I had said) I was from America. There was no nuance of disbelief in her statement, but given the fact that I spoke fluent Macedonian she had no evidence for my statement other than my own report, and she chose not to add her personal confirmation upon repeating it. Although the statement could be rendered with a present tense verb form in English, the effect is more like that of sequence of tenses, as illustrated by examples (31) and (32). Example (33) demonstrates that the unmarked past must indeed refer to a past statement or event. It cannot be used to report an anticipated but not actually made future statement. Similarly, the unmarked past in example (34) expresses surprise at the present discovery of a pre-existing state. It is infelicitous to use this form to describe an event that actually begins to take place at the moment of speech, as illustrated by example (35a), or one that is anticipated, as in (35b). By shifting an originally present tense statement into the unmarked past in the second sentence of (36), the speaker is engaging in ironic repetition, which specifically refers to and rejects the validity of a previously made statement. Thus all these types of usage of the unmarked past, which can be felicitously translated by English present tenses, nonetheless contain some type of past reference. This is demonstrated by the fact that they cannot be used felicitously in the absence of such a reference to the past. Later in this paper, when discussing the Albanian admirative, which is a true marked nonconfirmative with a true present tense, we shall have occasion to provide contrasting examples which support the claims being made here.

It is important to note that while it is confirmativity which is marked in the inherited past tenses in Balkan Slavic, with nonconfirmativity being the chief contextual variant meaning of the unmarked past, in the new past tenses that have developed since the break-up of Common Slavic, nonconfirmativity has

¹² Clitic *-mIš* on a Turkish future has exactly the same limitations. Thus, the Turkish equivalent of (35b): *yağacakmıš* has exactly the same meanings and limitations as in Macedonian (or Bulgarian).

become the marked meaning of those forms using an unmarked past as an auxiliary. Moreover, in the extreme southwest of Macedonia, where paradigms using the old *l*-participle have been completely replaced by new formations (perfects and pluperfects using the auxiliary *ima* 'have' plus the neuter verbal adjective [the old past passive participle] and a future particle plus imperfect for the conditional), the only remnants of the unmarked past are those with markedly non-confirmative meanings, i.e., the reported, admirative, and dubitative meanings described above (see Friedman 1986b:179, 1988a:39). Examples (37)–(39) show that the new Macedonian perfect with the unmarked past of 'have' cannot be used for events that the speaker would have to confirm, while examples (40)–(41) exemplify similarly nonconfirmative forms in Bulgarian, using the unmarked past of 'be' as the auxiliary.

- (37) **Jas vidov kako toj go imal napraveno toa.*
I I.saw how he it had.M done.N it
I saw how/that he had done it. (cf. Friedman 1977: 110 [Mac.])
- (38) *Mislam deka toj go imal napraveno toa.*
I.think that he it had.M done.N it
I think he did it. (cf. Friedman 1977: 111) [Mac.]
- (39) *Što znam, možebi sum go imal storeno.*
what I.know maybe I.am it had.M done.N
Who knows, maybe I have done it. (cf. Friedman 1977: 111) [Mac.]
- (40) *Ništo ne bil napravil.*
nothing not was.M did.M
He (claims he) hasn't done anything. (September 1995) [Blg.]
- (41) *Stankievič ne bil hodil v Plovdiv.*
S. not was.M went.M in P.
Stankiewicz [has supposedly/apparently] never been to Plovdiv. (September 1988) [Blg.]

To sum up the Balkan Slavic situation, we know from Old Church Slavonic that during the early medieval period status was not a grammatical category in the South Slavic verbal system.¹³ It was during the early modern period, i.e.

¹³ Auxiliary omission is already attested in Suprasliensis (Huntley 1979), and some scholars have argued that the beginnings of a so-called witnessed/reported distinction are already present in medieval Bulgarian or Macedonian Church Slavonic (van Wijk

during Ottoman rule and intensive contact with Turkish, that the system as it is currently attested in the various languages took shape. This is when the past definite became marked for confirmativity, the old perfect became the unmarked past (as in the rest of Slavic) but also acquired the chief contextual variant meaning of ‘nonconfirmative’ (as in Turkish), and ‘nonconfirmative’ became the marked meaning for newly developed past tenses using the *l*-participle of the old perfect. In those Macedonian dialects where the new perfect in ‘have’ completely replaced the old perfect in ‘be’, the *l*-form survives only in expressive nonconfirmative contexts. In much of Bulgarian (including the literary language), as well as in Eastern Macedonian dialects and also Southern West South Slavic, presence versus absence of the auxiliary in the third person of the old perfect is manipulated as a discourse phenomenon marking narrative distance, but not evidentiality *per se*. Let us now turn to strikingly similar but nonetheless quite distinct phenomena in Albanian.

3. Marked nonconfirmativity in Albanian

Table 3 gives the first person singular of the present and past indicatives of a maximal Albanian paradigm.¹⁴ As can be seen, the admirative is based on an inverted perfect, i.e., the auxiliary ‘have’ (1sg. pres. *kam*) of the active perfect is suffixed to a reduced short participle. It is interesting to note that while both the present and imperfect auxiliaries can be used to form the admirative, the aorist cannot.

1933). Nonetheless, the development of these early hints into the system as we know it today took place during the Ottoman period and in contact with Turkish. The same is true for the Albanian admirative (see Friedman 2010a).

¹⁴ The ‘double’ and ‘second’ perfects and pluperfects are marginal in the literary language, and the details of their use and meaning need not concern us here. Although the admirative is treated as a mood (*mënyre*) in traditional Albanian grammar, I have argued (Friedman 1981), that the category it marks is status, which is not itself modal, although it can interact with mood. Among the data from Albanian grammar that can be adduced to support this argument are the facts that the admirative takes the indicative negator *nuk* rather than the modal negator *mos*, and, moreover, that the admirative can occur in both modal as well as indicative constructions, e.g., in analytic subjunctive constructions in *të* (cf. Fiedler 1966:563, Lafe 1977:480–81, Sytov 1979:1120–111). If the admirative were itself a mood, it would require a double layer of modality to account for such usage. Since the admirative marks status, however, it can be both modal and non-modal.

Table 3. 1sg. indicative of 'have' in Albanian

	Nonadmirative	Admirative
Present	kam	paskam
Perfect	kam pasur	paskam pasur
Imperfect	kisha	paskësha
Pluperfect (impf.)	kisha pasur	paskësha pasur
Double Perfect	kam pasë pasur	paskam pasë pasur
Double Pluperfect	kisha pasë pasur	paskësha pasë pasur
Aorist	pata	—
2nd Pluperfect (aor.)	pata pasur	—
2nd Double Pluperfect (aor.)	pata pasë pasur	—

The admirative is traditionally described as expressing surprise (cf. Friedman 1980:17), but in fact it is a marked nonconfirmative, expressing the three basic types of nonconfirmative meaning described for the Balkan Slavic *l*-form: reportedness, dubitativity, and admirativity (Friedman 1981).¹⁵ The following examples illustrate typical usages:

- (42) *Qeshë i lumtur të dëgjoja se qenkeni*
 I.was PC pleased SP I.heard that you.are.AD
mirë me shëndet të gjithë.
 well with health PC all
 I was delighted to hear that you all are in good health. (Personal letter, April 1995)
- (43) *Ai paska një leter.*
 he he.has.AD a letter
 [He says] he has a letter. (August 1976)
- (44) *Ti kërcyeke shumë mirë!*
 you you.dance.AD very well
 You dance well! (August 1995)
- (45) *Sipas një neokomunisti serb Kosova na qenka “pjesa*
 according a neocommunist.G Serb Kosovo to.us it.is.AD the.piece

¹⁵ The name *admirative*, was introduced by Dozon (1879:226-227) and is translated by the Albanian *habitore* from *habi* ‘surprise’. Although the term is somewhat infelicitous, since it only describes one of the nonconfirmative contextual variant meanings, it is sufficiently widespread and well established that I will continue to use it here.

më e sigurt e Serbisë.”

most PC secure PC Serbia.G

According to a Serbian neocommunist, Kosova is [supposedly] “the most secure part of Serbia.” (Kosovo Information Center, Informatori ditor, nr.1167, 26 IX 1995)

Examples (42) and (43) are pure nonconfirmative admiratives based on reports. The first is from a letter written after a telephone conversation with the addressee, while the second is taken from a conversation in which the speaker was reporting my words to a third person. (I was trying to track down a letter that I had been told had come for me while I was in Prishtina.) In both cases there are nuances of surprise or disbelief, but only insofar as the marked nonconfirmation that characterizes the invariant meaning of the Albanian admirative must, by definition, involve the withholding of personal confirmation. Example (44) is a typical expression of sincere surprise at the discovery of an unexpected fact, and (45) expresses sarcastic disbelief of the statement being reported, i.e., pure admirativity and dubitativity, respectively. In (45) the oblique (dative-accusative) first person plural clitic adds to the nuance of disbelief.

3.1. Albanian nonconfirmativity vs. Balkan Slavic and Turkish

Ever since Weigand (1923–1924, 1925) first noted the similarity between Balkan Slavic uses of the unmarked past with apparent present meaning to express marked nonconfirmativity (especially surprise as in example 34 above) and the Albanian present admirative, the two have been treated as comparable phenomena. Example (46) which is taken from the Bulgarian novel *Baj Ganjo* and the respective Macedonian, Albanian, and Turkish translations (Konstantinov 1895, 1967, 1975, 1972), is typical in this respect:

- (46) a. *Bravo, be Gunjo –povikna se baj Ganjo,–ti si bil*
 bravo V G. he.exclaimed IN Mr. G. you you.are were.M
cial Bismark. (Konstantinov 1895 [1973]: 109) [Blg.]
 entire B.
- b. *Bravo, be Gunjo –vikna baj Ganjo,–ti si bil cel*
 bravo V G. he.exclaimed Mr. G. you you.are was.M entire
Bismark. (Konstantinov 1967: 119) [Mac.]
 B.
- c. *Bravo ore Guno –thirri baj Ganua i entuziazmuar –ti*
 bravo V G. he.exclaimed Mr. G. PC amazed you

qenke *një Bismark i vërtetë*. (Konstantinov 1975: 123) [Alb.]
you.are.AD a B. PC true

- d. *Bravo be Gunjo! dedi. Sen maşallah büsbütün bir Bismark'*
bravo V G. he.said you praise.God complete one B.
miş-sin be.
miş-2s V (Konstantinov 1972: 188) [Turk.]
Bravo Gunjo—exclaimed Baj Ganjo—you are a veritable Bismark.

In fact, however, the Albanian present admirative is a true present, and is thus quite different from the Balkan Slavic uses of the unmarked past and the Turkish uses of *-miş* to signal nonconfirmativity. The Balkan Slavic unmarked past, as noted above, must always refer to a pre-existing state, and as such always has a nuance of pastness. Example (48c) indicates the same type of restriction for Turkish. This is not the case with the Albanian admirative, as can be seen in examples (47)–(50) and Table 4 below.

- (47) *Po vrapuaka!*
PG he.runs.AD
He's running! [Alb.]

- (48) a. *Ku qenka mjeshtri?* [Alb.]
where he.is.AD the.boss
b. *Kade bil majstorot?*
where was.M the.boss
c. *Usta neredeymiş?*
boss where.is.mış
Where is the boss? [Alb.] / *[Mac.] / *[Turk.]¹⁶

- (49) a. *Brej, hepten magare bil tozi čovek.*
V complete ass was.M this person
(Konstantinov 1895 [1973]: 88, 89) [Blg.]
b. *Brej, epten magare bil toj čovek!*
V complete ass was.M this person
(Konstantinov 1967: 91, 93) [Mac.]
c. *Vay anasını, bu herif hepten de eşekmiş be!*
woe his.mother.AC this guy complete and ass.is.mış V

¹⁶ The Macedonian (and, *mutatis mutandis*, the Bulgarian) and Turkish sentences are felicitous as dubitative exclamations at a previous statement or with explicit past reference, but they cannot be used with present meaning in this context, hence the asterisks.

(Konstantinov 1972: 144, 146) [Turk.]

- d. *Bre! gomar i madh paska qënë ky njeri!*
 V ass PC big he.has.AD been this person
 (Konstantinov 1975:96) [Alb.] - [perfect]
- e. *Ore, fare gomar paskësh qënë ky njeri!*
 V complete ass he.had.AD been this person
 (Konstantinov 1975: 98) [Alb.] - [pluperfect]
 What an ass that guy is!
- f. *Ama njerëz fare pa mend qënkëshin këta...*
 but people completely without mind they.were.AD these
 (Konstantinov 1975:24) [Alb.] - [imperfect]
 What fools are these...
- (50) a. *Vij sãvsem bez hlyab jadete! –uãudva se baj Ganjo*
 you completely without bread you.eat wonders IN Mr. G.
 (Konstantinov 1895 [1973]: 58) [Blg.]
- b. *Vie sosema bez leb jadete –se çudi baj Ganjo.*
 you completely without bread you.eat IN wonders Mr. G.
 (Konstantinov 1967: 50) [Mac.]
- c. *Çudi qysh e hëngërki ju gjellën, fare pa*
 strange that it you.eat.AD you the.food.AC completely without
bukë! –tha baj Ganua i çuditur.
 bread he.said Mr. G. PC amazed
 (Konstantinov 1975: 58) [Alb.]
- d. *Siz ekmek-siz mi iç-iyor-sun-uz şu çorbayı yahu? diye*
 You bread-less Q drink-PG-2-P this the.soup V saying
de şaşar Bay Ganü.
 and wonders Mr. G.
 (Konstantinov 1972: 79) [Turk.]
 You are eating (the soup) entirely without bread—Baj Ganjo said with amazement.

Table 4. Admiratives in Albanian, Bulgarian and Turkish versions of *Baj Ganyo*

	present admirative	present tense	nothing	past tense (Blg.-/ Turk.-mİş)
Albanian	59	—	—	—
Bulgarian	—	44	9	6
Turkish	—	42	10	7

Example (47) is the Albanian translation of example (35); the particle *po* marks progressive aspect and can only occur with the present and imperfect in this meaning. This example demonstrates clearly that the Albanian present admirative functions as a true present whereas the Balkan Slavic admirative use of the unmarked past does not. Example (48) is a further illustration of this point. The context here is a man walking into a barber shop. Seeing only the assistant and not the boss, he asks in surprise: "Where is the boss?" He is referring to the boss's location at precisely and only the moment of speech, and in such a context the present admirative is perfectly natural in Albanian whereas the unmarked past cannot be so used in Slavic nor can *-mİş* be so used in Turkish, only a true present tense would be acceptable.¹⁷ The example sentences in (49) further illustrate the fact that the Balkan Slavic use of the unmarked past and the equivalent Turkish use of *-mİş* to express surprise at a newly discovered fact, although translated with an English present to refer to the moment of discovery, in fact refer to a pre-existing state in the past (much like the canonical stative perfect). These sentences are all taken from Konstantinov's (1895) *Baj Ganjo* and its various translations. The title character is in the habit of exclaiming at the stupidity of other people, and the expression meaning 'What a [dumb] ass that guy is!' occurs twice, while a similar exclamation expressing surprise at the foolishness of a group of people occurs in another location. In each of these instances, the Balkan Slavic uses the unmarked past *bil* and Turkish uses *-mİş*, but in Albanian, the translator availed herself of the fact that when the Albanian admirative refers precisely to the discovery of a pre-existing state, one can use a past rather than a present admirative to refer to that pre-existing state while simultaneously referencing surprise. Thus (49d–f) each use a different Albanian past admirative to translate the admirative use of the Balkan Slavic unmarked past (and Turkish *-mİş*) in (49a–c). Example (50) and Table 4 illustrate the fact that the Albanian present admirative most often corresponds to a true present in languages such as Bulgarian, Macedonian, and Turkish. Table 4 gives the total number of present admiratives in the Albanian translation of *Baj Ganjo* and the

¹⁷ If, however, the boss comes out from behind a curtain, the customer can then exclaim in Bulgarian [and Macedonian], using the unmarked past:

(i) *Ah, tuk[a] si bil!*
 ah here you-are were.M

Similarly in Turkish one could exclaim:

(ii) *Ah, burada-ymiş-sın!*
 ah here-mİş-you.are

Although the normal English translation would be 'Oh, here you are!', in fact the true meaning of the Balkan Slavic and Turkish exclamations is 'Oh, [it turns out] you have been here [all along]!' Cf. especially example (49).

number of times these forms corresponded to present tenses in the Bulgarian original and the Turkish translation, as well as the number of occurrences that did not have exact equivalents due to differences in translation style and those occurrences that did correspond to a Bulgarian *l*-participle and a Turkish form in *-mİş*.¹⁸ As can be seen clearly, the overwhelming majority of Albanian present admiratives correspond to ordinary presents in the other languages. Example (50) is a typical illustration. Moreover, admiratives using the Balkan Slavic unmarked past are in fact the rarest. The point is that Albanian has developed an entire paradigm of marked nonconfirmatives, including a true present, whereas in Balkan Slavic the use of the unmarked past to express nonconfirmative nuances with apparently present meaning does not, in fact, represent a neutralization of tense but rather always contains a reference to a past, pre-existing state (cf. Friedman 1982c:66).

4. Balkan Romance

4.1. Nonconfirmativity in Megleno-Romanian

Turning now to Balkan Romance, we come to three very distinct manifestations of nonconfirmativity among the three Balkan Romance languages, viz. Aromanian, Megleno-Romanian, and Romanian. Megleno-Romanian has an inverted perfect (the present auxiliary meaning ‘have’ postposed to the past participle, see Table 5), which is formally like the Albanian admirative but semantically like Macedonian nonconfirmative uses of the unmarked past.¹⁹ Typical examples are given in sentences (51)–(53), which are cited exactly as in Atanasov (1990: 220), i.e., Megleno-Romanian with Macedonian and French translations.

Table 5. The Megleno-Romanian inverted perfect of ‘see’²⁰

vizút-ăm	vizút-ăm
vizút-ăĭ	vizút-ăt
vizút-ăû	vizút-ăû

¹⁸ The statistics for Macedonian are approximately the same as for Bulgarian and Turkish.

¹⁹ From an historical point of view, Romance in general has paradigms that originate from postposed auxiliaries. It would appear that in Megleno-Romanian, under the influence of contact with Macedonian, a development parallel to what happened in Albanian occurred.

²⁰ For typographical reasons, *ĭ* represents *i* with an inverted breve under it in Atanasov’s original, and *û* represents *u* with an inverted breve.

- (51) a. *ă bră, tu fost-ăi mári om!* [Megl.]
a V you been-you.have big man
b. *a be, ti si bil golem čovek!* [Mac.]
a V you you.are was.M big person
mais je viens d'apprendre que tu es une personne importante! (Atanasov 1990: 221) 'well, I just learned that you are an important person'

- (52) a. *nu vut-aú bun gjiít*
not had-have.they good life
b. *nemale dobar život.* [Mac.]
not.had.P good life
on dit que leur vie conjugale n'est pas réussie (Atanasov 1990: 221)
'they say that they didn't have a good married life'

- (53) a. *jer fost-ăi ăn cătún*
yesterday been-you.have to village
b. *včera si bil na selo.* [Mac.]
yesterday you.are was.M to village
j'ai entendu parler (on m'a dit) que hiers tu étais (as été) au village/à la campagne (Atanasov 1990: 221)
'I heard (they told me) that yesterday you were (have been) in the village/country.'

4.2. Nonconfirmativity in Aromanian

Aromanian generally lacks nonconfirmative verb forms — at least according to the available descriptions of dialects from Greece and Macedonia and the small amount of fieldwork I have been able to conduct in Albania — except in the Frasherote (*Fărșălot*) dialect of the village of Gorna Belica (Bela di sus) in southwestern Macedonia. In this dialect, the third person singular Albanian admirative marker *-ka* has been borrowed as an invariant particle which, suffixed to a past participial base (usually underlyingly the masculine plural from an imperfect stem), functions exactly like the Albanian admirative (for details see Friedman 1994b:84–85). It does not inflect for person, but can enter into oppositions of other verbal categories. Table 6 (based on Markovikj 2007:151) gives a comparison of the Frasherote Aromanian and Standard Albanian forms showing some of these distinctions.

Table 6. Aromanian (*Fărșălot* of Bela di sus) and Albanian indicatives (3sg. 'work')

paradigm	NONADMIRATIVE		ADMIRATIVE	
	Aromanian	Albanian	Aromanian	Albanian
present	lukră	punon	lukracka	punuaka
perfect	ari lukrată	ka punuar	avuska lukrată	paska punuar
pluperfect	ave lukrată	kish punuar	—	paskësh punuar
2nd pluperfect	avu lukrată	pat punuar	—	—
double perfect	ari avut lukrată	ka pasë punuar	ari avuska lukrată	paska pasë punuar
double pluperfect	ave avut lukrată	kish pasë punuar	ave avuska lukrată	paskësh pasë punuar
2nd double pluperfect	avu avut lukrată	pat pasë punuar	—	—

Example (54) is a typical example in context and is followed by Macedonian and English translations.²¹ The Aromanian admirative has the same nuances of nonconfirmation, surprise, and disbelief recorded for the Albanian and for non-confirmative uses of the Balkan Slavic unmarked past.

- (54) *Un a meu o^aspit bănædză tu Bitul'i, ma di multu*
 a to me friend lives in B. but from much
o^ară nu n(ə) avem vădzută. Aseră vini năs(nəs) la
 times not us we.have seen.F yesterday came he to
mini ku Mercedes. Mi l' oĵ di minti [Mi
 me with M. me it took from mind [me
čudosî]: Abe tora tini fуска avut om!
 amazed V now you are.AD rich man
Eden moj prijatelj živee vo Bitola, no odamna
 one my friend lives in B. but long.time.ago
se nemame videno. Včera toj dojde kaj mene so
 IN not.we.have seen.N yesterday he he.came by me with
Mercedes. Se šašardisav: Abe sega ti si bil bogat čovek!
 M. IN I.wondered V now you you.are was.M rich person

²¹ The Aromanian admirative was discovered by me together with Marjan Markovikj in Ohrid in 1992, and example (54) was the context in which it was first elicited. My travel for this field work was supported by a grant from the International Research & Exchanges Board, with funds provided by the National Endowment for the Humanities. Neither of these organizations is responsible for the views expressed. Marjan Markovikj helped me with the collection and translation, and his uncle, Tomislav Manovski/Toma Mani, as well as Vasilie Balukoski/Silja Baljuk, Andon Labrovski/Ndona Ljabru, and Kosta Panovski/Koči Pani generously shared their knowledge of their native language. I gratefully acknowledge their help.

A friend of mine lives in Bitola, but we had not seen one another for a long time. Yesterday he came to my place in a Mercedes. I was amazed: Hey, you are a rich man now! [Mac.] (August 1992)

4.3. The Romanian presumptive mood

In Romanian, the so-called presumptive mood (*modul prezumtiv*), also has the three basic types of nonconfirmative meaning described above. Unlike the forms we have been considering thus far, however, the Romanian presumptive makes use of a modal particle (see Table 7; any of the modal particles in column one — future marker, conditional marker, or subjunctive marker — can be combined with invariant (infinitive) *fi* ‘be’ and either the gerund or participle.²² Moreover, when formed with the invariant marker of the future (*o, i*) or subjunctive (*să*), it is like the Aromanian admirative insofar as it does not mark person. Examples (55)–(57) are typical present presumptives showing that all three types of modal particle can be used with no appreciable difference in meaning. Examples (58) and (59), from the Romanian translation of *Baj Ganjo* (Konstantinov 1964:96–97), show present and past presumptives corresponding to the Balkan Slavic nonconfirmative past and the Turkish *mİş*-past. In (58) the usage is pure nonconfirmative, while in (59) it is dubitative. Sentence (58) uses a present presumptive, since it refers to a state of affairs that might still obtain in the present, whereas (59) uses a past presumptive, since the action to which it refers is entirely in the past. It is interesting to note that while a Romanian presumptive will often (although not always) correspond to a Balkan Slavic and Turkish nonconfirmative in the respective translations of *Baj Ganjo*, the Romanian presumptive and the Albanian admirative never correspond. This may be connected with the fact that the Albanian paradigms are completely divorced from their original perfect meanings whereas the relevant Balkan Slavic and

²² There is considerable debate over how many of these constructions are to be considered part of the presumptive mood, since those constructions with the participle are homonymous with the future, subjunctive, or conditional perfect and formations using the subjunctive or conditional markers and the gerund are sometimes omitted from descriptive accounts. Based on actual usage, however, it seems clear that all six combinatorial possibilities do function as presumptives. Sentence (59), for example, is clearly not a perfect conditional. For further details, see Friedman (1998c:400). Manea (2008:374) includes a fourth presumptive formation consisting of the conjugated future marker *oi* plus the infinitive form of the main verb (i.e., the invariant form that functions as an infinitive after *a*), which is, however, homonymous with a colloquial type of future formation. She states that it is in competition with the presumptive of the type future marker + *fi* + gerund, but she does not cite any examples.

Turkish forms are not. In their deployment of pragmatic criteria, the Balkan Slavic and Turkish thus mediate between the indicative status of Albanian and the nonconfirmative modality of Romanian. Different types of contact phenomena may also be involved (cf. Friedman 1998a:39 and note 9).

Table 7. Presumptive of ‘work’

1-2-3sg-1-2-3pl		
voi-vei-va-vom-veți-vor ~ o ~ i ~ oi-oi-o-om-oți-or (future)		lucrând (present)
să (subjunctive)	{ fi }	
aș-ai-ar-am-ați-ar (conditional)		lucrat (past/perfect)

(55) *Mihai, oare să fi existînd strigoi?*²³

M. really SP be existing ghosts

Mihai, do ghosts really exist? (Vasilu 1966: 224)

(56) *–Îți zice lumea “Niculăiță Minciună? –Mi-o fi zicînd*

you they.call the.world N. liar me-will be calling

–Do people call you Nick the liar –They supposedly call me that? (Vasilu 1966: 224)

(57) *Pe lângă urs se spune că ar fi avînd și această*

on along bear IN says that has.CO be having and this

pajură care-l priveghează.

eagle that-him guards

Alongside the bear it is said that there is a golden eagle that keeps a vigil over him. (Vasilu 1966: 224)

(58) a. *Cînd se întoarse, veni cu surdomutul, îmi spuse cum că*

when IN returned he.came with the.deaf.mute me.D he.said how that

băiatul ar fi avînd în Bulgaria un frate ofițer, ori

the.boy has.CO be having in B. a brother officer or

funcționar –nu mi-aduc aminte–, care avea să-i trimită

official not to.me-it.comes to.mind who had SP-him.D send

cîte-o sută de franci pe lună... (Konstantinov 1964: 97) [Rom.]

per-a 100 of francs on month

²³ Note that in recent years, Romanian orthography has reinstated *â* in place of *î* in words and morphemes where the high back unrounded vowel comes from etymological **a*.

b. *Kato dojde тази година с глухонямото момче, каза ми,*
 when he.came that year with the.deaf.mute boy he.said me.D
če tuj momče imalo u vas, v Bălgarija, brat činovnik
 that that boy had.N by you in Bulgaria brother official
ili oficerin –ne pomnja,– kojto štjal da mu otpuști po
 or officer not I.remember who FU.M SP him.D send apiece
sto franka ežemesečno... (Konstantinov 1895 [1973]: 82) [Blg.]
 100 francs monthly

c. *Koga dojde таа година со глуво-немото дете, ми рече,*
 when he.came that year with the.deaf.mute child me.D he.said
deka toa imalo kaj vas, vo Bugarija, brat činovnik
 that he had.N by you in Bulgaria brother official
ali oficer –ne pametam, koj kje mu prakjal sekoj mesec
 or officer not I.remember who FU him.D send.M every month
po sto franka... (Konstantinov 1967: 83) [Mac.]
 apiece 100 francs

d. *Kur erdhi këtë vit përsëri, po tani i shoqëruar nga djali*
 when he.came this year again but now PC accompanied by the.boy
shurdh e memec, më tha se ai fëmijë kishte në
 deaf and mute me.D he.said that that child had in
vëndin tuaj, në Bullgari, një vëlla nëpunës a oficer– s'më
 country your in Bulgaria a brother official or officer not-me.D
kujtohet ç'më tha– që do t'i dërgonte
 it.is.remembered what-me.D he.said– that FU SP-him.D sent
njëqind franga për çdo muaj... (Konstantinov 1975: 89) [Alb.]
 100 francs for each month

e. *Bu yıl, beraberinde sağır ve dilsiz çocuk-la geldiği zaman*
 this year together deaf and mute child-with its.having.come time
bana şunları yuttur-du: Söz-de bu çocuğ-un Bulgaristan'da memur
 me.D these deceived-DI word-LC this child-G Bulgaria-LC official
mu, subay mi, pek iyi hatırla-ya-m-ıyo-rum, ağabeysi
 Q officer Q, very well remember-can-NG-PG-1sg older.brother.his
var-mış. [...] kardeş-i-ne her ay yüz frank gönd-erecek-miş.
 exist-mİş brother-his-D each month 100 franc send-FU-mİş
 (Konstantinov 1972 129) [Turk.]

When he came back that year with the deaf-mute lad, he told me that this boy had a brother who was an official or an officer—I don't remember

which—in your country, in Bulgaria, who was going to send him one hundred francs a month....’

- (59) a. *Bai Ganiu îmi ceru să-i fac cinste, deoarece pe drum*
Mr. G. me.D wanted SP-himD I.make treat because on road
aș fi fumat din tutunul lui. (Konstantinov 1964: 96) [Rom.]
have.CO be smoked from the.tobacco him.D
- b. *Baj Ganjo poiska az da počerpja, poneže iz pătja*
Mr. G. he.wanted I SP I.treat because along the.road
săm pușil ot negovija tjtjun.
I.am smoked.M from his tobacco
(Konstantinov 1895 [1973]: 81) [Blg.]
- c. *Baj Ganjo pobara jas da čestam oti po pat sum pušel*
Mr. G. he.sought I SP I.treat since along road I.am smoked.M
od negoviot tutun. (Konstantinov 1967: 82) [Mac.]
from this tobacco
- d. *Baj Ganua deshte ta qirasnja unë, sepse rrugës kisha*
Mr. G. he.wanted SP.him.AC I.treated I because road.G I.had
pirë nga duhani i tij. (Konstantinov 1975: 88) [Alb.]
drunk from the.tobacco PC his
- e. *Büfe-de, Bay Ganü, ye-nip içilecek şey-ler-i benim ısmarlama-m*
buffet-LC Mr. G. eat-and drinkable thing-s-AC me.G ordering-my
gerektiğini ileri sür-dü. Çünkü yol-da hep o-nun
its-necessity forward advanced-DI because road-LC all he.G
tütünün-den iç-miş-iz. (Konstantinov 1972: 128) [Turk.]
tobacco-AB drink-mlş-1pl
Baj Ganjo wanted me to treat him, since on the road I had smoked some of his tobacco.

5. Romani

Kostov (1963: 132, 1973: 108) was the first observation of an evidential marker in Romani, namely the use of the particle *li* in the dialect of Sliven in eastern Bulgaria to marker reportedness, as in example (60), given here with the Bulgarian translation supplied by Kostov:

- (60) a. *ti kanatu nakhinas-li manuša opre phrucj-atar, šunejlas-li*
and when they.passed.IM-li people on bridge-AB they.heard.IM-li
racj-asa: “Pavljo, Pavljo!”
night-IS P. P.

- b. *i kogato minavali hora po mosta, čuvalo se*
 and when passed-P people along the.bridge heard.N IN
prez nošta: “Pavljo, Pavljo!” [Blg.] (Kostov 1973: 108)
 through the.night P. P.
 And as people passed over the bridge, through the night was heard:
 “Pavljo, Pavljo!”

Kostov (1963:132) shows *li* as occurring with the aorist, pluperfect, and imperfect (including the anterior future/irreal conditional formed with the particle *mã* plus the imperfect). Kostov (1973) indicates that the aorist/pluperfect opposition with *li* is neutralized in favor of the pluperfect, whereas Igla (2006) indicates the neutralization is in favor of the aorist. Both sources point to a neutralization of the present/imperfect opposition in favor of the imperfect. These details need not concern us here, however. The central fact is that the particle *li* is used as a marker of an evidential strategy.

Igla (2004, 2006) provides valuable new material from Sliven Romani that considerably supplements and updates the data in Kostov (1963, 1973). Igla (2006:60) supplies an example of emotive usage with doubled *li* — given here as example (61):

- (61) *mu papus kana avilas-li piski – ne habi isja-li-li,*
 my grandfather when he.came.AO.-li self.D NG food it.was-li-li,
nikači – u kažaja hana-li sourru
 nothing the children they.ate.AO-li everything
 When my grandfather came home, there was no food, nothing. The
 children had eaten it all.

This passage is taken from an anecdote narrated by a speaker about when his father was a boy. The narrator’s father and grandfather had gone out to work while the other children remained at home. The narrator’s grandmother made food, but the children at home ate it all up, and so when the narrator’s grandfather and father came home, there was nothing for them to eat. All of the verb forms are past tenses marked with *li*, but the form *isja-lili* from *isja* ‘was’ has a double marking of *-li*. Igla compares this to the so-called emphatic reported of Bulgarian (the Bulgarian equivalent would be *nemalo bilo*), which Aronson (1967) labels ‘dubitative’. Here, however, the effect is one of surprise or shock rather than pure disbelief. Igla analyzes this as if it were the report of a report, i.e. the grandmother’s original presumed statement that there was no food, as reported by the father to the narrator. However, in this context the doubled *li* could also represent a meta-commentary of the narrator with admirative meaning, i.e. the narrator is rendering the surprise felt by his father and grandfather.

Igla (2006:61) also supplies an example of clear admirative usage, given here as (62), where the speaker expresses surprise at a discovery:

- (62) *O Devl-a, ta oda man-dar da butrašadi isja-li*
 O God-V and they me-AB and more.scared they.were.IM-li
 Oh my God, they're more timid than I am!

The exclamation is made by a rabbit upon seeing frogs jumping into the Danube. Igla glosses *isja* as present, which is indeed the effect, but the form itself is imperfect. This is classic admirative usage of a past tense form to express surprise at the discovery of a pre-existing state, with *li* in Sliven Romani being essential to this interpretation.

In her discussion of the origin of this usage, having noted Kostov's (1973) hypothesis that it is based on the *-l* that is used to form the Bulgarian past participle that serves as the basis of the perfect and of evidential strategies and paradigms, Igla (2006:56) allows for the possibility that the use of interrogative *li* as a modal marker might play a role. Based on the evidence from Kriva Palanka Arli and Skopje Barutči Arli, it appears that modal interrogative *li* is indeed the ultimate source of the Sliven usage.

The only exceptions that I have found so far have occurred in dubitative usage. Example (6) in Macedonian (a) and Kriva Palanka Arli (b) is illustrative:²⁴

- (63) a. *Abe ti si bil vo Amerika. Lažeš!*
 V you are was.M in America. you.lie.PRS
 b. *Abe tu hinjan li ti Amerika. Hohavea!*
 V you are Q in America. you.lie.PRS
 'Oh sure, you are/were in America! You're lying!'

The Macedonian version is ambiguous between a present and past interpretation, as would be its Bulgarian equivalent. The Kriva Palanka version, however, is noteworthy in that it uses the Slavic interrogative particle *li* after the 2sg present, but in a declarative context. Such usage was only elicited in marked dubitative contexts, i.e. not for neutrally reported event nor for admirative contexts, i.e. unexpected discoveries of fact.

As both Aronson (1967) and Friedman (1977, 2012a) have argued, in both Bulgarian and Macedonian the synthetic past is marked for personal con-

²⁴ It is important to note that these sentences were pronounced with declarative and not interrogative intonation.

firmation. By contrast, the analytic past formed with the *l*-form is not so marked, which favors a nonconfirmative interpretation such as report, inference, or disbelief.²⁵ The use of *li* in Kriva Palanka Arli suggests the route by which the Sliven Romani usage arose. The connection of interrogation with nonconfirmation is clear insofar as interrogation is, felicitously, a request for information about something the speaker does not know and therefore cannot confirm. Used infelicitously, however, i.e. sarcastically, interrogation becomes an expression of active nonconfirmation, i.e. disbelief. From here, the way is then open to dubitative usage that in turn can lead to neutral nonconfirmation based on report or inference as well as expressions of felicitous surprise such as that found in Sliven Romani.

Evidence from the Barutči Arli sub-dialect of Skopje supports the conclusion that the Sliven Romani use of *li* followed a path of semantic change from the Slavic interrogative particle rather than being a particle based on the Bulgarian *l*-participle. In Barutči, the Turkish interrogative particle *mi* occurs in precisely such contexts as in example (64), which, like (63a) is a translation of (63b):

- (64) *Abe tu injan mi ki Amerika. Hohavea!*
V you are Q in America. Lie.PR.2sg
'Oh sure, you are/were in America! You're lying!'

The Barutči use of the Turkish interrogative particle *mi* precisely where Kriva Palanka Arli has *li* is a clear indication that a shift from interrogative marking to dubitative marking is the basis of this type of dubitative usage.

A number of Romani dialects in the southern Balkans borrow Turkish inflection along with Turkish verb stems, i.e. verbs borrowed from Turkish are inflected with their Turkish tense-aspect-person markers, while all other verbs are inflected or adapted as native Romani verbs. The degree of integration of the Turkish inflections system varies among dialects, but some dialects do borrow the Turkish *mIş*-past on Turkish verbs and use it accordingly (see Friedman 2010b for details). The Futadži dialect of Haskovo, in southeastern Bulgaria, however, which has Turkish conjugations, also uses a discourse particle, *berim*, with Romani verbs in contexts where a Turkish verb would be in the *mIş*-past, as seen in the example (65), which is typical.²⁶ Norbert Boretzky (p.c.), who called my attention to this phenomenon, considers the origin of the particle

²⁵ Admirative meaning, i.e. surprise, refers to a previous state when the speaker would not have confirmed the statement, but the argument need not concern us here.

²⁶ Verbs with Turkish conjugation are boldfaced.

come from Turkish *belli* ‘sure, known’, but I consider the postposition *berin* ‘according to this’ to be another possible candidate, as it is phonologically closer and semantically could carry a notion of secondary attribution appropriate to the evidential-like meanings of the *mIṣ*-past.

- (65) *Isine berim ek vakiti ek padišahi. ... Les isin but šukar*
 was.IM *berim* one time one king him.AC was.IM very beautiful
čhay. Bašla-miš te dišinsin kate te eversin. (Ivanov 2000:39)
 girl began-*mIṣ* SP he.think.OP when SP he.marry.off.OP
 There was *berim* once a king. He had a very beautiful daughter. He
began to think about when **to marry her off**.

Just as the Turkish clitic *-mIṣ* (from *imIṣ* the *-mIṣ*-past of ‘be’) can be suffixed to other paradigms, so, too, *berim* can be used with presents and preterites in this dialect of Romani, as seen in (66):²⁷

- (66) *Ek rom alo berim pašlede koda gav-este te dživdil. Oda da*
 one Rom came.AO *berim* near that town-LC SP he.live.PR He and
dikela berim grast-en. (Ivanov 2000:42)
 he.see.PR *berim* horse-AC.P
 A Rom came *berim* near that town to live. He also looks after *berim*
 horses.

For the Kalderaš Romani of northeastern Europe, Matras (1994b: 206–207) argues that the opposition between participial forms that agree with the subject in gender and gender-neutral forms that take the expected person marker in the third person singular simple preterite of intransitive verbs of motion and change of state is determined by discourse factors similar to Balkan evidentials. Thus forms with the personal affix (e.g., 3sg *gela* ‘came’) denote personal (exclusive) knowledge whereas the participial affix (e.g., masc. *gelo*, fem. *geli*) denote deduction from shared (inclusive) knowledge (Matras 1994b: 206–207). This is clearly an independent development from the Balkan phenomena described above, but it bears a striking typological resemblance to perfect agreement in Lak discussed in section 6.

²⁷ Cf. example (48c) and note 12.

6. The Caucasus

Although status oppositions are also found in all the Caucasian languages, we shall examine only two here, one Kartvelian (Georgian) and the other Daghestanian (Lak).²⁸ Both Georgian and Lak have perfects that are associated with nonconfirmativity and aorists that are associated with, among other things, confirmativity.²⁹ Unlike the Balkan languages, however, which have quotative and dubitative words such as Bulgarian *kaj*, Albanian *gjoja*, and Romanian *cică*, Georgian and Lak have quotative clitics (e.g., Georgian *-o*, Lak *-t'ar*) that specifically mark reported speech, as in example (67) from Georgian:

- (67) *Vano-m ra m-inda-o?*
Vano-E what I-want-QT
What did Vano say he wanted? (Kim Braithwaite, p.c.)

Georgian has typical admirative uses of the perfect (surprise at a newly discovered pre-existing state) as in (68), and moreover uses the perfect as a performative as in (69), but, as in the Balkan languages, cannot use the perfect to express surprise at an on-going act (70):³⁰

- (68) *Ra lamazi gogo q'opilxar.*
what beautiful girl you.have.been.PF
What a beautiful girl you are!' (Friedman 1979: 341)

²⁸ For more on these questions in Caucasian languages, see Guentchéva 2007, Gaumann 2011, and Khalilova 2011.

²⁹ In the case of Georgian, the aorist is also associated with willful action and the perfect with involuntary action:

(iii) *Is perangi ar miq'idia / miq'ide*
that shirt not I.bought.AO / I.have.bought.PF

I didn't buy that shirt [aorist: because I didn't want it / perfect: because I lacked time or money] (cf. Aronson 1982:276).

³⁰ Although the native speakers of Georgian that I consulted did not accept the dubitative use of the perfect, Boeder (2000) does have such examples. Thus, for example the Georgian translation of (36), given here as (iv) was acceptable to Boeder's consultants:

(iv) *man šen-ze met'i icis. – namdvilad met'i scodnia!* (Boeder 2000:291)
s/he.E you-on more knows.PR.3sg indeed more s/he.knows.PF.3g

'S/he knows more than you do. Oh sure, s/he knows more!

(69) *Momilocavs!*

I.have.congratulated.you.PF
 Congratulations! (Friedman 1979: 342)

(70) *Is c'erili dagic'eria!*

this letter you.have.written.PF
 You have written/*are writing that letter! (Friedman 1979: 25)

Lak is like Balkan Slavic, Turkish and Georgian insofar as admirativity is expressed by usage, not by paradigm as in Albanian. The Lak analytic perfect (past gerund + present conjugated 'be') can be used admiratively to express surprise at the present discovery of a pre-existing state. Example (71) demonstrates, among other things, the facultativity of admirative usage. In the original Russian, the meaning 'you are' is rendered by a normal zero copula, and the surprise is rendered lexically by 'it turns out'. In Albanian, however, a present admirative is used without any additional lexical specification. The Lak, Turkish, and Bulgarian translators all used preterite/perfect forms (the analytic preterite in Lak, the *mİş*-past in Turkish, and the indefinite past in Bulgarian) which in this context have precisely the emotive effect of the Albanian present admirative. The Macedonian and Georgian translators, however, who had exactly the same type of option available (the Macedonian could have been *si bil* as in Bulgarian, whereas the Georgian could have used the second person present perfect *q'opilxar* as in example 68), chose a present tense form with a lexical verb, i.e. a more literal rendition of the Russian.

(71) a. *Dumal, čto ty menja udariš' s pravoj, no ty, okazyvaetsja, smirnyj paren'.*

peaceful lad
 [Russian, Šoloxov1982:14]

b. *Qen-ke djalë i urtë. Pandeha se do të më jepje ndonjë grusht me dorën e djathtë.*

some fist with the.hand.AC PC right
 [Albanian, Shollohov 1978:22]

c. *T:u-n ina urč'a-mur ka-niχ t:u-jχ-ra riš:un-s:a*
 me-D you right-AJd hand-PE me-SR-am hit.INF-PT
x:i-wa, ina t'urča imin-s:a insan iwχ'un ura.
 it.seem-IM you as.for peaceful-AJi person be.PA.GE you.are
 [Lak, Šoloxov 1960:19]

- d. *Sen yine dayanıklı oğlan-mış-sın, de-di, ben bunu yapar-ken*
you then peaceful boy-mİş-you. are he.said-DI I this.AC doing-while
sen-in sağlam el-in-le bana yumruk-lar ekley-eceğ-in-i
you-G right hand-your-with me.D fist-P bash-FU-your-AC
san-mış-ti-m.
think-mİş-DI-1sg
[Turkish, Şolohov 1969:21]
- e. *Misleh, če šte me udariš s djasnata, no ti si bil*
I.thought that FU me.A you.hit with the.right but you you. are were.M
krotko momče.
gentle lad
[Bulgarian, Šolohov 1981:24]
- f. *Mislev deka kje me tresneš so desnata, no ti, izgleda, si*
I.thought that FU me.A you.hit with the.right but you it.appears you. are
miren čovek.
peaceful person
[Macedonian, Šolohov 1970:16]
- g. *megona mardžvenit gamart'q'amdi, magram čans, momtmeni bič'i.*
I.thought right.IS you.would.hit.me but it.seems peaceful boy
xar.
you. are
[Georgian, Šoloxovi 1966:23]
I thought you were going to hit me with your right [hand], but apparently
[as it turns out to my surprise] you are a peaceful lad.

In addition to its admirative usage, the Lak analytical perfect can also be used to signal degree of commitment to the statement, such that the analytical perfect can have a neutral or nonconfirmative interpretation, depending on the agreement pattern (Kibrik 1978:9).³¹ In an ordinary Lak transitive sentence, the participant corresponding to the English subject will be in the genitive case (functioning as an ergative) unless that participant is a first or second person pronoun, which will be in the nominative. The participant corresponding to the English direct object will ordinarily be in the nominative case, and the verb will agree with it. Analytic preterite constructions based on transitive verbs, however, are of a mixed type insofar as the past gerund that carries the lexical meaning is transitive while the auxiliary 'be' that makes it a finite construction is intransitive. If both the gerund and the auxiliary agree with the direct object, then the construction has a nonconfirmative nuance, as in (72a) and (72b), in which

³¹ Lak has four noun classes (1=male human, 2=mature female, 3=other animate and some inanimates, 4=most inanimates and a few animates like *χ:älcu* 'spider').

čwu ‘horse’ is class three, the initial *b-* and infix *-w-* of *bawχ:unu* ‘having sold’ mark class three agreement, as does the initial *b-* of *bur* ‘is’, while the zero ending of *bur* indicates third person, i.e. *čwu* governs both the gerund and the auxiliary:³²

- (72) a. *Na b-a-w-χ:-unu b-ur čwu.*
 I 3-sell-3-sell-PA.GE 3-is horse
 [Apparently] I sold the horse.
- b. *Ga-nal b-a-w-χ:-unu b-ur čwu.*
 he-G 3-sell-3-sell-PA.GE 3-is horse
 [Apparently] he sold the horse.

If, however, the verb ‘be’ is treated as an independent intransitive (which will take and agree with a nominative subject), so that only the gerund is governed by the direct object, then the construction is an ordinary perfect, as in (73a) and (73b) where the zero initial class marker in *ur* and *ura* signals class one agreement (the assumption being that the seller is a male human) and the ending *-a* is the first/second person singular marker.

- (73) a. *Na b-a-w-χ:-unu Ø-ura čwu.*
 I 3-sell-3-sell-PA.GE 1-I.am horse
 I have sold the horse.
- b. *Ga b-a-w-χ:-unu Ø-ur čwu.*
 he 3-sell-3-sell-PA.GE 1-is horse
 He has sold the horse.

This situation here is related to that described by Matras (1995) for northeast European Kalderaš Romani insofar as the nature of verbal agreement affects the status of the statement. In the Romani situation, however, person agreement signals personal (exclusive) knowledge, whereas in the Lak situation, strict direct object agreement signals nonconfirmativity.

Lak also has a set of verb forms not found in any of the other languages being considered here, viz. the assertive.³³ In the present tense in ordinary conversation, the assertive has an effect similar to the use of English *do* in affirmative

³² As in most Lak verbs, the infix class marker in the past gerund of the root *aχ:* ‘sell’ comes between the vowel and the consonant.

³³ This section has been updated based on Friedman 2007, which supplements and supplants Friedman 1979, 1984, 1988b, 1989d, and 1994a.

sentences, as in example (74). The Lak assertive, however, is the normal tense for objective, neutral statements in official style, as in (75) and (76). such usage at the colloquial level, however, is emphatic, much like the use of *-dir* in Turkish. Thus, (77) is the colloquial version of (76).

(74) *Na čağar čičara / čičaj-s:ara.*

I letter I.write / write.PR.GE-AS

I write/do write a letter. (Friedman 1988a: 132)

(75) *Iš-iral stil'-danuwu asar k'ic'lagan čü'lu buw-s:a ,*
business-G style-IE impression produce.IF decorate do-PT

maq-ru kalima-rt:u-gu išla q:a-dajs:ar.

word-P phrase-P-and use NG-do.AS.PR

In business style, emotive and decorative words and phrases are not used.
(Friedman 1994a)

(76) *Ārkins:ak-s:a mašina-rt:u baq:-ašiw-rijn buwnu, cila č'uma-l*
necessary-AJi car-P NG-be-VN-D be.PA.GE its.own time-G

qus t'ajla q:a-durks:ar.

goods send NG-go.out.AS.PF

Due to the absence of necessary cars, the goods were not sent in time.
(Friedman 1994a: 116)

(77) *Häq'inu čan-s:a mašina-rt:u bija. Qus t'ajla duk:an žu-š:a*

today few-AJi car-P they.were.IM goods send go.out.IF us-AB

q:a-xurna.

NG-become.AO

There were too few cars today. We didn't send the goods. (Friedman 1994a: 116)

The assertive can also be used in the past and future. Moreover, Lak possesses defective confirmative paradigms in the perfect and future that only occur in the first person.³⁴ For the other two persons, forms from a paradigm not marked for confirmativity are used (cf. Friedman 1984:137–138, 2007).

³⁴ The future confirmative is intentional.

7. The Balkans and The Caucasus

7.1. Verb choice in formulas

Formulaic usages also highlight similarities and differences among the different manifestations of status. Thus, for example, the traditional beginning of a fairy tale that functions as the equivalent of the English *Once upon a time* generally translates ‘Once there was and once there was not’. Balkan Slavic, Turkish, and Lak all use perfect-type (nonconfirmative) forms, while Albanian, Balkan Romance, and Georgian use simple preterits, as in (78). In proverbs, however, the patterning is a bit different. For past tense proverbs that constitute miniature allegorical stories, Balkan Slavic and Turkish use nonconfirmatives (unmarked pasts; in Bulgarian, without the third person auxiliary), whereas Georgian uses the aorist plus a quotative particle and Lak uses the assertive (79–80).

(78) *Bilo ne bilo (Imalo edno vreme)* [Mac. & Blg.]

was.N NG was.N there.was.N one time

Ishte se na ç'ishte [Alb.]

was.IM.3sg that us.D what-was.IM.3sg

Tsi shi ira ma nu shi ira [Aromanian]

but and was.IM.3sg but NG and was.IM.3sg

Bir var-mış bir yok-muş [Turk.]

one exist-*mIş* one NG.exist-*mIş*

Iq'o da ara iq'o [Georgian]

was.AO.3sg and NG was.AO.3sg

Iwk'un ur, q:a-iwk'un ur [Lak]

be.PA.GE is NG-be.PA.GE is

Once upon a time ... (Friedman 1988a: 132)

(79) *Vidjala žabata če kovat bivola, i tja navirala kraka.* [Blg.]

saw.F the.frog that shoe.PR.3sg the.buffalo and she lifted.F the.leg

Öküz-e nal çakırdığı-nı görmüş, kurbağa da ayağı-nı

ox-D horseshoe its.hammering-AC having.seen frog and its.foot-AC

kaldır-mış. [Turk.]

lift-*mIş*

Videla žabata deka bivolo go kovat i sama dignala

saw.F the.frog that the.water.buffalo it.AC shoe.PR.3pl and herself

lifted.F

nogata. [Mac.]

the.foot

Bedaurebsa č'ednen baq'aq'-ma-c pexi aišvira-o. [Geo.]
horses.D shoe.IM.3pl frog-E-too foot lift.AO.3sg-QT
The frog saw them showing the ox/horses/water buffalo and lifted its foot,
too. (Friedman 1989–1990: 668)

- (80) *Magareto i na hadžilāk da hodi, a pak magare se*
the.ass and on pilgrimage SP go.PR.3g and yet ass IN
vrāšta. [Blg.]
return.PR.3sg
ierusalims niori gagzavnes, dabruna da isev q'arda-o. [Geo.]
Jerusalem.D garlic go.AO.3sg return.AO.3sg and still stink.AO.3sg-QT
Kā'walin lawgunni kunu lač:ul čimus nac'u xunu
Ka'aba go.PF.3sg say.PR.GE garlic garlic sweet become.PA.GE
q:a-buč'aj-s:ar [Lak]
NG-return.PR.GE-AS.3sg/pl
Garlic [donkey] went on a pilgrimage, but it came back stinking [still a
donkey] (Friedman 1989–1990: 667)

7.2. Conclusion

In the course of this article, I have tried to show the similarities and differences among the Balkan languages that have some sort of grammatical coding in the verb for the category of status. I have argued that the label *evidential* is infelicitous, since the motivation for verb form choice is the attitude of the speaker toward the information, which, while often determined or influenced by the source of the information (evidence), is nonetheless not obligatorily (or grammatically) dependent upon it. The Balkan Slavic opposition confirmative/nonconfirmative very much resembles the Turkish opposition between the past tenses in *-DI* and *-mİş*, whereas the Albanian and Balkan Romance paradigms encode only nonconfirmativity. In the Caucasus, as represented here by Georgian and Lak, a remarkably similar set of meanings are encoded in similar types of past tense forms, but there are also significant differences that are no doubt linked to the interrelationship among these forms and the rest of the verbal systems in which they are embedded. Linguistic contact with Turkish, which of all the languages considered here has the oldest attested status forms, is a possible source or at least motivating impetus for developments in the Balkans and the Caucasus, but at the same time, certain typological universals (e.g., the constellation of meanings associated with marked nonconfirmativity) may also be involved as explanatory factors. I shall conclude this paper with an outline of

topics for investigation I first proposed in Friedman (1979:346, cf. Friedman 1984:145–146). Although space has not permitted me to elaborate on all of these here, this outline provides a framework for continued investigation of the relevant phenomena in these and other languages.

Table 8. Outline for the comparative investigation of verbal systems with morphologically marked status categories in the Balkan-Anatolian-Caucasian area

- I. Perfect as pure resultative vs. Perfect as nonconfirmative vs. Perfect as unmarked past or confirmative
 - A. First person
 - B. Connected narratives
 - 1. With definite past-time adverbs
 - 2. In folk tales
- II. Perfect with apparently nonpast meanings
 - A. Resultative
 - 1. Admirative
 - 2. Stative
 - 3. Performative
 - 4. Other emotive
 - B. Nonconfirmative
 - 1. Dubitative
- III. Quotative particles
 - A. Clitic
 - B. Independent
- IV. Competing forms
 - A. Resultative
 - B. Confirmative
 - C. Nonconfirmative
- V. Relation of perfect to neighboring forms
 - A. Simple preterite
 - 1. Marked confirmative
 - 2. Unmarked
 - 3. Other
 - B. Pluperfect
 - 1. Pure reported
 - 2. Pure taxic
 - 3. Marked confirmative
 - 4. Modal
 - C. Nonpreterit (present)
 - 1. Unmarked
 - 2. Confirmative
 - 3. Nonconfirmative
- VI. Influence of other generic categories
 - A. Aspect
 - B. Voice
- VII. Volition, Uncertainty, Interrogation, Negation
- VIII. Synthetic vs Analytic construction
- IX. Modality

Evidentiality in the Balkans with Special Attention to Macedonian and Albanian¹

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While some of the material in this article recapitulates material in the foregoing article, there is a significant amount of different material as well.

1. Introduction and Survey

The term *evidential*, although based on descriptions of Native American languages at the beginning of the twentieth century, was introduced as such by Jakobson (1957/71) on the basis of Boas (1947). Jakobson expanded its meaning to apply to Balkan Slavic. The earliest description of the type of evidential strategy systems (Aikhenvald 2003) to which Jakobson applied the label, however, goes back to al-Kāšġarī's 11th century *Dīwān luġāt at-Turk*, which describes the Turkic *mIš*-past/*DI*-past distinction in terms of an unwitnessed/witnessed opposition (Dankoff 1982:412). Such usage is attested in the oldest Turkic data (eighth century; Tekin 1968:192-93). In this article, however, I shall refer to Turkish only insofar as it helps illuminate the Balkan Indo-European situation.

Of the "classic" Balkan languages (Albanian, Greek, Romance, and Slavic), Greek, does not possess evidential categories, although the unacceptability of the perfect in nonvolitional contexts requires further research (Friedman 1977:127, based on Kostas Kazazis and Joseph Pentheroudakis p.c.):

- (1) *Khoris ná tó kataláv-o, éspasa / *ékh-o*
without SP it understand-PR.1s break.AO.1s / have-PR.1S
spás-i tí bukála.
break-PT the.AC bottle

Without noticing it, I broke/have broken the bottle. (December, 1974).

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To this can be added the use of *lé[e]i* 'one says' as a kind of particle expressing a complex of evidential-like meanings including the expected 'reportedly, allegedly' but also an admirative-like emphatic:²

- (2) *–Í-tan kaló to fagitó?*
be-IM.3s good the meal
–Kaló, lé-i!
good say-PR.3S
– Was the meal good?,
–Very good! (Kriareas 1995)

Since it lacks clearly grammaticalized evidential strategies, Greek will not be considered further.

Of the remaining three groups, all contain languages with verbal categories participating in evidential strategies without literally specifying source of evidence. For these languages, therefore, *evidential* is understood as referring to evidential strategies. Aronson (1967) proposed the term *confirmative* in place of the misleading *witnessed* to describe Bulgarian evidentials in which the speaker is markedly vouching for the truth of the statement, and I extended this analysis by using the term *nonconfirmative* to refer to evidentials that attenuate personal vouching by means of reportedness, inference, sarcasm, or surprise (e.g., Friedman 1977, 1981, 1986b; see also Aronson 1991:116-117).³ If we understand *confirmative* to be the strategic equivalent of 'eyewitness' in those sys-

² I am indebted to César Montoliu for bringing this to my attention. All examples come from natural conversation or texts unless a source is given. Examples from conversation are followed by the month and year they were recorded. Translations are mine. Citations are given after the translations for the sake of convenience. In some examples, the preceding material which sets the context will be given in the English gloss, while only the relevant material will be given in the original. In Macedonian interlinear glosses, stem vowels are segmented for the present and the synthetic pasts but not the (unmarked) *I*-pasts. Albanian textual examples reflect the spelling inconsistencies of the originals. Newspaper sources are given in italics followed by day.month.year:page and are not listed in the references.

³ In Friedman (1981:24), I argued: "[W]hen speakers choose admirative forms [in Albanian] they are either refraining from vouching for the truth of the assertion by expressing doubt, irony, or by attributing the statement to someone else's words, or they are expressing the fact that at some time in the past they did not expect the statement to be true and that they are therefore surprised." This same type of argument for the connection between surprise and other types of nonconfirmative meanings was subsequently adduced for languages such as Turkish and Japanese.

tems where that meaning is grammaticalized, and *nonconfirmative* to be the strategic equivalent of ‘noneyewitness’ (if it is opposed as unmarked to a marked *confirmative*) or ‘non-firsthand’ (if it is the marked member of an opposition), depending on the system, then the Balkan languages (except Greek) all show systems of Aikhenvald’s (2003) type A2 (where nonconfirmative is the marked term), and Balkan Slavic has, in addition, an A1 system (where confirmative is marked and nonconfirmative is the chief contextual variant meaning [Haputbedeutung] of the unmarked member).

In the case of Balkan Romance, the so-called presumptive mood of Romanian — which is formed by means of a future, conditional, or subjunctive marker plus invariant *fi* ‘be’ plus the present or past participle of the main verb — has functions of the A2 type (see Friedman 2000b):

- (3) *Doar, n- or fi av-înd puric-i!*
 surely NG-FU be have-GE flea-P
 Surely he doesn’t have fleas! (Ioanna Chitoran, p.c., February 1998)

The same is true of the inverted perfect of Meglenoromanian:

- (4) *ă bră, tu fost-ăi mări om!*
 V V you be.PA.PT-have.PR.2s big man
 Hey, you’re an important person! (Friedman 1994b:81)

Varol (2001) also reports a use of the pluperfect instead of a simple past in Istanbul Judezmo that calques the A2 function of the Turkish *mİş-past*:

- (5) *Kuando esta-v-an en l’ Amérika, les av-iy-a entra-do*
 when be-IM-3p in the America them.D have-IM-3s enter-PA.PT
ladrón
 thief
 When they were in America [i.e., absent], a thief broke into their house.
 (Varol 2001:91).

A morphologically marked evidential strategy is attested in Aromanian only for the Frasherote Vlachs of the village of Belă di sus (Macedonian Gorna Belica, located northeast of Struga on the Albanian border in the Republic of Macedonia; Friedman 1994b). In the dialect of this group, which migrated to Macedonia from central Albania about a century ago, the evidential is based on the Albanian admirative (see §2.2.2) using a calqued participial base plus the 3s Albanian present admirative marker (*-ka*) reinterpreted as an invariant particle:

- (6) *Abe tora tini fus-ka avut om!*
V now you be.PT-AD rich man!
Hey, you're a rich man now! (August, 1992)

There is some debate over whether the Romanian presumptive is paradigmatic or syntactic, and there is a paucity of data for the Meglenoromanian and Judezmo phenomena. The Vlah admirative patterns mostly like the Albanian.⁴

From a morphological standpoint, Balkan Slavic is a dialect continuum in this respect — as in others. Macedonian and Bulgarian both have an A1 system and an A2 subsystem based on a reinterpretation and subsequent extension of the opposition simple preterit [aorist/imperfect] / perfect.⁵ An additional A2 evidential, the *probabilitiv*, has also been reported for the dialect of Novo Selo (Vidin region), in northwestern Bulgaria near the Romanian and Serbian borders (Mladenov 1969:108-116). In this dialect, the ordinary future is formed, as in Bulgarian and Macedonian in general, by means of a preposed invariant particle derived from a verb meaning 'want' plus a conjugating main verb. The Serbian future type — which is formed by means of a postposed conjugating clitic auxiliary of the same origin ('want') attached to a stem based on the infinitive — has been retained in this dialect but reinterpreted as an evidential with present, future, and past tenses, probably evolving semantically under the influence of the Romanian presumptive:

- (7) *Što čã ni pituvà-čã-š ti nàs...*
what FU us.D ask-PB-PR.2s you.N us.D
Why will you ask us...?! (Mladenov 1969:111)

Macedonian and Bulgarian dialects show considerable morphological variation in their treatments of evidentials (Friedman 1988a, Fielder 2002, 2003), but the underlying semantics are fairly consistent. I shall take Standard Macedonian, which in this regard faithfully reflects its West Central dialectal base (Prilep-Veles-Kičevo-Brod), as exemplary of Balkan Slavic for this article. The most salient differences between Standard Macedonian and Standard Bulgarian with

⁴ Although (3), (4), (6), and (7) are all admirative, these forms can all express the entire complex of nonconfirmative meanings (see §2.2.2).

⁵ The former Serbo-Croatian is said to use the simple preterite for a single term system of the type 'eyewitness / everything else' (Samilov 1957). All Slavic languages have a superordinate aspectual opposition perfective/imperfective inherent in the stem. The subordinate aorist/imperfect opposition remains only in South Slavic (except Slovene) and Lusatian.

regard to evidential strategies are the following: 1) Macedonian has developed a new perfect using the auxiliary 'have' which participates in the confirmative / nonconfirmative opposition while Bulgarian has developed a new pluperfect using a nonconfirmative auxiliary 'be' (3s M *bil*) producing an A2 subsystem;⁶ 2) the Macedonian future/conditional marker derived from 'want' is invariant, whereas in Bulgarian the cognate marker is invariant in the present but conjugates in the past (in both languages, the new pluperfect markers and the future markers can interact); 3) the older perfect, from which the (nonconfirmative) unmarked past is derived in Balkan Slavic, completely lost the third person auxiliary in Standard Macedonian whereas the presence versus absence of this auxiliary is manipulated in Standard Bulgarian (and also in Serbo-Croatian and East Macedonian dialects) as a discourse marker associated with narrator involvement. In traditional descriptions of Bulgarian, the absence of the third person auxiliary is said to mark an independent noneyewitness evidential paradigm, but empirical evidence contradicts this analysis (see Friedman 1982a, 1986b, Fielder 1995, 2002; see also Guentchéva 1996b for a contrasting view).

Albanian has an A2 system using a set of paradigms traditionally termed the *admirative*, first described by Dozon (1879:226-27), who introduced the French *admiratif* on the basis of Kristoforidhi's Greek *aprosdókētoi* 'unexpected'.⁷ The Albanian admirative is a markedly nonconfirmative, morphologically distinct set of paradigms which, while taking 'surprise' as its most common meaning (see Note 3), can also express sarcasm, inference, reporting, etc. It has been traditional in Balkan linguistics since Weigand (1923-24) to apply the term *admirative* to the use of the Balkan Slavic unmarked past to express surprise at a newly discovered (but pre-existing) state, (see example 21 cf. also Guentchéva 1996b).⁸ The Balkan Slavic phenomenon is a use of the unmarked past,

⁶ Bulgarian also has resultative constructions using 'have', but they are not paradigmatic. They are limited to transitive verbs (i.e., those that can form the past passive participle), animate or human subjects, and agree in gender/number with the direct object. By contrast, the Macedonian 'have' perfect can be formed from both transitives and intransitives, there is no restriction on the subject, and the verbal adjective is always neuter. Some Bulgarian dialects in Thrace appear to have this system as well, but the basic relevant facts are as discussed here.

⁷ The native grammatical term for this set of paradigms is *habitore* from *habi* 'surprise'. The Greek is nominative plural since it applied to all the admirative paradigms in its original formulation.

⁸ The term *mirative* — introduced by Jacobsen (1964:630), who defined it for Washo as a suffix conveying unwitnessed information based on inference that "commonly conveys an emotion of surprise" — is sometimes used interchangeably with *admirative*. I

whereas the Albanian, like the Frasherote Aromanian of Bela di sus, is a complete set of paradigms, including a true present. For Albanian I shall use the standard language, which in this respect reflects its northern Tosk (South Albanian) dialectal base. Admiratives are absent from Arbëresh (Italy) and show different developments in Arvanitika (southern Greece) (where they are now obsolete) and the East Thracian dialects (Bulgaria, Ukraine) as well as in northern dialects (Demiraj 1971a:37, Mindak 1980).⁹

For Romani, see “Confirmative/Nonconfirmative in Balkan Slavic, Balkan Romance, and Albanian with Additional Observations on Turkish, Romani, Georgian, and Lak” in this volume. That account and the references therein comprise the most comprehensive coverage available as of this writing.

2. Organization

2.1. Category and Strategy

The Macedonian evidential type is based on a discourse strategy using inherited forms that acquired evidential meaning which was subsequently extended to new paradigms. The Albanian evidential is expressed by a separate set of paradigms that have their origins in a grammaticalized inverted perfect.¹⁰ Evidential strategies are grammaticalized in both languages in that a meaning which is encoded into certain paradigms cannot be avoided when those forms are used. However, in Albanian, where evidentiality is the unambiguous (invariant) component of a series of paradigmatic sets, usage is never obligatory. On the other hand, Macedonian evidentiality is a strategy that cannot be avoided in ordinary past tense narration. One must indicate one’s degree of commitment to the truth of the statement, and the only way to avoid this is to switch to the historical present. Although literal ‘source of information’ is not the invariant meaning, it is normally taken to be the motivating factor in the speaker’s choice.

have argued that at least for Balkan linguistics, the term *admirative* is the appropriate one (see Friedman 2012a).

⁹ On the Arbëresh presumptive use of the (uninverted) perfect, see Altimari (1994). Based on Liosis (2010) and Friedman (2010a), it is now clear that at the time that Arvanitika separated from the rest of Albanian, the inverted perfect had counterfactual modal uses that are still seen in the oldest Albanian texts (16th century). These uses prevailed in Arvanitika until their extinction. The data from East Thracian dialects (of northern Tosk origin) makes it clear that by the time they separated from the main body of Albanian in the 17th century, the inverted perfect had a non-confirmative meaning but had not yet become a true present. Neither had such usage spread south to Lab and Çam dialects. On the admirative in northern Albanian, see Friedman 2003.

¹⁰ In Albanian, the perfect is composed of auxiliary + participle, hence the reverse order is called an inverted perfect.

2.2. Description of Systems

2.2.1. Macedonian

The Macedonian evidential system consists of three sets of two paradigms each. The synthetic aorist and imperfect, which are opposed to each other aspectually as non-durational/durational, are marked for speaker's confirmation of the narrated event. There is parallel set of analytic unmarked pasts (or *l*-pasts, also marking aorist/imperfect aspect) descended from the old perfect, which used the Common Slavic resultative participle in *-l* (based on the aorist stem) with the present tense of 'be' as an auxiliary. The modern set has added a new *l*-form based on the imperfect stem and dropped the auxiliary in the third person. The *l*-form agrees with the subject in gender (in the singular) or number (in the plural). The unmarked past usually implies but does not always express nonconfirmative in opposition to the marked confirmative. A third set is based on a new perfect using the auxiliary 'have' in the present, synthetic imperfect and *l*-past imperfect plus an invariant neuter verbal adjective (descended from the old past passive participle). The first of these is outside status oppositions, and the other two are equipollently marked as confirmative/nonconfirmative. In Bulgarian, the new pluperfect (e.g. *bil napravil* 'he [allegedly, etc.] did') is markedly nonconfirmative like its Macedonian equivalent (*imal napraveno*). The inherited pluperfect (synthetic imperfect of 'be' plus the verbal *l*-form, e.g. *beše napravil* 'he had done' in both languages) is outside the system of evidential strategies in Macedonian, whereas in Bulgarian it can be used in reported but not anti-confirmative contexts (e.g., the type illustrated in example [11]; Friedman 1986b). The Macedonian inherited pluperfect is opposed to the have-pluperfect by the fact that the latter is marked as a resultative of state (see Friedman 1977:104-106). The following examples are illustrative.

- (8) *No podocna se sluč-i-ja rabot-i za ko-i ne zna-e-v*
 but later IN happen-AO-3P work-P about which-P NG know-IM-1s
 But after that things happened which I didn't know about. (*Nova Makedonija* 19.VI.74: 5)
- (9) *Zuza: Blaže bi-l vo Moskva. Kosta: Da, b-e-še.*
 Z. B. be-L.M in Moscow K. Yes be-IM-3S
 Zuza: Blaže was in Moscow. Kosta: Yes, [I know] he was. (October 1986)

- (10) *Mu se jav-i-v na vujko mi. Ne b-e-še doma, na plaža bi-l.*
 him.D IN call-AO-1s to uncle me.D NG be-IM-3s at.home at beach be-L.M
 I called my uncle. He wasn't home, apparently he was at the beach.
 (August 1992)
- (11) *Ne veruv-a-m deka toj go napravi-l/[*]naprav-i toa.*
 NG believe-PRES-3s that he it.AC do-L.M / do-AO.3s that
 I don't believe that he did it. (Friedman 1978: 110)
- (12) *Za-toa što forma-ta B-E-ŠE REŠE-N-O odgovar-a na SE*
 for-that what form-DF be-IM-3s decide-VA-N answer-PR.3s to IN
REŠ-I, t.e. ne minato-to opredeljeno vreme, ko-e go
 decide-AO.3s i.e. to past-DF definite tense which-NM it.AC
upotrebuv-a-me za označuv-a-nje dejstv-a što se vrše-l-e ili
 use-PR-1p for indicate-VN action-P what IN perform-L-P or
se izvrši-l-e vo opredelen moment vo minato-to.
 IN accomplish-L-P in definite moment in past-DF
 It is because the form HAD BEEN DECIDED corresponds to WAS DECIDED,
 i.e., to the past definite tense, which we use to indicate actions that *were*
performed or *accomplished* at a definite time in the past. (Minova
 Gjurkova 1984)

In example (8) the speaker knows that the events happened, and therefore uses a confirmative form despite the fact that he did not see them. Examples (9) and (10) demonstrate the way the confirmative and nonconfirmative pasts can be manipulated based on attitude rather than evidence (pace Lunt 1952:93). In (9), Zuzi introduced a story about Blaže's recent trip to Moscow using the unmarked past since she wished to emphasize that she was not in Moscow herself. Kosta, however, who was also not in Moscow, responded with the confirmative past to indicate that he already knew and accepted the veracity as given. In example (10), the speaker personally vouched for the fact that his uncle was not home because he was certain the latter would have come to the telephone, whereas the speaker chose not to vouch for his uncle's actual location with the same certainty since neither the speaker nor the interlocutor could be sure that the uncle was actually at the beach. This could be taken as a secondhand/thirdhand distinction, but it is the speaker's choice. In context, using the *l*-past to report his uncle's absence would have connoted doubt or surprise. Thus, the deciding factor is the speaker's attitude toward the information, since the evidence is all from a single report. Example (11) shows that the marked confirmative is unacceptable in an anti-confirmative context. Note that (11) is grammatical if the

meaning of 'I don't believe' is infelicitous, i.e. if I am actually certain he did it but am surprised, cf. English *I can't believe I ate the whole thing!* Example (12) illustrates the basically unmarked nature of the *l*-past using it for a general definition.

In ordinary usage, a synthetic past will lead to the assumption that the speaker has a reason to confirm the statement and will not be considered normal if the source of information is a report. The use of the *l*-past usually implies nonconfirmativity and is expected to be used if there is no reason for the speaker to confirm the statement. At the same time, however, the *l*-past still retains its perfect nuances and can be used as a neutral (unmarked) past.

In the case of the have-perfects, the present perfect using 'have' is outside the evidential system, leaving a markedly confirmative pluperfect using a synthetic imperfect auxiliary and an markedly nonconfirmative perfect using the *l*-past of the auxiliary. The following examples are typical:

- (13) *Pusti-ot Selman-Aga ima-l sobra-n-o Arnaut-i za da te*
damned-DF S.A. has-L.M gather-VA-N Albanian-P for SP you.AC
grabn-e [...] Čovek dojd-e kaž-a,...
kidnap-PR.3S[...] person come-AO.3s tell-AO.3s
That damned Selman-Aga has gathered Albanians in order to kidnap you
[...] A man came and said so... (Krlje 1972:167)

- (14) *Jas do-togaš nem-a-v vide-n-o bel čovek*
I until-then NG.have-IM-1S see-VA-N white person
I had never yet seen a white person ... (*Počinka* 12.IX.72:31).

2.2.2. Albanian

The Albanian present and imperfect admirative are descended from an inverted perfect and pluperfect, respectively, consisting of the short participle and the auxiliary 'have' conjugated in the present and imperfect tenses, respectively (Demiraj 1971a). The present and imperfect admiratives of 'have' can themselves be used as auxiliaries with the participle to form the admirative perfect and pluperfect.¹¹ The admirative perfect and pluperfect using a short participle can also form compound analytic pasts. These latter are rare in the standard language. Table 1 is illustrative.

¹¹ In the mediopassive, 'be' replaces 'have' as the auxiliary. See example (46).

Table 1. 1s. indicative of 'have' in Albanian

	Nonadmirative	Admirative
Present	kam	paskam
Perfect	kam pasur	paskam pasur
Imperfect	kisha	paskësha
Pluperfect (impf.)	kisha pasur	paskësha pasur
Double Perfect	kam pasë pasur	paskam pasë pasur
Double Pluperfect	kisha pasë pasur	paskësha pasë pasur
Aorist	pata	—
2nd Pluperfect (aor.)	pata pasur	—
2nd Double Pluperfect (aor.)	pata pasë pasur	—

The correct interpretation of the Albanian admirative is determined by context, as can be seen in the following examples:

(15) *Ti kërcye-k-e shumë mirë!*

you dance-AD-PR.2s very well

You dance very well! (August 1995)

(16) *–Sot pas-k-emi drekë të thatë, a? –Po. Si ja*

today have-AD-PR.1p supper PC dry Q Yes how it-AC.it-D

qëll-ov-e? – S' kundërm-o-n as-një e djegur.

guess-AO-2s NG smell-PR-3S NG-one PC burnt

–We have a cold supper tonight, eh? –Yes. How did you guess? – Nothing

smells burnt. (*Rilindja* 12.VIII.12:8)

(17) *–Unë për vete nuk kam faj[...] –Si more Loni, s' pas-k-e faj?!*

–I for self NG have.PR.1s fault –how V L. NG have-AD-2s fault

–As for me, it's not my fault.[...] –Hey, Loni, what do you mean it's not your fault?! (Buchholz and Fiedler 1987:155)

Example (15) expresses surprise at unexpected new information based on immediate observation. Example (16) is an inference based on smell. Examples (17, 47) express dubitative usage, i.e. disbelief, sarcasm, irony, etc. Example (46) illustrates a neutral report.

3. Semantics

3.1. Inference, Supposition, Report, Epistemic, Hypothetical

In Macedonian, the choice of evidential in inferences and suppositions depends on the conviction of the speaker. The confirmative form can be used for any type of evidence (sight, sound, smell, etc.; Friedman 1977:39). Consider the following example:¹²

(18) *–Kade e Violeta?! [...]*

–where is V.

–Vo bolnica, drugar inspektor [...]

–in hospital comrade inspector

–Znač-i im-a-še i puka-nje?!

–mean-PR.3S have-IM-3s and shoot-VN

–Ne...

–no

–Što se sluč-i?

–what IN happen-AO.3s

–Vinko se obid-e da ja ubi-e.

–V. IN try-AO.3s SP her-AC kill-PR.3s

–Where is Violeta?! [...] –In the hospital, Comrade Inspector [...] –So then there was shooting, too?! –No... –What happened? –Vinko tried to kill her. (Počinka 21 X 74:27)

In example (18), the inspector's *imaše* involves a confirmative inference based on a report. Moreover, Svetislav's confirmative *obide* is based on an inference from a witnessed result of an unwitnessed act. He did not actually see Vinko's attempt at murder. He was chasing Vinko's car, lost sight of it, and then found Violeta lying by the road. The speakers are both emphasizing their being convinced of the inferences. The *l*-past will be used if such emphasis is not desired as in (19), where the speaker uses the nonconfirmative *pretpostavuval* because he is speculating on Bob's assumption, the present *imaat* 'they have' in reporting what he thinks Bob said since that would have been the original tense of the statement, but the confirmative *raboteše* because the speaker knows that Liddy was spying:

(19) *Misl-am deka Bob pretpostavuva-l oti tie im-a-at nešto*
 think-PR.1s that B. suppose-L.M that they have-PR-3p something

¹² Cf. also examples (8, 9, 10).

ovde, nekakv-a operacija za sobira-nje na informaci-i, na koj
here some-F operation for gather-VN of information-P on which
što rabot-e-še Lidi
what work-IM-3s L.
I think Bob was assuming that they had something over there, some
intelligence operation that Liddy was operating. (*Nova Makedonija*
16.VI.73:27)

In Albanian, because the admirative is a marked nonconfirmative, its use in inference always carries a nuance of surprise, doubt, etc., as in (16) above.

In the case of Macedonian, epistemic modals can themselves be either confirmative or nonconfirmative, followed by a subjunctive clause in the present tense (see example 28 below). However, a speculation that the speaker wishes specifically not to confirm can be in the *l*-past, as in example (20):

(20) *Iako s-i-te vel-at deka naj-golem-i-te problem-i na*
although all-P-DF say-PR.3p that most-big-P-DF problem-P of
Makedonija se vnatrešn-i, se-pak, mene mi se čin-i
Macedonia are internal-P all-again me.D me.D IN seem-PR.3s
deka atentat-ot treba da bi-l izvrše-n od
that assassination.attempt-DF must.PR.3S SP be-L.M complete-VA from
nadvor.
outside
Although everyone says that Macedonia's greatest problems are internal,
nonetheless it seems to me that the assassination attempt [against President
Kiro Gligorov] must have been effected from outside. (November 1996)

In Albanian, admirativity is not attested in co-occurrence with epistemic modality, but in principle could occur as an expression of speaker nonconfirmativity (report, surprise, sarcasm, etc.). In both the Albanian and Macedonian cases, such usage is not considered standard.

3.2. Admirative and Dubitative

Both the Albanian admirative and the Macedonian *l*-past can be used to express surprise and various shades of unreliability: doubt, disbelief, irony, sarcasm etc. (Friedman 1981). Examples (14) and (16) above illustrate the 'surprise' and 'unreliable' readings of the Albanian admirative.

Examples (21) and (22) are typical of the admirative and dubitative uses of the Macedonian *l*-past:

- (21) *Ti si bi-l Rom! Ne sum znae-l!*
 you be.PR.2s be-L.M Rom NG be.PR.1s know-L.M
 You're a Rom! I didn't know! (Response to a blond person saying he is a Rom; October 1973)
- (22) *Ti Vlah si bi-l! Laž-e-š!*
 you Vlah be.PR.2s be-L.M lie-PR-2S
 You're a Vlah [you claim]! You're lying! (Humorous banter; September 1997)

The fact that the correct translation in these contexts must be an English present tense has been used to argue that the Macedonian evidential (*l*-past) does not mark tense. However, there is always some sort of past reference involved in such usage. In Balkan Slavic admirative usage, apparent present meaning is restricted to the discovery of pre-existing states, i.e. the meaning is 'it has been the case that ... but until now I did not know it'. Similarly, dubitative usage with an apparent present meaning always refers to a real or putative previous statement, i.e. it is refutation predicated upon some form of repetition (example 16 is typical in this respect).

Evidence for this analysis can be found in comparisons with Albanian. Example (23) was uttered by a Kosovar colleague upon taking a sip of a local brandy whose quality had declined in recent years. In examples (24-25), taken from the Albanian translation of Konstantinov (1895/1973), it is precisely when an admirative statement refers to the discovery of a pre-existing state that Albanian permits the use of any past admirative form in addition to the normal present admirative of the type illustrated in (14). In all of these examples, where Albanian has an admirative, Bulgarian and Macedonian use the *l*-past, and Turkish uses the *miş* -past:

- (23) *Pas-k-a qe-në e mirë!*
 have-AD-PR.3s be-PT PC good
 Why, it turns out that it's good! (June 2001)
- (24) *Ore, fare gomar pas-k-ësh që-në ky njeri!*
 V complete ass have-AD-IM.3s be-PT this person
 What an complete ass that guy is! (Konstantinov 1975:98)
- (25) *Ama njerëz fare pa mend qën-k-ësh-in kë-ta...*
 but people completely without mind be-AD-IM-3p these-P
 What fools are these... (Konstantinov 1975:24)

4. Correlations with other grammatical categories

4.1. Interrogatives

The use of evidentials in interrogatives is crucial in supporting my preceding claim that admirative use of the *l*-past always involves reference to a past state. In example (26), a man walks into a barbershop and sees the apprentice but not the boss. He asks:

- (26) *Ku qen-k-a mjeshtër-i?*
where be-AD-PR.3s boss-DF
'Where is the boss?' (*Rilindja* 8-VI-92:8)

He is asking with surprise where the boss is at the actual moment in time, not at some pre-existing time. In such a context, the sentence cannot be translated with an *l*-form into Macedonian or the *mİş-past* of Turkish:

- (27) *Kade bi-l majstor-ot?*
where be-L.M boss-DF
Usta neredede-ymiş?
boss where-be.MİŞ.PA.3s
*Where is the boss?/Where was the boss?

As indicated in the translation, the sentence in Macedonian (or, *mutatis mutandis*, Bulgarian) or Turkish means 'Where was the boss', although a dubitative interpretation of the type 'Where did you say the boss is [implied — I don't believe you]?' in response to an answer that has already been given would also be possible. The fact that the Macedonian *l*-past in its admirative function cannot be used to request present information, whereas the Albanian present admirative can, supports my analysis that any apparent present meaning of the *l*-past requires past reference.

In Macedonian, the choice of tense for a question will either be determined by the speaker's expectations concerning the addressee's knowledge (28, 29), the speaker's own certainties (30, 31), or by the speaker's intentions in engaging the addressee (32, 33).

- (28) *Ti treb-a-še da dojd-e-š tuka?*
you must-IM-3s SP come-PR-2s here
Were you supposed to come here? (August 1976)

- (29) *Dali taa saka-l-a da go zem-a?*
Q she want-L-F SP it.AC take-PR.3s
Did she want to take it? (September 1997)

- (30) *Kade ja kup-i kola-ta?*
 where it-AC buy-AO.2S car-DF
 Where did you buy the car?
- (31) *Kade si ja kupi-l kolat-a?*
 where be.PR.2s it.AC buy-L.M car-DF
 Where did you buy the car?
- (32) *Solana dojd-e vo Skopje?*
 S. come-AO.3s in Skopje
 Did Solana come to Skopje?
- (33) *Što, pak došo-l Solana vo Skopje?*
 what again come-L.M S. in Skopje
 What, did Solana come to Skopje again?

In (28), the speaker used the confirmative past since she expected me to be able to answer on the basis of personal knowledge, whereas (29) was asked in the course of a party game using a fictional story which therefore proceeded entirely in nonconfirmative forms. The difference between (30) and (31) is that in (30) the speaker is likely to have seen the car or have some other reason to be certain that the addressee has a new car, whereas in (31) s/he may have simply heard that the addressee has a new car or may be expressing admirativity or dubitativity. The difference between (32) and (33) is that (32) is a simple request for information and is not intended to lead to further conversation, whereas (33) is more of an invitation to conversation, or even a request for confirmation of something the speaker may already know. In this sense, (33) can have a nuance of admirativity. If evidential strategies are not implicated, the older preterit / perfect opposition applies: A synthetic past question will refer to a specific event and an *l*-past question to a general state, as in English *Were you there?* vs *Have you [ever] been there?*

In Albanian, an admirative question always carries an additional nonconfirmative nuance in which the the speaker expresses an attitude toward some aspect of the question (examples 17, 26).

4.2. Commands

In all the Balkan languages, the subjunctive particle can be combined with a present tense verb form to produce an optative, which can have the force of an imperative. These particles can also be used with the *l*-past or admirative. In Macedonian, such usage can have the force of a reported imperative, as in ex-

ample (34), which could be a report either of a true imperative or of a second person optative usage:

- (34) *Reč-e vo 'Bastion' da sum došo-l*
say-AO.3s in B. SP be.PR.1S come-L.M
He said I should come to 'The Bastion' (June 2001)

The choice of tense here, however, is facultative. The speaker could also have used a 1s present tense (*da dojdám*). The *l*-form can also have the function of an emphatic optative, frequently in prohibitions, warnings, and curses, without any nuance of evidentiality. Such usages are archaisms connected to ancient uses of the resultative participle (*l*-form).¹³

- (35) *Nemoj da ste se skara-l-e!*
NG.IV SP be.PR.2P IN quarrel-L-P
Don't quarrel (Koneski 1967b:474)

In Albanian, the admirative can occur after the subjunctive marker with the illocutionary force of an imperative, but only as an admirative or dubitative report of someone else's words:

- (36) *–Të shko-sh në pazar! –Të shko-k-am unë në pazar?!*
SP go-SP.2s to market SP go-AD-PR.1s I to market
–Go to the market! –[Are you telling me that] I should go to the market?!

In fact, however, no such examples are attested in literature or conversation, and the use of the admirative after *të* in any meaning is rare (Buchholz and Fiedler 1987:154-160, Lafe 1977).

5. Negation, modality, person, tense, aspect

5.1. Negation

In Macedonian, the *l*-past is preferred to the synthetic past when negation does not involve volition or a definite point in time. Thus, for example 'I didn't know' is normally rendered '*Ne sum znael*' rather than '*Ne znaev*' when making a general statement about something one does not know. Similarly, when describing an involuntary act, the *l*-past is normally preferred:

¹³ This usage is probably connected to an old (Late Common Slavic) use of the conditional, which also employed the resultative participle. See Friedman 2011 on the dialectal Macedonian Albanian use of the admirative instead of the optative as a calque on such usage.

- (37) *Ni-što da ne set-am, sum go skrši-l šiše-to*
 NG-what SP NG notice-PR.1s be.PR.1s it.AC break-L.M bottle-DF
 Without noticing anything, I broke the bottle. (Lunt 1952:97)

This is in keeping with the sense of DISTANCE, a term introduced by Lunt (1952:91) to describe the combination of resultative and nonconfirmative meanings.

In Albanian, where the Indo-European distinction between indicative negator (*nuk*) and modal negator (*mos*) is preserved, the admirative is used with the indicative negator unless it is preceded by the modal particle *të* or introduced by *mos* in its non-modal function as the marker of a negative tag-question:

- (38) *Sigurisht nuk pas-k-a dëgj-uar as-një qebap-xhi.*
 surely NG have-AD-PR.3s hear-PT NG-one kebab-seller
 Surely no kebab-seller has heard. (*Rilindja* 10.XII.83:13)

- (39) *...të mos e pas-k-ish thirr-ur, zot-i e di,*
 ...SP NG him.AC have-AD-IM.3g call-PART lord-DF it.AC know.PRES.3S
sa gjatë do të kishte mbet-ur ashtu.
 how long FU SP have.IM.3s remain-PT that.way
 If she had not called him, Lord knows how long he would have stayed like that. (Buchholz and Fiedler 1987:159)

- (40) *Th-ashë, mos e pas-k-a ndërr-uar vend-in e*
 say-AO.1s NG it.AC have-AD-PR.3s change-PT place-DF.AC PC
punë-s...
 work-DF.GEN
 I said, he hasn't changed his work place, has he ... (Buchholz and Fiedler 1987:160)

Although there are no particular restrictions on the cooccurrence of admirativity and negation, in practice it is infrequent. In a selection of approximately 200 Albanian-language news reports containing admiratives, none were negated.

5.2. Nonindicative modalities and the future tense.

In the Balkan languages in general, the markers of futurity also mark conditional modality (with the imperfect, perfect, or pluperfect), and therefore we shall treat these two together. Both Lunt (1952) and Kramer (1986) treat all clauses with the Macedonian future/conditional marker *kje* as modal (see also Friedman 1993b:268-73). Examples using the future/conditional markers with

evidentials are possible albeit relatively infrequent. In Macedonian, the *l*-form is unambiguously (markedly) nonconfirmative in such contexts. As with the have-perfect, these *l*-form usages are of post-medieval (early modern) origin and constitute a type of evidential subsystem. It should also be noted that *kje* plus the synthetic imperfect is not marked as confirmative, and there is also an inherited (of Common Slavic origin) conditional in Macedonian that uses the particle *bi* plus the verbal *l*-form that does not enter into evidentiality strategies. The Albanian admirative always carries its nonconfirmative meanings. The following examples are illustrative:

- (41) *Ljudmil reč-e deka kje sme se sretne-l-e kaj nego vo*
L. say-AO.3s that FU be.PR.1p IN meet-L-P at him-AC in
kancelarija-ta
office-DF
Ljudmil said that we are supposed to meet in his office (December 2000)

- (42) *–Sega kje gled-a vesti. –Što? –Sega kje gleda-l vesti.*
–now FU look-PR.3s news –what now FU look-L.M news
He's going to watch the news now. –What? –[He said] he's going to watch
the news now. (June 2001)

- (43) *Tani edhe çupa-t do të shko-k-an në shkollë!*
now and girls-DF FU SP go-AD-PR.3p to school
Now girls will go to school, too! (Buchholz and Fiedler 1987:157)

- (44) *Si do t-a pas-k-ësha njoh-ur, po të mos m-a*
how FU SP-IT.a have-AD-IM.1s know-PT if SP NG me.D-it.AC
kishe treg-uar ti!
have.IM.2s tell-PT you.NM
How would I have known it, if you had not told me (Lafe 1977:479)

In (41), the speaker knew that we had agreed to assemble in Ljudmil's office, but since we were sitting in the dean's office the situation was awkward. When the question arose regarding where we should be, the speaker chose to distance herself by using an *l*-form as an expression of uncertainty and non-responsibility. Sentence (42) shows the use of a future evidential for emphasis. Macedonian friends in Holland called a friend in Skopje for news about the fighting in Aračinovo (a village 5 km east of Skopje), and the one on the telephone in Holland was reporting the conversation to the others. The effect of the repetition was neither dubitative nor admirative but rather emphatic in the same

sense as that rendered by the brackets in the English translation. Sentence (43) is a future admirative expressing surprise. Examples (44) and (39) illustrate that admiratives can occur in the protasis and apodosis of conditionals. The examples express speaker surprise.

In Macedonian, the nonconfirmative (*l*-past) cannot be used with a true future reported meaning, thus, for example, (45) cannot mean 'he will say that he does not know' but only 'he will say that he did not know'.¹⁴

- (45) *Toj će reč-e deka ne znae-l*
 he FU say-AO.3s that NG know-L.M
 He will say he did/*does not know.

5.3. Restrictions with tenses and aspects

In Macedonian, the confirmative past is a reinterpretation of the synthetic past (aorist/imperfect) and as such is limited to it, except for the extension into the use of the imperfect of 'have' as an auxiliary in the confirmative pluperfect. The development of nonconfirmativity began in opposition to confirmativity but then developed a life of its own and was extended to newly created verbal forms. In terms of aspect, evidential strategies are not subject to any limitations that are not already present in the system, but in terms of tense, even when they have apparent present or future meaning, nonconfirmative evidentials always carry an element of past reference. In Bulgarian, there is a correlation between pairing for superordinate aspect and the manipulation of the third person auxiliary in the old perfect (unmarked past). In narratives, unpaired imperfective verbs are more likely to be used for backgrounding and occur with the auxiliary, while perfective verbs will lack the auxiliary and be used for foregrounding and advancing the narrative unless they are used to denote resultant states, in which case the auxiliary will be present (Fielder 1995, 2002). However, these are discourse functions not connected to evidentiality per se, since the source of information (and speaker attitude toward the veracity of the information) can be the same throughout the narrative.

In Albanian, the admirative paradigms are not limited for tense but they do contain an aspectual gap: There are no admirative forms corresponding to the aorist, only the imperfect-based forms are used. This contrasts with Aikhenvald's (2003) generalization — insofar as the aorist is more perfective in meaning than the imperfect — and may be related to the fact that 'be' and 'have', which are the auxiliaries crucial to admirative formation, are more amenable to

¹⁴ As with (27), apparent present meaning is acceptable as a dubitative repetition.

imperfect than to aorist meaning. Although Albanian has both aorists and imperfects for ‘be’ and ‘have’, the aorists are rare and do not occur in all dialects.

6. Evidentiality and discourse types

Evidentiality is connected with genre and manipulated as a stylistic device. In Macedonian, the *l*-past is the normal tense for folk tales but the narrative switches easily into the synthetic past for vividness. An interesting example of the interaction of discourse genres and style is a book on Alexander the Great by Vasil Tupurkovski, a Macedonian politician. Many Macedonians saw the book as a nationalist ploy and criticized the excessive use of the synthetic past. While it is acceptable to use the synthetic past for well-established historical facts, the effect of Tupurkovski’s usage was felt to be bombastic, as if he were trying to present himself as the direct heir of Alexander the Great. (Cf. the use of shamanic speech described in Aikhenvald 2003.)

Macedonian newspapers also have house styles that involve evidential strategies. In the early 2000s, the then relatively independent newspaper *Dnevnik* used far more *l*-pasts than the then government-owned paper *Nova Makedonija*. *Nova Makedonija* — like papers in other East European countries during the communist period — is more likely to use synthetic pasts, or else nominalizations in order to avoid having to make a choice that would be required by a finite verbal construction. This strategy is also used in the Turkish press (cf. Feuillet 1996 and Fielder 2002 on Bulgarian).

Another connection between evidentiality and genre is seen in the Albanian-language internet news reports of the Kosovo Information Center (QIK), which later became the Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms (KMDLNJ), as well as news reports from the Albanian communist party newspaper *Zëri i popullit*. In these news sources, the admirative is extremely rare and almost always dubitative. In the Kosovar news reports from 1994-1999, the admirative was used to report accusations and other items from Serbian sources that the authors wished to cast doubt on. After the Treaty of Kumanovo (June 1999) accusations against Albanians from KFOR and UNMiK replaced those from Serbian sources as the objects of admirative usage. From the rise of the KLA (identified as ‘a previously unknown terrorist group’ in Open Media Research Institute’s Report No. 35, Part II, 19 February 1996), until the end of the 1999 NATO war, however, Kosovar news sources would occasionally use the admirative for unvouched for but neutral reporting:¹⁵

¹⁵ See Friedman 2012b for a detailed account of admirative usage in Albanian language electronic media 1994-1997, 1998-1999, and post 1999.

- (46) [...]nga Nënëshill-i ynë në Istog, u njoft-ua-m se në
 [...]from branch.council-DF our in Istog IN inform-AO-1p that in
 vit-in e kaluar nga kjo komunë qen-k-an vra-rë edhe:
 year-DF.AC PC past from this district is-AD-PR.3p kill-PT and
 [...] we were informed by our subcommittee in Istog that last year in that
 community have also been killed: [a list of names follows] (*KMDLNj
 Informata* nr. 453, 12.I.99)

The connection between evidentiality and volitionality was noted in (37). Other than the restriction noted above against using a Macedonian confirmative (feliculously) in subordination to a verb of explicit nonconfirmation, there are no restrictions tied solely to the relationship of evidentiality to the semantics of the verb.¹⁶

7. Strategies

Aside from obvious lexical strategies, an interesting Albanian phenomenon is the use of a 1p dative pronoun to increase a sense of dubitativity as in (47):

- (47) *Sipas një neokomunist-i serb Kosov-a na qen-k-a*
 according one neocommunist-GEN Serb Kosovo-DF us.D be-AD-PR.3s
 “*pjes-a më e sigurt e Serbi-së.*”
 “piece-DF most PC secure PC Serbia-DF.GEN”
 According to a Serbian neocommunist, Kosova is “the most secure part of
 Serbia.” (*Kosovo Information Center, Informatori ditor*, nr. 1167,
 26.IX.95)

It is worth noting that the admirative introduces the quotation and is thus a comment on it. The narrative dative is common at the beginnings of folk tales, but when used with the admirative it increases the nonconfirmative effect. If the narrative dative is a device for involving the listener in the narration, then its

¹⁶ Lazard (2001:363) either misreads or misrepresents his source when he claims: “In Albanian, however, feeling verbs are obligatorily used in the so-called ‘admirative’ mood.” The statement is false, and his source (Duchet & Përnaska 1996:35-36) makes no such claim. Rather, at issue is the rendition of the ordinary *më vjen keq* ‘I’m sorry’ (literally to.me it.comes.PRS badly) with the admirative *më ardhka keq* ‘I’m really sorry’ (lit. to.me it comes.PRS.ADM badly) as an emphatic. Duchet and Përnaska cite this usage as evidence for the claim that the basic meaning of the admirative is *une assertion en quelque sort imposée a l’énonciateur...* ‘an assertion imposed in some way on the speaker...’ (p. 42). Duchet & Përnaska fail to mention the imperfect and pluperfect admiratives as well as the compound perfect and pluperfect admiratives with the exception of a single imperfect admirative from a Geg epic.

use with an admirative invites the listener to share the speaker's nonconfirmation, which in context means disbelief.

8. Origins

In strictly structural terms, both Balkan Slavic and Albanian developed evidential strategies using native past tense forms, and as the contextual variant meanings became invariant the strategies became grammaticalized. In Albanian, the inverted perfect became associated with nonconfirmativity and lost its marking for pastness. It then became the basis of a new set of nonconfirmative paradigms. In Balkan Slavic, however, the simple preterit developed marking for confirmativity, and the old perfect became associated with nonconfirmative meaning by contrast. As a result, new paradigms that developed out of the old perfect were markedly nonconfirmative, but the old perfect itself never completely lost its nonevidential meanings, except in regions where a new perfect replaced it entirely (see below).

Given the fact that the Turkish evidential system was already in place by the time the Ottomans invaded the Balkans whereas medieval Slavic documents only hint at the possibility of usages resembling evidential strategies,¹⁷ the influence of Turkish on the Slavic development seems reasonable, although the calquing was probably not as simple as is sometimes claimed (Friedman 1978). Our earliest extensive Albanian data (sixteenth century) makes it clear that at that stage the inverted perfect was still a past tense, although it also had both admirative and irreal conditional functions. The conversion of the inverted perfect into a separate admirative paradigm seems to have taken place precisely during the period of Turkish rule. The absence of the admirative from Arbëresh, and its survival as an irreal conditional or optative Arvanitika (see Liosis 2010) supports this analysis, although Arbëresh does have some presumptive uses of the perfect (see Altimari 1994). The Vlah admirative is clearly based on the Albanian and is thus a borrowing (Friedman 1994b).

Macedonian evidentiality is most highly grammaticalized in the southwest (Ohrid-Struga region), where the *l*-past is a marked nonconfirmative and the have-perfects have completely replaced all other functions.¹⁸ As one moves

¹⁷ Van Wijk (1933:243) cites as possible evidence contrasting uses of the perfect and aorist to evaluate reports in the aorist in the oldest Slavic Paterikon.

¹⁸ In the course of the 2000s, this development is gradually spreading north and west. This is to say that they 'have' perfect is becoming increasingly common as the form expressing taxis, and the *l*-form is becoming increasingly marked as nonconfirmative. In connection with this, the old pluperfect using the imperfect of 'be' and the *l*-form is becoming marginalized almost to the point of obsolescence. As of this writing (2012),

further to the southwest to the Macedonian dialects of the Korča (Albanian Korçë)-Kostur (Greek Kastoria) region in Albania and Greece, the *l*-past has been almost completely lost and the have-perfects completely replace them. The result is a system recapitulating that of Common Slavic and virtually devoid of evidentials (see Friedman 1988a). In the east, where the have-perfect did not develop, the *l*-past is more likely to be used as a perfect or unmarked past (Friedman 1977:93; see also note 18). On the other hand, the Standard Bulgarian system is based on Northeast Bulgarian dialects centered around Tŕrnovo, which were also in close contact with compact Turkic populations. The influence of cities in general, where Turkish was the dominant language and where urban dialects of other languages had prestige among the rural populations — may have contributed to the rise of grammaticalized evidential strategies as we see them in the Balkans today. During the Ottoman period, living in a town was a privilege that required special permission, and Turkish was associated not only with Islam and the Ottoman state but also with urbanity and culture in general. This attitude has persisted among long-established town-dwellers.

At the same time, however, the widespread phenomenon of perfects developing into nonconfirmative evidentials (and a similar but not as widespread phenomenon of synthetic pasts developing into confirmatives) suggests a typological universal tendency. The connection between a perfect's focus on result and the preceding act being treated as unwitnessed (*sensu largo*) goes back to the Sanskrit grammarians, although it is noteworthy that many of the varied languages where the strategy developed have been in contact with some form of Turkic (Friedman 1978:108). In the end, except for obvious cases like Vlah, we must allow for the effect of contact reinforcing typological tendencies.

9. Cultural Attitudes

Aside from the conventionalized attitudes and dialectal differences described above, Macedonians from the southwestern town of Bitola, which historically had a large Aromanian population, are much more likely to use the synthetic past where Macedonians from other western areas would use a nonconfirmative

these are variationist tendencies. The 'have' perfect is now in free use throughout the Republic of Macedonia as the result of the successful implantation of the Modern Macedonian standard. At the same time, however, speakers from east of the Vardar river, where there was no 'have' perfect in the first half of the twentieth century, still use the *l*-form based past paradigms in contexts that are clearly perfect. Thus, for example Georgievski (2012), a literary bio-interview with a prominent politician from Štip in eastern Macedonia, the author's usage in the quotational passages makes extensive use of *l*-forms in neutral resultative contexts. The author uses 'have' perfects as marked resultatives, consistent with the literary norm.

l-form.¹⁹ This is said to be due to the influence of the local Aromanian dialects, which like most other Aromanian dialects, has only an aspectual perfect/aorist & imperfect distinction with no evidential nuances or strategies.

A point worth considering is that fact that speakers of Turkic and Balkan Slavic languages have reported feeling the absence of a nonconfirmative verb form when speaking English. Although adverbs such as *apparently* carry the same type of distancing semantics lexically, their use is felt to be gross and intrusive compared to selecting a verb form. I have felt this same lack myself when I have returned to the US after spending extended periods in Macedonia.

Dreams are normally reported in the confirmative, since the speaker has witnessed them. (In Macedonian, dreams are described as ‘seen’.) However, the *l*-past can be used if the speaker wishes to create a sense of distance. Example (48) illustrates clearly how confirmative and nonconfirmative are manipulated in reporting a dream:

- (48) *Ne zna-m kolku spi-e-v, no koga se razbud-i-v*
NG know-PR.1s how.much sleep-IM-1s but when IN awaken-AO-1s
si spomn-a-v deka sum sonuva-l. Vid-o-v deka
self.D remember-AO-1s that be.PR.1s dream-L.M see-AO-1s that
jas ne sum bi-l jas, no edn-o dete bez brakja i
I NG be.PR.1s be-L.M I but one-N child without brothers and
rodnin-i. B-e-v sam so majka mi, megju tugji lugje i
relative-P be-IM-1s alone with mother me.D among foreign people and
samo od-e-vme peški.
only go-IM-1p on.foot
I don’t know how long I slept, but when I awoke I remembered that I had
dreamt. I saw that I was not I but a child without brothers and relatives. I
was alone with my mother, among strangers, and we just kept walking and
walking. (Vocis 1999:110)

In a society where people are aware that television is used as a propaganda device and that the same footage is used for different news stories, reports of news seen on television depend on the trust of the reporter. As one friend put it:

- (49) *Nad Kumanovo puk-a-a ili puka-l-e, zavis-i dali*
above Kumanovo shoot-IM-3p or shoot-L-P depend-PRES.3S Q

¹⁹ It is worth noting that Aromanian was also an important contact language in the Korča-Kostur region during much of the Ottoman period and Greek was the language of literacy and religion for Christians. On the other hand, Turkish was especially important in Ohrid.

veruv-a-š vo televizijsk-i slik-i ili ne.
 believe-PRES-2s in television-P picture-P or NG
 Above Kumanovo they were shooting or they were allegedly shooting, it
 depends whether you believe television pictures or not. (June 2001)

10. Conclusion

There is a fundamental difference between the grammaticalized evidential strategies of the Balkans and adjacent areas and the evidential markers of North and South America, Tibeto-Burman, and Papua-New Guinea. However, the Balkan phenomena go beyond contextual uses of, e.g., the German subjunctive, conditionals in French, Hungarian, or Japanese, English modals, etc. Grammaticalized Balkan evidential strategies can be divided into two major types: modal — which are all of Aikhenvald's (2003) A2 type — and past tense. The Romanian presumptive mood and the Novo Selo probabilitive mood look very much like modal strategies, but unlike them, these moods have no other uses and so are arguably evidential modals. Within past tense we can distinguish between Aikhenvald's (2003) A1 and A2 systems i.e. those that approximate witnessed/nonwitnessed and those that approximate non-firsthand/other. The presence of A1 implies the presence of A2, but not vice versa. Albanian and South Danubian Romance (Aromanian and Meglenoromanian) are limited to A2 systems, whereas Balkan Slavic developed an A1 system out of which A2 oppositions arose. This suggests that there are two different paths for grammaticalizing evidentials — a confirmative and a nonconfirmative. Although the nonconfirmative meanings are arguably the more salient (in Turkic languages — see Johanson 2003 — this is the meaning that keeps surfacing using different participial forms), the fact that in most of Balkan Slavic the perfect never made the complete transition found in Albanian whereas the simple preterits are markedly confirmative argues that when marked confirmativity develops in a system, marked nonconfirmativity will arise, but if nonconfirmativity develops first, confirmativity does not necessarily follow. Although grammaticalized strategies of past tense origin are associated with perfects and perfectivity (see also §5), the absence of admirative aorists in Albanian suggests that the association of perfects with resultant states (which are more amenable to durational, i.e. imperfect, meaning) is a competing factor.

Finally, there is the issue of literal source of information versus the speaker's attitude to the information. In a sense, it is always the speaker's 'mediation' (Guentchéva 1996b) that determines the choice of verb form and thus the difference between 'source of information' and 'speaker attitude' is a continuum. Nonetheless, just as tense/aspect/mood categories can be described as discrete entities while overlapping in actual usage, so, too, evidentiality involves a com-

plex of meanings from extensions of tense/aspect/mood to true evidentials. The relevant verbal categories of the Balkan languages — of which Macedonian and Albanian represent basic types — constitute a distinct type that can be called the ‘grammaticalized strategy’, located between tense/aspect/mood and true evidentiality. The effect is that of a true evidential, and the choices are sometimes obligatory, but the underlying semantics are a step removed from literal evidence.

‘One’ as an Indefinite Marker in Balkan and Non-Balkan Slavic

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1. Introduction

While the grammaticalization of expressions of definiteness is one of the oldest Balkanisms both in terms of possible attestation and in terms of identification as such, that which can be regarded as the inverse of grammaticalized definite marking, namely grammaticalized indefinite marking, has never figured in the catalogue of Balkanisms. Thus, for example, Hamp (1982:79) concludes after careful etymological argument that the name of the ancient site of *Drobeta* — located on the Danube near modern Turnu Severin in northwestern Oltenia (Romania) — contains a Latin misunderstanding or misparsing in Moesia Inferior of **druuā-tā*, a definite noun phrase with postposed article. As such, it gives direct evidence in the Roman period of one of the most notable syntactic constructions of the Balkan Sprachbund, i.e. a specimen from the autochthonous language of the model of the Romanian postposed article which was calqued out of Latin materials. Moreover, it constitutes direct attestation for the common possession of this important feature linking modern Albanian with Moesia Inferior. Similarly, Kopitar (1829:86, 106) focused particularly on the postposed definite article as the most striking example of his characterization of the linguistic territory of what today we could call Balkan Romance, Balkan Slavic, and Albanian as an area where one has the impression that *nur eine sprachform herrscht, aber mit dreierlei Sprachmaterie...* ‘only one grammar dominates, but with three lexicons...’ This is arguably the earliest formulation of the principle of areal linguistics underlying the concept of the Balkan Sprachbund.¹ In the history of Balkan linguistics, it was the Balkanization of the East South Slavic nominal system that first prompted Trubetzkoy (1923, 1928) to formulate the

¹ Infinitive loss and future formation were the other features note by Koptiar in his seminal article. Regardless of the fact that in Greek (and Romani) the definite article is preposed, and that definiteness occurs in the BCS&M adjective and that post-posed articles occur in Scandinavia and Euskara — and also North Russia — in the Balkan context the postposed definite article is a Balkanism, particularly since the specificities of its realization are unique within the region. Cf. my comments below on areal versus typological criteria.

Sprachbund as an explicit theoretical construct in contradistinction to the genealogical model as an explanation of language change, similarities, and relationships. Although Trubetzkoy referred to the loss of case marking and the rise of definiteness marking, the use of the numeral meaning ‘one’ to mark indefiniteness in Balkan Slavic is also considerably more developed than in the other Slavic languages and resembles the semantic bleaching of the fully grammaticalized phenomenon of the indefinite article in languages where it exists as such.² In this paper, using comparative evidence, I shall argue that indefiniteness is grammaticalized in Balkan Slavic (and Romani).³ The historical evidence and the nature of modern parallels among the various Balkan and Slavic languages support the view that this phenomenon, while widespread in the languages of the world, is nonetheless areal (contact induced) rather than typological (universal), in its Balkan context, i.e. a Balkanism, although it has not been identified as such in any of the standard handbooks from Sandfeld (1930) to Feuillet (2012). Moreover, in both the Balkan and Slavic contexts, Macedonian occupies a specifically intermediate position in this respect. Unlike certain classic Balkanisms — e.g. the loss of the infinitive (Joseph 1983:242-43) or the grammaticalization of object reduplication (Friedman 1994c) — for which the Macedonian system represents the most consistent type, the Macedonian use of *eden* as an indefinite marker is more like the limitation of special verbal forms to *da*-clauses, in terms of which Macedonian is midway between Albanian and Romanian on the one hand and Bulgarian and Greek on the other (see Friedman 1985b). I shall also demonstrate that differences in the prescription versus description of ‘one’ as an indefinite marker are motivated to some extent by lin-

² I am using the term *indefinite marker* — in contradistinction to *indefinite article* — in a different sense from Haspelmath’s *indefiniteness marker* (1997:22). Haspelmath uses the term *indefiniteness marker* to refer to that part of an indefinite pronoun or collocation that carries the meaning of ‘indefiniteness’ (e.g. English *some, any*, Macedonian *ne-, bilo, i da e*, etc.). I am using *indefinite marker* to mean a bearer of the grammatical meaning of indefiniteness that is not as fully grammaticalized as an indefinite article, i.e. semantically bleached and subject to rules of obligatory occurrence but more grammaticalized than an indefinite pronoun (cf. Topolińska 1981-82:705 and Lyons 1999:276; and, more generally, Traugott and Heine 1991). Thus, for example, in Balkan Slavic, the indefinite marker is obligatory in some specific-referential contexts, but it is omitted or omissible in nonreferential contexts where a language such as English would require an article, e.g. Macedonian *Vikni lekar!* ‘Call a doctor!’

³ Until recently, Romani itself has been excluded from the canon of Balkan languages (e.g., Sandfeld 1930:4, Asenova 1989:172), but other authors have argued for its inclusion, e.g. Weigand, (1894/95:78), Kostov (1973), Friedman (1985b, 2000c, 2000d), Joseph (1983:252-253), Matras (1994a), Iglá (1996), Boretzky and Iglá (1999).

guistic ideology (in the sense of Silverstein 1979, Friedrich 1989, Woolard and Schieffelin 1994, Friedman 1997b).

2. 'One' in the Non—Slavic Balkan Languages

Grammars of Albanian, the Balkan Romance languages, Greek, and Turkish (which, although an adstrate language, is nonetheless relevant here) describe grammaticalizations of the respective etymological numerals meaning 'one', usually unstressed, as indefinite articles, e.g. Newmark et al. (1982:150–51), Graur et al. (1966:108–11), Atanasov (1990:201), Householder et al. (1964:96), Lewis (1967:53–54). Aromanian grammars do not treat the status of *un[u]/[u]nă* 'one M/F' as an indefinite article explicitly, although Vrabie (2000:101) glosses it with the English indefinite article and it clear from publications and texts that it has this function.

In each of the non-Slavic Balkan languages, the use of 'one' as an indefinite article has language-specific peculiarities. Thus, for example, in Albanian, *një* is used with certain locative prepositions: *Hipi mbi çati* 'He climbed on the roof' *Hipi mbi një çati* 'He climbed on a roof.' The indefinite article is used with predicate nominatives only when they are modified: *Ai ishte djalë* 'He was a boy' *Ai ishte një djalë i vërtetë* 'He was a real boy' (Newark et al. 1982:150). In Romanian, 'one' is used with predicate nominatives to distinguish referential from generic/attributive: *Ionescu este clovn* 'Ionescu is a clown [by profession]', *Ionescu este un clovn* 'Ionescu is a clown [a prankster]' (Graur et al. 1966:109).

For Greek, Householder, Kazazis, and Koutsodas (1964:96) write:

The indefinite article is used more sparingly in Greek than in English; it is not used for example, with predicate nouns, often not with indefinite direct objects, and generally not in proverbs and popular sayings when an entire class is meant and not a specific member of that class: *eimai phoitētēs* 'I am a student'; *khtisoume spiti* 'We are building a house'; *katharos ouranos astrapes de phovatai* 'A clear sky is not afraid of lightening'. Examples: *sas zēta enas kyrios kai mia kyria* 'A gentleman and a lady are asking for you'; *mias philēs mas tēs eklephan tēn tsanta* 'They stole the handbag of a friend of ours'; *Vrēkame ena skylo sto dromo kai ton pherame spiti* 'We found a dog on the street and brought him home.'; *auto to kabelo einai enos kyrion pou menei edō* 'This hat belongs to a gentleman who lives here.'

According to Kazazis (personal communication) modified predicate nominatives ordinarily do not take 'one', as in *eimai kalos phoitētēs* 'I am a good student' or *eimai phoitētēs tēs anthrōpologias* 'I am a student of anthropology'. On

the other hand, as an identifying referential, ‘one’ occurs in contexts such as the following: *eimai enas phoitētēs tēs anthrōpologias sto Panepisthēmio Thessalonikēs kai sas graphō gia na sas zētēsō mia symboulē* ‘I am a student of anthropology at the University of Salonika and I am writing to you to ask for your advice.’ Similarly, to the question *Poios einai*; ‘Who is it?’ (e.g., on the phone, at the door) one can answer [*einai*] *enas phoitētēs* ‘It’s a student.’

In Turkish, the syntax of *bir* ‘one’ disambiguates specificity and class membership: *güzel bir bahçe* ‘a beautiful garden’ (as opposed to an ugly one), *bir güzel bahçe* (as opposed to a beautiful meadow or ugly forest), *bir bahçesi gördüm* ‘I saw a [specific] garden’ (Lewis 1967:54, 248).

Balkan Romani and other significantly Balkanized dialects such as those belonging to the Vlax group are described as using ‘one’ as an indefinite marker (Boretzky 1992:21, 163-203; Boretzky 1994:31,189-258; Hancock 1995:56; Iglă 1996:42, 45, 252-75; Matras 1994b:44-49). Boretzky (personal communication) also observes that in the Romanian-influenced Vlax Romani of Vojvodina, *jek* ‘one’ is not obligatory as an indefinite marker, but when it occurs, it does so in a reduced form, *k* :

- (1) *De ma ([je]k) phabaj*
‘Give me an apple’

Boretzky (personal communication) also notes that the Romani dialects of Greece sometimes copy the Greek use of the definite article in generics. According to Sampson (1926:405), however, Romani ‘one’ is never used to express the indefinite article ‘a’, ‘an’ or is rarely used in any dialect (p. 151). The first statement is based on a dialect in significant contact with Welsh, which does not have an indefinite article, while the second is clearly not born out by the empirical evidence of later research such as the sources cited above or the Kalajdži dialect of Bulgaria, in which *jekh* much more common than in dialects spoken outside the Balkans (Hristo Kyuchukov, personal communication).

3. ‘One’ in Balkan Slavic

In Balkan Slavic, however, this status of ‘one’ is somewhat controversial. for Bulgarian, According to Avgustinova (1998:15): The existence of an indefinite article in Bulgarian, addressed, for example, in Friedman 1976c, is still a controversial issue and a matter of on-going linguistic discussion. Friedman (1976c) was originally read at the First Bulgarian-American Conference on Bulgarian Studies (Madison, May 1973), and in that paper I concluded:

The two principal points of contention with regard to the use of *edin* as an indefinite article center on the differences between descriptive and normative grammar and between specific and nonspecific reference. It is clear that *edin* is used by educated Bulgarians with the grammaticalized, delexicalized function characteristic of an indefinite article. The real question involves the extent of this usage, i.e., the degree of grammaticalization of *edin* into an indefinite article. The kinds of usage frowned upon by Andrejčin [1942:141, 1961:181], Brezinski [1969:49—52], and sometimes Maslov [1956:96] are all nonreferential, i.e., instances in which *edin* is unambiguously an indefinite article, where its only replacement would be the general form. The kinds of usage described as obligatory by Borodič [1961] and Ivančev [1957] are referential: If the object is placed before the verb and the subject, then it is being emphasized in such a way as to be only referential, i.e., specific; the relation between emphasis and reference also seems to work for the second nominative clause. The use of *edin* with proper names, where the usage is clearly nonreferential, might be discounted as a special case.⁴ The distinction between a referential indefinite article and an indefinite adjective or pronoun is a hazy one at best. Hence the normativists and descriptivists are not as much at variance as would first appear. *Edin* is used as an indefinite article in Bulgarian, especially in a semantic or syntactic context which demands a referential indefinite article. When functioning nonreferentially, *edin* is more readily omissible and less likely to be sanctioned unanimously by grammarians.

At the end of my paper, Vladimir Georgiev supported my conclusions by stating that the two most common actions of proofreaders at Bulgarian publishing houses are corrections in the use of masculine definite articles (the artificial literary distinction between oblique {- (j)ã} and nominative {- (j)ät} and the removal of *edin* used as an indefinite marker. Strictures against such uses of *edin* taught to children in Bulgarian public schools (Valentina Izmirlieva, Columbia University, personal communication) and prescribed in handbooks of correct usage (e.g., Brezinski 1968:49) indicate that indefinite marker usage is widespread colloquially despite its sanctioned or debatable nature for grammarians. The debate has continued more or less unabated and unchanged — except for

⁴ The use of *edin* with proper names can be explained by their being *definitiva tantum*, i.e., their inherent definiteness is not indicated by a definite article, so their use as common nouns requires their explicit indefinitizing, which is accomplished by the indefinite article *edin*.

the adducing of occasional additional example and argument — right up to the end of the second millennium.⁵

After reviewing the literature that I discussed in Friedman (1976c) as well as material published subsequently, Mayer (1988:121) concludes:

The fact that the use of *edin* is obligatory in indefinite NPs expressing specificity when the NP does not carry logical stress, at least in initial position, as well as in a non-specific use with personal names denoting members of a class means that there is an indefinite article in Bulgarian, although its range is more limited than, for example, in English. However, the fact that *edin* can function as an indefinite article in other uses, namely in non-specific and generic NPs, lends further support to its existence, despite the fact that these uses are far less frequent and in some cases even marginal (e.g., in the predicate nominative function).

Nonetheless, a decade later Bojadžiev, Kucarov and Penčev (1998:470) stated:

Ne e rešen vāprosāt s t. nar. neopredelitelēn člen v bālgarskija ezik. Stava дума за “neopredeliteli” като edin, edna, edno, edni, njakoj, njakoi, i dr. Ako se prieme naličieto na takāv člen (toj, razbira se, ne može da bāde neopredelitelēn, štom ima formalno nemarkirani neopredelitelni formi ot tipa kniga — trjabva da mu se tārsi drugo nazvanie), kategorijata bi stanala tričlenna (kniga, edna kniga, knjigata), tāj като ne može da se prenebregne formalno nemarkiranijat člen, nito pāk da se deklarira tāždestvo meždu nego i člēna, markiran s edin ili njakoj.

*Po naše mnenie, na tozi etap ot razvitieto na bālgarski ezik ne e logično da se prieme naličieto na neopredelitelēn člen ot tipa edna kniga. Mjastoto mu e v periferijaata na funkcionalno-semantičното pole na kategorijata.*⁶

⁵ Thus, for example, at the Second International Congress of Bulgarian Studies, four papers dealt exclusively with this question (Stamenov 1987, Hauge 1987, Ginina 1987, Mindak 1987) and many others addressed the issue, e.g. Lakova 1987:423). A recent dissertation (Zidarova 1994) was devoted entirely to the subject, but a complete survey of the literature is beyond the scope of this paper.

⁶ ‘The question of the so-called indefinite article in Bulgarian is unresolved. The discussion here concerns “indefinites” such as *one/a, a certain/some — or other*, etc. If we accept the presence of such an article (of course, it cannot be indefinite insofar as there exist formally unmarked indefinite forms of the type *book* — one must seek a different term for it), the category would become three-membered (*book, a book, the book*), so that one cannot differentiate the formally unmarked article, nor can one declare a victory between it and the article marked with *one/a or a certain/some — or other*.

Peripheral or not, the arguments for grammatical status remain valid.

For Macedonian, Koneski (1967b:325) treats *eden* as an indefinite pronoun that is distinguished from the numeral by the lack of stress in the former. However, *eden* has been analyzed as an indefinite marker by Topolińska (1981-82) and Weiss (1996) as well as Friedman (1993b:268, 291) and Minova-Gjurkova (1994:59-60, 118-129). Topolińska (1981-82:712) makes the point that Macedonian *eden* is a semantically bleached referential and generic marker whose use is broadening among younger Macedonians (cf. also Naylor 1981/82:538). Moreover, as is the case in Greek and Albanian (Kazazis and Pentheroudakis 1976), Macedonian *eden* in its specific-referential function, is grammaticalized to the point that it can even trigger object reduplication:

- (2) *Ja baram edna marka, no ne ja najdov.*
 ‘I’m looking for a [specific] stamp, but I couldn’t find it’ (Friedman 1993b:291; cf. also Koneski 1967b:231-232)

It is also worth noting that in the editing of Macedonian for publication, just as is the case in Bulgarian (Friedman 1976c), there is a tendency in formal writing to eliminate article-like uses of *eden*, (Blaže Koneski to Z. Topolińska, personal communication from Z. Topolińska), itself an indication of the process of the grammaticalization of *eden* as an indefinite marker in colloquial Macedonian.

In the former Serbo-Croatian, the use of *jedan* ‘one’ and its co-forms (*jedna*, etc.) as a marker of indefiniteness are more characteristic of the Serbian standard than the Croatian, like the use of the imperfect (see Collins 1990).⁷

‘In our opinion, at this stage of the development of the Bulgarian language it is not logical to accept the presence of an indefinite article of the type *edna kniga*. Its place is on the periphery of the semantic functional field of the category.’ I should note in passing that the argumentation here is rather flawed, since *njakoj si* has a clear lexical specifying meaning, whereas *edin*, when used as an indefinite determiner is bleached of its meaning of ‘one’, i.e. it is grammaticalized (and can also be non-specific, cf. Avgustina 1998). Thus, a comparison between the two lexical units is inappropriate. The presence of cliticization or absence of stress (cf. Hauge 1977:98-99), while useful in arguing for grammaticalization, is not a requirement. Examples cited in Tisheva (1999) from journalistic prose make it clear that *edin* certainly functions in that register of Bulgarian as an indefinite article.

⁷ The South Slavic continuum can be divided, for heuristic purposes with a basis in historical phonological, morphological, and syntactic developments, into East South Slavic (Macedonian and Bulgarian) and West South Slavic (Slovenian and the former Serbo-Croatian). All those dialects south of Slovenian, north of Macedonian, and west of Bulgarian can thus be classified as Southern West South Slavic, henceforth SWSS.

Unlike the use of the imperfect, however, the use of *jedan* as an indefinite marker is not a preservation but rather an innovation, although, like the preservation of the imperfect, it is also characteristic of Balkan Slavic. As indicated above, the rise of ‘one’ as an indefinite marker may be connected with the rise of the definite article, which occurs only in the southeast of former Serbo-Croatian speaking territory. When we turn to the standard grammars of Serbian/Croatian from the mid-twentieth century, we find that if the problem of the use of *jedan* as an indefinite marker is discussed at all — and it is frequently ignored — there is a differentiation between a prescriptive Croatian approach and a descriptive Serbian one, resembling the situation for the imperfect described by Collins (1990). This difference is illustrated by the following two quotations, the first from a Croatian-oriented grammar, the second for Serbian-oriented one:

[...] *mnogi današnji pisci kvare jezik upotrebljavajući broj jedan bez ikakve potrebe prema njemačkom artikulu ein, franc. un, ital. uno,*(Maretić 1963:510)⁸

Broj jedan se vrlo često u našem jeziku upotrebljava— ne da se njim označi broj, nego više kao neka vrsta neodređenog člana, (Stevanović 1986:313)⁹

It is interesting to note that this same difference is reflected in Bulgarian prescriptive debates, where, for example, Brezinski (1968:49) criticizes the unmo-

Greenberg (1996) has shown convincingly that the differentiation of SWSS dialects is based on geographic distribution rather than ethnicity. This fact was behind the terminological shift to *Eastern variant* and *Western variant* during the period of the second Yugoslavia. At the same time, however, it is convenient to use the terms *Serbian* and *Croatian* (and *Bosnian*) to refer to the various SWSS dialects of the republics/countries that bear these names. The data used for this study had the conscious intent of conforming to either a Croatian or Serbian norm. I shall therefore use the term *SWSS* when referring to the geographic complex of dialects and the terms *Serbian*, *Croatian*, and *Serbian/Croatian* when referring to the specific literary variants that are being compared here (with the understanding that these terms have a geographic basis). Current Anglophone International Community practice uses the term *Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian (BCS)*, but since none of our data are explicitly Bosnian, we will not have use for this collocation. Henceforth, I shall also simply use *jedan* to stand for all the possible inflectional forms of the word.

⁸ ‘[...] many modern writers ruin the language by using the numeral ‘one’ without any need, under the influence of the German article *ein*, French *un*, Italian *uno*,’

⁹ ‘The numeral *one* is used quite frequently in our language, not with a numerical meaning but more like some type of indefinite article,’

tivated use of *edin* and makes exactly the same comparisons with the French and German indefinite articles. I shall return to the problem of comparison with West European as opposed to Balkan languages at the end of this article.

4. Historical Comparative Data: The Bible

As indicated above, the use of ‘one’ as an indefinite marker is a feature shared to varying degrees by the Balkan languages and is likewise a feature not inherited from their respective ancestral languages, when such are attested. In this section, I examine comparative evidence from nine passages from the Gospels all of which display indefinite article usage in English, which in this respect is typical of a language with a highly grammaticalized indefinite article, i.e. one in which the article’s use is obligatory in a wide variety of contexts.¹⁰ The passages (Mk 6:27, Jn 9:1, Mt 4:8, Mt 4:18, Mt 8:2, Mt 8:5, Mt 8:9, Mt 8:19, Mt 8:24) are given in English below and in Appendix 1 in the following languages (in order of occurrence there and in Table 1): Bulgarian (B), Macedonian (M), Serbian (Sr), Slovene (Sn), Czech (Cz), Russian (Rs), Old Church Slavonic (OCS [Codex Zographensis]), New Testament Greek (G), Latin (L), Romanian (Rmn), Albanian (A), Turkish, (T), Romani (Arli dialect [Balkan group]; Rmi-A), and Romani (Gurbet dialect [Vlax group]; Rmi-G).¹¹ The order and choices of languages represent all of South Slavic from south to north, both Balkan and non-Balkan, followed by one representative each of West and East Slavic — the choice of Czech being dictated in part by the fact that as West Slavic languages go it is closer to South Slavic than Lekhitic and, at the same time, has had its

¹⁰ The Gospels represent, perhaps, the only text extant in almost all the ancestral and modern languages relevant to this paper. Although modern translations are occasionally archaizing and therefore not useful as examples of modern data, such differences as do exist in modern texts can be counted as relevant. Translations of the Gospels into Sanskrit exist but were not available to me, but, like Ancient Greek, Latin, and Old Church Slavonic, it did not use ‘one’ as an indefinite marker, nor did Middle Indic (Masica 1991:248). The use of unstressed etymological ‘one’ to mark indefiniteness in Neo-Indic languages of South Asia is an independent development and, unlike the situation in Romani, was not accompanied by the development of a definite article (Masica 1991:370-71).

¹¹ All translations were made from the original languages except the Romani, which were translated from Bulgarian (Arli, Metkov 1995) and Serbian (Gurbet, Dimić 1990). It is worth noting that Zographensis tends to use *jeterъ* for the indefinite specifier, whereas *jedinъ* is more common in Codex Marianus. (I wish to thank Cynthia Vakareliyska, University of Oregon, for this observation.) In our sample, however, the two codices agreed completely in terms of the usage under consideration here. The translation into Modern Greek followed New Testament Greek usage too slavishly to be useful, and so it is omitted. See note 4 above on the use of ‘one’ as an indefinite article in Greek.

own influences from a language with definite and indefinite articles (German). The next three languages represent ancestral stages for three of the four classic Balkan linguistic groups, followed by modern representatives of non-Slavic Balkan languages, both classic (Romanian and Albanian) and marginal (Turkish and Romani). In the case of Romani, we have examples from dialects influenced by Balkan and non-Balkan Slavic, respectively.

Table One summarizes the results from the New Testament data given in Appendix 1. The languages are presented in the order given in the appendix. An X indicates presence on an indefinite marker in the passage in question, a O indicates absence. An asterisk indicates that the indefinite item is animate, while a dagger indicates that it is the subject of the sentence. Indefinites are classed in terms of concepts such as SPECIFIC, REFERENTIAL, IDENTIFYING, CATEGORIZING, GENERIC, etc. Avgustinova (1998) uses the terminology identifying-specific ('a certain one'), identifying-nonspecific ('any one'), and categorizing-generic ('any and all') for Bulgarian *edin*.¹² The first two are the most common usages, but there is also one categorizing-generic example that represents the typical situation. A superscript /s/ indicates identifying-specific in Avgustinova's (1998) terminology, a superscript /g/ indicates her categorizing-generic, while lack of a superscript indicates identifying non-specific. Data for languages with indefinite articles are given in bold face, those for languages with what we are calling here indefinite markers are italic and bold face, while data for languages with no grammaticalization of indefiniteness are plain.

Passage	B	M	Sr	Sn	Cz	Rs	OCS	G	L	Rmn	A	T	Rmi-A	Rmi-G	E
Mk 6:27* ^s	X	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	X	X	X	X	O	X
Jn 9:1* ^s	X	X	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	X	X	X	X	O	X
Mt 4:8	X	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	X	X	X	X	O	X
Mt 4:18	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	X	O	O	O	O	X
Mt 8:2* ^{†s}	X	X	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	X	X	X	X	O	X
Mt 8:5* ^{†s}	X	X	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	X	X	X	X	X	X
Mt 8:9* ^{†g}	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	X	X	O	O	X
Mt8:19* ^{†s}	X	X	X	O	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Mt 8:24 [†]	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	X	X	X	O	O	X

¹² Avgustinova (1998:4-5), bases her categorization on Shamrai (1989) and makes two sets of distinctions aside from definite (unique) vs indefinite (non-unique): limited (identifying) vs non-limited (categorizing) and within the former specific/non-specific and within the latter generic/non-generic. She views the Bulgarian indefinite article as having three main uses: identifying specific (clearly opposed to the definite article), identifying non-specific, and categorizing generic. Here *referential* can be taken as the equivalent of 'identifying'.

English

- Mk 6:27 And immediately the king sent **an** executioner, and commanded his head to be brought
- Jn 9:1 And as Jesus passed by, he saw **a** man which was blind from his birth
- Mt 4:8 Again, the Devil taketh him up into **an** exceeding high mountain
- Mt 4:18 he saw two brethren ... casting **a** net into the sea
- Mt 8:2 And behold, there came **a** leper and worshipped him
- Mt 8:5 there came unto him **a** centurion
- Mt 8:9 For I am **a** man under authority
- Mt 8:19 And **a certain** scribe came
- Mt 8:24 And, behold, there arose **a** great tempest in the sea

Table 1. Presence of ‘one’ Marking Indefiniteness

*=animate, †=subject, S=specific, G=generic

The examples summarized in Table 1 illustrate the three possibilities for the grammaticalization of indefiniteness: 1) None, represented by the ancient languages (Latin, New Testament Greek, Old Church Slavonic) and the non-Balkan Slavic languages (Serbian, Slovene, Czech, Russian); 2) Full (indefinite article), represented by Albanian, Romanian, and Turkish; 3) Partial (indefinite marker) represented by Balkan Slavic and Balkan Romani. In Mt 8:19, the numeral ‘one’ is used in all the languages except Slovene to mean ‘a certain’ or ‘one of the class of’. The substitution of an indefinite pronoun in the Slovene translation illustrates the indefinite pronominal usage of ‘one’ that is the starting point for grammaticalization into an indefinite marker. The patterns in Romanian, Albanian, and Turkish are almost identical to English. The absence from MT 4:18 in Albanian and Turkish is due to different grammatical constraints that incorporate such objects into the verb either as definite objects (Albanian) or as unmarked accusatives (Turkish). The Romanian exception is the only example of a categorical-generic indefinite article in our small but illustrative corpus, and in Romanian, as in Modern Greek, such usage is avoided.

The Balkan Indic (Romani) and Balkan Slavic examples provide interesting patterns that are mid-way between the absence of the ancient and non-Balkan Slavic languages and the full grammaticalization of English and the non-Slavic Balkan languages. Although Macedonian has an unambiguously grammaticalized indefinite marker, as indicated by the fact that it can trigger object reduplication in its specific meaning (cf. example 2), it has a lower frequency of usage than in the Bulgarian examples — only four occurrences out of nine: All of them are animate and specific-identifying, and it is arguable that object quality in Mk 6:27 is different from that of Jn 9:1, i.e. the act of sending

involves an effect of agent on patient, whereas in seeing it is the patient that can be said to affect the agent by being seen.¹³ All of the Bulgarian uses in our small sample are identifying, but Avgustinova (1998:8) has examples of generic-categorizing as well.¹⁴ The Romani examples reflect that of the dominant language of the country in which the translation was published. Thus the Bulgarian Arli translation patterns exactly like the Bulgarian version, whereas the Gurbet version is almost identical to the Serbian in its usage, the identifying-specific usage of Mt 8:5 being the only exception. Appendix 2 (from Matras 1996) contains a series of examples from a North and a South Vlax Romani dialect (Kalderash/Lovari and Gurbet, respectively) and one Northern dialect (Leshaki) illustrating clearly the relative greater frequency of 'one' as an indefinite marker in the Vlax dialects. The data in appendix Two, however, show that the use of *jekh* as a grammatical marker of indefiniteness is much more restricted in the Northern dialects that have been spoken outside the Balkans for a longer period of time and among contact languages that do not have indefinite articles. Thus the use of *jekh* in Leshaki is about half of what it is in Kalderash/Lovari or Gurbet. We can therefore class the Gurbet Gospel translation with the modern Greek as heavily influenced by the source language.

5. Modern Comparative Data: *Baj Ganjo* and *Sud'ba Cheloveka*

This section contains comparative data taken from the first chapter of the Bulgarian novel *Baj Ganjo* (Konstantinov 1895). The corpus contains four Serbian/Croatian translations — Two Croatian (1909, 1917) and Two Serbian (1907, 1955) — as well as Macedonian (1967), Slovenian (1942), Czech (1953), Russian (1968), Albanian (1975), Modern Greek (1922), Romanian (1964), and Turkish (1972). Although the sample contains about 1300 words in the original, it shows a consistency of patterning that agrees with other sources.¹⁵ Examples included all types of usages with all types of noun phrases.

¹³ This is reflected in many of the world's languages by the use of oblique (e.g. dative or ablative) cases for the agents of verbs of perception such as seeing, hearing, and feeling.

¹⁴ The following is cited in Avgustinova (1998:8) and also Friedman (1976c):

(i) *Edin vālk nikoga ne se rešava da umre ot glad pred edno stado ovci*
'A wolf never decides to die of hunger in front of a flock of sheep'

In the 1923 revision of the Bulgarian Gospel translation, *edin* was replaced by the lexical indefinite marker *njakoj-si* in Mt 8:5. This is may have been due to normative strictures that discourage the use of *edin* as an indefinite article mentioned above.

¹⁵ Topolińska (1981-82:713-15) provides thirty-two examples of the use of *eden* as an indefinite marker from the Macedonian translation of *War and Peace* of which 29 cor-

The results of the comparison show that, leaving to one side differences owing to idiomatic translation or minor semantic deviations, Albanian, Romanian, and Turkish show usages of ‘one’ consistent with a fully grammaticalized definite article (Turkish had 48 occurrences followed by Albanian with 35 and Romanian with 32).¹⁶ Occurrences in the Bulgarian original (12), as well as the Greek (10) and Macedonian (10) translations are more consistent with the concept of indefinite marker elaborated above. There were no instances of non-correspondence in which ‘one’ was present in the Macedonian or Greek but absent in the Bulgarian. The non-Balkan Slavic translations – Slovene, Czech, and Russian — pattern just like the Bible translations, i.e. ‘one’ does not occur at all in the Slovene and once each in the Russian and Czech in the function of an indefinite pronominal modifier meaning ‘a certain’, illustrated by example (4). Example (3) shows a generic predicative use of an indefinite article, which only occurs in the languages with true indefinite articles (Turkish, Albanian, Romanian) as well as a nonreferential specific indefinite article in those languages that corresponds to an indefinite marker in the languages where ‘one’ is partially grammaticalized (Bulgarian, Macedonian, Greek), and complete absence in the languages where the indefinite use of ‘one’ is lexical, i.e. pronominal (Russian, Slovene, Czech).¹⁷ The Serbian/Croatian translations show a transi-

respond to zero in the Russian original (the other three correspond to the French indefinite article in the original).

¹⁶ In the use of ‘one’ as an indefinite marker, just as in the use of definite articles, there is never total isomorphism in usage between one language and another.

¹⁷ In example (3), native speakers of Bulgarian felt that *edin* could not be omitted, and that replacing it with an indefinite pronoun or definite article would change the register or sense. Native speakers of Czech felt that *jeden* could only be used numerically in such a context. In general, Czech *jeden* only gave numerical or pronominal readings. In the case of example (4), the omission of *edin* as an indefinite pronoun in Bulgarian renders the effect of would stress that the merchant was Bulgarian and not, e.g., Serbian or Russian. The following example illustrates the fact that *edin* can function generically in Bulgarian but not in Russian:

(ii) *I me posāvetvaha v bādešte da ne si igraja s peroto, makar če lično az ne viždam kak edin hronist može da ne si igrae s peroto!*

I mne posovetovali ne igrat’ perom v buduščem, xotja ja lično ne vižu kak možit

**odin hronist ne igrat’ perom! (Nicolova 2000)*

‘And they advised me to not play with my pen in the future, although, personally, I do not see how a chronicler can not play with his pen.’

In this example, the Bulgarian author (whose Russian is excellent) had translated ‘one’ into Russian, but a Russian colleague, Elena Paducheva, pointed out that *odin* was unacceptable in this context.

tion between grammaticalized indefinite marking and lexical indefinite expressions. These will be discussed in greater detail below.¹⁸

- (3) a. Pomognaha na baj Ganja da smäkne ot pleštite si agarjanskija jamurluk, nametna si toj **edna** belgijska mantija - i vsički rekoha, če baj Ganjo e veče cjal evropeec. [Bg]
- b. Na baj Ganjo mu pomagnaa da go simne od grb agarjanskiot jamurluk, si nametna **edna** belgiska mantija i site rekoa deka baj Ganjo e vekje cel Evropeec. [M]
- c. Pomagli baj Ganju sbrosit' s pleč tureckuju burku, nakinuli na nego bel'gijskij plašč, — i vse priznali, čto baj Ganju teper' nastojaščij evropeec. [Rs]
- d. Pomogoše Baj Ganju, da baci s ledja agarjanski oplećak, metne ti on na se belgijski ogrtač — i svi rekoše, da je baj Ganja potpuni Evropejac. [Cr '09]
- e. Pomozi baj Ganju s ledja skinuti starinski jamurluk, pa obući belgijski kaput — i svi će reći, da je baj Ganjo pravi pravcati Evropljanin. [Cr '17]
- f. Pomogoše baja Ganju da zbaci s leđa tursku kabanicu, a on ti se ogrnu belgiskom pelerinom i svi uzviknuše kako je baja Ganjo postao već pravi Evropejac. [Sr '55]
- g. Pomogoše Baja-Ganju, da slinadri s pleća agarjansku čoku, ogrte ti on belgijski ogrtač — i svi rekoše, da je Baja-Ganje jevropljanin od glave do pete. [Sr '07]
- h. S pomočjo drugih je baj Ganjo snel s pleč agarjanski jamurluk; nadel si he belgijski plašč — in vsi rekli, da je baj Ganjo že cel Evropejec. [Sn]
- i. Pomohli jsme baj Gaňovi shodit s ramenou turecký jamurluk. Přehodil si belgickou pelerinu — a všichni prohlásili, že je ted' z něho dokonalý Evropan. [Cz]
- j. Evoēthēsan ton Mpai Gkanion na ksephortōsē apo tēs plates tou to tourkikon adiavrokhon epanōphori, (giamourlouki) autos de erripse epanō tou **ena** velgikon manduan kai tote oloi eipon, oti o Mpai Gkanios egine pleon sōstos Eurōpaios. [G]
- k. Bay Ganü'ye omuzlarındaki Türk kepeneğini çıkarması için yardım ettim. Sirtına **bir** Belçika paltosu giyince, görenler: - Bay Ganü büsbütün bir Avrupalıya benzedi, dediler. [T]

¹⁸ English translations will be normally based on the Bulgarian original. Minor variations among the different versions will be ignored. I shall attempt to combine faithfulness to the original with a style that sounds best in English. At times, therefore, the translation will not be completely literal for the sake of literary quality. Such minor differences will not affect my arguments.

- l. După ce fu ajutat să-și dezbrace sumanul, bai Ganiu își azvîrli pe umeri **o** pelerină belgiană și toți exclamară: "Iată-l, în sfîrșit, și pe bai Ganiu european sade!?" [Rmn]
- m. E ndihmuan baj Ganon të hiqte nga shpatullat e tij gunën turke dhe ky veshi **një** pardesy belgjiane. Atëhere të gjithë thanë se baj Ganua qe bërë një evropian i vërtetë. [A]
 ‘They helped Baj Ganjo take the heavy felt Turkish cloak off his shoulders, he put on **a** Belgian frock-coat, and everyone said that Baj Ganjo had become a real European.’¹⁹

- (4) a. Zavedoh baj Ganja v kantorata na **edin** bālgarski tǎrgovec i go ostaviv tam, a sam se kačih na tramvaja i otidoh v Šenbrun. [B]
- b. Go odvedov baj Ganjo vo kancelarijata na **eden** bugarski trgovec i go ostaviv tamu, a jas se kačiv na tramvaj i otidov vo Šenbrun. [M]
- c. Ja otvel baj Ganju v kontoru k **odnomu** bolgarskomu trgovcu, a sam sel v tramvaj i poehal v Šenbrunn. [Rs]
- d. Odvedem Baj Ganju **jednom** bugarskom trgovcu u dućan i ostavim ga tamo, a ja sjednem na tramvaj, pa u Schönbrunn. [Cr ‘09]
- e. Odveo sam baj Ganja u trgovinu trgovca Bugarina, te ga ondje ostavio, a sam se popeh na tramvaj i odvezoh u Šenbrun. [Cr ‘17]
- f. Odvedoh baja Ganju u radnju kod **jednog** bugarskog trgovca i ostavih ga tamo, a sam se popeh na tramvaj i odoh u Šenbrun. [Sr ‘55]
- g. Odvedem Baja-Ganja **jednom** bugarskom trgovcu u dućan i ostavim ga tamo, a ja sednem na tramvaj, pa u Šenbrun. [Sr ‘07]
- h. Povedel sem baj Ganja v prodajalno nekega bolgarskega trgovca in ga pustil tam, sam ja sem skočil na tramvaj in se odpeljal v Schönbrun. [Sn]
- i. Zavedl jsem baj Gaňa do účtárny **jednoho** bulharského obchodníka, nechal jsem ho tam, sám jsem nasedl do tramvaje a jel do Schönbrunn. [Cz]
- j. Ōdēgēsa ton M. G. eis to katastēma **enos** Voulgarou emporou kai ton aphēsa ekei, egō de monos anevēka eis to tram kai epēga eis to Semproun. [G]
- k. Öğleden sonra Bay Ganü'yü **bir** Bulgar tüccarının yazıhanesine götürüp bıraktım. Ben de, tramvaya binip Schönbrön'e gittim. [T]
- l. E çova baj Ganon te **një** tregëtar bullgar dhe e lashë atje, ndërsa vetë shkova me tramvaj në Shënbrun. [A]

¹⁹ It is worth noting that my English rendering illustrates how subtleties of translation can affect individual examples. I could have translated the last phrase ‘quite the European’ or ‘completely European’ and still have been true to both the meaning and the style of the original.

m. A doua zi îl luai pe bai Ganiu cu mine, îl dusei la biroul **unui** negustor bulgar, îl lăsaî acolo, iar eu mă urcai într-un tramvai și pornii spre Schönbrunn. [Rmn]

‘I took Baj Ganjo to the office of a certain Bulgarian merchant and left him there, then I hopped on a tram and went to Schönbrun.’

In the case of the Greek translation, the number of correspondences to the Bulgarian original was the same as in Macedonian, but the places were somewhat different. The relevant phrases are given with the translations in the other Balkan languages as examples (5)-(7) and in all the languages in (8). In examples (5-6) the other Slavic languages all use the instrumental case,²⁰ while in (6) none of them have any lexical indicator of indefiniteness. In (8) there was a difference among the Serbian/Croatian translations, which will be discussed below.

- (5) a. s **edin** leniv glas [B]
b. so mrzeliv glas[M]
c. me tempelikē phōnē[G]
d. tembel **bir** sesle [T]
e. me **njē** zē tē plogēsht [A]
f. cu glas monoton [Rmn]
‘with a lazy voice’

- (6) a. s **edin** ton, netārpjašt vāzraženie. [B]
b. so ton što ne trpi nikakov prigovor. [M]
c. me tonon mē epidekhomenou antirrēsīn. [G]
d. me **njē** ton tē tillē, qē s'duronte kundērshtim. [A]
e. pe **un** ton care nu îngăduia tăgada. [Rmn]
‘in a tone of voice that would not brook contradiction.’

- (7) a. prišivaše **edin** nov džeb [B]
b. šieše nov čeb [M]
c. errave **mia** kainourgia tsepē [G]
d. **bir** cep diktiġini [T]
e. po qepte **njē** xhep tē ri [A]
f. fācea **un** buzunar nou [Rmn]
‘he was sewing a new pocket’

²⁰ Czech omitted the phrase in (5), while Slovene uses the preposition *z* together with the instrumental.

- (8) a. Baj Ganjo priklekna nad disgite si gārbom kām mene, izvadi polovin pita kaškaval, otrjaza si **edno** delikatno kāsče, otrjaza i **edin** ogromen rezen hljab i počna da mljaska s **edin** čudesen apetit, [B]
- b. Baj Ganjo se navede nad disagite, mi go svrti grbot, izvadi polovina pita kaškaval, si preseče **edno** tanko parčence, preseče i **edno** ogromno parče leb i počna da mlaska so **eden** čudesen apetit, [M]
- c. Baja Ganjo prikleknu uz svoje bisage, okrenut meni leđima, izvadi pola kotura kačkavalja, odreza **jedno** tanko parče, otseče i ogroman komad hleba i počne da mljaska s **jednim** neverovatnim apetitom, [Sr '55]
- d. Baj Ganja čučnu na svoje torbe, okrenuvši mi leđja, izvadi pol kotača kačkavalja, odreže priličan komad odreže i grdnu komadinu kruha i stane čudnim apetitom da mljašte, [Cr '09]
- e. Baj Ganjo se nagnuo nad bisage prsima a leđima meni, izvadio po pite kaškavala i odrezao tanki komadićak. Uto odvalio i veliki komad kruha pa počeo žvakati, da je milota [Cr '17]
- f. Baja-Ganje čučnu nad svoje bisage, okrenuvši mi leđa, izvadi pola kotura kačkavalja, odseče priličan komad, odseče i grdan režanj hleba i zaopuca s čudnim apetitom. [Sr '07]
- g. O M. G. egonatisē empros sta disakia tou, me tēn rakhin gyrismenēn pros eme, evlage misē pēta kaseri, ekopse **ena** "delikato" komati, ekopse kai **ena** kommato psōmi kai arkhise na masa thoryvōdōs me thaumastēn oreksin, [G]
- h. Bana arkasını dönerek heybesinin yanına çomeldi. Heybenin **bir** gözünden yarım kelle kaşar peyniri çıkardı ve incecik **bir** dilim kesti. Çoban dilimi denen kalın **bir** dilim ekmek de keserek, ağzını şapırdada şapırdada büyük **bir** iştahla yemeye başladı. [T]
- i. Baj Ganua u ul më gjunjë pranë hejbeve të tij me kurrizin të kthyer nga unë, nxori gjysëm pite kashkavall, preu prej saj **një** jetëzë të hollë, preu pastaj **një** copë të madhe bukë dhe filloi të përtypej me zhurmë dhe shije të çuditëshme, [A]
- j. Bai Ganiu îngenunche pe desagi, cu spatele la mine, scoase **o** jumătate de roată de caşcaval, din care tăie **o** bucăţică subţirică, să vezi prin ea, luă **un** codru mare de piine şi începu să plescăie cu **o** poftă de invidiat, [Rmn]
- k. Baj Ganju prisel na kortočki pered svoimi sumkami, spinoj ko mne, dostal polkruga oveč'ego syra, otrezal sebe tonen'kij kusoček, otrezal ogromnyj lomot' hleba i davaj upisyvat' za obe ščeki, s apetitom čavkaja [Rsn]
- l. Baj Ganjo je pokleknil nad svojo bisago s hrptom proti meni, izvlekel pol štruce kaškavala in si odrezal delikaten košček, potem še velikanski kos kruha in jel mlaskati s čudežnim tekcom, [Sn]

m. Baj Gaňu přidřepł k dvojpytlíku zády ke mné, vyndal pýl bochníku kaškavalu, ukrojil si tenoučký kousek, ukrojil také veliký krajíc chleba a začal s báječnou chutí mlaskat, při čemž nadouval hned jednu, hned zas druhou tvář a občas natáhl krk, aby mohl snáze spolknout suchý chléb.
[Cz]

‘Baj Ganjo leaned over his saddle-bags with his back to me, pulled out half a wheel of kashkaval cheese, cut himself a delicate slice, cut a huge slab of bread as well, and began to chomp away with a marvelous appetite.’

In examples (5), (6), and (8), the item in question is an abstract noun, whereas in (7) it is a concrete inanimate that can be considered specific. In each case of non-correspondence, however — including the Bulgarian original in which ‘one’ is used each time — the indefinite marker is facultative.²¹ The Greek goes with Macedonian in (5) and (6) but with Bulgarian in (7). The non-Slavic Balkan languages all agree with the Bulgarian except the Turkish version of (6), which simply used the expression *karşılık verdi*, which can be translated ‘re-torted’. In (8), the Greek omits the indefinite marker with the abstract noun ‘appetite’ while the Albanian uses a different expression (literally ‘with [a] marvelous noise and gustatory delight’).

The Serbian/Croatian material is closer to the Macedonian and Bulgarian than is the rest of Slavic, and the Serbian is closer than the Croatian, although none of the versions use ‘one’ as an indefinite marker as frequently as do Bulgarian or Macedonian.²² Of the twelve examples with ‘one’ in the Bulgarian

²¹ Native speakers of Bulgarian disagreed over the stylistic implications of omitting ‘one’ in the original: Some felt that in (5), (6) and the last occurrence in (8) its presence was important to add emotive affect, while others felt it was pleonastic. In the first occurrence in (8), the usage was felt to be disambiguating (otherwise *delikatno* could be interpreted as an adverb) while the remaining occurrences were felt to be stylistically more specifying but nonetheless omissible. It is worth noting that elsewhere in the same chapter Konstantinov uses *ton* without *edin*:

(iii) *s ton, v kojto zvučeše sažalenie za mojata naivnost*
‘in a tone of voice that expressed pity for my naïveté.’

However, Konstantinov’s use of *edin* to specify a tone of voice was felt by some Bulgarians to be particularly characteristic of his style.

²² The translations themselves contain a variety of interesting and noteworthy features that are beyond the scope of this paper. One issue worth addressing here, however, is that of time period. Konstantinov’s original and three of the four translations all date from 1895-1917, i.e. they reflect the Serbian/Croatian literary language(s) prior to the establishment of the first Yugoslavia, and the Bulgarian original itself is more than a century old. In some respects, both the language of the original and of the translations

original that can be identified as indefinite markers, five are not translated into any of the Serbian/Croatian versions. These examples illustrate several distinct usages of ‘one’ in Bulgarian not corresponding to Serbian/Croatian. We can generalize them, however, into two types: one is the use with non-concrete objects (5) and (6), the other is with concrete objects (3 and 7). Examples (5) and (6) are stylistically marked in Bulgarian. In example (3), my native Bulgarian consultants felt that the object by itself was too non-referential, some sort of specifier or definer was needed, and that ‘one’ was the most neutral, whereas in the case of (7) the value of *edin* was felt to be close to numerical and, according to my consultants, the item was potentially omissible thanks to the contextual specificity of ‘new’. Apparently, in example (3) the qualifier ‘Belgian’ serves a similar specifying or referential function in the Serbian/Croatian translations but not in the Bulgarian. We can thus venture a preliminary suggestion at this point that a difference between Bulgarian on the one hand and former Serbo-Croatian on the other is the degree of contextual referentiality invested in qualifying adjectives. In one instance, given here in (9), the indefinite marker ‘one’ is translated in all four Serbian/Croatian versions as well as in Macedonian and the non-Slavic Balkan languages, but not in non-Balk Slavic:²³

- (9) a. az prespokojno se razpoložih pri **edna** masa i si poraćah zakuska i pivo. [B]
 b. prespokojno se raspoloživ na **edna** masa i si poraćav jadenje i pivo. [M]
 c. udobno se uvalim u **jednu** stolicu kraj stola i narućim zakuse i pivo. [Cr ‘09]
 d. lagodno sjedoh k **jednom** stolu i narućih malo jela i ćašu piva. [Cr ‘17]
 e. ja sedoh komotno za **jedan** sto, i porućih meze i pivo. [Sr ‘07]
 f. razurim se kraj **jednog** stola i narućim meze i pivo. [Sr ‘55]
 g. ja spokojno sel za stolik i zakazal sebe piva s zakuskoj. [Rsn]
 h. sem se udobno namestil pri mizi in si narućil zakusko in pivo. [Sn]

reflect vocabulary and usages that are now obsolete. The question therefore arises whether or not the use of ‘one’ in such texts is consistent with contemporary usage. In the case of the Bulgarian original, I checked with various native speakers born after World War Two, and each judged the occurrences of ‘one’ to be consistent with current usage. In the case of the Serbian/Croatian translations, it may be the case that various factors have influenced the translators’ choices, but the general tendencies are nonetheless clear. According to Kostas Kazazis (University of Chicago, personal communication), the quality of the Greek translation meets modern standards.

²³According to native speakers of Bulgarian, *edin* is obligatory in the position. Lack of *edin* would require the preposition *na* and have an adverbial meaning of manner or purpose (e.g. *sednexame na masa da jadem* ‘we sat down at the table to eat’).

- i. proto jsem se docela klidně usadil ke stolu a objednal si přesnídávku a pivo. [Cz]
 - j. egō atarakhos ekathēsa eis **ena** trapezi kai parēggeila kati ksērophagi kai mpyra. [G]
 - k. **bir** masanın başına geçip kuruldum. Kahvaltı ve bira ısmarladım [T]
 - l. mă așezai liniștit la **o** masă și comandai **o** bere și niște gustări [Rmn]
 - m. me qetësinë më të madhe zura **një** tryezë dhe porosita pak meze e birrë [A]
- ‘I settled myself comfortably at a table and ordered a snack and a beer.’

The remaining six examples show differential treatment in Serbian and Croatian. Of these, three are given in (4) and (8) above, and the others are given in (10), (11) and (12) below. In examples (4) and (10), *jedan* is lacking only in Rujanac’s (1917) Croatian version, in (11) Rujanac’s (1907) Serbian version uses the indefinite pronoun *neki* where the other versions have ‘one’, and in example (12) *jedan* is lacking in both Croatian versions and used in both Serbian versions. In (8) *jedan* (twice) occurs only in Paunović’s (1955) Serbian version.

- (10) a. Njama džeb, njama ništo, ami beše se porazprala malko dreškata mi, ta turih **edno** parcalče... [B]
- b. Kakav džep, nema džepa, ali mi se učinila mala skulja, pa udarih **jednu** zadrpicu. [Cr ‘09]
- c. Nema džepa, nema ništa; ali malko mi se rasparala odjeća, pa hoću da prišijem ovu krpicu... [Cr ‘17]
- d. Kakav čep, nema džepa, ali mi se beše dreška malo porašila, te udarih **jednu** zakrpicu... [Sr ‘07]
- e. Kakav džep, ništa nema, nego mi se beše malo rasparala haljnika, pa turih jednu zakrpicu... [Sr ‘55]
- f. Ne e, ne džeb, ništo ne e, tuku mi se beše podotparalo alištevo i staviv **edno** parče... [M]
- g. Ne karman, net a rasporolas’, odežonka, nu, zaplatu postavil... [Rsn]
- h. Ni žep, nič ni, ampak obleka se mi je nekaj strgala, pa sem podložil krpico... [Sn]
- i. Žádnou kapsu, nic takového, jen se mi to kapánek rozpáralo, tak jsem na to dal záplatu... [Cz]
- j. Oute tsepē ravō oute tipote allo, monon kseskhisthēke oligon to roukho mou kai errapsa **ena** mikro koureli... [G]
- k. Sen paradan haber ver. Hirkamın orası sökülüştü de, yama vuruyordum. [T]

- l. Jo, jo as xhep s'po qep dhe asgjë s'kam, po ja mu gris këtu e po i vinja **një** copë. [A]
 m. Nu-i buzunar, frate... Nu-i nimic... S-a rupt nițeluș căptușeala, și i-am pus **un** peticuț. [Rmn]
 'What pocket? There's no pocket! It's just that my jacket got a little torn so I basted on a patch.'

- (11) a. V tova vreme pod svoda na garata vlizaše medleno **edin** tren [B]
 b. Vo toa vreme pod svodot na stanicata vleguvaše poleka **eden** voz [M]
 c. U taj čas ulazi polagano u kolodvorski svod **jedan** vlak [Cr '09]
 d. U taj čas ulazio je polako pod svod kolodvora **jedan** vlak [Cr '17]
 e. U to vreme pod stanični svod polako je ulazio neki voz [Sr '07]
 f. U taj par ulazi polagano u stanični svod **jedan** voz [Sr '55]
 g. Kak raz v èto vremja pod svod vokzala medlenno vpolzal ešče kakoj-to poezd [Rsn]
 h. Vtem je pod obok postaje počasi pridrsel vlak [Sn]
 i. V té chvíli zvolna vjíždél pod nádražní klenbu néjaký vlak [Cz]
 j. Tën stigmën ekeinën emvaine siga siga eis ton stathmon **ena** traino [G]
 k. Atë çast në stacion po hynte mengadale **një** tren dhe përfytyroni [A]
 l. Bu sırada gara ağır **bir** tren giriyordu [T]
 m. În vremea asta, sub cupola gării intra domol **un** tren [R]
 'At that moment a train came in slowly under the station vault.'
- (12) a. Eh, da ima sega njakoj da me počerpi **edno** vince [B]
 b. Eh da ima tkogod, da mi doda nešto vina [Cr '09]
 c. Eh, da ima sada tkogod, da me počasti čašicom vina. [Cr '17]
 d. Eh da ima kogod da mi doda **jedno** vince [Sr '07]
 e. Eh, da je sad neko da me časti **jedno** vincem [Sr '55]
 f. Eh, da ima sega nekoj da me česti **edno** vince [M]
 g. Èh, kaby kto podnes stakančik vina! [Rsn]
 h. Eh, če bi me kdo zdajle počastil z vincem. [Sn]
 i. Ted' kdyby mé tak někdo pohostil vínkem! [Cz]
 j. Akh, kai na eurisketo kanenas na me kerasē tōra **ena** krasaki! [G]
 k. Ahh! Şimdi **bir** bardakcık şarap ısmā geçip oturdu. [T]
 l. Eh, të kisha tani pranë **një** njeri që të më gostiste me një shishkë verë! [A]
 m. Hei, acum să-mi faci cineva cinste cu **un** vinişor! [Rmn]
 'Eh, now if only there were someone to treat me to a little glass of wine.'

Both (9) and (11) involve objects that are concrete and highly specific albeit not definite. In both cases, the indefinite marker serves to concretize the item that is described. In the case of the table (9), the effect without ‘one’ would be adverbial rather than nominal. For (11), my Bulgarian consultants felt that the omission of ‘one’ would produce a dramatic effect, like the stage direction in a play or some other emphatic focus. This also appears to be the case in Serbian/Croatian. It could be argued that in (4e) and (4g) and (10c) and (10d) Rujanac is purposefully attempting to differentiate his Croatian and Serbian versions of the same material in accordance with prescriptive norms such as those articulated by Maretić, cited above. In (12) however, both Croatian translations eschewed *jedan* whereas it is present in both the Serbian ones. Finally, in (8) we see a difference that may be due to the greater freedom in representing colloquial speech in Serbian norms, especially more modern ones. If these examples are examined from a semantic point of view, we see that almost all have concrete referents, ‘appetite’ in (12e) being the one exception. Example (4) is highly specific and referential while (10) also refers to a specific, concrete object. In (12), the glass of wine is only potential and not specific or referential. In example (8) we actually have three occurrences in the Bulgarian original and only two correspondences in the latest Serbian (8c), but of those two, one actually has a non-concrete reference (‘appetite’), while the other resembles (10). What emerges from this picture is a continuum typical of indefinite article development: The most highly specific, referential, and concrete are the most likely to occur with ‘one’ in a non-numerical function. Moreover, taking Bulgarian as the South Slavic literary language with the highest degree of article-like usage of ‘one’, we see that the Serbian and Croatian usages form a continuum with the Bulgarian and Macedonian, with the Serbian closer and the Croatian more distant.²⁴

A comparison of Albanian (1978), Turkish (1969), Greek (1986), Romanian (1968), Bulgarian (1981) and Macedonian (1970) translations of the Russian novella *Sud’ba čeloveka* by Mikhail Šolohov (1956) shows similar patterns of usage. The text contains twelve to fifteen thousand words (depending on the language owing to differences in degree of analytism). The root for ‘one’ (*od[i]n-*) occurs 44 times in the Russian original, but only one usage is of the indefinite pronominal type, the remainder being numerical or quantifying. Macedonian had a total of 61 occurrences of *ed[e]n-* of which 11 were indefinite markers while Bulgarian had a total of 75 occurrences of *ed[e]n-* of which 16 were indefinite markers. For the non-Slavic languages, I used an untagged word count that did not distinguish indefinite from quantifying and idiomatic occur-

²⁴ Cf. also Ivić (1971) on the intermediate nature of *jedan* as an indefinite marker.

rences of the respective words for ‘one’, but even the raw figures are indicative of much higher proportions: Greek (174), Albanian (274), Romanian (317), and Turkish (452). The reversal of Romanian and Albanian vis-à-vis *Baj Ganjo* is might be related to the larger size of the sample. In any case, the general proportions observed in *Baj Ganjo* and, where archaizing did not interfere, in the Bible, are born out in this set of comparisons as well.

A significant difference between the Šolohov and Konstantinov texts lies in the fact that whereas there were no Macedonian indefinite markers that did not correspond to Bulgarian ones in the Konstantinov corpus, in the Šolohov corpus seven of the examples were common to both languages, but Macedonian had four markers where Bulgarian did not, while the Bulgarian had nine markers without Macedonian correspondents.²⁵

6. Conclusion

General typological questions of the use of the numeral ‘one’ as an indefinite article have been addressed by Lyons (1999:89-99), who considers the indefinite article to be a type of reduced quantifier, and Haspelmath (1997:29, 183–84), who treats indefinite articles as distinct from indefinite pronouns, but does not really address the problematic zone between the two.²⁶ Weiss (1996:451) observes that, contrary to the implicational schema given in Givón (1984:333), according to which a grammatical marker does not normally encode non-adjacent meanings — DEFINITE > REFERENTIAL-INDEFINITE > NONREFERENTIAL-INDEFINITE > GENERIC — Macedonian *eden* can be generic or referential-indefinite but not nonreferential-indefinite. Examples (13) and (14), are among those given by Weiss (1996:436), are used to substantiate his point:²⁷

²⁵ Of these nine, four had Macedonian equivalents that differed owing to factors other than the indefinite marker. An additional five examples had ‘one’ in Macedonian and/or Bulgarian corresponding to zero in Russian which could, in principle, be taken as indefinite markers. These all involved time expressions or some other sort of measurement, however, and were therefore omitted as too quantificational, although they arguably represent a transition between quantification and indefiniteness marking (cf. Lyons 1999:95-106).

²⁶ Writing about Bulgarian, Stamenov (1985:43) cites the notion of gradation (cline) as relevant.

²⁷ The indefinite pronoun *nekoj* ‘some’ lends a nuance of ‘some kind of’ to the sentence, but in the context of the type of sentence being illustrated does not need to be translated into English here. Similarly, the sentence would be grammatical if *eden* were taken to mean ‘one’ as opposed to, e.g. ‘five’. In speech, this would be clarified by stress and intonation (cf. Koneski 1967b:176, 325).

(13) Ima li kaj Vas lekar / nekoj lekar / *eden lekar ?
'Is there a doctor at your place?'

(14) Vikni lekar / nekoj lekar / *eden lekar !
'Call a doctor!'

Here the point is that *eden* cannot be used with a nonreferential indefinite meaning. I found that in general the judgments of Weiss' consultants were substantiated by other Macedonians, and the use of *eden* in these contexts was rejected out of hand. However, some consultants accepted (13) but gave *eden* a referential reading. These same people accepted (14) in the context of a patient in a hospital. Although in such a context 'doctor' does not have a specific referent, one could nonetheless argue that the context provides the referentiality.

Givón (1981:36) makes the point that the use of 'one' as an indefinite marker in what he calls *Street Hebrew* represents the first, earliest stage in the development of 'one' as an indefinite marker, where it is used only to mark referential-indefinite nouns. He defines *Street Hebrew* as "a dialect spoken by native speakers in informal contexts ... [that] is in some sense a 'Creole' having been developed by first generation speakers out of variable, considerably Pidginized input of non-native speech." Givón, however, considers the development only as a typological phenomenon, citing its occurrence in a broad range of languages. His approach is explicitly Bickertonian, assuming the development itself to be a type of human-universal (35), and he proposes discourse-related factors that explain the choice of 'one' as the source of indefinite articles. Without going into the vigorous debate surrounding the universalist approach to language change (see Thomason 1996 for many counterexamples), we can note that Topolińska (1995) observes: "Analytic markers of referentiality emerge in periods of convergent development, in conditions of creolization, while synthetic markers are instruments of linguistic divergence." Similarly, although Avgustinova (1998:15) refers to striking typological parallels in the use of indefinite articles in the various Balkan languages, Hamp's (1977) distinction among areal, typological, and genetic linguistics — particularly between areal and typological in this instance — is crucial in understanding these phenomena in a broader context. While the presence of grammaticalized indefinite markers in languages of Western Europe and South Asia could be used to argue for a typological rather than an areal explanation, the temporal and spatial patterns of distribution support the argument that grammaticalized indefinite markers in Southeastern Europe represent a Balkanism.

Like the grammaticalization of definiteness, object reduplication, infinitive replacement, analytic comparative constructions, and futures using a particle

derived from an auxiliary meaning ‘want’ (=‘will’), all of which are to be found in Western Europe, the rise of the indefinite article in the Balkan languages, including Balkan Slavic and Balkan Romani, took place during the period when those various languages were in contact with one another, and thus constitutes a Balkanism in this sense. It can therefore be argued that the situation of the Balkan indefinite marker, including that of Balkan Slavic, is comparable to that of Balkan infinitive replacement as analyzed by Joseph (1983). Joseph (1983:242-43) points out that although infinitive replacement is found in all the Balkan languages and may well constitute a Balkanism in the sense of a shared innovation due to contact, it is also the case that Albanian and Romanian have new or reinterpreted infinitival constructions, Bulgarian and Greek retain a few traces of old ones,²⁸ and only Macedonian has completely eliminated the category (but cf. Čašule 1989 on the use of the verbal noun in impersonal infinitive-like constructions).²⁹ Similarly, it can be argued that Romanian and Albanian (and Turkish) show the highest degree of grammaticalization of indefiniteness, followed by Greek. Balkan Slavic and Romani show weaker but nonetheless significant degrees of grammatical marking for indefinite specificity. The fact that indefinite articles are considered more a colloquial than a literary feature in at least some Balkan languages and that their use, e.g. in Bulgarian, is overtly discouraged by normativists is another argument in favor of a contact origin, despite the occasional ideological appeal to Western European languages.

As seen in §4, the ancestral languages of Balkan Slavic, Balkan Romance, Balkan Indic (Romani), and Modern Greek did not possess indefinite articles. We cannot be sure of the ancestor of Albanian, but the possible existence of a definite article in the language of Lower Moesia (Hamp 1982) allows us at least to speculate upon the possibility that an indefinite article might also have been present. The evidence of Old Turkic (Tekin 1968:145) indicates that *bir* was already involved in such usage at a time when its functional equivalents were not so employed in the Balkan languages. The rise of the use of ‘one’ as an indefinite marker in Balkan Slavic (and the other Balkan languages) is clearly a development that, at the very least for Slavic, Hellenic, Romance, and Indic took place in the context of contact with Turkish and the ancestor of modern Albanian. That the modern developments are convergent is undeniable. Once a genetic explanation is ruled out by evidence, as is the case with indefinite articles in those Balkan languages for which we have older documentation, conver-

²⁸ For example, in Bulgarian, constructions of the type *Stiga pi!* literally ‘It suffices [to] drink’, i.e. ‘You’ve had enough to drink’.

²⁹ Judezmo, on the other hand, retains the infinitive while the Balkan dialects of Turkish show a partial replacement.

gence in the absence of contact or multilingualism is typological, but convergence in the presence of such factors has the possibility of an areal explanation. While it is indeed the case that West European Romance and Germanic languages also have such usages, the possibility of an areal origin in the Balkans in general and Balkan Slavic in particular is also suggested by the geographic and grammatical patterns of South Slavic: As one moves through South Slavic territory from south to north and from east to west away from the centers of Balkan linguistic contact and innovation, such usages of 'one' gradually decrease and virtually disappear by the time one reaches Slovenian. The counterevidence to Givón's generalization may in fact be connected with a language contact and its influence on internal development. The fact that this development did not go as far in Balkan Slavic and Balkan Indic (Romani) as it did in the other Balkan languages (including here Turkish) may be due to the later impetus given to this development. We can also note here that Albanian, Romanian, Greek, and Turkish differ among themselves and from English with respect to their particular rules of usage

Similarly, it can be argued that Romanian and Albanian (and Turkish) show the highest degree of grammaticalization of indefiniteness, followed by Greek (and Romani), while Bulgarian and Macedonian show weaker but nonetheless significant degrees. It is interesting to note in this regard that Bulgarian makes greater use of the indefinite marker than does Macedonian, which may have to do with the influence of Serbian on the latter in this regard. It is also true, however, that, both Macedonian and Bulgarian show a significant difference in the treatment of indefiniteness both from Common Slavic as represented by Old Church Slavonic and from the other modern Slavic languages, represented here by Slovene, Czech and Russian. With regard to the grammatical expression of indefiniteness, Balkan Slavic is closer to Balkan Romance, Greek, and Albanian than to the rest of Slavic. As with definiteness, the grammaticalization of indefiniteness is also found in West European languages, but given the respective histories of the relevant languages (i.e. the absence of grammaticalized indefiniteness from Ancient Greek, Latin, and Old Church Slavonic — and also Sanskrit),³⁰ here, too, it makes more sense — especially in Balkan Slavic — to see the influence of Balkan language contact in the rise of grammaticalized indefiniteness. The fact that it is more a colloquial than a literary feature and that its

³⁰ Masica (1991:248) notes that in Eastern (Bengali-Assamese-Oriya) Indo-Aryan and Sinhalese, morphological (as opposed to syntactic) marking of indefiniteness has arisen. In Sinhalese, there is a suffixed indefinite article (*-ek*, *-ak*) derived from 'one' whereas in the Eastern type definiteness is marked by a series of suffixed classifiers of non-Indo-Aryan origin, and when these classifiers are suffixed to *ek* 'one' the numeral becomes an indefinite article.

use is overtly discouraged by normativists is another argument in favor of a contact origin, despite the occasional ideological appeal to Western European languages.

There is also the issue of prescription versus description. According to Stephen Dickey of the University of Virginia and Tom Priestly of the University of Alberta (personal communications), use of ‘one’ as an indefinite marker is much more frequent in colloquial Croatian and Slovenian than in the published norm. This is certainly the case in the Slovenian texts we examined. In fact, our Slovene text even avoided pronominal uses of ‘one’. Moreover, ‘one’ as an indefinite marker is frequent in conversational Serbian (see, for example Hinrichs and Hinrichs 1995:55-57). The linguistic (referential) and ideological (West European versus Balkan) functions of *jedan* as an indefinite marker in SWSS are explicitly indexed by Croatian and Bulgarian normativists. It should also be kept in mind that for Bulgarian in particular there is the additional normatively based discouragement of such usage (e.g. Brezinski 1968:49, see Friedman 1976c for other references, cf. also Friedman 1997b) motivated both overtly by the perception that it imitates West European languages and perhaps covertly by the fact that such usage is different from the rest of Slavic and resembles the surrounding non-Slavic Balkan languages. It is certainly the case that colloquial usage is greater than literary usage. The Modern Greek New Testament is similar, and Kuhlman (1997:92) discusses the proscription against ‘one’ as an indefinite marker in Katharevousa. It should also be kept in mind that for Balkan Slavic there is the additional ideologically based discouragement of such usage (e.g. Brezinski 1968:48, see Friedman 1976c for other references) motivated both overtly by the perception that it imitates West European languages and perhaps covertly by the fact that such usage is different from the rest of Slavic, especially the prestigious Russian (for Bulgarian) and Serbian (for Macedonian — at least until 1991) and resembles the surrounding non-Slavic Balkan languages. It is certainly the case that colloquial usage is greater than literary usage. The striking differences in various Romani dialects can be attributed to influences from other languages either through literal translation, as in the case of Dimić (1990), or later contact, as in the case of Leshaki (illustrated in Appendix Two; Matras 1996) and Welsh Romani (Sampson 1926).

Thus, although normativism plays a differential role (both Bulgarian and Croatian grammarians argue explicitly against such usage, whereas it is acknowledged by grammarians of both Serbian and Macedonian), it would nonetheless seem to be the case that the use of ‘one’ as an analytic marker of referentiality in Slavic is associated with Balkan linguistic contact. Russian appears to be extremely conservative in this respect, reflecting that situation attested in Old Church Slavonic. In Czech, despite the definite referentiality of *ten* (Kresin

1993), indefinite referentiality does not appear to have developed to any significant degree. The historical and social factors surrounding the use of 'one' as an indefinite marker in Balkan Slavic (and the other Balkan languages) were thus those of Balkan linguistic convergence. As in the rise of so-called evidentiality in Balkan Slavic and Albanian (see Friedman 1978, 1986b), while internal structural and universal linguistic factors may have had a role to play, the fact remains that the development of 'one' as an indefinite marker in Balkan Slavic occurred in the context of the rise of the Balkan linguistic league and the geographic distribution of the usage shows it to be stronger in East South Slavic than in West South Slavic. Particularly striking in this regard is the tendency for the usage to be more frequent in Bulgarian than in Macedonian, thus making a consistently graded cline from east to west as well as north to south. Hence the rise of 'one' as an indefinite marker can most likely be considered a Balkanism despite the obvious typological parallels elsewhere in the world. In this regard, however, it is interesting to note that both Topolińska(1981/82:712) and Kazakis (personal communication) refer to increased use of 'one' as an indefinite marker in the younger generation of Macedonian and Greek speakers, respectively. Such usage would clearly be the result of west European rather than Balkan languages, given the fact that in the Balkans today more young people know West European languages than other Balkan languages. Thus English may contribute to the furthering of a Balkan Slavic process begun by Turkish and, perhaps, the ancestor of Albanian.

Appendix 1: Biblical Passages

Bulgarian

- Mk 6:27 I vednaga, provodi carät **edin** oražnik, komuto zapověda da donesat glavata mu;
Jn 9:1 I kato zaminavaše vidě **edinogo** čelověka slep od roždenieto.
Mt 4:8 Pak go zavožda djavolät na **edna** planina mnogo visoka
Mt 4:18 vidě dvamina bratja ... če hvärlaha mreža v moreto
Mt 8:2 I eto, **edin** prokažen dojde pri nego
Mt 8:5 **edin** stotnik dojde pri nego
Mt 8:9 i az sām čověk pod vlast
Mt 8:19 I dojde **edin** knižnik
Mt 8:24 I, eto, golěma burja se podigna na ezeroto

Macedonian

- Mk 6:27 I vednaš, otkako isprati dželat, carot naredi da ja donesat glava negova.
Jn 9:1 Koga odeše vide **eden** slep čovek od negovoto ragjanje
Mt 4:8 Go odvede gjavolot potoa na mnogu visoka planina
Mt 4:18 gi vide dvajcata brakja ... kako frlaat mreža vo moreto
Mt 8:2 I ete, se približi **eden** leprozen ...
Mt 8:5 se približi do nego **eden** stotnik
Mt 8:9 i jas sum čovek podvlasten
Mt 8:19 Togaš se približi do Isusa **eden** knjižnik
Mt 8:24 I ete, nastana golema bura vo moreto

Serbian

- Mk 6:27 I odmah posla car dželata, i zapovjedi da donese glavu njegovu
Jn 9:1 I prolazeći vidje čovjeka slijepa od rođenja.
Mt 4:8 Opet uze ga djavo i odvede na goru vrlo visoku
Mt 4:18 vidje dva brata ... gdje među mreže u more
Mt 8:2 I gle, čovjek gubav dodje
Mt 8:5 pristupi k njemu kapetan
Mt 8:9 i ja sam čovjek pod vlasti
Mt 8:19 I pristupivši **jedan** književnik reče mu
Mt 8:24 I gle, oluja velika postade na moru

Slovene

- Mk 6:27 Takoj je poslal po rablja in ukazal, naj prinese njegovo glavo.
Jn 9:1 Ko je šel mimo, je zagledal človeka, ki je bil slep od rojstva.
Mt 8:2 In glej, pristopil je gobavec,
Mt 8:5 je stopil k njemu stotnik
Mt 8:9 Kajti tudi sam sem pod oblastjo...
Mt 8:19 Tedaj pristopil neki pismouk
Mt 8:24 Na jezeru je nastal velik vihar,
Mt 4:8 Spet ga je hudič vzal s seboj na zelo visoko goro
Mt 4:18 je zagledal dva brata... Metala sta mrežo v jezero

Czech

- Mk 6:27 Protož král ten poslav hned kata, rozkázal přinesti hlavu Janovu.
Jn 9:1 A pomíjeje, užřel člověka slepého od narození.
Mt 4:8 Opět pojal ho ďábel na horu vysokou velmi,...
Mt 4:18 užřel dva bratry, ... ani poušřejí síť do moře...
Mt 8:2 A aj, malomocný přišed,
Mt 8:5 přistoupil k němu setník

Mt 8:9 Nebo i já jsem člověk pod mocí
Mt 8:19 A přistoupiv jeden zákonník
Mt 8:24 A aj, bouře veliká stala se na moři

Russian

Mk 6:27 I totčas poslav oruženosca, car' povelel prinesti golovu ego
Jn 9:1 I prohodja, videl čeloveka slepogo ot roždenija
Mt 4:8 Opjat' beret Ego diavol na ves'ma vysokuh goru
Mt 4:18 On uvidel dvuh brat'ev ... zakidyvahščih seti v more
Mt 8:2 I vot, podošel prokažennyj
Mt 8:5 k Nemu podošel sotnik
Mt 8:9 ja i podvlastnyj čelovek
Mt 8:19 Togda **odin** knižnik podošed skazal emu
Mt 8:24 I vot, sdelalos' velikoe volnenie na more

Old Church Slavonic [Zographensis]

Mk 6:27 i abie posъlavъ cъ voina, povele čelovek prinesti glavę ego
Jn 9:1 I mimo idy vidě čъva slěpa otъ tsa.
Mt 4:8 paky pojetъ ego nepriěznъ na gorę vysokę dzělo
Mt 4:18 vidě dъva bratra ... vъmetajęšta mrežę vъ more
Mt 8:2 I se prokaženъ pristorъ klaně ěaše emou
Mt 8:5 pristori kъ n emou sъtъnikъ
Mt 8:9 azъ čkъ esmъ rodъ vladykoję
Mt 8:19 I pristorъ **edinъ** knižnikъ
Mt 8:24 i se tręsъ veli bystъ vъ mori

Greek

Mk 6:27 Kai euthys aposteilas o Basileus spekoulatora, epetakseō na enekhthēnai tēō kephalēn autou
Jn 9:1 Kai paragon eiden ēnthron typhlon ek genetēs
Mt 4:8 Palin paralambanei alton o diabolos eis oros ypsēlon lian
Mt 4:18 eiden dyo adelphous . . . ballantas amphiblēstroō eis tēn thalassan
Mt 8:2 Kai idou lepros elthōn prosekynei auto
Mt 8:5 proēltheō auto ekatontarkhos
Mt 8:9 kai-gar egō anthropos eimi ypo eksousian
Mt 8:19 Kai proselthōn **eis** grammateus eipen auto
Mt 8:24 Kai idoy, seismos megas egeneto en tē thalassē

Latin

- Mk 6:27 sed misso speculatore praecepit adferri caput eius in disco et decollavit eum in carcere
Jn 9:1 et praeteriens vidit hominem caecum a nativitate
Mt 4:8 iterum adsumit eum diabolus in montem excelsum valde
Mt 4:18 vidit duos fratres ... mittentes rete in mare
Mt 8:2 et ecce leprosus veniens...
Mt 8:5 accessit ad eum centurio ...
Mt 8:9 et ego homo sum sub potestate
Mt 8:19 Et accedens **unus** scriba...
Mt 8:24 et ecce motus magnus factus est in mari

Romanian

- Mk 6:27 A trimes îndată **un** otaş de pază, cu porunca de a aduce capul lui Ioan
Jn 9:1 Când trecea, Isus a văzut pe **un** orb din naştere
Mt 4:8 Diavolul L-a dus apoi pe **un** munte foarte înalt
Mt 4:18 Isus a văzut doi fraţi ... cari aruncau **o** mreajă în mare
Mt 8:2 Şi **un** lepros s'a apropiat de El
Mt 8:5 s'a apropiat de El **un** sutaş
Mt 8:9 şi eu sînt om supt stăpînire
Mt 8:19 Atunci s'a apropiat de El **un** cărturar
Mt 8:24 Şi deodată s'a stîrnit pe mare **o** furtună atît de straşnică

Albanian

- Mk 6:27 Mbreti menjëherë dërgoi **një** vrasës dhe urdhëroi t' ia sjellë kryet e Gjonit.
Jn 9:1 Duke kaluar rrugës pa **një** njeri të verbët, që kishte lindur i verbët
Mt 4:8 Djalli i çoi sërisht në **një** mal shumë të lartë
Mt 4:18 pa dy vëllezër ... duke hedhur rrjetën në det
Mt 8:2 Dhe ja, **një** gërbulan iu afrua
Mt 8:5 iu paraqit **një** centurion
Mt 8:9 edhe unë që nuk jam tjetër, por **një** njeri i nënshtruar
Mt 8:19 ndërkaq u afrua **një** skrib
Mt 8:24 Dhe ja, në det u çua **një** stuhi e madhe

Turkish

- Mk:6:27 Kral hemen muhafiz askerinden **birini** gönderip onun başını getirmesini emretti
Jn 9:1 Ve geçerken anadan doğma kör **bir** adam gördü.
Mt 4:8 İblis İsayı çok yüksek **bir** dağa da götürdü

Mt 4:18 iki kardeşi ... denize ağ atarlarken gördü
Mt 8:2 Ve işte **bir** cümazlı gelip...
Mt 8:5 **bir** yüzbaşı yalvararak...
Mt 8:9 ben de emir altında **bir** adamım
Mt 8:19 Ve **bir** yazıcı gelip ona:
Mt 8:24 Ve işte enizde büyük **bir** fırtına oldu

Romani (Arli)

Mk 6:27 Taj vednaga o thagar bičhalgjas **iek**es, kaske vakergjas te anel o šero leskoro;
Jn 9:1 Taj kana zanakhelas, dikhljas **iekhe** kore bijando manuš
Mt 4:8 Pale Les ingeljas o beng **iekhe** bute učeste veš,
Mt 4:18 dikhljas e due phralen . . kaj čhivenas i mrezva
Mt 8:2 Taj, ake **iek** prokažimo alo paš Leste
Mt 8:5 **iek** šelengoro baro, alo paš Leste
Mt 8:9 vi me sem manuš kas si inčaripe
Mt 8:19 Taj alo **iek** lilvalo
Mt 8:24 Taj, ake, baro vazdiba e pajneste ko cikno denizi,

Romani (Gurbet)

Mk 6:27 Athoska bičhalda thagari mudaritmatres te džal thaj te anel Jovanosko šoro;
Jn 9:1 Thaj džikaj načehelas dikhla e manušes, savo sas bijandimatar koro.
Mt 4:8 Palem indjardales o beng pe vuči plain
Mt 4:18 dikhla duj phralen ... sar čhuden mačharendje astarde ande mora
Mt 8:2 Thaj dikh, melalo lepratar pašunisardape leske
Mt 8:5 pašunisajlo leske **jekh** kapetano
Mt 8:9 taj me sijam baro manuš
Mt 8:19 Thaj sar avilo leste **jekh** lilarno
Mt 8:24 Thaj dikh, baro vazdipe morijaske pajendar dija pe mora

Appendix 2:

Comparison of Kelderash/Lovari, Gurbet, and Leshaki Romani
(Matras 1996)

Aj učo sar **jekh** kher
Taj uči sar **jekh** čer
I hučo syr **jekh** kher
'And as large (tall) as **a** house'

So dičhol po patreto? Me dikhav **jekh** vaza.
So dičhol pe slika? Me dikhav **jekh** vaza.
So dikhes pre daja bilta? Me dikhav **jekh** vaza.
'What do you see in the picture? I see **a** vase.'

Skiris **jekh** kopači? Na, **jekh** raca.
Crtos **jekh** kaš? Na, **jekh** raca.
Malines tu **jekh** rukh? Na, reca.
'Are you drawing **a** tree? No, **a** duck'

Me sim **jekh** pajesko levo.
Me sem **jekh** pajesko lavo.
Me som **jekh** panitko lvo.
'I am **a** sea lion.'

Kada si amari lumja. Amari lumja si **jekh** planeta.
Gada si amari phuv. Amari phuv si **jekh** planeta.
Daja si ajmary phuv. Jamari phuv sy **jekh** planeta.
'This is our world/earth. Our earth/world is **a** planet.'

Me šuvav **jekh** phal katar e lada ži kaj e felastra.
Me thav **jekh** phal katar o sanduko dži ke pendžararva,
CØhuvav **jekh** baro phal moxtenestyr až ki dudali.
'I put **a** big stck from the trunk to the window.'

Kadi si **jekh** vundžija pe **jekh** naj. O naj pe **jekh** vast.
Goda si **jekh** bundia pe **jekh** naj. O naj pe **jekh** vah.
Dava sy **jekh** nay pry **jekh** gušt. Gušt pry **jekh** vast.
'This is **a** nail on **a** finger. The finger on **a** hand.'

Si kadi **jekh** rota?
Si li godi **jekh** rota?
Dava sy **jekh** rota?
'Is that **a** circle?'

Me pekav **jekh** bokoli mura dejake. Me lav **jekh** baro gono aro.
Me pekav **jekh** kolako mrne dejaće. Me lav **jekh** baro džako aro.
Me pekav mre dake marykla. Me lav **jekh** baro gono jažo.
'I am baking **a** cake for my mother. I take **a** large sack of flour.'

Sas pe kaj nas pe **jekh** baro žiganja
Sas pe kaj naj sas **jekh** bari životinja
Sys peske baro kirmo
'Once uopn a time there was **a** big animal'

Vov sas **jekh** Dinosauru.
Vov sas **jekh** Dinosauru.
Sys peske Dinosauru.
'It was **a** dinosaur.'

So kerel o Lazo? Vov kerel **jekh** podo.
So écerel o Lazo. Vov écerel **jekh** podo.
So kerel Lazo. Jov kerel mosto.
'What is Lazo doing? He is making **a** bridge.'

Si e raja bange? Kodo si pale **jekh** xoxamno patreto.
Si e linije bande? Gava si pale **jekh** xoxavni slika.
Sy da kreski bange? Dava sy pale optično vizja.
'Are the lines crooked? It is **an** optical illusion.'

Me sim o Eino. Me sim **jekh** Eskimo-šavoro.
Me sem o Eino. Me sem **jekh** Eskimo-čavoro.
Me som Eino. Me som čavoro-Eskimo
'I am Eino. I am **an** Eskimo boy.'

Me traiv ande **jekh** gav. Si amen **jekh** kher.
Me traiv ande **jekh** gav. Si amen **jekh** ér
Me bešto som dry gav. Jamen sy kher.
'I live in **a** village.' 'We have **a** house.'

Ži kaj o Marso trobuj **jekh** raketa te tradel duj breš.
Dži ko Marso trubul **jekh** raketa te tradel duj breš.
Ko Marso mušynel duj berš raketa te teadl.
'It takes **a** rocket two months to travel to Mars.'

Kado si muro dad. Les si **jekh** mustaca.
Kava si mrno dad. Le si mustaka.
Dava sy miro dad. Les sy čhorja.
'This is my father. He has **a** moustache.'

Me sičhuvava **jekh** buči
Me sićivava **jekh** zanato.
Me sykhlakirava man buty.
'I learn **a** trade,'

Jekh šimjako si ande pinca. Muri loli taška si la **jekh** gropa.
Jekh šimjako si ando podrumo. Mrni loli tašna si la **jekh** xv.
Jamen sy **jekh** myšo andry štała. Andry miry loli khorba sy xev.
We have mouse in the basement. My red bag has **a** hole in it.

Admirativity: Between modality and evidentiality

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Abstract

There is a systemic distinction between narrative and sentential nonconfirmatives in the Balkan languages, and this distinction impacts on the sentence types in which nonconfirmatives can occur. This distinction results from the manner in which the confirmative/nonconfirmative opposition is realized in a given system. If marked nonconfirmatives can be used in extended discourse, they cannot function as true presents, and if they can function as true presents, they will not occur in extended discourse. While Turkish appears to have introduced the impetus for all these developments, nonetheless, there appear to be three distinct groupings: perfect-based discourse level (Turkish, Macedonian, Bulgarian, Meglenoromanian), perfect-based sentence level (Albanian, Frash-eriotte Bela di Suprã Aromanian, Kostur-Korča Macedonian), and modal-based sentence level (Romanian and Novo Selo Bulgarian). Moreover, the smaller languages and dialects were influenced by contact with larger surrounding languages: Meglenoromanian by Macedonian, Bela di Suprã Aromanian and Kostur-Korča Macedonian by Albanian, and Novo Selo Bulgarian by Romanian). It may well be that universal properties affected these three distinct convergences.

1. Introduction

For the purpose of this paper, I shall define evidentiality in terms of its grammaticalization in the Balkan languages, i.e. as a grammatical category encoding the speaker's evaluation of the narrated event, often, but not always, predicated upon the nature of the available evidence.¹ Evidentials can be of two types: confirmative (sometimes called 'witnessed') and nonconfirmative (sometimes called 'reported' and/or 'inferential'). The nonconfirmative can, in Austin's (1962) terms, be felicitous (neutral) or infelicitous, in which latter case the nonconfirmative expresses either acceptance of a previously unexpected state of affairs (i.e. surprise, admirativity *sensu stricto*) or rejection of a previous statement (i.e., doubt, sarcasm, etc., dubitativity). Evidentials differ from related categories such as epistemic modals or lexical items (e.g. adverbs of evaluation)

¹ For additional discussion, see Utas and Johanson (2000).

in that they are independently and fully grammaticalized and exist alongside these other systems and interact with them. In some Balkan languages, however, there is an interaction between modal particles (future, subjunctive, conditional) and nonconfirmative evidential meaning. This is especially true in the case of admirativity. In this paper, I shall argue that there is a systemic distinction between narrative and sentential nonconfirmatives in the Balkan languages, that this distinction impacts on the sentence types in which nonconfirmatives can occur, and, moreover, that this distinction results from the manner in which the confirmative/nonconfirmative opposition is realized in a given system.

We can identify two types of realizations of nonconfirmativity in this respect, one which operates regularly at the level of narrative discourse involving more than one sentence and one which is more characteristic of the level of sentence. The former is the classic type of so-called "renarration" that uses the l-participle in Balkan Slavic, the *miş*-past in Turkish, and the inverted perfect in Meglenoromanian. The second type can be called the admirative (*sensu-largo*) characteristic of Albanian, Aromanian (Frasheriot dialect of Bela di Suprã), and Romanian (the so-called presumptive mood), as well as the Balkan Slavic dialect of Novo Selo, Vidin Region (the so-called probabilitive mood).² The former type is distinguished by its occurrence in longer chunks of connected narratives (i.e., a group of sentences) and its inability to express true present meaning (i.e. without any reference to a real or putative past event, state, or statement), whereas the latter is distinguished by the fact that it is not used in extended narratives and can function as a true present tense, particularly in exclamations and questions.

2. Narrative Nonconfirmativity

The former type uses a perfect of some sort (in Balkan Slavic, an inherited perfect, in Turkish a fully functioning perfect, and in Meglenoromanian an inverted perfect of the type participle-auxiliary) in connected narratives to render reported or inferred information, and at the same time can use this perfect to express felicitous and infelicitous incredulity at a real or implied previous statement or the discovery of a preexisting state (so-called dubitativity and admirativity [*sensu stricto*], respectively). When combined with the future marker, the meaning 'inferred' is excluded, which is the opposite of what happens in systems where the future marker is formative of the evidential-like paradigm, as occurs in Romanian and Novo Selo. Thus, for example, whereas Macedonian *Vrnelo* or Turkish *Yağmur yağmış* 'It is/was raining' can be uttered upon seeing wet ground or upon opening the curtains and discovering that rain is already in

² The tables in the appendix give examples illustrating the relevant paradigms.

the process falling the expressions *kje vrnelo* or *yağmur yağacakmış* 'it will/would [have] rain[ed] [they say]' can be used to report a prediction that has already been made but cannot communicate an inference about the future based on present evidence, i.e. there must always be some sort of past reference (cf. Aksu-Koç & Slobin 1986:163). It is this combination of underlying true pastness with nonconfirmativity that results in the use of the perfect in connected narratives, as in the Meglenoromanian and Balkan Turkish in examples (1) and (2) from Capidan (1928:101) Piličkova (1997:253), respectively, both with Macedonian translations supplied by bilingual speakers:³

(1) Ash **vut-aŕ** uunã-urã unã mũmã trej feati shi li **trimes-aŕ** la spilarea la vãli. Cum **spilat-aŕ** cuola **vinit-aŕ** unã mearã di pri vali shi **aŕ lat-aŕ** tsea maĵ mĩcã sũarã shi **aŕ spus-aŕ** la tseali lãntili suror shi nu **aŕ mãcat-aŕ**, tucu **aŕ dus-aŕ** la mũma-sa.

Si **imala** ednaš edna majka tri kjerki i gi **ispratila** na perenje na rekata. Kako što **perele** tamu, **došla** edna jabolka po rekata i ja **zela** najmalata sestra i ja **pokažala** na tie drugite sestri i ne ja **izela**, tuku ja **odnela** kaj majka i.

Once upon a time a mother **had** three daughters and she **sent** them to do laundry at the river. As they were **washing** there an apple **came** [floating] down the river and the youngest sister **took** it and **showed** it to the other sisters and did not **eat** it but rather **took** it to her mother.

(2) Bir **varimiš**, bir **yokimiš**. İsiyare ve karisi **istermišler** yesinler bir tauk. **Almišlar** pazardan o taugi, amma **bilmezsinišlar** nekadarduz koysunlar. İsiyare **gitmiš** furunciye sorusun nekadarduz koyunur. Furunci **demiš** ona: Bir panca.

Si **bilo** što ne **bilo**, Isiyare i žena mu **sakale** kokška da jadat. **Kupile** kokoška od pazar, ama, ne **znaie** so kolku sol treba da se posoli kokoškata. **Otišol** Isiyare kaj furnadžijata da praša so kolku sol treba da se posoli kokoškata. -- Sol kolku edna raka, **rekol** furnadžijata.

Once there **was**, once there **was** not. Isiyare and his wife **wanted** to eat chicken. They **bought** a chicken at the market, but they didn't **know** how much salt to put on it. Isiyare **went** to the baker's to ask how much salt should be put on the chicken. The baker **said** to him: "One handful."

³ I wish to thank Petar Atanasov and Marjan Markoivikj for the translation of the Meglenoromanian into Macedonian. The translation of the Turkish text was that of the bilingual speaker himself.

It is important to note that lengthy extended narratives, while possessing the capability of using these forms exclusively, generally show variation in the deployment of verbal categories during the their complete course (cf. Fielder 1999 on Bulgarian). Thus it is normal to achieve stylistic and narrative effects such as shifts in perspective, the creation of tension, the signaling of a climax, etc., by varying the choice of verbal categories. It is interesting to note that in the Turkish/Macedonian tales collected by Piličkova from bilingual narrators in Macedonia, the Turkish versions show more variation in such choices than do the Macedonian, but whether this is due to the respective verbal systems or personal styles of narration requires further investigation. Example (3) is illustrative:⁴

Bu adam fukara urur bana bir balta pare için keser, alır paremi. - Bu tücarın belinde de yani bir kolan, bir kemer pa-

resi varimis.^{nc} Hemen kemeri da **çikarır**, koyar başaltına, piştoli varimis^{nc} oni da **koyar** başaltına ki konak saybi korksun piştol olduğundan paresine işgirmesin.

Bu konak saybi, karisi, çelatlar, episi **uyudi**^c, tücar **uyumay** korkidan. O ufak masım da nannida **duruy**. Yari gece vakti üçtene meleyke **gelirler**. Birisi sağ tarafiından nanninin **duruy**, birisi sol tarafiında, birisi da ayaklari yanında **duruy**. Üçünün de yani bir tefter ellerinde birer kalemdede. Sağ taraftaki meleyke **sorar**: [...]

Ayaklari ucunda olan meleyke **dey**: [...]

Sağ tarafındaki meleyke **dedi**:^c [...]

Bu sol tarafiından meleyke **dey** ki: [...]

Sağ taraftaki meleyke bu sözi **söyledi**:^c [...]

İki meleyke şini sağ taraftaki me-

Trgovcot si mislel:^{nc} "Čovekov e *mnogu* siromašen. Može da me ubie so sekirata i da mi gi zeme parite." Go **izvadil**^{nc} *trgovcot* pojaset poln so pari i go **stavil**^{nc} pod pernicata, a pištlot go **stavil**^{nc} do pernicata *za da go vidi* siromašniot čovek i da se uplaši.

Site **spijat**, *samo* *trgovcot* ne može da zaspie od strav. Na polnokj, pokraj lulkata na maloto dete, **doše**^{nc} tri narečnici. Ednata **zastanala**^{nc} od desnata strana na lulkata, vtorata od levata, a tretata pokraj nozete na deteto. Trite vo race **držat** po edna tetratka i moliv. Narečnicata od desnata strana **prašala**:^{nc} [...]

Taa pokraj nozete **rekla**:^{nc} [...]

Narečnicata od desnata strana **rekla**:^{nc} [...]

Narečnicata od levata strana **rekla**:^v

⁴ In this example, passages in the Turkish but not in the Macedonian are underlined, passages in the Macedonian but not in the Turkish are italicized, and words and passages that show slight variation between the two languages are separated by a slash in the translation. Relevant verb forms are in bold, and the superscript abbreviations C and NC mark forms that are confirmative and nonconfirmative in the respective languages.

leykeye soray : [...]	[...]
Tücar sesleyır ne sülenıyır . Sağ taraf-taki bu sözi söyledi ^c : [...]	Narečnicata od desnata strana rekla : ^{nc} [...]
Hem üçü de buni teftere geçirdiler . ^c	I dvete narečnici ja prašala : ^{nc} [...]
Bu tücar nezaman duydi ^c bu sözi pirelendi ^c . Yazan meleykeler çıkıp gittiler ^c . Şini bu tücar zaten uyuyamaydı , ^c hep sabaakadar düşündi ^c ne çeşit bu çocu y öldürsün. Saba oldı , ^c tücar çocuğun babasına söyledi : ^c	Trgovcot sè sluša što si zboruvaat narečnicite. Taa od desnata strana gi kaža ^c ovie zborovi: [...]
	Trite narečnici gi zapišaa ^c tie <i>zborovi</i> . Zapišaa ^c i si otidoa . ^c Trgovcot mngou se voznemiri ^c koga go slušna ^c toa. Toj i taka ne možeše ^c da zaspie, a sega, pak, sosema se rasoni . ^c Cela nokj razmisluvaše ^c kako da go ubie deteto. Koga se razdeni , ^c na tatkoto mu reče : ^c

(Piličkova 1997:125)

The merchant thought: This man is *very* poor He might hit/kill me with an/the ax and take my money." This merchant **had** around his waist a belt, a cummerbund with money. He **pulls/pulled out** the belt and **puts/put** it under his pillow. He **had** a pistol, and he **puts/put** it/the pistol by his pillow, so that the master of the house/poor man would *see it and* be afraid and leave his money alone because of the pistol.

The master of the house, his wife, the children/Everyone **was fast asleep/are sleeping**, *only* the merchant does/could not sleep from fear. The little baby stays in the cradle. At midnight three angels of fate **come/came**. One **stands/stood** on the right side of the cradle, one on the left side, and one **stands** by the feet. Each of the three **holds** a notebook and pen/pencil. The angel on the right **asks/asked**: [...]

The one by the feet **says/said**: [...]

The angel on the right side **said**: [...]

The one/angel on the left side **says/said**: [...]

The angel on the right side **said**: [...]

The two angels **now ask/asked** the angel on the right/her: [...]

The merchant **hears everything** that they **are saying**. The one on the right said: [...]

The three angels **wrote down** this/these *words* in their notebooks.

The merchant **became very upset** when he heard this. The writing angels went out and **left**./They **wrote** [them] down and **left**. The merchant **became very upset** when he heard this.

Now the merchant **could not sleep** at all/The merchant even so **could** not sleep, now he **was** totally **unable to sleep**. Until morning/All night, he **thought** about how to kill the child. When morning **came**, he **said** to the child's/his father:

In languages with true present admirative usage, such extended connected narratives do not occur and the sources of the relevant forms are various. The Albanian is from an inverted perfect that has been elaborated into a group of four paradigmatic sets, the Aromanian is a particle based on a reinterpretation of the Albanian third person singular present admirative marker and has also been elaborated, the Romanian presumptive is a construction made up of a modal particle (subjunctive, future, or conditional) the non-finite form *fi* 'be' and the present gerund or past participle of the main verb, and the Novo Selo probabilitive is a reinterpretation of the Serbian-type future (infinitive+future marker) in a system whose regular future is of the Balkan type (invariant preposed particle), and it is also elaborated into a group of paradigmatic sets. Note also that in these languages the future marker is arguably part of the irrealis modal system. Thus, true admirativity moves between the evidential and the modal in its realization in the Balkan languages.

3. Admirative Nonconfirmativity

In these languages, the admirative is limited to exclamations or brief statements that contain the speaker's nonconfirmative attitude (usually surprise). As an illustration of typical Albanian admirative usage, I give below a kind of narrative of an automobile trip from Prishtina to Dragash, Brod, Prizren, and Gjakova in southwestern Kosovo in May 2002. I was riding in a car with two Kosovar colleagues, who were speaking in the Kosovar variant of standard Albanian. During the course of the trip, I recorded the admiratives that were used. As can be seen, when provided with the context in which they were uttered, they form a kind of disjointed narrative of the trip, but at no point do they constitute a connected narrative. It is worth noting that on many occasions the witnessed nature of admirative usage is emphasized by the fact that the statement must be supplied with the context of what was being seen in order to be fully understood. At the same time, however, examples such as (41) involve dubitative rather than admirative usage. In two places, I have also given the responses, which were in the non-admirative indicative, demonstrating that the only difference between the two verb forms is the internal reaction of the speaker:

- (4a) Këtu gropat **paskan nisë** menjëherë.
The holes **have begun** [to appear] here right away. (referring to road conditions)
- (4b) Ah, këtu e **paskan** kufizuar.
Ah, they **have limited** it [the speed, i.e. made a speed limit] here.
- (4c) **Paskan** të drejtë.
They **are** right. (upon seeing the curves in the mountain road)
- (4d) -- Po rruga e mirë **qenka**. -- Po, po, **është** asfalti.
--Hey, this **is** a good road. --Yes, yes, it **is** asphalt.
- (4e) **Paskan** lopë
There are cows. (upon seeing cows on the road)
- (4f) **Paskan** një shkollë
They **have** a school. (on seeing a school.)
- (4g) **Paska** Nezim Berati?
It **has** [the name] Nezim Berati? (checking on name of school)
- (4h) Turqit **qenkan**.
They **are** Turks. (on seeing the nationality of a KFOR checkpoint).
- (4i) Livadhi **qenka** e bukur.
The field **is** beautiful. (on rounding a curve with a view)
- (4j) **Paska** një teqe.
They **have** a tekke. (walking along a street)
- (4k) **Paskan** zanat
They **have** crafts. (on seeing the bazaar)
- (4l) A mos **paskam sjellur** strukturalizm
Had I not, by chance, **brought** in structuralism [they said]. (recounting a story about Serbian accusations in the 1980's)
- (4m) **Qenka** zona e bukur
The area **is** beautiful. (about the Dragash region)
- (4n) --**Paska** ujë mjaft. --Po **është** mjaft.
--It **has** quite a bit of water. --Yes, it **is** quite a bit. (on seeing a river running high).
- (4o) **Paskan bâ** një xhami të re.
The **have built** a new mosque.
- (4p) Më ngadalë, se kontrol **paska**.
[Go] more slowly, since **there's** a check point. (on seeing an on-coming car's headlights flash)
- (4q) Ky **paska** parking.
This [place] **has** a parking lot.
- (4r) Diçka **paska ndodhur**.
Something **has happened**. (on passing a car wreck on the highway)

A similar narrative could be constructed using Romanian presumptives, Bela di Sus Aromanian admiratives, or Novo Selo Bulgarian probabilitives. Note that the narrative is composed of discrete moments.

4. Comparative Perspectives

The difference between narrative usage at the sentence level and in larger units of discourse can also be seen in the following Albanian (5) and (6) and Macedonian (7) news stories. In (5), the story is related using aorists, and the compound perfect and plain perfect admiratives at the end relate a sequence of two previous events as marked dubitatives embedded in the larger narrative. In (6), we have a similar embedding of two admirative perfects relating previous events in a larger narrative made up of a coordinated imperfect (*flitnin* ‘they were speaking’) and a series of aorists, but here the admiratives function as a kind of neutral rather than a dubitative report. By contrast, in (7) there are several sources of information and narrative perspectives, but the entire article is related using only I-forms.

(5) Më 16 nëntor 10 policë **rrethuan** shtëpinë e Qamil Nuzës, ish-kryetar i Aktivit të LDK-së në Ponoshec dhe e **arrestuan** atë dhe vëllain e tij Beqir Nuzën. Pasi i **torturuan** deri në orët e vona të mbrëmjes në Stacionin e policisë në Ponoshec, Beqirin e **liruan**, kurse Qamilin, me procedurë të shpejtë e **dënuan** me 15 ditë burg - për arsye se pas ndjekjeve të vazhdueshme për armë **paska pas ikur** në Shqipëri e tash **paska ardhur** për ta vizituar familjen. (*Këshilli për Mbrojtjen e të Drejtave e të Lirive të Njeriut Informata*.nr. 276, 19-26 November 1995, www.albanian.com/kmdlj - cdhrf@albanian.com).

On 16 November, ten policemen **surrounded** the house of Qamil Nuza, former head of the Assembly of Delegates to the Democratic League of Kosovo in Ponoshec and **arrested** him together with his brother Beqir Nuza. After they **had tortured** them until late into the night at the police station of Ponoshec, they **freed** Beqir, whereas after a quick trial they **sentenced** Qamil to fifteen days prison because after [being subjected to] continual searches for arms he **had [supposedly] gone** to Albania and now **[supposedly] had returned** to visit his family.

(6) Në qendër të qytetit, dy persona të panjohur, që **flitnin** serbisht, **sulmuan** dhe **tantuan** të rrëmbejnë studenten Afërdita Aliu (1973) nga Kaçaniku i Vjetër, të cilës ia plaçkitën 60 DM dhe 50 dinarë. Falë ndërhyrjes së një qytetari shqiptar ajo **shpëtoi** nga rrëmbimi dhe **u dërgua** në ambulancë ku **iu dha** ndihma mjekësore. Njëri nga personat e panjohur e **paska sulmuar** Afërditën dhe e **paska kërcënuar** me revole edhe më 17 janar. (*Këshilli për Mbrojtjen e të Drejtave e të Lirive të Njeriut Informata*. nr. 457 9 February 1999, www.albanian.com/kmdlj - cdhrf@albanian.com)

In the center of town, two unknown persons who **were speaking** Serbian **attacked** and **attempted** to kidnap the student Afërdita Aliu (1973) from

Old Kačanik, from whom they **stole** 60 DM and 50 dinars. Thanks to the intervention of two Albanian citizens she **was saved** from the assault and **sent** to a clinic, where she **received** medical attention. One of the unknown persons **had attacked** Afërdita and **threatened** her with a revolver also on 17 January.

(7) Četirieset i četirigodišen kumanovec **zaginal** od električen udar vo vtornikot kaj seloto Studena Bara pokraj rekata Pčinja, vo momentot koga so vrvot od trskata **udril** vo žica od dalekovod. K.B. **bil pronajden** mrtov vo neposredna blizina na rekata vo ranite utrinski časovi vo sredata. Spored policijata, toj **zaminal** na ribolov vo vtornikot popladne, a otkako ne se **vratil**, negovata supruga **organizirala** potraga po nego. Po pronaogjanjeto na teloto, taa **bila izvestena** od lokalnata policija, koja zaedno so istražen sudija **izvršila** uvid na mestoto na nastanot. Prvičnite policiski informacii velat deka smrta **nastapila** otkako K.B. barajkji povolno mesto za ribolov se **dvižel** so trska v race i so vrvot od trskata **udril** vo žicata od dalekovod, pri što **došlo** električen udar. Po izvršeniot pregled **bile pronajdeni** tragi od električen udar vo predelot na desnata raka. (Dnevnik, 17 May 2002, 13).

A forty-four year old man from Kumanovo **died** from an electric shock on Tuesday near the village of Studena Bara along the river Pčinja when the tip of his fishing pole **hit** a high tension wire. K.B. **was found** dead right by the river early on Wednesday morning. According to the police, he **had gone** fishing on Tuesday afternoon, and when he did not **return** his spouse **organized** a search for him. After the location of the body, she **was informed** by the local police, who together with the chief investigator **examined** the place where the event occurred. Preliminary police information states that the death **occurred** when K.B., seeking a good fishing spot **was moving** along with his pole in his hands and **struck** the wire with the tip of his pole, which **caused** the electric shock. After a complete examination, traces of electric shock **were found** on his right hand.

The difference between narrative usage at the sentence level and in larger units of discourse is that the Albanian aorist and imperfect, unlike the Macedonian and Turkish, do not carry any nuance of personal witnessing (pace Sadiku 1976). In this respect, a fundamental difference between languages with true present admiratives, on the one hand, and Balkan Slavic and Turkish, on the other, is the fact that the former do not have marked confirmatives whereas the latter do. That the meaning in question is personal confirmation and not literal witnessing is beautifully illustrated by an example that I witnessed in an interchange between Zuzana Topolin!ska and a Macedonian colleague back in October of 1986. In the course of conversation, the following interchange occurred:

- (8) Zuzana: Blaže **bil** vo Moskva. Makedonski kolega: Da, **beše**.
Zuzana: Blaže **was** in Moscow. Macedonian colleague: Yes, [I know]
he **was**.

In example (8), Zuzana chose the l-form because she was not in Moscow herself, but our Macedonian colleague, who was also not in Moscow, responded in the definite (confirmative) past because he accepted the fact as generally known despite the fact that he did not see Blaže in Moscow (pace Lunt 1952:93). Interestingly enough, however, Meglenoromanian appears to possess the narrative nonconfirmative without a corresponding marked confirmative. It is well-known that this language has been heavily influenced by Macedonian, but it appears here that the marked nonconfirmative uses of the l-form were calqued without any influence of the marked confirmative uses of the definite pasts, thus creating a system midway between the Balkan Slavic/Turkish type, on the one hand, and the Albanian/Romanian/Aromanian on the other.

In languages where the admirative does not occur in extended narratives and functions as a true present, it can occur in present interrogatives, whereas this is not the case in languages where the nonconfirmative is a narrative tense. Example (9) is illustrative.

- (9) Albanian: Ku qenka mjeshtri?
Romanian: [Pe] Unde **va fi fiind** meşterul?
Novo Selo Bulgarian: Kudè **budàčă** majstor? (cf. Mladenov 1969:110)
Bulgarian: Kàde **bil** majstoràt
Macedonian: Kade **bil** majstorot?
Turkish: Usta neredeymiş?
Meglenoromanian: Îundi **fost-au** majstoru[l]?
Bela di Suprã Aromanian: *Iu **fuska** majstorlu?
Where **is** the boss? [Albanian, Romanian, Novo Selo Bulgarian]
Where **was** the boss? [Bulgarian, Macedonian, Turkish, Meglenoromanian]

The context of the example is that of a man walking into a barber shop expecting to see the boss. The Albanian admirative indicates that he is surprised at the very moment of speech, and Romanian and Novo Selo Bulgarian permit similar usages of the present presumptive and probabilitve, respectively.⁵ Here, the

⁵ This is an important difference between admirative usage and dubitative usage. If the customer were to ask, e.g., in Turkish, “Usta neredede?” and the apprentice were to hem and haw, and the exasperated customer did not believe him, he could then exclaim: “*Yi be, usta neredeymiş?!,*” ‘OK, then, where **is** the master?!’ but this quotation would be an exclamation of sarcastic exasperation at the apprentice’s previous responses, i.e. a

Albanian admirative can function as a true present tense, whereas as such usage is unacceptable in Balkan Slavic, Meglenoromanian, and Turkish. Interestingly enough, the Aromanian admirative equivalent does not appear to be acceptable at all. And so, here again, we see that a South Danubian Balkan Romance language that borrowed or calqued a contact language's nonconfirmative has integrated it into the overall system in a different fashion. Moreover, in the Romanian presumptive, which can normally be formed with the future, subjunctive, or conditional marker, only the form using the future marker (*va*) is acceptable in this context: In this context the customer could not use the subjunctive *să* nor conditional *ar* in place of *va*, although apparently the subjunctive marker can occur in yes/no questions.⁶ Moreover, reported use of the Romanian presumptive appears to be limited to the conditional marker.

It is also the case that a system can pass from one type to the other. Thus, for example, in the Macedonian dialects of the extreme southwest periphery (Korča-Kostur), the new perfect in *ima* 'have' has completely replaced the old perfect using the l-participle leaving only remnants of the marked nonconfirmative uses and pushing the l-participle completely out of connected narratives. The result is a combination of Balkan Slavic and Albanian restrictions: In the Korča-Kostur dialects of Macedonian, the l-form does not occur in connected narratives (as in Albanian) and its apparent present meanings all have past reference, i.e. must refer to pre-existing states and cannot have true present meaning (cf. Mazon 1936, Friedman 1988a). In the Arbëresh dialects of Italy, the Arvanitika dialects of Greece, and the Lab and Çam dialects of the extreme south of contiguous Albanian linguistic territory, it appears that the inverted-perfect-based admirative never developed (Altimari 1994), in Ukraine it has remained a kind of inverted perfect (Kotova 1956), while in Northern Albanian (especially rural Geg), the admirative still retains nuances of its meaning as an inverted perfect (Çabej 1979:16-18; or perhaps has retained or reverted to non-admirative meaning under the influence of local Serbian dialects) or at least restriction to the past tense. Thus, for example, in Dushmani, 30 km east of Shkodër near the Montenegrin border, the admirative only occurs in the perfect, e.g. *pa·ska pa·[s]*, Standard Albanian *paska pasur*; see Cimochofski 1951:116).

dubitative, rather than a genuine question. The same holds true for the Balkan Slavic equivalents.

⁶ I wish to thank Adrian Poruciuc for this information. It represents a crucial differentiation among the three types of presumptive constructions, which are generally treated as synonymous. The investigation of this phenomenon will have to be left for another work.

5. Conclusion

There appears to be a fundamental difference between nonconfirmatives at the sentential and at the discourse levels. If marked nonconfirmatives can be used in extended discourse, they cannot function as true presents (Turkish, Balkan Slavic, Meglenoromanian), and if they can function as true presents, they will not occur in extended discourse (Albanian, Romanian, Aromanian, Novo Selo). Moreover, in the case of Aromanian and Novo Selo, the influence of Albanian and Romanian, respectively, is clear, while the influence of Balkan Slavic on Meglenoromanian is well known. While Turkish appears to have introduced the impetus for all these developments, nonetheless, there appear to be three distinct groupings: perfect-based discourse level (Turkish, Macedonian, Bulgarian, Meglenoromanian), perfect-based sentence level (Albanian, Bela di Suprã Aromanian, Kostur-Korča Macedonian), and modal-based sentence level (Romanian and Novo Selo Bulgarian). Moreover, the smaller languages and dialects were influenced by contact with larger surrounding languages: Meglenoromanian by Macedonian, Bela di Suprã Aromanian and Kostur-Korča Macedonian by Albanian, and Novo Selo Bulgarian by Romanian). It may well be that universal properties affected these three distinct convergences.

Appendix of Verb Tables

	<i>synthetic (definite)</i>	<i>analytic (indefinite)</i>	<i>pluperfect</i>
<i>aorist</i>	napravi	napravit	beše napravil
<i>imperfect</i>	[na]praveše	[na]pravel	beše [na]pravel
<i>perfect</i>	<i>present</i>	<i>nonconfirmative</i>	<i>past</i>
	ima [na]praveno	imal [na]praveno	imaše [na]praveno

Table 1: Macedonian 3 sg (masc) 'do'

MACEDONIAN			TURKISH		
Confirmative	Neutral	Nonconfirmative	Confirmative	Neutral	Nonconfirmative
<i>past</i> napravi	napravit	->	yaptı	yapmıştır	yapmış
<i>fut.</i> <-	kje napravi	kje napravil	<--	yapacak	yapacakmış

Table 2: Macedonian and Turkish 3 sg 'do' past & future (partial)

PERFECT		PLUPERFECT	
vizút-ăm	vizút-ăm	vut-ăm vizút	vut-ăm vizút
vizút-ăi	vizút-ăi	vut-ăi vizút	vut-ăi vizút
vizút-ău	vizút-ău	vut-ău vizút	vut-ău vizút

Table 3 The Meglenoromanian Inverted PASTS 'see'

	Nonadmirative	Admirative
Present	kam	paskam
Perfect	kam pasur	paskam pasur
Imperfect	kisha	paskësha
Pluperfect (impf.)	kisha pasur	paskësha pasur
Double Perfect	kam pasë pasur	paskam pasë pasur
Double Pluperfect	kisha pasë pasur	paskësha pasë pasur
Aorist	pata	—
2nd Pluperfect (aor.)	pata pasur	—
2nd Double Pluperfect (aor.)	pata pasë pasur	—

Table 4: Albanian 1 sg 'have'

	NONADMIRATIVE		ADMIRATIVE	
<i>present</i>	lukrã	punon	lukracka	punuaka
<i>perfect</i>	ari lukratã	ka punuar	avuska lukratã	paska punuar
<i>pluperfect</i>	ave lukratã	kish punuar	--	paskësh punuar
<i>2nd pluperfect</i>	avu lukratã	pat punuar	--	--
<i>double perfect</i>	ari avut lukratã	ka pasë punuar	ari avuska lukratã	paska pasë punuar
<i>double plup.</i>	ave avut lukratã	kish pasë punuar	ave avuska lukratã	paskësh pasë punuar
<i>2nd dbl. plup.</i>	avu avut lukratã	pat pasë punuar	--	--

Table 5: Aromanian (Fãrãlolu, Bela di Suprã) & Albanian Indicatives (3sg 'work')

invariants ~ 1-2-3sg-1-2-3pl		
o ~ i ~ voi-vei-va-vom-vei-vor ~ oi-oi-o-om-o-i-or	(future)	fi
sã	(subjunctive)	lucrînd (present)
aş-ai-ar-am-a-i-ar	(conditional)	lucrat (past/perfect)

Table 6: The Romanian Presumptive 'work'

present	1	gledáčam	gledáčamo
	2	gledáčáš	gledáčatã
	3	gledáčã	gledáčãju
future		čã glãdãčãm, etc.	
past		budãčãm ~ bičãm glãdãl, etc.	

Table 7:The novo selo probabilitive ‘see’

Macedonian-Albanian Contact-Induced Language Change Today

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As is the case for the grammatical structures of almost all of the languages of the world, so, too, the grammatical structures of the Slavic languages have not developed in isolation. The processes of divergence that enable us to identify Slavic as an historical linguistic phenomenon have never been completely divorced from processes of convergence with historically distinct language groups, which processes are themselves by their very nature part of the study of the grammatical structure of the Slavic languages. Thus, for example, the Common Slavic dialects that became Modern Macedonian and the Common Albanian dialects that became Modern Albanian have been in contact since the arrival of the Slavs in the Balkans (on the lexicon see especially Ylli 1997 as well as Hamp 1994 for a general summary). These languages continue to be in contact in a variety of bi- and multilingual situations, and as a result innovations continue to occur in both languages. In this article I shall examine an innovation in the Albanian dialects of Macedonia that is particularly worthy of note because it involves the complex interaction of grammatical re-analysis and calquing.¹ This in turn shows how the importance of surface analysis—what, borrowing from computer jargon, I call the WYSIWYG (pronounced [wízijwig] What You See Is What You Get) principle—interacts with both older and later Slavic grammatical developments.

Weigand (1923/24, 1925) was the first to notice certain similarities between the Albanian admirative (*mënyra habitore*) and what he called Bulgarian (in modern terms, Balkan Slavic) admirative usage and suggested that the Balkan Slavic usage was the result of Albanian influence. He described the Albanian admirative as an inverted perfect and cited example (1), transcribed here as in the original, in both articles:

¹ Some of the research for this article was conducted while I was living in Skopje, Republic of Macedonia, with support from a Fulbright-Hays Post-Doctoral Fellowship from the U.S. Department of Education as well as a fellowship from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation in 2008-2009. I gratefully acknowledge their support. Neither organization is responsible for the opinions expressed in this article.

- (1) To bilo xubavo v grada! (Bulgarian)
Kjen-ka bukër ndë kasaba! (Albanian)
'How fine town life is!'

The 1925 article generated denials of Albanian influence on Bulgarian by Romanski (1926) and Beševliev (1928), but it was cited approvingly by Sandfeld (1930:119-20). Earlier assertions that the Albanian admirative derived from an unattested inverted future are definitively rejected by Demiraj (1971a), who also demonstrates the fact that the admirative is attested in its current form (albeit with variable semantics) in the earliest Albanian writers. Friedman (1980, 1981, 2005b) gives an exhaustive summary of previous discussions for Albanian, Bulgarian, Macedonian, and Turkish and also demonstrates the fundamental differences between the Balkan Slavic and Turkish phenomenon, on the one hand, and the Albanian, on the other. The Albanian admirative is marked for non-confirmativity, i.e. surprise (which requires a contrary expectation, i.e. a previous state of nonbelief, doubt or disbelief, or implication that the information is inferred, reported, etc. It constitutes a distinct set of paradigms in which the present, although derived historically from an inverted perfect, is now a true present, and, moreover, any of the past admiratives (imperfect, perfect, and pluperfect) can substitute for the present precisely in contexts where Balkan Slavic has an admirative use of the perfect as can be seen from (2a-e), where (2a) is the original Bulgarian, (2b) is the Macedonian translation—both with admirative usage of the past *bil*—while (2c-d) are Albanian translations of the same Bulgarian sentence using a perfect and pluperfect admirative, respectively, and (2e) is a translation of a similarly admirative usage of the plural *bili* with an imperfect admirative:

- (2) a. *Brej, hepten magare bil tozi čovek.* (Konstantinov 1895 [1973]: 88, 89)
b. *Brej, epten magare bil toj čovek!* (Konstantinov 1967: 91, 93)
c. *Bre! gomar i madh paska qënë ky njeri!* (Konstantinov 1975:96)
d. *Ore, fare gomar paskësh qënë ky njeri!* (Konstantinov 1975: 98)
'What an ass that guy is!'
e. *Ama njerëz fare pa mend qënkëshin këta...* (Konstantinov 1975:24)
'What fools are these...'

By contrast, as I have demonstrated elsewhere (e.g., Friedman 1981, 1986b, 2005b) the Balkan Slavic admiratives are actually non-confirmative uses of the unmarked past or perfect whose non-confirmativity is derived from the contrast with a marked confirmative past. In the Albanian of Macedonia, however, we

find a new development of the admirative, viz. the replacement of the 3 sg. present optative of ‘be’ *qoftë X, qoftë Y* with the 3 sg. pres. admirative of ‘be’ *qenka X, qenka Y* in the meaning ‘be it X or be it Y’ or ‘whether X or Y’. I will argue here that this is a Balkanism connected with Macedonian influence that derives from an Albanian reinterpretation of a Macedonian optative usage of the Macedonian verbal *l*-form. As such, it is a relatively rare example of a calqued rather than copied (borrowed) conjunction.²

The Macedonian verbal *l*-form is descended from the Common Slavic resultative participle, which in Old Church Slavonic (*ceteris paribus*, the equivalent of Common Slavic for our purposes here) was used to form the perfect, pluperfect, conditional, and future perfect. In Macedonian, unlike Bulgarian, the *l*-form lost its ability to function attributively but remained in use for the perfect, pluperfect, and conditional. At some late stage in Common Slavic, i.e. before the rise of the opposition confirmative/non-confirmative, what was the *l*-participle developed an optative usage in the third person singular to replace the third singular imperative which, being homonymous with the second singular imperative, was lost. According to Vaillant (1966:97), such usage is found in Czech as well as throughout South Slavic and thus must have arisen prior to their separation. The popular Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian/Montenegrin toast *živ(j)eli* as well as the use of the use of invariant *bilo* in the meaning of ‘any’, e.g. *bilo ko(j) = koj i da e* ‘anybody’ are examples of such optative usage. It is

² Camaj (1984:163) makes the important point that in both older and modern Albanian writers, the subjunctive present admirative can be used in the protasis of irreal conditionals, as in his example *të fryke era, s’kishim me ndejë jashtë* ‘If the wind were blowing, we would not sit outside.’ Newmark, Hubbard and Prifti (1982:86) also cite the irreal conditional use of the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive admirative, e.g. ... *fluturojnë e sillen ca re të vogla, të zeza pis, sikur të qenkëshin tym prej dinamiti* ‘...there fly around and roam about a few small clouds, pitch black, as if the actually were dynamite smoke.’ and *Sikur e gjyshja të mos paskëshin nxjerrë kokën nga qerrja... kushedi sa gjatë do të kishte mbetur ashtu...* ‘If his grandmother had not actually stuck her head out of the cart..., who knows how long he would have remained like that...’ These modal uses are connected with usages in some of the earliest attested admiratives (see Demiraj 1971a) and are, I would argue, a development that is entirely distinct from the non-confirmative meaning (see also Liosis 2010 on the modal fate of the admirative in Arvanitika). As Camaj (1984:187) points out, the Albanian optative itself is an internal Albanian development with close morphological ties to the aorist (which, we can add, is the one paradigm absent from the admirative). It would appear that expressions of desire and *irrealis* were in a state of relative flux in Albanian for some time before the attestation of our earliest documents. Nonetheless, the phenomenon we are examining in this article is based on a later Albanian system, where both optative and admirative have achieved their current states, but at the same time a new development is possible.

worth noting that in its meaning of ‘any’, East Slavic *(-)bud’/budz’* and Polish *bądź* seem to preserve the an old optative usage of the third singular imperative.

For Polish, however, Topolińska (2008) points out uses of *było* that also look optative, as in example (3):

- (3) *było nie było, zrobimy to*
‘kako da e, kje go napravime toa’
(lit. let it be or not be/how it is, we will do it.)

She compares this to usages of *bulo* in Ukrainian and *bio*, etc. the former Serbo-Croatian, such as (4):

- (4) *Bilo doć!*
‘ko ti je kriv što nisi došao’
(lit. whose fault is it you didn’t come/you should have come)

Vaillant (1966:97) attributes such uses of the *l*-participle to an elliptical optative composed of *da* plus the conditional (3 sg. *bi* plus *l*-participle), e.g., Macedonian *Dal ti Gospod dobro!* literally ‘May the Lord grant you [that which is] good!’. He also notes that Russian uses of the type *pošël* ‘Let’s go’ have nothing to do with the South and West Slavic phenomenon under consideration here but are rather expressive uses of the past. (Cf. colloquial English *We’re outa here.*) It thus seems to be the case that we are dealing with an old isogloss that spread from South to North to include West Slavic and even Ukrainian, but not Russian.

In Macedonian, the *l*-form was reinterpreted as a perfect rather than an elliptical conditional and can thus occur in other persons with the auxiliary of the old perfect rather than the conditional marker, e.g. *Da ne sum te videl!* literally ‘May I not have seen you!’, i.e. I’d better not see you [around here]. In the course of subsequent centuries, the perfect meaning of the old present resultative perfect using the *l*-form in Macedonian came into competition with that paradigm’s non-confirmative meaning, which arose as a result of the development of marked confirmativity in the synthetic pasts (see Friedman 1986b for detailed discussion). In southwestern Macedonian, with the rise of a new resultative perfect using the auxiliary *ima* ‘have’ and the neuter verbal adjective, the old perfect using the present of ‘be’ plus the verbal *l*-form became restricted to non-confirmative usage and, in the extreme southwest, disappeared almost entirely. To the north and east of the Ohrid-Struga region up to the river Vardar (and beyond, since World War Two), the old and new perfects are in competition, and the old perfect using the verbal *l*-form is an unmarked past, but with a

chief contextual variant meaning of non-confirmativity (see Friedman 1977 for detailed explanation).

At the same time, with all these developments, a remnant of the old Late Common Slavic use of the *l*-participle as an optative (without, n.b., an auxiliary in all the languages where it occurs) developed in Macedonian and Bulgarian into a disjunction using the third person singular neuter of ‘be’ *bilo...*, *bilo...* in the meaning ‘whether..., or...’³ In its meaning, this construction corresponds to the Albanian use of the 3 sg. present optative *qoftë...*, *qoftë...*. In modern Albanian, the optative is more or less limited to expressions such as *rrofsh!* ‘thank you’ (literally, ‘may you live’) *me nder qofsh* ‘you’re welcome’ (literally ‘may you be with honor’) and a variety of other formulae, blessings, and curses that can use any verb in any person, such that the paradigm is very much alive albeit quite restricted in function. This function, however, is very tightly connected to the desiderative function of the optative. As such, it rarely occurs outside this function, and when it does, e.g. in the expression *në qoftë se* ‘if’, it can always be replaced by some other locution (*në, po, po të*, etc.).

In the Albanian of Macedonia (but not that of Kosovo, Montenegro, Albania, or Greece),⁴ it appears that the combination of restriction of the Albanian optative to wishes combined with the surface similarity of the Macedonian optative use of the *l*-form to its non-confirmative use, especially with the verb ‘be’ as in the example from Weigand cited for Bulgarian above (the Macedonian would be the same, *mutatis mutandis*, see Friedman 1981, 1986b for further discussion), has resulted in a calqued replacement of *qoftë* by *qenka* in the meaning of ‘whether..., or...’. Thus, for example, an Albanian politician from Tetovo talking with a colleague in Skopje about the importance of investment made the point that nationality was irrelevant: *qenka shqiptar, qenka amerikan, qenka maqedonas...* ‘[it doesn’t matter] whether it’s (=let it be) an Albanian, an American, or a Macedonian...’. The Macedonian for *qenka* here would be *bilo*, while standard Albanian would use *qoftë* in this position.

It is worth noting that, based on evidence from a variety of languages (Matras 1998), we have here an interesting and relatively rare example of calquing as opposed to ordinary borrowing in a conjunction. Thus, for example, in the hierarchy of borrowed conjunctions in Romani, ‘but’ is most likely to come from the most recent contact language, ‘or’ from an older contact language, and ‘and’ is least likely to be borrowed (Elšík and Matras 2006:185). Colloquial Macedonian and Albanian in Macedonia, for example, share Turkish *ama* for

³ Some speakers of BCS accept the *bilo...bilo...* construction, and it is attested in literature, but many modern speakers today reject such usage.

⁴ I wish to thank Rexhep Ismajli for confirming that this usage is limited to Macedonia.

‘but’ (literary Albanian *por* and literary Macedonian *no*), but have native expressions for ‘or’ and ‘and’. Moreover, in the context of nineteenth and twentieth century nation-state politics, the relative importance of Macedonian for Albanian-speakers *sensu largo*, is considerably more recent than the importance (and prestige) of Turkish. At the same time, however, day-to-day contacts between Macedonian and Albanian dialects at the local level in what is today the Republic of Macedonia have a very long history, and one that is not nearly as contestational as current politics would suggest. Thus, I would argue, the fact that what we have here is not borrowing but calquing—and at the middle level in the hierarchy at that—which points both to both a long-standing bi- or multilingualism between the Albanian and Macedonian language communities. Such a calque also demonstrates the accessibility of verbal forms when used in the function of other parts of speech. Finally, it is the Albanian calque that illuminates the grammatical complexity of the Macedonian structure.

The Sociolinguistics of Literary Macedonian*

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Demography

Macedonian is the official language of the Republic of Macedonia. According to the 1981 census *Statistički bilten broj 1295* 1981: 8, 12, 18; *Nova Makedonija* (17.II.82: 1,3), Yugoslav citizens declaring their nationality (*narodnost*) as Macedonian constituted 6% (1,341,598) of the total population (22,427,585). Of these Macedonians, 95% (1,281,195) lived in the RM, where they constituted 67% of the total population (1,912,257). Of the remaining 60,603 declared Macedonians in Yugoslavia, 81% (48,986) lived in Serbia, where they constituted 0.5% of the population, 5362 lived in Croatia, 3288 in Slovenia, 1892 in Bosnia and Hercegovina, and 875 in Montenegro.¹

The identification of ethnicity and language, however, is not a simple one-to-one relationship. While it is safe to assume that virtually all those who declared Macedonian nationality have Macedonian as their mother tongue, there are other census categories that include some native speakers of Macedonian. Of these, the two largest are the 39,555 Muslims (2.1%) and the 14,240 Yugoslavs (0.7%). The former category includes Macedonian-speaking Muslims, popularly known as Torbeš, but it also included Muslims with other native languages: Serbo-Croatian, Albanian, Turkish, and Romani. The latter category includes but is not limited to) children of mixed marriages, some of whom had

* I thank the Committee for Information of the Republic of Macedonia, the Institute for the Macedonian Language, the University of Skopje, and the Macedonian Academy of Arts and Sciences, which have generously supplied me with many of the publications essential to this research.

¹ The 1991 census was not completed in all regions of Macedonia owing to political tensions of that period. Figures for the 1994 census are given in "Language in Macedonia as an Identity Construction Site" in this volume. The figures for ethnic affiliation released for the 2002 census (Census of Population, Households and Dwellings in the Republic of Macedonia, Final Data, Vol. 13, Republic Bureau of Statistics, May 2005) were the following: Total population 2022547 {Skopje 506926}, Macedonians 1297981 (338358); Albanians 509083 (103891); Turks 77959 (8595); Roms 53879 (23475); Vlachs 9695 (2557); Serbs 35939 (14298); Bosniaks 17018 (7585); Others 20993 (8167). The 2011 census was cancelled owing to political disagreements.

Macedonian as their native language. Other census categories which probably included native speakers of Macedonian are the following: Undeclared (508), Regional (956), Unknown (4037), Jewish (28).²

The other language-based nationalities of the RM with populations over 5000 are the following: Albanians 337,726 (19.8%), Turks 86,691 (4.5%), Serbs (44,613 2.3%), Roms 43,223 (2.3%), Aromanians (Vlahs) 6392 (0.3%).³ The capital of the RM and its largest city is Skopje, with a population of 409,626, of whom 69% are Macedonians in the 1981 census. The metropolitan area of Skopje included 120 villages, bringing the total population to 506,545, of whom 63.1% were Macedonian.⁴ Of the remaining population of Skopje Proper/Greater Skopje, the ethnic percentages were the following: Albanians 11.5%/17.1%, Roms 5.6%/4.8%, Turks 3.3%/4.1%. The second-largest city is Bitola, with a population of 78,761, of whom 87.7% were Macedonian.

There are significant numbers of Macedonians living outside of Yugoslavia as well. These can be divided into two groups: those living in neighboring Balkan countries and those who have emigrated outside the Balkans. We will discuss these groups in later sections, but for the moment we can say that the former are in Bulgaria, Greece, and Albania as a result of the breakup of the Ottoman Empire and the subsequent partition of Macedonia in 1912-1913 and the various border adjustments of the years that followed.⁵ The latter are concentrated chiefly in the USA, Canada, and Australia, although many Macedonians also work in Western Europe, and some fled or were deported from Greece to Eastern Europe and the USSR in the wake of the Greek Civil War of 1948. While it is difficult to determine the total number of speakers of Macedonian due to the official policies of the neighboring Balkan states and the fluid nature of emigration, various estimates indicate that the total number of Macedonian-speakers is somewhere between 2,000,000 and 2,500,000.

² The category unknown included those citizens who declared a nationality unknown to or unrecognized by the census bureau. Among those were at least 200 Egipkani/Egupci (ŭpci) 'Egyptians/Gypsies'. Most of these are Albanian speaking Muslims of Romani origin, although Sabota 6.III.82:2).

³ The 1991 and 1994 censuses recognized them as a separate category. Other nationalities include Austrians, Bulgarians, Croats, Czechs, Germans, Greeks, Hungarians, Italians, Montenegrins, Poles, Ruthenians, Russians, Slovaks, Slovenes, and Ukrainians.

⁴ Census districts have been redrawn more than once since 1991.

⁵ The dialects of the Slavic speaking Muslims of Gora in southwesternmost Kosovo and adjacent Albania are also now generally recognized as belonging more with Macedonian than with Serbian (Vidoeski 1986a).

Historical overview

Before the Balkan Wars

For reasons which will become increasingly apparent as this article progresses, the discussion of the history of the Macedonian language is treated by some groups as a highly charged political issue rather than as a linguistic study. The geographic definition of Macedonia, however, is relatively undisputed, and so we will begin with it. The geographic entity *Macedonia* can be defined in modern political terms as the Republic of Macedonia, the Blagoevgrad (Gorna Džumaja) district in Bulgaria (Pirin Macedonia), the regions (*periphēreies*) of Western Macedonia (*Dytiki Makedonia*), Central Macedonia (*Kentriki Makedonia*), and the western part of the region of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace (*Anatolikē Makedonia kai Thrakē*) in Greece (Aegean Macedonia), and the territory of about 50 villages in eastern Albania spoken in three regions along the Macedonian and Kosovo borders (Prespa, Golobrdō [Albanian Goloborda], Gora). A series of mountains and rivers generally gives geographic definition to these political/regional boundaries.

Slavic speakers came to Macedonia and the rest of the Balkan peninsula during the sixth and seventh centuries of the early medieval period (see Fine 1983: 25-73 for details). The Ottoman Turkish conquest in the 14th century brought with it a disruption of cultural continuity, however, so that a historical outline of the development of modern literary Macedonian is best begun at the close of the 18th century (cf. Lunt 1953: 364). At this time, the principal determining factor in ethnic identification was religion, and the majority of Slavic speakers in Bulgaria and Macedonia were Orthodox Christians. As the Orthodox Church in European Turkey was controlled by the Greek patriarchate of Constantinople, which by 1767 had succeeded in eliminating the last vestiges of the independent Slavic churches in its jurisdiction, these Orthodox Slavs were considered Greek. The Greek Church actively sought to extend this definition to all spheres of cultural life, i.e. it sought to Hellenize those peoples under its jurisdiction.⁶ Thus, for example, while the few literate Orthodox Slavs of this period had essentially two literary languages at their disposal — dialectally influenced recensions of Church Slavonic and Greek (Koneski 1967a:88) — the

⁶ This definition of nationality is still promulgated in Greece, e.g. in referring to Orthodox Albanians as Albanophone Greeks cf. e.g. (Ruches 1967:54). Greek speakers in Albania are never referred to as Hellenophone Albanians.

Greek Church vigorously discouraged the use of the former and wished to replace it completely with the latter (cf. Friedman 1975:86).⁷

With the rise of South Slavic nationalism at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries came the concomitant creation of the modern South Slavic literary languages. For the (Orthodox Christian) Slavic speakers of Macedonia and Bulgaria, this formation took place in the context of three struggles: 1) against Hellenization, 2) against archaization i.e. the use of Church Slavonic, 3) over the choice of a popular dialectal base. During the first half of the 19th century, Macedonians and Bulgarians were united in their struggle against Hellenization, and both groups contained archaizers whose views were ultimately vanquished. All the writers of this early period who were attempting to combat Hellenization and archaization and to raise vernacular Slavic to literary status called their language Bulgarian. The distinction between Macedonian and Bulgarian is essentially immaterial for this time, as the proponents of a literary language based on colloquial Slavic all wrote in their local dialects, influenced to varying degrees by Church Slavonic. In their struggle with Hellenization and archaization, these writers did not concern themselves with the choice of a particular dialectal base.

In the 1840's, however, with the spread of Slavic literacy in European Turkey, a conflict arose between two major centers of Macedo-Bulgarian literary activity: one in northeastern Bulgaria, the other in southwestern Macedonia. The Macedonians envisioned a single Macedo-Bulgarian literary language called Bulgarian but based on or at least significantly influenced by the dialects of Macedonia. The Bulgarians rejected this idea, insisting that their Thraco-Moesian (Eastern) standard be adopted without compromise and attacking those Macedonians who attempted to introduce Macedonian elements into their literary work see Friedman (1975:87-88). By the 1860's, Macedonians were publishing textbooks based on Macedonian dialects while still publicly advocating a Macedo-Bulgarian compromise. Nonetheless, until the establishment of the Bulgarian exarchate in 1870-1872, this conflict was subordinated to the greater struggle for Slavic independence from the Greek Church, i.e. the battle against Hellenization took precedence over the choice of a dialectal base, although the latter already contained the beginnings of Macedonian separatism.

With the establishment of an independent Bulgarian Church, however, the Bulgarians publicly and uncompromisingly adopted the attitude that Macedonian was a degenerate dialect and that Macedonians should learn literary Bulgarian (Lunt 1953:369-370; Koneski 1967a:251). The Macedonians likewise

⁷ Despite these policies, Macedonian language religious texts were used in parts of Macedonia. See Lindstedt et al. (2008) for an example and discussion.

rejected a Macedo-Bulgarian compromise, but their rejection was in favor of a separate Macedonian language and nationality.⁸ The first published statement of Macedonian national and linguistic separatism was made in 1875 Pulevski (1875:48-49). The first complete definitive statement of Macedonian nationalism and linguistic policy was published in 1903 by Krste Misirkov (1903:131, 145), who concluded his book on the Macedonian question published in response to the failure of the Ilinden 'St. Elijah's Day' rebellion of August 2, 1903 [N.S.] by calling for the establishment of a Macedonian state independent from both Bulgaria and Serbia and for the creation of a Macedonian literary language based on the Prilep-Bitola dialect group, i.e. precisely those dialects which served as the basis of modern standard Macedonian. Most copies of Misirkov's book were destroyed on the orders of Mihail Sarafov, a Bulgarian national activist. Its significance lies in the fact that it documents the fact that the concept of a Macedonian nationality and literary language was already clearly defined by the beginning of the century and not created *ex nihilo* by Yugoslav fiat in 1944, as is sometimes claimed even in Western sources (cf. King 1973:218; Skendi 1980:37, 46).

The First and Second Balkan Wars (1912-1913) resulted in the withdrawal of Turkey from most of the Balkans and Macedonia's subsequent partition among Bulgaria, Greece, and Serbia, all of whom had conflicting territorial claims to the region. At this point, the history of standard Macedonian must likewise be divided, as its subsequent development was effectively stifled in Greece and, except for the period 1946-1948, in Bulgaria. We will therefore treat developments among the Macedonian speakers of Greece and Bulgaria in the section on the relationship of Macedonian to other languages and limit the remainder of this section to the territory of the Republic of Macedonia.

After the Balkan Wars

During the period between the two World Wars, Vardar Macedonia was treated as a part of Southern Serbia, and Macedonian was treated as a Serbian dialect. This was consistent with the Serbian claims which had been advanced since the 19th century (Clissold et al. 1968: 145; Koneski 1959:15).⁹ Literary Serbo-

⁸ We should note here that there were (and still are) also speakers of Macedonian dialects who considered themselves to be Bulgarian or Serbian and favored the adoption of literary Bulgarian or Serbian. Since they did not contribute to the development of literary Macedonian, however, their activities are irrelevant to the discussion here.

⁹ Thus, for example, Belić (1919:250) claimed that the north and central Macedonian dialects were Serbian, while the southern dialects were Bulgarian, on the basis of the fact that the reflexes of Common Slavic */tj/,*/dj/ are /k/,/ǵ/ in the northern and central

Croatian was the language of the schools, press, and all facets of public life. Despite intensive efforts at Serbianization, however, Macedonian literature, including theater performances, was permitted to develop on a limited basis as a dialectal, folkloristic genre.¹⁰ I have been able to examine the manuscripts of a number of the literary works of this period and can attest to the fact that their language is extremely close to what became the codified standard.¹¹ In addition to Serbian permissiveness with regard to literature, another factor in the development of Macedonian national and linguistic consciousness during this period was the attempt at Serbianization itself. Forcing Macedonians to attend Serbian schools had the effect of increasing Macedonian self-awareness and unity by bringing together Macedonians from different parts of the country and compelling them to learn a language which was obviously different from their native one (Koneski 1967a:96; Lunt 1959:21).

In 1934, the Comintern ruled that the Macedonians had a right to exist as a separate people with a separate language, and illegal Communist Party newspapers began to be published and circulated (Apostolski 1969:85, 101, 106). During World War Two, Macedonia was occupied by the Bulgarian fascists, who set up Bulgarian-language schools. At the same time, among the Communists, the Yugoslavs won jurisdiction over Macedonia and followed Tito's policy of cultural autonomy by issuing leaflets and news bulletins in Macedonian (Lunt 1959:23). On August 2, 1944, Macedonian was formally established as a literary language and the official language of the Macedonian Republic at the first session of the Anti-Fascist Assembly of Macedonia (ASNOM). This declaration confirmed what was already de facto practice. It did not create a literary language out of the air, rather it granted recognition to a literary language whose modern development began in the 19th century and which had achieved the basic features of its distinctive form during the first four decades

dialects (like Serbo-Croatian /ć/,/đ/) but /šč/,/ždž/ in the south (like Bulgarian /št/,/žd/). This amounts to the arbitrary choice of a single isogloss as a linguistic boundary. Vaillant 1938:119) pointed out in answer to Belić's argument that on the basis of historical phonological developments Macedonian is closer to Bulgarian than to Serbian, and he went on to note that vestiges of /št/ in the /k/ area show that the latter reflex is the result of later substitution, e.g. in Galičnik (Debar region) *gakī* 'britches' but *gašnik* (cf. Bulgarian *gašnik*) 'a belt for holding up *gakī*'. Vaillant (1938:204-208), however, concluded his remarks with the observation that Macedonian was not a dialect of Bulgarian but deserved a separate place in the Macedo-Bulgarian group.

¹⁰ In Bulgaria, too, Macedonians were permitted to publish poetry in Macedonian dialects, but as Bulgarian dialect literature.

¹¹ The same can be said for the Macedonian poetry published in Bulgaria at that time.

of the 20th.¹² The subsequent history of Macedonian in the Republic of Macedonia is essentially the history of its standardization, and so it will be discussed in the section devoted to that topic.

The Macedonian dialects

An understanding of Macedonian dialectology is essential to both the discussion of standardization and the discussion of the relationship of Macedonian to related languages. In this section, therefore, we will give a general outline of the Macedonian dialectal situation.

From a dialectological standpoint, the South Slavic languages — Slovenian, the former Serbo-Croatian (now Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian, and Montenegrin, henceforth BCSM except when referring to the pre-1991 period), Macedonian, and Bulgarian — form a single continuum divided by a series of isoglosses and bundles of isoglosses. The dialects of any two proximate points along this continuum will be mutually intelligible, although the degree of similarity will vary with the number of intervening isoglosses. Thus, dialectal differentiation takes place with greater or lesser rapidity as one moves along the continuum, depending on the specific location and direction. Although there are regions where the bundles of isoglosses are so thick that the dialects on either side are distinguished by numerous significant features, these dialects remain mutually intelligible. At no place along this continuum can one point to a given isogloss or bundle of isoglosses which, on the basis of linguistic criteria, defines the boundary between two languages. So while Slovenian and Bulgarian are clearly different enough to be defined as separate languages and are not mutually intelligible, the transitions from the Slavic dialects of Slovenia to those of northern Croatia, from the dialects of Serbia and Kosovo to those of Bulgaria and Macedonia, and from those of Macedonia to those of Bulgaria are so gradual that no linguistic criterion such as mutual intelligibility can serve as the defining concept of language. The decision as to whether a given transitional South Slavic dialect belongs to one or another language is basically a sociopolitical one.¹³

¹² Much has been written in recent decades on the details of these processes. The basic facts as outlined here, however, are sufficient for our purposes.

¹³ Thus, for example, the dialects of the Bulgarian minority of southeastern Serbia are closer to those of the neighboring Serbian villages than to standard Bulgarian. The dialect of the Serbs of Kučevište in northern Macedonia is the same as that of the neighboring Macedonian village. On the other hand, the dialects of Gora share many more salient features with Macedonian than do those of the mountain valleys to the east or of Prizren to the north.

By defining Macedonian, for the purposes of this section, as the Slavic dialects spoken in geographical Macedonia as defined at the beginning of the preceding section, we can say the following with regard to the position of the Macedonian dialects within the South Slavic continuum. There is a bundle of significant isoglosses running roughly along the Serbian-Bulgarian political border, but at the Macedonian-Bulgarian political border these isoglosses fan out across Macedonia, so that while the transition from BCSM to Bulgarian is relatively rapid, that from BCSM to Macedonian to Bulgarian is very gradual (cf. Ivić 1956:12-18; Lunt 1959:21). Within geographical Macedonia, we can take the political boundaries of the Republic of Macedonia as defining the linguistic area that we will describe in greater detail, as the dialects of this area served as the basis of modern literary Macedonian. The following summary of the chief Macedonian dialectal divisions is based on the work of Vidoeski 1960-1961, 1962-1963, 1965).¹⁴

The most important bundle of isoglosses divides Macedonia into an East dialect area (*narečje*) and a West dialect area. A second, smaller bundle cuts across the Republic dividing the northern dialects (Tetovo-Skopje-Kumanovo-Kratovo-Kriva Palanka) from the rest. The West dialect area is characterized by a large central region (Veles-Prilep-Bitola-Kičevo) surrounded by peripheral regions centered on major valleys: Lower Polog (Tetovo), Upper Polog (Gostivar), Debar, and Ohrid-Prespa. The East Dialect area is characterized by the lack of a single large central region. Thus, starting from the southwest we have the following regions: Tikveš-Mariovo (Kavadarci-Negotino), which is transitional to the West dialect area, Štip-Strumica to the east, Maleševo (Delčevo-Pehčevo-Berovo) along the Bulgarian border and forming a single group with the neighboring Pirin dialects, Kratovo-Kriva Palanka (including Kumanovo) along the Serbian border, and the Gevgelija-Dojran dialects in the south east corner, which are part of the Lower Vardar (Kukuš-Voden) dialects of central Aegean Macedonia. See Map 1 for a map of the Republic of Macedonia with the salient toponyms marked.¹⁵

¹⁴ See now also Vidoeski 2005 and Koneski and Vidoeski 1983.

¹⁵ We should note here that the city of Skopje itself is virtually at the intersection of the east-west and north-south isogloss bundles.

Map 1. The Republic of Macedonia



In terms of phonological features, the entire West dialect area of the Republic of Macedonia is distinguished from the East dialect area by fixed antepenultimate stress, loss of the older velar fricative /x/ (except Lower Polog), and loss of older /v/ in intervocalic position (except Mala Reka in the Debar region). The East dialect area preserves /x/ (except Tikveš-Mariovo and Kumanovo-Kriva Palanka) and intervocalic /v/. The different types of accentual systems are among the major criteria used to distinguish the regions of the East dialect area, but the details do not concern us here. It suffices to say that only the western *narečije* has the fixed antepenultimate of the standard language. The modern reflexes of Common Slavic vocalic liquids (*r, *l), reduced high vowels (*i̇, *i̇) in strong position, and the back nasal (*q) can be used to separate the Macedonian dialects into three groups: 1) the Northern group (Lower Polog, Kumanovo-Kriva Palanka), 2) the Peripheral group (Upper Polog, Ohrid-Prespa, Dojran-Gevgelija), 3) the Central group (all the rest), with the Debar region as transitional between the Peripheral and the Central. The reflexes of these phonemes occur in many common words, and Macedonians themselves perceive them as diagnostic in determining a compatriot's place of origin. Table 1 gives illustrative examples of the reflexes in question.

Table 1. Diagnostic reflexes of common Slavic phonemes

phoneme	ǔ	ĩ	ṛ	!̣	q
North	søn	døn	krv	vuk	put
Central (east)	son	den	krv	vøk	pat
Central (west)	son	den	krv	vølk	pat
Debar ¹⁶	son	den	korv	vølk	pot
Peripheral	son	den	kørv	vølk	pæt
Gloss	dream	day	blood	wolf	road

The morphological and syntactic features of the greatest relevance to the codification of literary Macedonian are, for the most part, characteristic of either the East dialect area or the West dialect area in general and are given in Table 2. The Northern group occasionally belongs entirely with the East or the West, which will be indicated by a superscript <ⁿ>. Features that were selected for the standard are bolded for ease of comparison. If both sides are bolded, both were allowed by the time of the last major codification documents. A plus sign indicates a feature that is now the dominant norm in cases where a feature was either not selected or in competition with its alternative in the codification.

There are three other features pertaining to verbal morphology which are of particular relevance to the discussion of standardization. The isoglosses for these features, however, are quite complicated, and we will only treat the relevant ones in Table 3 (see Vidoeski 1950a, Usikova 1967:74-79, and Elson 1983 for more details).

¹⁶ The different dialects of the Debar region show considerable variation. The dialect of the town of Debar itself has the peripheral reflexes. Those given in the table represent the Reka, Drimkol, and Golobrdio dialects, where our use of *o* stands for /o/ or /ɔ/. The Mala Reka dialect has *krv*, *v!k*, *pot*.

Table 2. Morphological and syntactic features

West	East
Masc definite article <i>-o</i> , e.g., <i>domo</i> 'the house'	Masc definite article <i>-ot</i> , e.g., <i>domot</i>
Deictic definite articles <i>-v-</i>, <i>-n-</i> , e.g. <i>domov</i> 'this here house', <i>moston</i> 'that there bridge'	Absent
Synthetic dative pronouns , e.g., <i>nam</i> 'to us'	+Analytic dative pronouns , e.g., <i>na nas</i>
Other pronouns: 3 sg masc nom +toj 3 sg fem acc <i>je</i> (Northern <i>ga</i>) 3 sg fem dat <i>je</i> 3 pl acc <i>i</i>	ⁿ on ja (up to Veles-Prilep-Bitola) (Northern <i>gu</i>) i ⁿ gi
Monosyllabic masc pl <i>-ovi/-oj</i> , e.g. <i>volovi/voloj</i> 'oxen' (includes Tikveš-Mariovo)	Monosyllabic masc pl <i>-ove</i> , e.g. <i>volove</i>
ⁿ Oblique forms for proper names , e.g. <i>na Marka</i> 'to Marko'	+Absent <i>na Marko</i>)
+Absent <i>dva dni/denovi/denoi</i>)	ⁿ Use of quantitative masc. pl. <i>-a</i> , e.g. <i>dva dena</i> 'two days'
3sg pres <i>-t</i> , e.g. <i>nosit</i> 'he carries' <i>se</i> 'they are'	ⁿ 3 sg pres <i>-Ø</i> , e.g. <i>nosi</i> ⁿ <i>sa</i> (Maleševo <i>i</i>)
Absent (tie nosile)	3 sg/pl auxiliary used in past indefinite, e.g. <i>oni sa nosili</i> 'they have been carrying'
ima 'have' + neut verbal adj used to form perfect, e.g. <i>ima dojdeno</i> 'he/she/it has come'	Absent
+Absent	Use of imperfective aorist
Perfective present must be subordinated to a particle	Perfective present can be independent
Sentence initial clitics , e.g. <i>Go vidov</i> 'I saw him'	Absent (<i>Vidov go</i>)

Table 3. Special features of verbal morphology

1. Central group (east and west): All 1 sg pres in <i>-am</i>	Elsewhere: Variety of endings (<i>-u, -a, -im, -em</i> , etc.)
2. Polog, Skopje, Veles, Maleševo, parts of Kičevo and Poreče: three thematic conjugations <i>-a-, -i-, -e-</i> , e.g. 3 sg pres <i>gleda</i> 'look', <i>nosi</i> 'carry' <i>kaže</i> 'tell'	Elsewhere two thematic conjugations <i>-e-</i> and <i>-i-</i> conjugations merge in a variety of patterns; sometimes <i>-e-</i> merges with <i>-a-</i>)
3. Northern Group, Polog, parts of Veles, Kičevo, Poreče: derived imperfective in <i>-ue</i> , e.g. <i>zborue</i> 'speak' Prilep, Bitola, parts of Veles, Debar, Mariovo: <i>-uva</i> , e.g. <i>zboruva</i>	Elsewhere: other forms of the suffix, e.g. Ohrid: <i>zborvit</i> Debar: <i>zboroa</i> Gevgelija-Dojran and Tikveš: <i>zboruve</i>

History of standardization

The documents published during the first part of World War Two purposefully incorporated elements from a wide variety of dialects. Thus a single document would contain various forms of the same words and grammatical endings (see Koneski and Jašar-Nasteva 1966: 145-76). By the end of the War, however, the documents show a greater consistency indicative of the consensus that the dialects of the West Central region should serve as the basis of the literary norm. These dialects were a natural choice for a number of reasons. The West Central region is the largest in both area and population, the largest number of speakers from outside the region could adjust their speech to these dialects with the greatest ease, and these dialects are the most distinct from both Bulgarian and BCSM. It was likewise agreed that the orthography should be 'phonetic', i.e. basically phonemic with a few morphophonemic exceptions. In all these matters, however, most of the details remained to be settled.

Shortly after the liberation of Skopje (13.XI.44), a commission appointed by the presidium of ASNOM met to formulate the alphabet and the basic orthographic and grammatical rules (27.XI-3.XII.44). Although it affirmed the principle of basing the literary language on the West Central dialects, this commission attempted to incorporate a number of features of the Skopje dialect

(e.g. in verbal morphology). Its proposed alphabet included digraphic representations of the dorso-palatal stops /k, ġ/, the use of the letter ъ for schwa, which it included in the literary phonemic inventory, and ъp for vocalic /ɪ/. This commission likewise suggested that abstract terminology be borrowed from Russian and even went so far as to state that its proposals were not definitive but would have to await the arrival of Russian scholars, who would aid in making the final decisions. This commission's five-point resolution and its alphabet were not accepted, and a second commission was formed (see Koneski 1950a; *Nova Makedonija* 8.VI.75:13).¹⁷

The second commission's proposed alphabet was accepted by the government on the day of its submission (3.V.45) and was published in the next issue of *Nova Makedonija* (5-7.V.45). Those letters which had been the subject of considerable debate were <ќ, ѓ, љ, њ, s, ц, j> (voiceless and voiced dorso-palatal stops, clear /l/, palatal /n/, voiced dental and palatal affricates, palatal glide). The principle of one letter per sound was decisive in rejecting solutions such as <къ, гъ, лъ, нь, дз, дж, я, ю>, etc. This principle brought Macedonian orthography closer to Serbian rather than to Bulgarian and Russian, especially in the use of the letters љ, њ, ц, j. The letters ќ, ѓ, however, are peculiar to Macedonian, while s is shared only with Old Church Slavonic. The representation of schwa was conspicuous by its absence. It was essentially excluded from the literary phonemic system, and its representation was not treated until the first orthographic handbook (*Pravopis*; see Tošev 1968).

A month after submitting its alphabet, the commission submitted its first *Pravopis* (2.VI.45), which was quickly accepted by the Ministry of Education (7.VI.45) and published shortly thereafter. Three years later, a list of six official modifications was published (N.M. 15.IV.48:3). Two years after that, the *Pravopis* by Blaže Koneski and Krum Tošev was approved (11.XII.50) and printed in March 1951. Whereas the first *Pravopis* had been a 20-page booklet outlining the basic principles of spelling, punctuation, and morphology, the second *Pravopis* contained a 75-page rule section followed by a 6000 word orthographic dictionary (N.M. 8.VI.75:11; Stamoski 1975).

The third edition of Krume Kepeski's Macedonian grammar also appeared in 1950. This grammar was only approved for use in high schools, and it did not significantly influence the formation of the literary standard due to a wide variety of weaknesses and errors, e.g. the treatment of the Macedonian nominal system as if it had seven cases (Kepeski 1950a:42-52; see Koneski

¹⁷ See now also "The First Philological Conference for the Establishment of the Macedonian Alphabet and the Macedonian Literary Language: Its Precedents and Consequences" in this volume.

1950b; Tošev 1950, 1951; Lunt 1952:V).¹⁸ The outline of Macedonian by de Bray (1951:243-312) was based on Kepeski's grammar and so suffered similar weaknesses (Lunt 1952:V).

The first complete scholarly grammar of Macedonian was that of Lunt (1952), published in English in Skopje the same year in which the first part (phonology) of Blaže Koneski's codifying grammar was published there in Macedonian. Koneski, along with K. Tošev, R. Ugrinova, and B. Vidoeski, served as Lunt's chief informants, and so his book represents the judgments of the leading codifiers of literary Macedonian of that period. Although Lunt's grammar was not accessible to most Macedonians due to the fact that it was in English, Lunt's ideas had a significant effect on the codifiers of literary Macedonian, e.g. by convincing them to cite verbs in the information-bearing 3rd singular present rather than in the traditional but morphologically opaque 1st singular present (Lunt 1951). The second part (morphology) of Koneski's grammar appeared in 1954, a slightly revised edition of part one appeared in 1957, and the two parts were first published together in 1965. Koneski's grammar has yet to be supplanted and is kept in print.¹⁹

The first ten years of the standardization of literary Macedonian saw the establishment of all the basic norms in theory, if not always in practice. One of the chief problems faced by this standardization was the selection of dialectal forms. Taking as our starting point the dialectological outline given in Tables 1, 2, and 3, we will trace the development of some of the most salient choices, as evidenced by the principal documents of this first decade, in Table 4. The documents are the 1944 resolution, the 1945 *Pravopis*, the 1948 modifications, the 1950 *Pravopis*, and Koneski's grammar (1952b-1954). A line indicates that the topic was not treated in the document of that year, while a double quotation mark indicates that the topic was treated as in the preceding document that treated it.

¹⁸ The Macedonian nominal system is analytic and expresses case relations by means of prepositions, as does English.

¹⁹ A number of works including a new *Pravopis* (K. Koneski 1999) and a handbook of syntax (Minova-Gjurkova 1994) have appeared in the decades since this article was written. See "The Implementation of Standard Macedonian: Problems and Results" in this volume. A complete Academy grammar, however, remains a project in its planning stages as of 2012.

Table 4. Dialect choices of the first ten years of standardization

	1944	1945	1948	1950	1952-54
1.	antepenult.stress	--	--	(implicit)	detailed description
2.	*Q > a (u)	q > a	q > a (u)	"	"
3.	l̥->ol	l̥->ol/u	--	l̥->ol(u,o)	"
4.	ɸp	ʔp, p	--	"	"
5.	--	k'smet	--	kasmet	"
6.	tova	toa/tova	--	toa	"
7.	--	-ovi/-oi	--	-ovi	"
8.	(duh)	(Ohrid)	--	hotel, duh, Ohrid, dohod, hrana	"
9.	-ue	-ue	-uva	"	"
10.	-ot	"	--	"	"
11.	-v-, -n-	"	--	"	"
12.	--	toj (on)	--	"	"
13.	--	ja, i, gi	--	"	"
14.	--	1 sg -am 3 sg -Ø se 'they are' -a-/-e-/-i-	--	"	"
15.	--	past indef. 3 sg/pl aux. absent	--	"	"
16.	--	--	--	quant. pl.	"
17.	(Go vidov Janka)	--	--	--	oblique proper names & initial clitics
18,	--	--	--	--	pres. perfective must be dependent
19.	--	--	--	--	use of imperfective aorist
20.	--	--	--	--	ima perfect

The features listed in Table 4 refer, for the most part, to those listed in the first three tables. Features 1, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20 were clearly established the first time they were treated and remained so. Of these features, 1, 11, 15, 18, and 20 are unambiguously Western, 10, 16, and 19 are

unambiguously Eastern, while features 12, 13, and 14 show a mixture of dialect types. Thus, the Western form *toj* is preferred but the Eastern *on* is permissible; the synthetic dative (e.g., 1 pl. *nam*) is strictly Western, but the oblique pronouns of 13 are Eastern; the verb forms and suffixes of 14 show a mixture of Western (-*am*, *se*), Eastern (3sg -Ø), and scattered (the three thematic conjugations in -*a*/-*e*/-*i*-).

Features 8 and 17 did not undergo any modification, but their formulation was absent or unclear in the earlier documents. Thus, in the case of feature 17, the 1944 proposals had a rule stating that reduplicated objects were the norm and cited the example *Go vidov Janka* 'I saw Janko' (literally 'Him I.saw Janko'). While it is true that systematic reduplication is more characteristic of the West than of the East, this phenomenon occurs throughout Macedonia. What was distinctively Western about this example but not explicitly formulated until Koneski's grammar was its use of an initial clitic and the oblique form of a proper name. Feature 8 refers to those instances when the voiceless velar fricative (Cyrillic *x*, Latin *h*) was retained, as in the East, rather than omitted, as in the West. The texts of the 1944 resolutions and the 1945 Pravopis both contained words retaining *h*, but the principles were not formulated until the 1950 Pravopis: *h* is retained in foreign words (*hotel*), toponyms (*Ohrid*), Church Slavic words (*duh* 'spirit'), new literary words (*dohod* 'income'), and to avoid ambiguity (*hrana* 'food'/*rana* 'wound').

Features 2 and 3 underwent only slight modification. As can be seen from a comparison with Table 1, these are features which the West Central region shares with at least one other region, viz. the reflexes of the Common Slavic **q* and **ǰ*. In both cases the modification involved the specification of certain lexical items in which the Northern (and Serbian) reflex /*u*/ was to be used instead of the expected /*a*/ or /*ol*/. The 1944 resolutions contained such specifications for the back nasal, but they were omitted from the 1945 Pravopis and it was found necessary to restate them in 1948. The 1944 resolutions used /*ol*/ consistently (e.g. *bolgarski* 'Bulgarian'); the 1945 Pravopis had one class of exceptions (*Bugarija* 'Bulgaria', *Bugarin*, *bugarski* 'Bulgarian [noun, adjective]'), and the 1950 Pravopis added the exceptions *čun*, *čunče* 'rowboat' and *sonce* 'sun', *sončev* 'sunny'. The exceptions with the reflex /*u*/ represented individual lexical items whose Northern forms had spread beyond the Northern region due to earlier Serbian influence.

Features 6, 7, and 9 involve the presence or absence of intervocalic /*v*/ in certain morphemes as well as a choice of conjugational type. For feature 6, the text of the 1944 resolutions used the Eastern form *tova* 'this', although it was not part of the prescriptions. The 1945 Pravopis permitted both Eastern and Western forms, but the 1950 Pravopis permitted only the Western form. The

opposite direction of selection took place with regard to the plural morpheme for monosyllabic masculine nouns. Whereas the 1945 *Pravopis* permitted the West Central *-oi* (pronounced [oj]) as well as the Tikveš-Mariovo *-ovi* transitional to the more eastern *-ove*), the 1950 *Pravopis* permitted only the form which retained intervocalic /v/, viz. *-ovi*.²⁰ Feature 9 corresponds to feature 3 of Table 3. The Northern and north West-Central form, which is considered to be characteristic of Skopje and is virtually identical with BCSM, was used in 1944 and prescribed in 1945 but changed to the Prilep and south central form in 1948.

Features 4 and 5 refer to the representation and use of vocalic /r/ and schwa. The representation in the 1944 alphabet has already been discussed. The 1945 *Pravopis* specified the use of Cyrillic <p> for vocalic /r/, except in initial position, where it prescribed 'p. This prescription is still the source of some debate see Jankuloski 1972).²¹ Elsewhere, the apostrophe is only used to represent schwa, which the 1945 *Pravopis* permitted in dialectal forms and Turkisms, e.g. k'smet 'fate', but which the 1950 *Pravopis* permitted only in dialectal forms. The 1950 *Pravopis* recommended that the West Central reflex /a/ be used in Turkisms, e.g. *kasmet*, thus "naturalizing" those words of Turkish origin which were retained in the literary language.

On 19.I.51 the Ministry of Education appointed a commission for the compilation of a dictionary of the Macedonian language. The first of the three volumes appeared ten years later, but the second two (1965, 1966) were delayed by the terrible Skopje earthquake (26.VII.63). The dictionary gives Serbo-Croatian translations of all the entries, grammatical and prescriptive-stylistic information, and, for some entries, Macedonian definitions and examples of usage. This dictionary was a landmark in the codification of literary Macedonian, but it suffers in two ways: 1) many words are identical in Serbo-Croatian and Macedonian and are given without any definition (e.g. *abadžija* 'maker of coarse woolen cloaks'), and in this respect words it is only orthographic; 2) with its 64,522 main entries there are still many words which were not included.²²

In 1970, a revised and expanded *Pravopis* was published under the general editorship of Krum Tošev with 148 pages of rules and a 30,000-word dictionary. A significant difference between this *Pravopis* and the first two is the lack of a morphological outline, the appearance of Koneski's grammar and the

²⁰ The ending *-oj* is still permitted in poetry.

²¹ See now also "The Implementation of Standard Macedonian: Problems and Results" in this volume.

²² The Institute for the Macedonian Language began to produce a new monolingual interpretive dictionary in 2003 and had reached volume 4 (the letter П [p]) as of 2008. Murgoski (2011) is the most current single volume interpretive dictionary, with approximately 65,000 main entries.

three-volume dictionary having obviated the need for it. Of particular interest is a new 33-page section on the proper transcription of words from foreign languages. Such a section indicates the stability that literary Macedonian had already achieved, insofar as scholars could turn their attention to other languages. The choice of languages is also significant, as it represents those perceived as most important for Macedonian. The languages chosen are of four types: 1) Slavic (except for Lusatian), 2) Western Classical (Latin and Greek, including Modern Greek), 3) dominant West European (English, French, German, Italian, Spanish), 4) official languages of the Republic of Macedonia at that time (Albanian and Turkish). This definition of the fourth category explains the absence of Romanian and Hungarian, which were official languages elsewhere in Yugoslavia (e.g. Vojvodina), as well as the absence of Aromanian and Romani, which were not official languages of the Republic of Macedonia at that time.²³

An excellent measure of the progress of the standardization of literary Macedonian is the journal *Makedonski Jazik*. During its first four years of publication (1950-1953) as the Bulletin of the Department of South Slavic Languages of the University of Skopje, appearing ten times a year, the articles were predominantly practical. They were especially concerned with questions of standardization and description. In 1954, the journal began to be published semiannually by the newly founded Institute for the Macedonian Language. The stabilization that literary Macedonian had already achieved was reflected by the fact that the articles were now more concerned with dialectological and historical materials, lexicological questions, and the finer points of morphology and syntax. The journal began to come out annually in 1958, and its horizons expanded to a wide variety of theoretical issues connected with Macedonian linguistics. In 1977, the Institute began to issue a second journal (published irregularly): *Makedonistika*. This publication consists entirely of historical, dialectological, and other materials of the type that constituted a major part of contributions to *Makedonski Jazik* during its early years. It reflects the fact that *Makedonski Jazik* has become a journal concerned with Slavic and theoretical linguistics as well as Macedonian linguistics. As in the case of the new foreign-language transcription section of the 1970 *Pravopis*, this expansion of horizons indicates the level of stability and maturity which had already been achieved after 40 years.

²³ At present (2012), according to Amendment V of the Macedonian Constitutions, any language spoken by 20% or more of the population in a given territorial unit has the status of an official language in that unit.

Implementation of standardization

In the preceding section, we discussed problems faced by the codifiers of literary Macedonian, viz. choice of orthography, dialectal base, etc. In this section we shall discuss problems faced by the users of the literary language, i.e. problems in the implementation of the standard.

With regard to the alphabet, the chief problems have been the availability of typefaces and typewriters. Thus, for example, when the official Macedonian alphabet was first published in *Nova Makedonija*, the newspaper itself had to use a number of digraphs (кј, гј, лј, нј, дз, дж for ќ, ѓ, љ, њ, ѕ, ц) until enough typeface could be made (Stamatoski 1975:8). Even forty years later, an occasional non-Macedonian letter, e.g. Serbian ģ (Latin đ), would slip in. A related problem is the use of the Latin alphabet in official documents, signs, and other public notices. This has been due in part to the readier availability of Latin typewriters, but it arouses the ire of many Macedonians, for whom the Macedonian Cyrillic alphabet is an integral part of Macedonian language and national identity cf. e.g. (N.M. 21.VI.75:7). Aside from the problem of typefaces and the use of the Latin alphabet, the two major problems in the implementation of the standard have been, and remained until the 1990s, the influence of Serbo-Croatian and of local dialects.

In the early years after World War Two, the influence of Serbo-Croatian was especially strong in all the major printed media due to the need for hasty translation. This was especially true of lexicon and syntax, e.g. the use of subordinating *da* 'that' where Macedonian has *deka*, the separation of clitics from verbs where Macedonian does not permit the separation, etc. There was also significant Bulgarian lexical and grammatical influence during these early years, due to the fact that either Bulgarian or Serbo-Croatian had been the language of education for almost all literate Macedonians in the Republic of Macedonia (see Ugrinova 1950b; Dimitrovski 1951a, 1951b; N.M. 8.VI.80:9).

By the 1970s, the problem of Bulgarian influence was negligible, as there was an entire generation of Macedonians educated in literary Macedonian, although there remains a legacy from earlier years (Ugrinova 1968). The problem of Serbo-Croatian influence, however, remained acute into the 1990s.²⁴ This influence extended to all levels of the language, from phonology to syntax. Thus, for example, there is considerable confusion over the use and pronunciation of the Macedonian letters л (clear [l] before front vowels and [j] but velar [ɫ] elsewhere), љ (clear [l], never written before front vowels and j) and лј ([lj])

²⁴ See now also "The Implementation of Standard Macedonian: Problems and Results" in this volume.

or, in rapid speech palatal [l']) due to the pronunciation of the Serbo-Croatian л as clear [l] and љ as palatal [lʲ]. There is a tendency among younger Macedonians to pronounce л as [ɫ] in all environments (apparently a spelling-influenced pronunciation) and љ as [lʲ] in imitation of Serbo-Croatian. Consequently, they have no idea when to use љ and when to use лј.²⁵ On the level of morphology, Serbo-Croatian influence affected derivational suffixes, gender assignment, the forms of numerals, etc. (see N.M. 8.VII.79:7; 18.X.75:11; 7.VI.80:7). In syntax, the same problems of interrogative word order; placement of adverbs, etc., prevail as they did in the early years of standardization (N.M. 9.V.82:11, 20.VIII.77:6). The lexicon of waiters, salespeople, and similar service personnel dealing with the public was especially strongly influenced by Serbo-Croatian, as was the language in businesses having dealings outside of the Republic of Macedonia and the usage of Skopje in general (N.M. 9.V.82:11; 20.VIII.77:6; 21.VI.75:7, 21.XII.74:9, Sabota 28.X.78:2, 18.IX.78:2).²⁶ In all three cases, the cause for this influence can be ascribed to greater frequency of contact with Serbo-Croatian.

During the early years of codification, there were also considerable problems with the use of nonliterary dialectal forms. This was especially true in the local press outside of Skopje and in textbooks which were original works. The usage in schools in this early period was likewise filled with non-literary dialectal forms. In the East, major problems were the place of stress, failure to omit the third person auxiliary in the indefinite past, lack of the deictic definite articles, and inconsistent use of reduplication. In the West and in Skopje, a major difficulty was caused by the fact that speakers, aware that their dialects served as the basis of or contributed significantly to the literary language, would use dialectal forms which had not been accepted as literary, e.g. local reflexes of the Common Slavic back nasal, omitted intervocalic /v/, etc. Such usage was especially characteristic of the local Prilep press (Vidoeski 1950b; Ugrinova 1950a).

By the 1980s, the problem was not as acute, but it was far from solved, as can be seen from letters to the editor in *Nova Makedonija* and in Blagoja Korubin's *Jazično katče* 'linguistic corner' published in that same newspaper. Thus,

²⁵ This problem was a common topic of discussion in the *Jazično katče* 'linguistic corner', a weekly feature of *Nova Makedonija* written by Blagoja Korubin (e.g. 3.V.75 to 28.VIII.75; 20.XI.80:7, 28.II.82:12). Other citations from *Nova Makedonija* in this paragraph are also from Korubin's *Katče*. See also Korubin 1969, 1976, 1980.

²⁶ For the most part, since independence in 1991, English has replaced Serbo-Croatian as the main contact language with foreigners, although some older people still rely on BCSM. Many of the anxieties formerly directed at Serbo-Croatian influence are now directed at English.

one writer complained that while literary Macedonian is used in the schools, it is not used at home or work (N.M. 31.X.79:9). Another complained that except for professional news announcers, the majority of people who speak on radio and television use dialectal forms, and that this is especially true of sports announcers (Sabota 20.II.82:2). A third complained of the fact that dialectal forms are used both in the media and in everyday speech for humorous effects, but that such usage reinforces genuinely dialectal speech habits (Sabota 16.VIII.80:2).²⁷ Speakers from the West still have trouble understanding that their local dialects are not identical with literary Macedonian (N.M. 7.VII.73:9; 3.VIII.74:9; 4.VI.77:5), and those from the East object to Western features which they perceive as nonliterary, e.g. the (now facultative) use of oblique forms of proper names (N.M. 30.VIII.80:7; 14.VI.81: 12). Also, such long-standing debates as the choice of preposition to indicate possession East *na*, West *od* [*na* is usually preferred]) continued to provoke spirited public discussion N.M. 31.I.82:12).²⁸

Despite the problems and open questions which continue to be discussed in journals such as *Prosvetno delo*, *Literaturen zbor*, and in the pages of *Nova Makedonija*, the difference between the standardization of Macedonian and, for example, the maintenance and standardization of American English is more quantitative than qualitative. Given the fact that all languages are in a constant state of flux, and that any standard language will be mastered to varying degrees by speakers in the society, Macedonian is distinguished from English by more regional variants and larger areas of flux. Thus, for example, the average American college freshman cannot use forms such as *lie/lay*, *who/whom*, *loan/lend*, etc., according to the literary norms, and among those speakers from areas where regional variants are at greater variance with the literary norm, e.g. the double modals of the American southeast (*he might could do it*), difficulties similar to those occurring in Macedonian are encountered. The chief qualitative difference between the standardization of American English and Macedonian in the 1980s lay in the fact that the latter had to contend with significant influence from a dominant foreign language, i.e. Serbo-Croatian.

²⁷ The dialects from Kumanovo and Gevgelija were especially popular sources of humor in the spoken media, whereas the print media tended to favor West dialect forms for humorous anecdotes, quotations in local news stories, etc. (e.g. N.M. 24.I.82:5, 7.VI.81:5). Dialectal effects are also rendered in the print media simply by violating orthographic norms, e.g. *неможеф* for literary *не можев* which would in either case be pronounced [némožef] 'I couldn't'. In the 2000s, Ohrid dialect was also salient.

²⁸ By the 2000s, oblique forms and synthetic datives were very much in retreat.

Macedonian and other languages

Serbo-Croatian

We have already devoted considerable space to the relationship of Serbo-Croatian to the history and problems of the standardization of literary Macedonian. Serbo-Croatian had to be learned by all Macedonians who wished to function in Yugoslav society, but it did not need to be learned by those content to function only within Macedonian society, e.g. in rural areas. Virtually all Macedonians were exposed to Serbo-Croatian through the mass media, however, especially television and domestic and subtitled foreign films. Those Macedonians with more than a high-school education had to understand Serbo-Croatian in order to read some of their textbooks, a relatively simple task due to a high degree of mutual intelligibility, but the degree of active mastery varied considerably. Many Macedonians were content to alter their phonology and lexicon a bit and let the cases fall where they may.

When speaking to foreigners, Macedonians who knew Serbo-Croatian would attempt to use that language on the assumption that the foreigner is more likely to know it. They would also use Serbo-Croatian when speaking with Yugoslavs from outside the Republic of Macedonia, despite the fact that they would probably have been understood if they used Macedonian. Nonetheless, Lunt (1959:26) is correct in the observation that Macedonians of the then younger (subsequently middle) generations had no feeling of linguistic inferiority. A switch to Serbo-Croatian was done more to prove that one was educated and capable of using a foreign language.²⁹

Bulgarian

Until 1999, Bulgaria maintained that Macedonian is a Bulgarian dialect, or 'regional variant' (BAN 1978; Veličkova 1980; Balkansko ezikoznanie 1983). On February 2, 1999, the Bulgarian government recognized the official language of the Republic of Macedonia as Macedonian. They did not extend this recognition, however, to any of the dialects spoken on the territory of the Republic of Macedonia or any other country. Thus, Bulgarian dialect atlases include all of the Republic of Macedonia as well as parts of Greece, Albania, and Kosovo (and also southeastern Serbia) as part of Bulgarian linguistic territory.³⁰ Bulgarian diplomats go to Macedo-

²⁹ By the 2000s, English had more or less completely replaced Serbo-Croatian as the language of choice, and owing to the increase in Macedonian language media and decrease in BCSM media, many in the younger generation will say that they do not understand BCSM.

³⁰ See Friedman 2002-2003 for details.

nian villages in Albania and Kosovo and give financial support to those willing to declare themselves and their language as Bulgarian.

Prior to 1999, the Bulgarian insistence that every form of Macedonian was dialectal Bulgarian remained constant except during the periods 1946 to 1948 and 1948 to 1956-1958. From 1946 to 1948, the Macedonians of Pirin Macedonia were recognized as a national minority within Bulgaria and had their own schools and publications using literary Macedonian as it was being codified in Republic of Macedonia. After the Tito-Stalin break of 1948, the Bulgarian government followed a policy which, while recognizing the Macedonians as a separate nationality, claimed that the Macedonian literary language as codified in the Republic of Macedonia was a Serbian plot to Serbianize the Macedonians (see e.g. Mirčev 1952). Thenceforward, Macedonian and publications in it were not permitted in Bulgaria, a situation which obtained into the 1990s with certain notable exceptions.³¹ At the same time, no attempt was made in Bulgaria to create a literary Macedonian other than that being codified in the Republic of Macedonia (see especially Koneski 1952a). With the Hungarian revolution of 1956 and the subsequent worsening of Yugoslav-Soviet relations which continued through 1958, the Bulgaria finally reverted to its pre-World War Two position openly. After that time, the openness and vehemence of Bulgarian attacks on Macedonian varied, apparently, with the state of Yugoslav-Soviet relations (cf. King 1973:188-192). After the fall of communism in Bulgaria, a number of Macedonian organizations were established and newspapers published. These all face opposition from the Bulgarian state. According to the 2011 Bulgarian census, 1,654 people declared Macedonian ethnicity³² and 1,404 declared Macedonian mother tongue.³³ According to representatives of OMO Ilinden - PIRIN, an organization of ethnic Macedonians in Bulgaria, the actual numbers were considerably higher.

There is one other group of Macedonians in Bulgaria who should be mentioned here, viz. those Aegean Macedonians who emigrated to Bulgaria, especially in the wake of the Greek Civil War in 1948. These Macedonians consider themselves to be ethnically Bulgarian and have learned to speak standard Bulgarian, although members of the older generation are still conversant in their native dialects, which, owing to the configuration of isoglosses, belong primarily to the East dialect region, i.e. the one which is closer to Bulgarian. We should note here that many Aegean Macedonians who emigrated to Bulgaria

³¹ Among the exceptions were a cooperative agreement signed between Macedonian and Bulgarian composers in both languages (N.M. 6.II.81:10) and the exhibition of Macedonian books at Sofia's international book fair (N.M. 19.IX.79:10).

³² <<http://censusresults.nsi.bg/Census/Reports/2/2/R7.aspx>>, 24 Oct. 2012.

³³ <<http://censusresults.nsi.bg/Census/Reports/2/2/R8.aspx>>, 24 Oct. 2012.

were subsequently settled along the Black Sea, i.e. at the other end of the country from Pirin Macedonia.³⁴

Greek

The Greek government has followed a consistent policy of Hellenization of the Aegean Macedonians. Under the treaty of Sèvres (1920), the Greek government was obligated to provide native-language education for non-Greeks in areas where they were “numerous.” To this end, a Macedonian primer entitled *Abece-dar* was published in Athens in 1925 in a Latin orthography and based, more or less, on the dialects of Bitola and Lerin (Greek Florina). As Hill (1982) has pointed out, this primer was intended to counteract separatism in Greece and foster irredentism in Yugoslavia. The textbook was never actually used, however, and under the Metaxas dictatorship of the 1930s the use of Macedonian, even in private, was declared illegal, and thousands of Macedonians were harassed, jailed, and tortured (Apostoloski 1969:271-272).

As we have already mentioned, many Aegean Macedonians left Greece around 1948. In addition to those who went to Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, many Aegean Macedonians went to the US, Canada, and Australia, and to other countries in Eastern Europe. In 1953, an attempt was made to write a Macedonian grammar for Aegean refugees elsewhere in Eastern Europe, but it was based more on literary Bulgarian and nothing came of it (Hill 1982). Those in English-speaking countries fell into three groups until 1991: those who identified as Bulgarians, those who identified as Macedonians and the Republic of Macedonia as it existed in Yugoslavia, and those who identified as Macedonians but did not identify with the Republic of Macedonia in Yugoslavia but rather desired an independent Macedonian state. With Macedonian independence in 1991, the distinction between these latter two groups disappeared, and among members of the diaspora in the English speaking world, many from Aegean Macedonia who had previously identified as Bulgarians chose to identify with the now independent Republic of Macedonia.

Those Macedonians who still live in Greece are rapidly being Hellenized. Macedonian is not permitted in the press, in schools, or in any phase of public life. Members of the younger generation are encouraged to assimilate by the hostile attitude of the Greek government and populace and the knowledge

³⁴ Many Aegean Macedonians identified as ethnic Macedonians and emigrated to the Republic of Macedonia, where they have learned the literary language and been integrated into the society. There is also another group of Macedonians in Bulgaria, those Vardar Macedonians who identified as ethnic Bulgarians and emigrated to Bulgaria. These are the most vocal opponents of a separate Macedonian language and national identity.

that this is the only way to succeed in Greek society. Members of the older generation are afraid to speak Macedonian with strangers except in some tourist areas, where many Macedonians from the Republic go for tourism and shopping. The official attitude of the Greek government is that there is no Slavic minority in Greece and that Macedonian is a Greek dialect, not a Slavic language see (N.M. 27.XII.81:11; also Andriotes 1957).³⁵

Other Balkan languages: Albanian, Aromanian, Romani, Turkish

Albanian is spoken throughout western Macedonia and is the majority language in towns such as Debar, Gostivar, and Tetovo. Albania has not collected data on ethnicity or language in its census, so the number of Macedonian speakers is unknown. Estimates vary from 30,000 to 100,000 (cf. Andonovski 1974:203). Prior to 1991, the Albanian government provided primary schooling in Macedonian in the southeastern border regions, but not anywhere else where Macedonian is or was spoken (e.g., villages around Korça, Lin on Lake Ohrid, the Golobrd region near Debar, and Gora). At present, schooling is available in Macedonian in the southeastern border regions but not elsewhere.

In the Republic of Macedonia, Macedonian has become a vehicle of assimilation, especially among the non-Slavic Christian populations, i.e. the Aromanians and Christian Albanians. It is interesting to note that religion is still a significant factor in national identification and language policies. Thus, for example, the languages of the two principal Muslim minorities in the Republic of Macedonia, viz. Albanian and Turkish, are official languages of the Republic of Macedonia with constitutional rights to schools, publications, etc., and a third significant Muslim minority, viz. the Roms, 90% of whom in Macedonia are Muslim, are currently in the process of integrating into the mainstream of Macedonian national life as a distinct national group, and Romani is taught in a few schools and used in mass media. Aromanian speakers, however, who are pre-

³⁵ This paragraph was written in the early 1980s. Unfortunately, very little has changed since then for the Macedonian speakers of Greece. When forced by the European Union or the Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg, the Greek government will grant some token rights to its Macedonian minority or pay fines for violating them. In isolated villages, Macedonian is still being transmitted, and there is a Macedonian cultural organization cum political party, *Vinožito* 'Rainbow', which publishes a newspaper, *Nova Zorra* 'New Dawn' in Greek and Macedonian, but as of this writing (2012), the Greek state continues to use its considerable power to do what it can to hide the facts and destroy Macedonian language and identity.

dominantly Christian albeit also numerically much smaller, also have classes and media, but to a much lesser degree.³⁶

Aromanian and Christian Albanian speakers have mostly shifted to Macedonian. Among the Muslims, there is greater pressure for Roms and to a lesser extent Turks to assimilate to an Albanian identity. Although in the past most Albanians learned Turkish and very few Turks learned Albanian, due to prestige and other factors, the current sociopolitical and numerical situation has brought about the reverse, often Turks learn Albanian and fewer Albanians learn Turkish, although Turkish still has prestige. Moreover, in the 2000s Turkish has enjoyed some resurgence owing to Turkey's economic position and the popularity of Turkish soap operas. The minorities in urban areas, and many in rural areas as well, are at least bilingual with Macedonian and many are polyglot. This is especially true of Roms.

When discussing the relationships of Macedonian to the other languages of the Balkans, one must also mention the Balkan Sprachbund. Ever since Sandfeld's (1930) seminal work, it has been recognized that Greek, Albanian, Balkan Romance, and Balkan Slavic share a number of structural features due to convergence resulting from centuries of multilingual contact and thus form a linguistic league or Sprachbund. In many respects, Western Macedonia is the 'heartland' of this sprachbund, as all four types of language are in intimate contact on a scale unequaled elsewhere in the Balkans.

The influence of Turkish on the Balkan Sprachbund has been seen as primarily lexical and phraseological, although in fact the Turkish dialects of the Balkans are far more 'Balkanized' than is generally recognized (see Friedman 1982b). Under Ottoman rule, Turkish was a prestige language known by most men in Macedonia. Since the establishment of literary Macedonian, many Turkisms have been relegated to colloquial and humorous speech and have been self-consciously replaced in the written language, although many others have been thoroughly 'naturalized' (see Kazazis 1972, Friedman 2003). We can note, too, that the dialects of Romani and Judezmo spoken in the Balkans share some of the structural and lexical features characteristic of the Balkan Sprachbund.

One other area of mutual contact and influence is the so-called secret languages, i.e. the trade jargons of the various guilds and professions. These languages were Macedonian in their grammatical structure and most of their vocabulary, but contained numerous lexical items, many of them borrowed from Albanian, Aromanian, and Romani, which enabled their users to communicate without being understood by their customers, clients, officials, etc. (see Jašar-

³⁶ Muslim Aromanian speakers in Macedonia have shifted to Albanian.

Nasteva 1953). In modern Macedonian, words from these languages occur in slang and regional speech.

Russian and the dominant languages of Western Europe

During the 19th century, those Macedonians who went abroad to be educated generally learned Russian or German, and there was significant Russian influence in the writings of Macedonians during this period. German influence also entered via merchants, miners, etc., from Austria-Hungary and Germany (see Gacov 1971; Lehiste 1980). Although, as we have seen, a group of would-be codifiers favored the encouragement of Russian influence immediately after World War Two, their views were not adopted. Even in the 1980s, the most influential Western language was unquestionably English, followed by French, a situation which continues. The language of the press and everyday speech were filled with English loanwords, e.g. *bestseller*, *fleš* 'news flash', *šoping* 'shopping abroad', *biznes*, *memorija* 'memory', *super* 'wonderful', *start* 'beginning', *startuva* 'to begin', *stava stop na* 'put a stop to', etc. In contradistinction to the Balkan languages, however, the Western languages only influenced Macedonian on the lexical level. Phraseological influence is more recent.

Special problems

Most of the topics concerning special problems in the functioning of standard Macedonian in its various roles in society are implicit or explicit in the rest of this article. In this section, therefore, we will simply summarize some of the most salient problems as they existed in the 1980s.

In education, Macedonian functions adequately as the language of instruction at all levels, as evidenced by the establishment of a second Macedonian university in Bitola (24.IV.79). A major problem at the university level, however, is the lack of textbooks in many subjects, e.g. psychology, architecture, medicine; students must use lecture notes or textbooks in Serbo-Croatian or other languages (N.M. 21.II.80:10). At the high school level, a major problem is the curriculum in technical schools, where attempts are being made to reduce the number of hours required for the study of Macedonian (Sabota 21.II.82:2). This, however, is comparable to the problems faced by teachers of English in America. Another source of tension faced by Macedonian in education is the fact that members of the national minorities attending their own schools (Albanians and Turks) must study two Yugoslav foreign languages, viz. Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian, whereas Macedonians can take a "world" language (English, French, Russian, German, etc.) as their second foreign language.

For members of the national minorities, this so-called world language becomes a third rather than a second foreign language.

We have already discussed the influence of Serbo-Croatian. It is felt in the mass media and in all areas of work outside the rural areas cf. (N.M. 31.X.78:9). Serbo-Croatian influence is also a problem in technical and professional schools, although among lawyers Latin is the dominant source of jargon and terminology (Sabota 16.VIII.80:2). The use of dialectisms is not a serious problem in the printed mass media, but it continues to be a source of tension in the spoken media and at work.

This brings us to a particularly significant source of tension among Macedonians with regard to the literary language, viz. the linguistic generation gap. This gap has resulted from the fact that there is now an entire generation of speakers educated in literary Macedonian and an older generation that received its education in another language and still remembers the struggles for codification. The former is less tolerant than the latter of deviations from the norm (cf. N.M. 8.VI.80:9).

Apart from these internal problems, there is the external problem created by scholars and governments outside of Yugoslavia, especially in Greece and Bulgaria. These sources continually seek to denigrate, deny, or distort the fact of the existence of a Macedonian standard language. One of the most open attacks of the 1980s occurred when the Greek government withdrew its recognition of degrees granted by the University of Skopje and called all the Greek students home (Chronicle of Higher Education 16.III.83). Despite political maneuvers and negative propaganda, however, Macedonian continues to fulfill its functions as a standard language. It has a clearly established basic norm, although there are many areas which remain in the state of flux. The process of codification is an open dialogue between scholars and users of the language, as can be seen, for example, in the exchanges in the popular press.

Despite problems and tensions, both internal and external, it can be said that the process begun in the 19th century and delayed during the first third of the 20th has not merely recommenced, but has made up for lost time with extraordinary rapidity, thus enabling Macedonian to become firmly established as a fully functional standard language.

POSTSCRIPT

Since independence in 1991, a number of post-secondary institutions have been established with Macedonian, and also Albanian and English, as languages of instruction. English has replaced Serbo-Croatian in various situations noted in the section on Special Problems.

**The First Philological Conference for the Establishment of the
Macedonian Alphabet and the Macedonian Literary Language:
Its Precedents and Consequences***

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The first conference for the standardization of Literary Macedonian was held in Skopje, 27 November - 4 December 1944. I have chosen to focus on this event for three reasons:

1. Unlike most earlier potential candidates for the honor of "First Congress," this conference was concerned solely with the promotion of the Macedonian language as opposed to gatherings whose principal goal was Macedonian ethnic and/or national autonomy.
2. Its composition and structure distinguished it as a conference as opposed to a working group or local meeting.
3. It was the first such event directly and unambiguously connected with the establishment of modern Literary Macedonian.¹

Although a complete history of the rise of Macedonian national and linguistic consciousness is outside the scope of this article, it will be necessary to give some background and discuss some of the earlier events alluded to above in order to place the codification conference of 1944 in its appropriate context. To do so, we must start at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when most of

* I thank Acad. Zuzana Topolińska and the Librarian of the Macedonian Academy of Arts and Sciences (MANU), Ms. Radmila Bakik, who generously helped me track down information and see the necessary documents in the Academy's and other Skopje archives. Acad. Blaže Koneski kindly met with me on August 23 and 24, 1990 at MANU to answer questions concerning the first codification conference. Information based on those conversations is marked *pc* 'personal communication'. Acad. Božidar Vidoeski and Dr. Trajko Stamatovski also provided helpful information. I also wish to thank the following institutions for their help with my research: the Seminar for Macedonian Language, the University of Skopje, the Institute for Macedonian Language, and the Commission for Information of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia.

¹ In his opening address to the conference, E. Pop-Andonov referred to it as the first conference in the history of the Macedonian nation to consider the question of the Macedonian alphabet and the Macedonian literary language (Kostovski 1975).

the Balkan peninsula was still part of Turkey in Europe.²

At that time, the European peoples living in the Ottoman Empire were classified by it according to *millet*, which can be glossed 'religiously defined community'.³ The majority of Slavs in Macedonia and Bulgaria were Greek Orthodox Christians, and were therefore defined as "Greeks." During the first half of the nineteenth century, in the context of the rise of nationalism in the Balkans (and elsewhere in Europe), the Orthodox Slavs in Bulgaria and Macedonia faced two struggles in the creation of any type of modern literary language. One was against the Hellenizers, who wished to impose Greek language and culture on the so-called Slavophone Greeks (i.e. Slavic-speaking Greek Orthodox Christians), the other was against archaizers who wanted to see some form of Church Slavonic established as the contemporary literary language.⁴ Until about 1840 the focus of literary efforts that would ultimately lead to the

² For details on the linguistic aspects of Macedonian identity, see Friedman (1975, 1985a, 2000a), Lunt (1959, 1984, 1986), and Dogo (1985 also Koneski (1967a, 1986a), Stamatovski (1986), Korubin (1970), Ristovski (1966b) and Dimitrovski et al. (1978) in Macedonian. Dimitrovski et al. (1978) and parts of Koneski (1967a) are available in English, French, and other languages. Risteski (1988a) must be used with caution. Although rich in data, it is also full of typographical errors and contains significant distortions and omissions. While giving the impression of being a detailed study with an extensive appendix of archival documents, the author has actually been quite selective in the presentation of facts and sources. The result is a skewed account intended as a polemic. The target is those scholars who contributed the most to the codification of Literary Macedonian. The claim is the "rehabilitation" of those whose contributions were less significant. The reader unfamiliar with the facts and sources that Risteski obscured and excluded would miss this. Reviews such as Koneski (1950b), Stamatovski (1956), and Dimitrovski (1956) point out the limited abilities of some of these lesser scholars, (cf. also the evidence in Risteski 1988a:232-35, 245, 275-76). An interesting item is an anonymous, undated, highly Bulgarized proposal for Literary Macedonian norms (Risteski 1988a:409-427), which Risteski (1988a:176) evaluates as being by a "good philologist" despite the fact that the author confused letters with sounds and made numerous erroneous and half-true formulations of historical linguistic facts. As the only published source of many documents and a convenient place where documents published elsewhere are collected, I have made extensive references to this book. In view of its unreliability, however, I checked all those documents in archives in Skopje myself.

³ Braude (1982) provides important information regarding the origins of this system. Its relative lack of antiquity, however, does not change the fact that it was serving as an organizing principle by the time we are considering here.

⁴ For the purposes of this article Church Slavonic can be identified as an ecclesiastical language that bears a relationship to the Slavic vernaculars similar to that existing between Medieval Latin and the Romance vernaculars.

creation of Literary Macedonian was on raising the consciousness of Slavs as different from Greeks and on establishing the legitimacy of a vernacular-based Slavic literary language. By about 1840 archaization was no longer a serious threat, although the struggle against Hellenism continued. A conflict emerged, however, over the dialect that would serve as the base of the literary language. It is here that a brief digression on South Slavic dialects is necessary.

From the point of view of language as a means of communication, the vast majority of South Slavic dialects form a single continuum from northern Slovenia and adjacent parts of neighboring countries all the way into northern Greece and to the Black Sea coast of Bulgaria in the south and east, respectively. At any given point along this continuum speakers can understand speakers from contiguous points. As the distance between points increases, however, so do dialectal differences, albeit not at a steady rate. Isoglosses tend to cluster in some regions and fan out in others. Nonetheless, there does not exist a single location where one can draw a line between mutually unintelligible dialects. The definition of “language” under such circumstances is made on the basis of other criteria, e.g. ethnic or religious self-identification, geographical or political boundaries selected for extra-linguistic reasons as definitive, etc. The geographic entity *Macedonia* can be defined in modern political terms as the Republic of Macedonia, the Blagoevgrad (Gorna Džumaja) district in Bulgaria, the regions (*periphēreies*) of Western Macedonia (*Dytiki Makedonia*), Central Macedonia (*Kentriki Makedonia*), and the western part of the region of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace (*Anatolikē Makedonia kai Thrakē*) in Greece, and the territory of about 50 villages in eastern Albania spoken in three regions along the Macedonian and Kosovo borders (Prespa, Golobrdō [Albanian Goloborda], Gora). A series of mountains and rivers generally gives geographic definition to these political/regional boundaries. The Slavic dialects spoken on this territory are then called *Macedonian* dialects.⁵

⁵ Greek scholars and government officials continue to insist that *Macedonian* can only refer to the Greek dialects of Macedonia and/or the language of ancient Macedonia, which they claim as Greek. The native language of Philip and Alexander (Ancient Macedonian) was an Indo-European language whose attestations are so few that it is uncertain whether it belonged to the Hellenic group or some other Indo-European branch (cf. Neroznak 1978). Using the term *Ancient Macedonian* to designate this language removes any ambiguity. Slavic speakers settled in Macedonia in the 6th and 7th centuries CE. In the 19th century the majority of the population of Macedonia had been Slavic speaking for a millenium (cf. Fine 1983, 1987). It was among this population that the self-identification *makedonski* 'Macedonian' arose, and even recent Modern Greek public notices refer to the forbidden language as *Makedhoniká* (cf. Kōstopoulos 2000). N.B. although *Bulgarian* refers to a modern Slavic language, Ancient Bulgarian was Turkic.

During the next period (c.1840-1870), two centers of Slavic literary activity arose among the Orthodox Slavic speakers of the Ottoman provinces that would become Bulgaria and Macedonia as we know them today: one in southwestern Macedonia, the other in northeastern Bulgaria. The Orthodox Slavic speakers of Macedonia during this period continued to call their language *Bulgarian*, and at first they envisioned a literary language using their dialects or compromising among the various dialects of Bulgaria and Macedonia. The Bulgarian intelligentsia, however, insisted on the adoption of their standard, based on Eastern Bulgarian, without compromise. As the struggle against Hellenism succeeded, the acerbity of Bulgarian attacks on Macedonian-based works, primarily textbooks, increased (Koneski 1967a:188-90, 215; Sazdov 1975a:22).

In 1870, the Ottoman government established the Bulgarian Exarchate, which in essence meant the recognition of Orthodox Slavic speakers as a Bulgarian *millet* independent from the Greek (Turkish *Rum* 'Roman') *millet*. By the middle of 1878 Bulgaria was established as an autonomous principedom with boundaries corresponding roughly to the northern half of the modern state. At that point, Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria each had an autocephalous church, a literary language, political independence or autonomy, and claims to additional territory in what was still European Turkey. These territorial claims overlapped precisely in Macedonia, which had been included within the boundaries of Greek (Byzantine), Serbian and Bulgarian empires at different times during the middle ages (see Fine 1983, 1987). Each of the three countries was therefore actively engaged in propaganda on Macedonian territory, ranging from schools and publications to murder and arson, attempting to convince the Slavic-speaking Christian population, which constituted the majority of this complex, multiethnic, multilingual region, to accept its church, language, and, ultimately, sovereignty.⁶

The earliest known documentation of organized Macedonian separatism also dates from this period.⁷ Publications appeared and organizations formed that included among their goals the promotion of the Macedonian language (Ristovski 1966a:46-54), and thus we find several potential candidates for con-

⁶ Romania also promoted its interests in Macedonia on the basis of the Aromanian speaking population, and Albanians, who, unlike Macedonians, emerged from the Balkan Wars with their own state, likewise had territorial claims extending into Macedonia. Despite his ignorance and bigotry, Miller (1898:385-89), gives some useful facts. None of these, however, attempted to define the nationality of the Macedonian speaking population. On Greek activities in Macedonia, see Lithoksoou 2012.

⁷ Pulevski (1875:48-49) is the first published statement that Macedonians are a separate people (*narod*). Pulevski 1880 is the first attempt at a Macedonian grammar, and, in many respects, it is remarkably close to the current standard.

sideration as the First Congress for Macedonian.⁸ Due to the persecution of Macedonian separatists as well as the fact that even today Greek and Bulgarian (and also some Serbian) political interests would want to suppress the information if it existed, it is not impossible that some sort of linguistic congress was held for which we have no documentary evidence (Cf. Ristovski 1973), but none of the events for which we do possess documentation fulfills all three of the criteria adduced at the beginning of this article. By way of illustration, an account of some of the more salient of these events follows here.

In 1886 four members of the Secret Macedonian Committee (founded that year in Sofia) -- Temko Popov, Naum Evro, Kosta Grupče and Vasil Karajovov -- conducted talks with the Serbian government in Belgrade during which they proposed that the Serbian government fund the printing of materials in Macedonian and the sending of teachers to Macedonia.⁹ In 1887 Grupče and Evro attempted to print a Macedonian newspaper in Constantinople, and in 1888 they prepared the text of a primer and sent it to Belgrade, but these projects were stopped before publication. A similar fate had befallen an attempt at a Macedonian primer by Despot Badžovič in 1879, although the periodicals *Vardar Kalendar* (Vienna, 1879) and *Golub Kalendar* (Constantinople 1889) were published in a type of Macedonian in order to spread Serbian propaganda (Ristovski 1966a:12, 1973, Stamatovski 1986:94-96).

During the second half of 1891 in Sofia the Young Macedonian Literary Society was founded by a group of intellectuals that included the future leaders of later Macedonian revolutionary movements, e.g. Konstantin (Kosta) Šahov (president), Petar Pop-Arsov, Naum Tjufekčiev, Andrej Ljapčev, Toma Karajovov, and at least a dozen others (Ristovski 1973:143). The Society published its journal *Loza* 'Grapevine' in 1892, was broken up by the Bulgarian minister president Stambolov himself, and formed again in 1894 after Stambolov's fall but without significant results (cf. Perry 1988:35-36). Although Misirkov (1903:71) writes that the purpose of the organization was "to separate the interests of the Macedonians from the Bulgarian [interests] by raising one of the Macedonian dialects to the level of a literary language for all Macedonians," only the first of *Loza's* total of six numbers was linguistically distinct from Bul-

⁸ For example, in 1888, Pulevski founded the Slavo-Macedonian Literary Society in Sofia, but it was quickly dissolved by Bulgarian authorities (Ristovski 1973).

⁹ One Serbian strategy for countering Bulgarian propaganda was the support of Macedonian separatism. When Serbia realized that it could not control this movement, however, Serbian propaganda reverted to claiming the Macedonians as Southern Serbs just as the Bulgarians claimed them as Western Bulgarians and the Greeks (on the basis of religion and territory) claimed them as Greeks.

garian,¹⁰ and the viewpoint espoused in it was one of Macedo-Bulgarian dialectal compromise (Koneski 1967b:38-39, Ristovski 1966a:12). The journal was severely attacked in the Bulgarian press as "separatist", and indeed it appears that political rather than linguistic considerations were the group's primary focus (cf. Ristovski 1973, Perry 1988:35-36).

On August 22, 1892, the Kostur (Greek Kastoria) parish school council adopted the proposal of a group of six teachers that had met previously in secret, and agreed to eliminate both Bulgarian and Greek and introduce Macedonian as the language of instruction in the town school for the 1892/93 school year. Three teachers were charged with putting together a grammar and dictionary, tasks that were apparently already under way. It was decided to expand the lexicon by borrowing from Church Slavonic. By September 18, however, the Greek bishop had succeeded in convincing the Turkish governor of Kostur to close both the school and the one church in town that was using the Slavonic liturgy. A Bulgarian representative from Plovdiv (Atanas Šopov) convinced the parish council to adopt literary Bulgarian lest they lose both their church and their school to the Greeks, and that was the end. The only documentation we have of the incident is contained in the telegrams to the Serbian Ministry of External Affairs in Belgrade sent by Dimitrie Bodi, the Serbian Consul in Bitola (Monastir), who had attempted to turn Macedonian resistance to both Greek and Bulgarian propaganda to Serbian advantage without success (Dimevski 1968, Andonovski 1985a).

The First Macedonian Congress, held in Sofia in late March of 1895 and attended by about sixty delegates representing twenty-three associations, was concerned entirely with the question of how to gain political autonomy for Macedonia (Perry 1988:44-47).

On October 28, 1902 Dimitrija Pavle-Čupovski, Krste Misirkov, and 17 other students and intellectuals signed a document founding the Slavo-Macedonian Scientific-Literary Society in St. Petersburg. Article 12 of the Society's Constitution, which was written in Russian, states: "Conversation in the Society will be conducted in the Macedonian language (Slavo-Macedonian); reports and protocols will also be written in the same language" (Lape 1965:200). Misirkov (1903) published a book of five lectures, three of which were actually delivered to the Society. The fact that the three lectures presented to the Society were all concerned with Macedonian national and ethnic separatism, whereas his cogent chapter discussing the foundations of the Macedonian

¹⁰ Among the distinctive traits were the use of a phonemic Cyrillic orthography, the Macedonian definite article /-ot/ (vs Bulgarian /-ət/), and many Macedonian lexical items. Of the six numbers, two were double issues.

literary language was not delivered as a lecture demonstrates that despite the fact that Misirkov did publish concrete proposals for the standardization of that language, advancing Literary Macedonian cannot be construed as the primary goal of the Society's actual meetings.

Following the partition of Macedonia after the Second Balkan War in 1913 and again after World War One in 1919, such a linguistic congress was out of the question inside Macedonia. Each country that received a piece of Macedonia followed a policy of assimilation to the official language: Greek, Bulgarian, Serbian, or Albanian. Thus in the decade preceding the first codification conference, Macedonian had the status of a proscribed language in Kloss' (1968) classification. Officially it was a dialect of Serbian in Yugoslavia and a dialect of Bulgarian in Bulgaria. It was forbidden in Greece, while in Albania, Macedonian had no official status and efforts were directed at assimilating the population.

While no Macedonian literary activity was permitted in Greece or Albania, such activity did occur in Yugoslavia and to a more limited degree in Bulgaria, but only as dialect literature and folklore of Serbian and Bulgarian, respectively.¹¹ Thus, for example, Vasil Iljoski's play *Lenče Kumanovče* 'Lenče from Kumanovo' was first performed in Skopje in 1928.¹² Other plays from this period include Anton Panov's *Pečalbari* 'Migrant workers' (1935), and Risto Krle's *Parite se otepuvačka* 'Money is a murderer' (1938). On the eve of World War II, several slim volumes of folk-style lyric poetry were published in Sofia and Zagreb, e.g. *Narodni bigori* 'Folk Laments' and *Oginot* 'The Fire' (1938) by Venko Markovski; *Beli Mugri* 'White Dawns' by Kočo Racin; *M'skavici* [Literary Macedonian *Molskavici*] 'lightning bolts' (1940); *Makedonska kitka* by Vălčo Naumčeski, and *Peš po svetot* 'Around the world on foot' (1941) by Kole Nedelkovski, although individual poems appeared in the Yugoslav and Bulgarian periodical press before these volumes (Spasov 1953, Koneski 1967b:47;

¹¹ 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; cf. Andonovski 1985b:XIII) 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), but the book was never used and most copies were destroyed (cf. Apostolski 1969:250-53). It was republished in Macedonia in 1985 (Andonovski 1985b) and in Greece in 2006 (Vinožito 2006). The 2006 publication was financed by a fine imposed on the Greek government by the Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg as punishment in a case involving the violation of Macedonian human rights in Greece.

¹² The name was changed after World War Two to *Begalka* 'The run-away bride'.

Lunt 1959:22, Risteski 1988a:75-112).¹³ Even such limited literary activities were in constant danger of running afoul of official scrutiny. On the everyday level, children were beaten by their teachers for speaking Macedonian at school, but Macedonian students wrote in private and to one another in Macedonian.

In the political arena, Comintern ruled in 1934 that the Macedonians had a right to exist as a separate people with a separate language - thus aligning the Communist Party with Macedonian separatists (Apostolski 1969:85,101,116; Hristov 1970:395-400; Koneski 1967b:46-48). The Communist Party was thereby in a position to attract young Macedonian intellectuals, who were in any case "playing with left-wing social ideas, under both Serbian and Bulgarian radical guidance" (Lunt 1959:22). In academic circles beyond the Balkans, the linguistic separateness of Macedonian was also gaining more widespread recognition (Małeckı 1938, Vaillant 1938). During World War II, Vardar Macedonia was partitioned between German-dominated Bulgaria and Italian-occupied Albania while Aegean Macedonia was partitioned among Italian, German, and Bulgarian occupiers (see Jelavich 1983: 262-277). Macedonian remained proscribed, and whereas during the interwar period Macedonian publications were produced in the guise of folklore and dialect literature, during most of World War Two Macedonian publications were predominantly illegal newspapers and fliers produced by Partisans. Although by no means all Macedonians concerned with the improvement of their linguistic situation were Communists, the political realities in Macedonia were such that the establishment of a Macedonian literary language was Communist Party policy and also in opposition to all those governments that had ruled in Macedonia.¹⁴ The establishment of Literary Macedonian was also still intimately connected with the idea of establishing Macedonian autonomy either within a Yugoslav or within a pan-Balkan federation.

¹³ Racin and Nedelkovski died during the War. Iljoski and Markovski participated in the conference that is the subject of this article.

¹⁴ It has been (and it sometimes still is) argued that the encouragement of Macedonian has been a Serbian (or Titoist, or Yugoslav, or Yugoslav Communist) plot whose purpose is the separation of Macedonian from Bulgarian and/or the territorial absorption of Pirin and Aegean Macedonia (e.g., King 1973:218, Andriotes 1957, Mirčev 1952, cf. footnote 8). The publication of the *Abecedar* in Greece was likewise seen by Bulgaria and Yugoslavia as an attempt by the Greek government to threaten their territorial integrity (cf. footnote 9). It is certainly true that there were policy makers in both Greek and Serbian government circles who saw the encouragement of Macedonian separatism as a means to eventual assimilation, but their ultimate goal was not the improvement of the status of Macedonian.

The proclamation of the Macedonian Republic with Macedonian as its official language was made at the first plenary session of ASNOM (*Antifašistkoto Sobranie za Narodno Osloboduvanje na Makedonija* 'The Anti-Fascist Assembly for the National Liberation of Macedonia'), which was held on 2 August 1944 at the monastery Prohor Pčinjski in what was then northern Macedonia.¹⁵ The president of ASNOM was Metodi Andonov - Čento, and on 6 August the Commission (*poverenstvo*) of Education was organized, headed by Epaminonda Pop-Andonov, a high school teacher whose field was philosophy of education. Temporary measures for the unification of literary Macedonian in connection with education and the spread of literacy began shortly thereafter. Pop-Andonov appointed a commission including himself, the president of ASNOM, and 11 other members, one of whom, a vice-president of ASNOM, Emanuel Čučkov, composed temporary guidelines for the literary language. For strategic reasons the first administrative center of Macedonia was the village of Ramno (Kumanovo region).

Subsequent work relevant for the future of the literary language was done in the village of Gorno Vranovci (Veles region), a well-to-do Macedonian Muslim village that served as the center of linguistic activities until the move to Skopje.¹⁶ The village was chosen because it was in secure territory, well located, large enough and developed enough for billeting, and also because Macedonian Muslim peasants were especially sympathetic to the Partisans. During the Bulgarian occupation, these Macedonians were discriminated against as "Turks" (the old religion-as-nationality equation), receiving fewer ration coupons, etc. The temporary alphabet proposed at Ramno is recorded in directives

¹⁵ The territory on which Prohor Pčinjski (Serbian Prohor Pčinjski) is located has been disputed between Serbia and Macedonia. When ASNOM met there it was under Macedonian administration, but it was ceded to Serbia in 1948 (Džikov 1990). Early in the morning of August 2, 1990, Serbian nationalists removed the marble plaques on the monastery commemorating the first meeting of ASNOM, and when Macedonians arrived to hold commemorative ceremonies they were beaten by Serbian special security forces. The site has been the focus of occasional disputes and reconciliations since then. In 2004, a memorial to ASNOM was opened in the village of Pelince (Kumanovo region), the village closest to the monastery on the Macedonian side of the border, owing to repeated refusals of Serbian or Serbian Church authorities to allow Macedonians to celebrate the anniversary at the monastery itself.

¹⁶ Thus, for example, in September 1944 Koneski was summoned to Gorno Vranovci, where he helped edit the newspaper *Mlad Borec* 'Young Fighter' and joined the translation section. In Gorno Vranovci Koneski prepared three papers on the codification and unification of Literary Macedonian two of which he read at general meetings (Koneski 1984).

sent by the Commission of Education from Gorno Vranovci dated 30 September. It was also in Gorno Vranovci on 29 October 1944 that the first issue of *Nova Makedonija*, which became Macedonia's leading newspaper until the 1990s, was published. A memorandum dated simply October 1944 was sent by the Commission of Education to regional councils calling for writers and professors of language, especially those who had graduated in Slavic philology, as well as any other professionals who might have something to contribute, to work on resolving the questions of the alphabet and orthography and to prepare for a conference which would be held shortly after the liberation of the towns (Apostolski 1969:467; Risteski 1988a:220-21, 226-7).¹⁷

Skopje, the capital of the new Republic of Macedonia, was liberated from the Germans on 13 November 1944, and the presidium of ASNOM met shortly thereafter to appoint the linguistic commission (Vidoeski 1986b:14). Typed invitations from the Commission of Education were sent to the participants.¹⁸ The conference took place in Skopje Monday, November 27- Monday, December 4, 1944.¹⁹ The opening session was held in the Macedonian National Theater, after which the remaining sessions were held in the Town Hall, which

¹⁷ During this same period two versions of a Macedonian alphabet and one of a Macedonian primer were composed in Aegean Macedonia: one by a member of the Voden (Greek Edhessa) Macedonian Battalion, the other by a four-man commission in the Kostur region. The Voden alphabet was destroyed by a Greek Communist functionary shortly after its composition; the Kostur alphabet and primer, whose composers had access to material from Vardar Macedonia, were published and distributed. This linguistic freedom, however, was short-lived. (Risteski 1988a:158-167)

¹⁸ The invitation to Šoptrajanov cited by Risteski (1988a:227) states the opening date as "*ponedelnik* ('Monday') 26.XI. 1944", but in fact that Monday, which was the opening date of the conference, was the 27.

¹⁹ The first two days of the conference were spent debating the alphabet. The group did not meet on the 29. The morning of the 30 and the 1 (there was no afternoon session on the 30) were spent on orthography. The afternoon of the 1 and both sessions on the 2 were spent on morphology. The morning of the 3 covered a variety of miscellaneous topics including specific orthographic, morphological and syntactic issues. At the end of that session it was agreed that Venko Markovski would write up the resolution. On the 4 Markovski's resolution was read and approved and those attending the conference divided into two committees: one for elaborating the guidelines for literary Macedonian and the other for terminology. Morning sessions were from 8:00 to 12:30. Afternoon sessions began at 2:30 and finished between 6 and 6:30

was also the meeting place of ASNOM.²⁰ Strahil Gigov, who became Minister of Industry and Mining, determined which unit was to be housed and fed where. According to Koneski (pc), meals and lodgings were the responsibilities of the individuals. Those in the army ate and slept with their unit, those who were civilians at their lodgings. Thus, for example, Koneski ate with the other enlisted men in his unit and slept on the floor of the Goce Delčev printing house. Venko Markovski, who was a member of ASNOM and of the General Staff (without rank), ate at the officer's mess. Civilians ate at home or where they were quartered. The place and timing of the conference were apparently dictated by the prestige and logistics of the capital combined with progress of the War. If there were differences of opinion concerning these matters, we have no record of them, but it is clear from the documents that we do have that those concerned with the establishment of Literary Macedonian wanted to see the conference take place as soon as possible. According to Koneski (1950a:104), opponents of Literary Macedonian attempted to negate the influence of codification efforts by accusing them of being "Serbianizing". Except during 1946-48, this accusation has been a standard Bulgarian tactic regardless of the political party in power or in opposition (cf. Koneski 1948:27, Žerev 1990; also see the end of this article).

The conference was attended by a total of fourteen individuals. They are listed below along with their years and places or regions of birth (when available) and the indication *m* for 'military' and *c* for 'civilian'.²¹ All those in the army were members of the Communist Party except Šoptrajanov. None of the civilians were. As Commissioner of Education, Pop-Andonov delivered a short opening speech to the conference but did not stay for the sessions. Kostovski, a journalist, took notes but did not otherwise participate. The remaining individuals constituted the actual voting commission, although Koneski did not participate in the voting session and both he and Balvanlieva did not attend the conference after the second day, for reasons that will be discussed below.

Epaminonda Pop-Andonov (1898; Strumica: m), Jovan Kostovski (1907; Bi-

²⁰ According to Kostovski's notes, all meetings took place in the Town Hall. Koneski (pc) states that the opening was held at the National Theater and then moved to the Town Hall due to the lack of suitable meeting rooms in the Theater.

²¹ The forms given in the list are those that are now standard. During the period preceding standardization, many of these individual's names occurred in variant forms, including the following: Georgi, Gjorđe, Gjorgi, Krume, Risto (for Hristo), Mihajlo, Iliev, Ilioski, Kiselinovič, Konevski, Pavlov-Neproštenski, Popandonov, Šoptrajan, Tošeski, Zografski. Some of these people were born in villages, others in towns, but for the sake of simplicity I have given only the name of the town that would determine the speaker's dialect. For those whose birthdates are not available in any published sources, Blaže Koneski (pc) supplied me with approximations to the best of his recollection.

tola: c), Milka Balvanlieva (circa 1904; Štip: m), Dare Džambaz (circa 1910-15; Prilep: m), Vasil Iljoski (1902; Kruševo: c), Gjorđi Kiselinov (1882; Ohrid: c), Blaže Koneski (1921; Prilep: m), Venko Markovski (1915; Skopje: m), Mirko Pavlovski (1916; Tetovo: c), Mihail Petruševski (1911; Bitola: c), Risto Prodanov (circa 1895; Dojran: m), Gjorđi Šoptrajanov (1907; Veles: m), Krum Tošev (1912; Prilep: m), Hristo Zografov (circa 1895; Skopje: c).

According to Koneski (pc), no specific agenda was announced in advance. From Kostovski's notes, however, it is clear that the organizers had made some preparation, since Pop-Andonov closed his opening speech by proposing Prodanov as president of the conference (the proposal was accepted) and Prodanov announced that the day's agenda had three points: papers on the Macedonian alphabet, papers on the Macedonian language, and finally a resolution. He proposed reversing points one and two, however, so that first the choice of a dialectal base would be settled, and then the alphabet would be made according to the dialect. Of the twelve participants in the discussion, three read prepared papers, all on the first day: Kiselinov at the beginning of the morning session and Balvanlieva and Pavlovski at the beginning of the afternoon. It appears from the notes that Kiselinov's paper was expected or commissioned (perhaps because he was the oldest), whereas the other two papers were not since Prodanov opened the afternoon session by asking anyone with a paper to present it. The discussion appears to have been orderly except while Koneski was speaking in the afternoon of the first day, when he was interrupted by Markovski and possibly by Kiselinov (the notes make it clear that Markovski was interrupting but are not clear in the case of Kiselinov's interjection).²²

The stenographic notes kept by Kostovski were not approved as official minutes, nor was there any press coverage or other publication of the events at that time. Kostovski kept his notes in his own personal archive and published excerpts from them in *Nova Makedonija* (8-VI-75:13) on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the alphabet and orthography that were accepted by the government. After his death (1980), Kostovski's archive - including those notes

²² Risteski (1988a:146) cites the record of Markovski's interruption as evidence that Koneski boycotted that later part of the conference due to Markovski rather than due to Kiselinov, who is mentioned as the cause in a second-hand report quoted by Risteski. Koneski (pc) is unambiguous that it was the overall lack of preparedness (also commented on by Iljoski, cf. Risteski 1988a:253) and amateurish level of the many of the participants, including Kiselinov's presence, to which he objected. Koneski (pc) cited Kiselinov's desire to make concessions to "our northern neighbors", i. e. Serbian, and "our eastern neighbors", i. e. Bulgarian (cf. Risteski 1988a:275). Koneski also objected to the desire of some members of the First Commission to bring in Russian influence (cf. Risteski 1988a: 277, 331).

- went to the Macedonian Academy of Arts and Sciences (Document #167, Jovan Kostovski File). A version of the notes was also published in Risteski (1988a:228-317), although this published version contains errors, omissions, and inexact renderings.²³

From Kostovski's notes it is clear that there was unanimity in the general choice of dialect region — the towns Veles, Prilep, and Bitola were cited most often as exemplary — but difference of opinion on terminology. Most used the term *central dialects*, but Koneski, citing Slavic linguists (Oblak, Miletić and Belić), proposed the term *western a-dialects* (*a* referring to the reflex of the Common Slavic back nasal *ǫ) as the appropriate term, and Prodanov supported him. Koneski also raised the question of making precise the geographic definition and producing a paper defining the chief characteristics of the dialect. In the end, however, the term *central dialects* won;²⁴ they were defined by Markovski as those dialects with /a/ for *ǫ (Cyrillic Ѫ called *back jus* or *big jus*) and /o/ for *ǔ (Cyrillic Ѯ, called *back jer* or *big jer*), albeit his concrete examples all involved reflexes of vocalic *ǣ rather than back jer. Iljoski went on record as pointing out with amazement that it had taken them three hours and fifteen minutes to establish what was already clear to everyone, i.e. that the central dialects served in practice as the basis of the literary language,²⁵ while no one had discussed the concrete features of that dialect, which he considered the basic point of their discussion. He tried to get the discussion moving to the second point, the orthography, but discussion continued for another 45 minutes until the end of the morning session, which closed with Prodanov's proposal that Markovski prepare a resolution.

²³ For example, Risteski (1988a) has <п> for <ѱ> and omits diacritics and an entire line from Kostovski's original table of alternative letters for the palatals (p. 241), he has *dijalektički* 'dialectal' where the original has *dijakritički* 'diacritical' (p. 144), *vakva* 'thus' for *bukva* 'letter' (p. 266), etc. Given the fact that the language of the original is uncoded and Kostovski's own typing contains various errors — some of which Risteski corrected and others of which he let stand while introducing still others of his own — the published version of the minutes cannot be relied on by the researcher concerned with specific details.

²⁴ In modern Macedonian dialectology these are now known as the West-Central dialects, since it is now known that they are west of the major central isogloss bundle.

²⁵ This was the practice in most literary works produced between the World Wars, including Iljoski's and Markovski's. It was also the practice, albeit with variations, in Partisan publications. In 1943, Koneski (1986b) had written a grammar based narrowly on the Prilep dialect, but he abandoned its specificities in favor of the more generalized koine that he found in practice at Gorno Vranovci

At the beginning of the afternoon session, Prodanov announced that the resolution would be postponed until the end (of the conference) and then called for papers on the alphabet. The afternoon's discussion centered on the graphic representation of the phonemes /j, l, ń, k, ġ, dz, dž/, and the question of whether or not to include schwa (Bulgarian Cyrillic <ъ>) in the graphic inventory, particularly in the representation of vocalic /r/. It was taken for granted that the alphabet would be Cyrillic; the question was whether its details would follow Serbian Cyrillic, Bulgarian Cyrillic, a compromise between the two, or a new and independent development. The question revolved around political, pedagogical, and linguistic considerations. On purely linguistic and pedagogical grounds, Koneski advocated the adoption of Serbian Cyrillic, since the phonemic system of Macedonian, while different from that of Serbian, can be adequately represented by the same set of symbols, e.g. <ћ, њ> represent voiceless and voiced mellow palatal affricates, respectively, in Serbian that correspond etymologically to Macedonian dorso-palatal stops (or even di-phonemic palatal clusters in the southern dialects), Serbian <л, љ> contrast clear and palatal liquids while in Macedonian the liquid opposition is velarized vs clear, etc. Others advocated the use of an acute accent (Petruševski) or haček (Prodanov, Petruševski). The First Commission's final resolution proposed Serbian <ј, џ> for /j, dž/, Church Slavonic <с> for /dz/, Bulgarian (and also Church Slavonic) <ъ> for schwa, and Markovski's new letters for /l, ń, k, ġ/, viz. Cyrillic <л, н, к, г> with the addition of a small circle (about half the size of the second half of the digraphic solution in the Serbian <љ, њ> which come from <л> and <н> plus <ъ>) at the lower right of each letter (upper right of <г>).

Although no one who was invited refused to come, Koneski only participated in the first day of the conference and Balvanlieva left after the second day. Although she read a paper and participated in voting, Balvanlieva was apparently not centrally involved with the Commission, and did not command a dialect that was part of the Literary base. Koneski's reasons for leaving the conference are discussed in note 21. Basically, he felt that the conference was not going to produce sound results and that it would be necessary to have a commission with more young people on it. All the members of the commission were college-educated teachers, except Markovski, who was a poet and still working on his B.A. (From his remarks recorded in the notes, it is clear that while he may have been able to use his native language artistically, Markovski had a poor grasp of linguistics.) Šoptrajanov and Petruševski had doctorates, but in French literature and classical philology, respectively, while Džambaz had an M.A. in pharmacy. Koneski was the youngest but also had the best and most recent training in Slavic linguistics. Most of the older members of the Commission had taught Serbian or Bulgarian under the occupying authorities while Ko-

neski had been engaged in translating and editing Macedonian for the Partisans. When Koneski saw that he would not be heeded, he simply did not bother to come to the sessions. There were members of the Commission for Education, however, who appreciated Koneski's experience and value, and although in the end his ideas were not adopted entirely (e.g., Iljoski convinced him that he was being too politically naïve in endorsing the use of Serbian Cyrillic for the dorso-palatal stops on purely linguistic grounds, hence the adoption of <ќ, ř>,), he justifiably emerged as the leading codifying authority.

The first commission's proposals were not accepted by ASNOM, which did not establish it as a continuing body but rather changed its composition. On 3 May 1945 a new commission submitted an alphabet proposal that was accepted the same day and published in the next issue of *Nova Makedonija* (5.V.45).²⁶ This proposal was signed by ten people, five from the First Commission (Iljoski, Koneski, Markovski, Pavlovski, Tošev) and five new people all of whom were directly involved with the new official communications media: Kiro Hadži-Vasilev (1921, Kavadarci), Vlado Maleski (1919, Struga), Ilija Topalovski (circa 1919-20, Bitola), Gustav Vlahov (1912, Istanbul), Ivan Mazov (1923, Kavadarci). This same group, less Mazov, submitted a brief handbook of orthographic and morphological rules on 2 June 1945, accepted by the Ministry of Education on 7 June 1945 and published shortly thereafter.²⁷ Although Ma-

²⁶ Risteski (1988a:167-76, 347-50, 1988b) has published documentation concerning the working groups that met between the first and second linguistic commissions. He refers to these groups as the second commission and calls the second commission the third. However, there were only two commissions that actually submitted proposals to the Ministry of Education: that which submitted the proposal of 4 December 1944, which was not accepted, and that which submitted the proposal of 3 May 1945, which was accepted. Between these two dates there were meetings, conferences and discussions of varying size and membership. Some of these are documented, and the term *komisija* 'commission' occurs in some of these documents, but no proposals were submitted to the Ministry of Education during this intervening period. It is on the basis of results that Koneski (1950a) refers to only the first and second language commissions.

²⁷The elaboration (*elaborat*) of the resolution submitted by the First Commission is characterized by less detail, clarity, and unity and more non-western forms than the *pravopis* 'orthographic handbook' submitted by the Second Commission. Thus for example the *elaborat* confuses reflexes of */ with those of *ŭ, whereas the *pravopis* does not. The *elaborat* mentions the plural suffix *-inja* with a few examples while the *pravopis* specifies it as neuter and also addresses the issue of monosyllabic masculine plurals (where, however, it permitted both *-oj* and *-ovi* until 1950, when *-ovi* was chosen). The *elaborat* and *pravopis* both permitted *toj* and *on* for the 3rd singular pronoun, but the *elaborat* also permitted *taj*. The *elaborat* has (northern and Serbian) *sve* as well as *se* for 'all' where the *pravopis* has only *se*. In verbs, the *elaborat* has both eastern *sa* and west-

cedonian linguists continued to work on the codification of the literary language, there was no equivalent of another Congress or official Commission. On 15 April 1948 a list of six official modifications to the 1945 rules was published in *Nova Makedonija*. On 11 November 1950, the orthographic handbook by Blaže Koneski and Krum Tošev was approved, and it was printed in March 1951. Whereas the 1945 document was a 20-page booklet outlining the basic principles of spelling, punctuation, and morphology, this second one contained a 75-page rule section followed by a 6000 word orthographic dictionary.²⁸

There are conflicting opinions concerning the evaluation of the first conference both at the time and subsequently. (cf. Koneski 1950a vs Risteski 1988a:148, 153). It is clear from the documents that at least some of the members of the commission that submitted the resolution were satisfied with their work, but it is equally clear that their support in the Ministry of Education and Presidium of ASNOM was not sufficient for it to be accepted. There were two conflicting reasons for the rejection of the first commission's work. One was the desire of some political authorities, e.g. Strahil Gigov, to bring in Russian linguists (either to give the proclamation of the new standard more authority or to alter the standard more in the direction of Russian), the other was the evaluation of that work as inconsistent and insufficiently independent (cf. Koneski

ern *se* for the 3rd plural present of 'be', the *pravopis* has only *se*. The *elaborat* had three 3rd plural aorist-imperfect suffixes: *-a*, *-ja*, and (Skopje) *-va* where the *pravopis* codifies a consistent *-a*. The *elaborat* spells the 3rd plural present of *a*-conjugation verbs *-at*, with no graphic indication of two syllable peaks, while the *pravopis* is consistently phonemic by spelling it *-aat*. The *elaborat* gives no aorist paradigms under the section labeled *Imperfekt i aorist* 'imperfect and aorist'. The *elaborat* permits two forms of the productive imperfectivizing suffix: *-uva* and *-uje*. The *pravopis* specified Skopje *-ue* (probably due to Markovski), although in 1948 this was changed to *-uva*. The indefinite past (perfect) was only given for the verb 'be' in the *elborat*, and was given with the auxiliary in the third person (an easternism). The *pravopis* specified the western form without the third person auxiliary. The *elaborat* used diachronic grammatical terminology such as *particip prezens* 'present participle' where the *pravopis* used synchronically descriptive terminology reflecting the state of Macedonian grammar: *glagolski prilog* 'verbal adverb'. (The form in question comes from the Common Slavic present active participle but cannot function as a participle in Macedonian.) The *elaborat* also contained the following statement: *Ne samo vo leksikata no i vo svojata celost noviot makedosnki literaturnen jazik ke se razviva pod vozdejstviето na ruskiот jazik*. 'Not only in its lexicon but in its entirety the new Macedonian literary language will develop under the influence of the Russian language'. There was no such statement or sentiment in the *pravopis*.

²⁸ For details see "The Sociolinguistics of Literary Macedonian" in this volume (Friedman 1985a).

1950a, Risteski 1988a:332, and note 28). This latter viewpoint was that advocated by Koneski and supported by at least some of the political authorities. Although the two factors were in conflict with one another, they combined to effect the setting aside of the recommendations of the First Conference.

It was only in the 1990s that attempts were made to attach more significance to the First Conference. This was directly connected with political events taking place in Macedonia at the time. Because, for the reasons given above, the establishment of Literary Macedonian was part of Yugoslav Communist Party policy, the end of Communist hegemony and the establishment of multi-party politics in 1990 led to the use of the literary language as a political issue.

A concrete example of this is the representation and treatment of schwa. Although many Macedonian dialects have phonemic schwa, it is absent or marginal in the principal west-central dialects (cf. Vidoeski and Peev 1981). Some of these schwa-less dialects do have a phonetic (but not phonemic) schwa on-glide before vocalic /ɤ/ in initial or all positions. One of the features of the First Commission's proposal was the presence of a distinct letter for schwa (Cyrillic <Ѣ>, as in Bulgarian) and the prescription that it be written before vocalic /ɤ/ and (by example) in Turkisms. This was one of the features to which Koneski objected, and in the final resolution there was no letter for schwa, but rather the proviso that an apostrophe be used before initial vocalic /ɤ/ (and for schwa in dialectal forms used for literary purposes). Koneski's (pc) motivation in eliminating schwa from the alphabet was two-fold. First of all, since it was not phonemic in the dialects on which the literary language was based, there was no need for a letter to represent it in the alphabet. Secondly, excluding the letter would lead to a more rapid adaptation to literary pronunciation among speakers of dialects that did have phonemic schwa. Moreover, since schwa is the reflex of different sounds in different dialects (e.g., from *ĩ and *ũ in the north, from *ĭ in the east-central, from *q in the peripheral) the presence of a letter to represent it would have strengthened disunity and confusion.

The new multi-party system in Yugoslavia in 1990 was preceded and accompanied by a resurfacing of nationalist tensions, including some attacks on the legitimacy of Macedonian ethnic and linguistic independence. This in turn exacerbated Macedonian fears. During the months preceding the Macedonian elections of that year, anti-communist nationalists accused the academic and political establishments of Serbianizing Literary Macedonian.²⁹ Those establishments responded by pointing out that this had been the official Bulgarian

²⁹ While the political establishment in Macedonia was communist, the linguistic establishment was different. Some of the most academically important and highly respected linguists never joined the Party (e.g., Božidar Vidoeski and Olivera Jašar-Nasteva).

line all along and by accusing the nationalists of Bulgarophilism and Serbophobia (cf. *Nova Makedonija* 1.IX.90:17). As the most important figure in the codification of Literary Macedonian, Koneski was subject to particularly strident, *ad hominem* attacks which became so vituperative that even some of the nationalists were ashamed and left their party (cf. *Start* 18.VIII.90:69, *Večer* 23.VIII.90:14 and *Nova Makedonija* 24.VIII.90:8). The former Serbo-Croatian and the dialects on which it is based have no schwa while Standard Bulgarian and most of its dialects do. Thus the decision to exclude schwa from the Literary Macedonian inventory was seen by some nationalists as an example of Serbianization, while their opponents saw the attempt to reintroduce the grapheme <ъ> as an example of Bulgarophilism. In connection with this conflict, which at base was one for political power, the First codification conference was assigned increased significance by some nationalists (cf. *Nova Makedonija* 6.VI.90:11).³⁰

The controversy of the 1990s surrounding the First Conference was not a simple matter of pro-Macedonian vs anti-Macedonian. Among the nationalists there were pro-Macedonian forces that nonetheless wished to influence the development of the literary language in a different direction, or at least acquire more prestige and power, and some of these forces attempted to "rehabilitate" the First Conference as a significant event. On the other hand, among the socialists and reformed communists there were pro-Macedonian forces that viewed these activities as a serious threat to the stability of Literary Macedonian, which was (and remains) under unceasing assault from the Greek and Bulgarian political and academic establishments and has even been attacked occasionally by non-Macedonian politicians within Yugoslavia itself.³¹ It is clearly true that there are legitimate complaints about the excessive influence of Serbian (cf. Minova-Gjurkova 1987), but there are also legitimate fears about the negating and assimilationist interests of Bulgarian.

The First Conference confirmed certain facts that were already in practice, but cannot be said to have had any direct effect on the status or

³⁰ Kiselinov is cited in these polemics but not Markovski. Kiselinov never ceased his efforts to claim credit for the codification of Macedonian, whereas Markovski worked for Russia (Informburo) after the Tito-Stalin split and defected to Bulgaria. He then changed nationality and wrote polemics against Macedonian language and identity.

³¹ On the publication of some Bulgarian or Greek denials of Macedonian linguistic legitimacy, Macedonian linguists have defended the existence of Macedonian as an independent language in print (see Dimitrovski, et al. 1978). While Bulgaria recognized Standard Macedonian as the official language of the Republic of Macedonia on 2 February 1999, it still considers all Macedonian dialects as Bulgarian (e.g., Kočev 2001).

function of Macedonian, since its results were not made public. Until the 1990s it was treated as a minor event in the history of Standard Macedonian. In the context of the rise of the multi-party system and subsequent independence of the Republic of Macedonia, however, significance was attached to the First Conference by some nationalist political parties in an attempt to discredit the communists and their allies.



Map of the Republic of Macedonia and Adjacent Countries
Locations are approximate and not to scale

Horace G. Lunt and the Beginning of Macedonian Studies in the United States

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Horace Lunt (b. 12 September 1918) passed away on 11 August 2010. This article was written in collaboration with him. He is the source of all the information, some of it written, some of it oral. I have blended quotations from his letters to me within the text and without quotation marks, so in a sense we are both telling his story. In this version, I have added a few footnotes with details that did not appear in the original publication. Да му е вечна славата.

Horace Lunt, the author of the first scholarly grammar of literary Macedonian in a foreign language and the first U.S. citizen to be elected to the Macedonian Academy of Arts and Sciences, came into contact with Macedonian for the first time in 1944, during its first year as an official language, as a result of World War Two. Having obtained an M.A. in Russian and Slavic Philology from the University of California at Berkeley in 1942, Lunt was drafted into the U.S. Army that same year. He served briefly in the Medical Department, and in 1943 he was assigned to the Counter-Intelligence Corps. Suddenly plucked from routine duties in Dallas, Texas, Lunt found himself being rushed to various secluded army camps for intensive training in the use of various weapons and vehicles, as a member of a small group of soldiers, each of whom knew several languages. The training was abruptly terminated in August, and the group was sent, in strictest secrecy, to a rural camp to await transportation overseas. They waited, but not until October were they hurriedly embarked on a troop ship that took them to Oran, in Algeria. Another wait, another troop ship, and they finally reached Cairo on December 11. They were received by an incredulous officer who, having the written orders that they had embarked in August, was certain they had perished at sea. It turned out that Lunt was scheduled to assist as Russian interpreter in the conferences F.D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill had with Chiang Kai-Shek in Cairo, Nov 23-27, and in Tehran with Stalin in early December. Had Lunt indeed been able to use his Russian under such circumstances, it is probable his career would have been very different. However, the meetings were done with, the Middle East was no longer an active war zone, and the allied Anglo-American forces in Egypt were being dispersed. It was discovered that Lunt had some knowledge of Serbo-Croatian, which he had studied at Harvard and Berkeley, and he was assigned to an Anglo-American team.

From early March 1944 until the end of the war in Europe, he was in Bari, Italy interrogating refugees who had crossed the Adriatic from Yugoslavia. His team also had regular contact with Allied soldiers and fliers who were parachuted into Yugoslavia. Among the materials received from some of those people were some news bulletins and a newspaper in Macedonian, and one of the first booklets translated from Russian into the new standard language *Stanavme drugi luge*, by Venjamin Kaverin (Kaverin 1944).

In June 1945, Lunt was sent to Trieste, where his unit was integrated into the Allied Military Government. He was to report on Slovenian political activity in the Trieste region, and he quickly learned Slovenian and began to study the local dialects. In late October, he was suddenly ordered to report to Washington, DC, for a new assignment. At the time, he was not yet eligible for a discharge from the Army and under ordinary circumstances would have remained as a soldier in Europe for at least several months. During his troop ship return from Italy, however, the sum of "points" (calculated according to time spent in the Army, place and type of service, dependents, etc.) required for discharge was lowered.¹ Thus, upon his arrival in Washington D.C., he had the right to become a civilian at once. Despite pressure to undertake a new assignment in one of the Army intelligence services, he insisted on immediate discharge so he could get back to school. As he said: "I wanted no part of such things."

Lunt enrolled in the PhD program at Berkeley and served as a teaching assistant in Russian in spring 1946. He attended the Linguistic Institute summer program of the Linguistic Society of America at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, which gave him training in the latest trends in neo-Bloomfieldian descriptive linguistics. His desire to study in Moscow or Belgrade was thwarted by the extreme anti-American policies of both Stalin and Tito, but he was determined to study in a Slavic country. In September he was in Prague, financed by a Masaryk Fellowship awarded by the Czechoslovak government, fully accredited as a PhD candidate in Slavic at the Charles University. Along with courses in Russian, Slovene, and Serbo-Croatian, he enrolled in professor Antonin Frinta's course on Macedonian. This was the first formal course dealing with the new official language that was offered outside of Yugoslavia. It was there that Lunt became acquainted with the first and second editions of Krume Kepeski's school grammars, and, in 1947, with the first slim edition of Blaže

¹ When Lunt embarked for the U.S., he had 92 points, and the minimum for discharge was 98 points. However, during the time it took for the boat to reach the United States, the minimum dropped to 90 points.

Koneski's description. Professor Lunt kept his notes from that course for more than fifty years.²

Lunt was dissuaded by both American and Czech advisers from remaining in Prague in part because of the deteriorating political situation and in part because Roman Jakobson was at Columbia University. During his second year at Columbia, 1948-1949, Lunt was a lecturer in Serbo-Croatian. His dissertation (on early East Slavic orthography) was accepted in 1949 (but the diploma was not awarded until 1950, when Columbia abandoned its rule that sixty printed copies of a dissertation must be deposited in the library). From 1949 to 1954 Lunt was Assistant Professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures at Harvard University, responsible for the Russian program, Old Church Slavonic, and some historical linguistic courses. It was during this period the he did his ground-breaking work on Macedonian.

In June of 1950, Lunt was sent by the Harvard University Library to Yugoslavia in order to re-establish the exchanges that had been disrupted since 1941 by war and post-war policies. In August he was invited to the Seminar for Foreign Slavists at Bled sponsored by the Yugoslav Ministry of Science and Culture. Among the Yugoslav scholars who lectured were Blaže Koneski, Krum Tošev, and Haralampie Polenakovikj. Lunt was able to talk to them about the Macedonian language, and he asked them about the possibilities of doing linguistic fieldwork in Macedonia. Professor Koneski was impressed with the knowledge Lunt had been able to acquire about the details of the new standard language, and he agreed to try to make arrangements for Lunt to visit. Harvard granted Lunt a semester off, and, thanks to the efforts of Blaže Koneski to obtain the difficult permissions needed for an American to reside in Macedonia, Lunt spent May, June and July of 1951 in Skopje. Toward the end of his stay, the Yugoslav Council for Science and Culture and the Macedonian Ministry of Education, Science, and Culture sponsored a comprehensive tour of Macedonia, in which Lunt was accompanied by Koneski. In addition to constant help from Professor Koneski, Lunt depended heavily on information supplied by Božo Vidoeski and Rada Ugrinova, then assistants in the Department of South Slavic Languages (later the Macedonian Department) at the new university. Lunt lived in the Hotel Makedonija, one of the landmarks of pre-war Skopje; it was completely destroyed in the earthquake of 26 July 1963. Although he was unaware of it at the time, Lunt was followed everywhere by secret police. It was only years later that he heard about how difficult this fact had made life for those like

² He eventually gave them to Christina Kramer of the University of Toronto, and the University's library now has a special collection of Lunt's Macedonian materials.

Vidoeski and Ugrinova, whose association with him might always be regarded as suspicious.

The first tangible result of Lunt's observations in Macedonia was his seminal article on the Morphology of the Macedonian Verb (Lunt 1951). This classic application of Jakobson's one-stem approach had lasting results in Macedonian descriptive grammar and lexicography, for it established the use of the third person singular as the citation form for verbs. The article was completed in a two day session with Lunt dictating in Serbian and Koneski translating into Macedonian as Lunt typed the final wording. It appeared within weeks, while Lunt was still in Skopje.³

During the academic year 1951-52, Professor Lunt managed to write his grammar, select and edit the texts, and compile the dictionary that is included in the book. It is worth noting that the vocabulary includes not only words used in the grammatical examples and in the texts, but also most of the words in the 1950 *Makedonski pravopis* and a significant selection of items culled from newspapers and magazines. It is thus fair to count Professor Lunt's work not only as the first monograph-length description of Macedonian in a foreign language, but also the first Macedonian-English lexicon. Professor Lunt did the typing himself onto ditto masters, using one typewriter for Latin and another for Cyrillic. The full text was sent to Macedonia in May, and typesetting began in June in Belgrade. Lunt spent four weeks in Belgrade, with three or four quick visits to Skopje, reading proof and verifying data so that the book was completed in record time. In August, 1952, his grammar of Literary Macedonian (Lunt 1952) was printed at the Jugoštampa printing house in a tirage of 2,000 copies. This can be taken as the definitive beginning of Macedonian studies in North America, since Lunt's work was available to North American scholars, and the fact that it was in English made it accessible to beginning Slavists.

³ During this period Lunt also went to Pehčevo, where he met Pavle Ivić who was then conducting the research for his doctoral dissertation on the dialect of the Gallipoli Serbs.

**Turkish Influence in Modern Macedonian and the
Turkish Lexical Element in the
Languages of the Republic of Macedonia**

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For more than half a millennium, Turkish was the official or dominant language in much of the Balkan peninsula.¹ It was the language of administration and of the market place; it was spoken in villages as well as in towns; and, among populations that converted to Islam while retaining their native languages, Turkish had a sociocultural prestige added to the legal and practical importance it possessed for all of Turkey in Europe. It can be even be argued that it was the Turkish conquest which created the Balkans insofar as it still exists as a geopolitical and sociocultural entity of today.² Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the influence of Turkish on the Balkan lexicon in terms of derivational morphology, lexical items, and semantics has been significant and has lasted into the modern period. From a lexical point of view, the influence of Turkish is one of the most salient characteristics of the languages of the Balkan linguistic league. In fact, Miklosich's (1884) study of the influence of Turkish on the languages of Southeastern and Eastern Europe is one of the earliest

¹ I wish to thank the American Council of Learned Societies for a grant for East European Studies, financed in part by the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Ford Foundation in 1986. Some of my research during that grant period is reflected in this work. I also wish to thank the International research and Exchanges Board for a travel grant to Macedonia in 1991 to attend the Second International Symposium on Macedonian-Turkish Cultural Relations, University of Skopje, 23-25 October, and which also enabled me to do some of the research for this paper. I wish to thank the Ministry of Information of the Republic of Macedonia, the Institute for the Macedonian Language, the Macedonian Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Seminar for the Macedonian Language of the University of Skopje, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia for their generous help both when I have been in Macedonia and in sending me many publications essential to my research. An earlier version of this paper appeared as "Turkisms in a Comparative Balkan Context." *Septième Congrès International d'Études du Sud-Est Européen: Rapports*. Athens: Greek National Committee for Southeast European Studies. pp. 521-543. 1994.

² It is an interesting but little-known fact that while popular belief in the Balkans attributes many social ills to the Turkish occupation, popular belief in Turkey attributes these same ills in Turkey to Turkey's having spent so much time ruling the Balkans.

works in the field Balkan linguistics. Even those dialects of languages spoken on Balkan territory but not traditionally treated as members of the Balkan *Sprachbund*, e.g. Romani and Judezmo, share a significant Turkish lexical component with the more widely recognized Balkan languages (Friedman 1989a, 1989b; Stankiewicz 1964). The Turkish lexicon in the various Balkan languages has undergone significant vicissitudes in terms of numbers, meanings, and stylistic values (see especially Kazazis 1972). Not only have there been shifts in all of these areas, but in the post-1989 climate of social and political change, Turkisms assumed new symbolic or potential roles indicating not only their great vitality almost a century after the First and Second Balkan Wars, but also their continuing ability to assume different functions in different contexts, thereby enriching the languages to which they now belong. In this article, I shall examine the Turkish lexical component in the languages of the Republic of Macedonia, which is arguably located at the very heart of the complex multi-lingual contact that resulted in the Balkan linguistic league.³ The fate of Turkisms in the languages of Macedonia reflects the general Balkan situation but also displays unique developments that parallel the unique position of Macedonia in the Balkans. I shall concentrate on the evolution of the place and role of the Turkish lexicon in Modern Literary Macedonian followed by a comparison with Albanian, Romani, Aromanian (Vlah), the former Serbo-Croatian, and even Turkish itself.⁴ In so doing, I shall discuss how Turkisms have been manipulated to reflect and instantiate both linguistic and sociopolitical changes, especially in the course of post-1989 developments.

³ For the sake of convenience I shall use the terms *Macedonia* and *Republic of Macedonia* interchangeably. Unless otherwise noted, Aegean (Greek) Macedonia, Pirin (Bulgarian) Macedonia as well as the Macedonian villages of Albania and Serbia are excluded from the terms of this discussion except insofar as they are part of the broader Balkan context.

⁴ In addition to the Macedonian people (*narod*), the nationalities (*nacionalnosti*) specifically named in the 1991 Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia were Albanian, Turkish, Romani, and Vlah (Aromanian). The four languages associated with these nationalities together Macedonian with Serbian constituted the six official languages of the 1994 extraordinary census. Amendment IV (2001) of the Macedonian Constitution described all the above named groups as peoples (*narodi*) and added the specifications of Serbian and Bosniac (*Bošnjački*). The official languages of the 2002 census, however, remained the same as for the 1994 census (Republic of Macedonia 2002). The vexed question of the four standards that have replaced the former Serbo-Croatian (Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian, Montenegrin; henceforth BCSM) will be discussed later in this article only insofar as it is relevant for the position of Turkisms.

Modern Literary Macedonian, which celebrated six decades of official recognition in August 2004, has been the subject of numerous specific studies dealing in whole or in part with its Turkish lexicon (e.g. Gołąb 1960; Jašar-Nasteva 1962/63, 1963, 1966, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973a, 1978a, 1981, 1981/82, 1982, 1985, 1987, 1991, 2001; Friedman 1986a, 1989c, 2003, 2005a; Markov 1955, 1977, 1984; see now also Sobolev 2004 on Turkisms in some specific Balkan dialects; see also Schaller 1977). Turkish influence in Macedonian has also been discussed in other modern works on Turkish influence in the Balkans (e.g. Grannes 1996; Kappler 2002; Kazazis 1972; Menskaja 1975; Schmaus 1970) as well as in other studies pertaining to Macedonian (e.g. Jašar-Nasteva 1966, 1973b, 1974, 1978b, 1979, 1981, 1992; Koneski et al. 1981; Koneski 1965, 1983; Miovski 1980; Vidoeski 1951). For our purposes, all those words that entered Macedonian via Turkish are Turkisms. Thus, for example, although Turkish *efendi* 'sir' (archaic) is itself from Medieval Greek ἀφέντης 'master' (Ancient Greek αὐθέντης), its presence in Macedonian is counted as a Turkism and not as a Hellenism, since Turkish was clearly the immediate source. The same can be said of Arab and Persian words which entered via Turkish, e.g. *džiger* 'liver', which is ultimately from Persian. There are also ambiguous cases where it is difficult to determine whether or not a word entered Macedonian via a Turkish intermediary, e.g. if Turkish has borrowed from Greek or Romance but the phonology of the item is such that source of the word in other Balkan languages may be uncertain (cf. Boretzky 1975:135-69). Thus, for example, Ancient Greek *mándalos* 'bolt' is the ultimate source of Modern Greek *mantáli*, Turkish *mandal*, Albanian *mandal*, *mandall*, BCSM *màndal*, etc. The precise route by which this word entered the various modern Balkan languages, however, is moot. As we shall see, this problem of ultimate source and route of entry also contains additional complexities for Romani. In general, however, such lexical items are popularly felt to be Turkisms or at least words associated with the Ottoman period, and this is how they function for purposes of this discussion.⁵

Turkisms in Macedonian can be divided into productive loan suffixes, calques, and loanwords. To begin with the most obvious phenomena in suffixation, there are four suffixes which were unquestionably of Turkish origin and remain productive: 1) *-džija/-čija* (Tk *-ci/-çi*, etc.) used to denote types of people, 2) *-lija* (Tk *-li*, etc.) used to form adjectives and descriptive nouns, 3) *-lak* (Tk *-lk*, etc.) used primarily for abstract nouns, and 4) *-ana* (Tk *-hane*) used for

⁵ Thus, for example, the question of whether *-ána* entered Macedonian via BCSM or directly from Turkish is, for our purposes, irrelevant.

buildings.⁶ The functioning of these suffixes can be seen in their use in three types of words: 1) Turkish, e.g. *jabandžija* 'foreigner' (Tk *yabancı*), *kasmetlija* 'lucky' (Tk *kismetli*), *javašlak* 'slowness' (Tk *yavaşlık*), *meana* 'tavern' (Tk *meyhane*); 2) native, e.g. *lovdžija* 'hunter', *vošlija* 'lousy', *strojniklak* 'matchmaking', *pilana* 'sawmill', 3) recent loans, e.g. *fudbaldžija* 'inept soccer player', *pubertetlija* 'teenager' (ironic), *asistentlak* 'assistantship' (ironic), *energana* 'heating plant' (colloquial but neutral). As can be seen from the glosses, the semantics of the first three suffixes has shifted downward, a phenomenon which will be discussed later (cf. Kazazis 1972).

Most other Turkish suffixes, e.g. *-džIK*, *-slz*, etc., as in *kapidžik* 'back-gate' (Tk *kapı/kapıcık* 'door/little door'), *arsaz* 'crook', *teklifsiz* 'unceremoniously', *ugursuz* 'nogoodnik' (Tk *hırsız*, *tefliksiz*, *uğursuz*), occur only with words of Turkish origin and thus should be treated as part of the lexical borrowings with which they occur rather than as borrowed suffixes (*pace* Markov 1977:17).⁷ A few suffixes have been attached to native roots without, however, remaining productive in the modern language. Thus, for example, we can mention here the suffix *-lAmA*, in which the *-lA-* is used to derive verbal stems from non-verbs and the *-mA* forms deverbal nouns, as in Turkish *temiz* 'clean, adj.' *temizle-* 'clean, verb', *temizleme* 'cleaning, noun'. In Macedonian (and, *mutatis mutandis*, elsewhere in Balkan Slavic), the noun *zavrzlama* 'tangle, plot, meddling, etc.' from *zavrze* 'bind, twist, knot' is still in common usage, albeit strictly colloquial. Similarly, *čuvadār* 'guardian' combines *čuva* 'protect, keep' with *-dar* a Turkism of Persian origin used to form agentive nouns. Unlike *zavrzlama*, however, *čuvadār* is archaic.

The suffix *-man*, while not exactly productive (or even a suffix in Turkish, for that matter) is worthy of mention here since it functions as a suffix combining with native roots in Macedonian. Although only one of the words in

⁶ In the case of colloquial borrowings, West Rumelian Turkish dialects neutralize all oppositions in high vowels in absolute final positions, so that *i/ɪ/u/ü* are all realized as *i*. In the case of final closed syllables, the opposition front/back is neutralized in favor of back for unrounded vowels and this *i/ɪ > ɪ*, which is then treated like schwa and lowered and backed to *a* in the standard language and the west central dialects on which it is based. In general, we will give standard Turkish rather than dialectal Turkish etymons for ease of comparison.

⁷ Similarly, the nonterminal suffix *-di-* in verbs in *-disa* is limited to verbs borrowed from Turkish, for which the third singular *di*-past served as the base (to which the Greek aorist marker *-s-* was added), e.g. *bendisā* < *beğendi* 'like, be pleasing'. It is worth noting here that this particular Macedonian form reflects the East Rumelian (and standard) form with the loss of intervocalic *g* rather than the West Rumelian dialect form, which preserves it (cf. colloquial Albanian *beğendis*).

-man cited by Markov (1977:17) is not a complete borrowing from Turkish, i.e. *utman* 'dullard', which is formed on the basis of (dialectal) Albanian *ut* (literary *hut*) '1.owl, 2.dullard', but which may have been borrowed as a whole from dialectal Albanian, there is another use of *-man* not cited by Markov, viz. with names of nationalities, e.g. *grkoman* 'Hellenizer, Greek-identified non-Greek', *srbomán* 'Serbianizer, Serb-identified', probably on the model of Turkisms such as *dušman* 'enemy', *dragoman* 'interpreter'. Given that these words are ending-stressed, one might propose the Greek suffix *-mán* 'maniac' as in *kleptomán* 'kleptomaniac', *megalomán* 'megalomaniac' as the source, but I would argue that aside from the fact that these later words are learned whereas the former are colloquial, we have Turkisms such as *Muslimán* 'Muslim' as well as colloquial *tamán* (Turkish *tamam*) 'exactly' with final stress no doubt influenced by the long /ā/ in Turkish. There is also *lažoman* 'liar', with native stress. If not entirely Turkish in origin, these native roots with *-man* must at least be influenced by Turkish.

There are other morphosyntactic processes which can be said to affect derivation, but with the exception of the use of reduplicative *m-* (e.g. *kal-mal* 'mud or whatever', *knigi-migi* 'books and such like') they all lend themselves equally well to explanations based on parallel development, reinforcement of pre-existing tendencies, or are not so much morphological borrowings as lexical items (cf. note 7 and Jašar-Nasteva 1978b:45-46; Koneski 1965:107; Markov 1977:6-7, 19; Grannes 1987; Selišev 1925:53-54; Friedman 1986a).⁸

The area of semantic calques -- both single words and phraseological constructions -- presents more problems for identification than do overt lexical borrowings. On the one hand, numerous partial calques, e.g. those involving Macedonian verbs and either Turkish or Macedonian substantives, are clear examples. For example, the use of *jade* 'eat' to mean 'be subjected to' as in *jade kjotek* 'get a beating' (literally 'eat a blow') is obviously based on Turkish *kötek yemek* 'ibid.', and so *jade dožd* 'get soaked' ('eat rain', Tk *yağmur yemek*) or *jade gomno* 'say something stupid/embarrassing' ('eat excrement', Tk *bok yemek*, cf. English *to put one's foot in it*) can likewise be identified as calques. There are many such cases, but on the other hand there are instances where a parallelism of idiomatic expression may be just that, i.e., a result of parallel development and not of calquing. Jašar-Nasteva (1962/63) in her excellent work on Turkish calques in Macedonian gives 350 examples, but a number of these are also iden-

⁸ See Stolz (2008:118) for a map of the spread of such reduplication. Ivić (1984) notes that reduplicative adjective formation of the type Macedonian *gol-goleničok* 'stark naked' is based on a Turkish reduplicative model, e.g. *kara* 'black' - *kapkara* 'pitch black', *baška* 'different' *bambaška* 'completely different'. Weinreich (1953:43) mentions *ravravno* 'totally flat' in the former Serbo-Croatian.

tical with English usage, e.g. the use of 'fall' to mean 'come/occur' as in *Bajram se pagja v nedela = Bayram pazara düşer* = 'Bayram falls on a Sunday' (p.130), *svekrvin jazik = kaynana dili* = 'mother-in-law's tongue (a type of plant with long spiny leaves)' (p.122). Given that the English is not likely to be a Balkan calque, the Macedonian expressions cannot be definitely attributed to Turkish without some sort of documentary evidence.

The large number of Turkish lexical borrowings belong to all levels of vocabulary and almost all parts of speech, e.g. *džeb* 'n. pocket' (*ceb*), *bendisa* 'v. please' (*beğen-*), *taze* 'adj. fresh' (*taze*), *badijala* 'adv. for nothing' (*bâdihava*), *ama* 'conj. but' (*amma*), *karši* 'prep. opposite', (*karşı*), *iç* 'pron. nothing' (*hiç*), *sikter* 'excl./interj. scam' (*siktir*), *keški* 'part. if only' (*keşke*). The only Macedonian traditional part of speech lacking Turkisms is the numeral, although there are Turkisms in numerical expressions, e.g. *čerek* 'quarter', and Turkish numerals in other parts of speech, e.g. *bešlik* 'five-grosch silver coin'. Numerous studies have discussed the classification and types of Turkish loanwords in Macedonian or have studied specific areas of lexical influence (e.g. general: Jašar-Nasteva 1963, 1974, 1981/82, 2001; Kazazis 1972; Kramer 1979; toponyms: Jašar-Nasteva 1978a; religion: Jašar-Nasteva 1970; color: Jašar-Nasteva 1981; law: Jašar-Nasteva 1982). These works demonstrate how Turkish vocabulary has penetrated every facet of Macedonian life: urban and rural, e.g. *dukjan*, 'shop' (*dükkân*), *sokak* 'street, alley' (*sokak*), *ambar* 'barn' (*hambar*), *endek* 'ditch, furrow' (*hendek*); man-made and natural, e.g. *tavan* 'ceiling' (*tavan*), *šiše* 'bottle' (*šiše*), *zumbul* 'hyacinth' (*zümbül*), *taftabita* 'bedbug' (*tahtabiti*); intimate and abstract, e.g. *džiger* 'liver, lungs' (*ciğer*), *badžanak* 'brother-in-law (wife's sister's husband)' (*bacanak*), *rezil* 'disgrace' (*rezil*), *muabet* 'conversation' (*muhabbet*).⁹

The degree of the penetration of Turkisms into Macedonian reached its height during the nineteenth century. According to Koneski (1965:188-89), this was due to the migration of Macedonians to the cities, where Turkish was the language of the market place. It is noteworthy that Turkish even penetrated the realm of Christian religious terminology, which, given the identification of Turkish with Islam, should have been the most impervious to such influence. Thus

⁹ In some cases, the meaning of standard Turkish differs from the Macedonian, and sometimes the Macedonian form reflect West Rumelian and not standard Turkish pronunciation. Nonetheless, the basic point of the ubiquity of Turkisms remains. We can also note here that while Sobolev (2004) provides valuable data concerning the fact that not all Turkisms attested in various written sources and dictionaries are attested in any given dialect — a point that highlights the importance of studying microsystems — taking any given language or dialect continuum as a macrosystem. Vlado Cvetkovski (p.c.) makes a similar point about differences in various Macedonian town dialects, e.g.

we find in nineteenth century texts *kurban* 'Eucharist' (Tk *kurban* 'sacrifice'), *kurtulija* 'the Savior' (Tk *kurtul-* 'save'), *sajbija* 'the Lord' (Tk *sahib* 'master'; cf. Goļab 1960, Jařar-Nasteva 1970, Miovski 1980, Koneski and Jařar-Nasteva 1989). It was also during the nineteenth century, however, that intellectuals made the first efforts to halt the influx of Turkisms by reviving and introducing Slavic words in their colloquial-based writings, i.e. in the works whose language represents the precursor of Modern Literary Macedonian.¹⁰ This was especially true with abstract nouns, e.g. Krčovski felt the need to gloss *gordost* 'pride' with the Turkish *fodulluk*. Even *narod* in the meaning of 'nation' (for which the internationalism *nacija* can now also be used) was glossed with the Turkish *millet*.

In this context we can also mention the semantic adjustment of Turkisms. Mollova (1967:116) cited in Grannes (1987:248) makes a point for Bulgarian that is also valid for Macedonian, namely that the majority of Turkisms are borrowed without any significant semantic shift. In the cases of religious terminology just described, e.g. *kurban* 'sacrifice' for 'Eucharist', the adaptation is essentially a cultural one, given the role of *kurban* in Islam.¹¹ In some cases, a secondary meaning in Turkish will become the primary meaning in the Balkans, e.g. Turkish *muhabbet* 'love, affection, friendship, friendly chat' is taken into Macedonian and Albanian as *mu[h]abet* but with only the last meaning. Similarly, Turkish *bahis/bahs* 'topic, subject, investigation, debate, wager' has only the last meaning in Macedonian as *bas*. Although in general Turkisms are associated with stylistic lowering in the twentieth century (cf. Kazazis 1975 and see below) in at least some cases a negative expression was made somewhat less so when borrowed. Thus, for example, the exceedingly vulgar Turkish *siktir*, 'fuck off' (literally 'get fucked'), when borrowed into Macedonian as *sikter* is closer to the milder (albeit still rude) 'scram' and can even be used humorously in the expression *sikterkafe* 'last cup of coffee served at the end of a visit, one for the road'.

Most of the twentieth century saw a gradual retreat of Turkish lexical influence in two stages, followed by a third stage of revival. First, the elimination of Turkish rule in Macedonia (1912) rendered many terms obsolete due to changes in power structure. Thus, the interwar period saw the obsolescence of

¹⁰ Misirkov (1903) is the best example of this tendency from the pre-standard period. His language has been described as a Slavicized colloquial and contains only 16 Turkisms in a book of 145 pages.

¹¹ In fact, Arabic-speaking Christians use *kurban* for 'Eucharist'. In the case of Macedonian, however, the usage should be considered a parallel phenomenon and not a borrowing from Arabic.

some Turkisms for strictly practical reasons. Since Turkish was no longer the language of the state, many administrative terms, e.g. *vilajet* 'province' *kajmakam*, 'governor' etc. became obsolete. In everyday Macedonian speech, however, large numbers of Turkisms were still in regular use.

In the second stage (1944-1990), many Turkisms were consciously eliminated or marginalized (cf. note 10). The position of Turkisms was an issue from the very beginning of Macedonian standardization. There was one current of thought among some Macedonian intellectuals that maintained that Turkisms should be encouraged and preserved because they were characteristic of colloquial speech and also emphasized Macedonian's differentiation from the other Slavic languages. The predominant current, however, continued the nineteenth century tradition of encouraging replacements for Turkisms. Thus, for example, a year after the official recognition of Literary Macedonian, Koneski (1945b) wrote an article criticizing a Macedonian translation of Molière's *Le Tartuffe* for being full of Turkisms, writing: "*Toa znači...da go snižis...istančeniot poetski jazik na Moliera...do nivoto na našeto balkansko, kasabsko, čaršisko muabektenje.*" 'It means lowering the refined poetic language of Molière to the level of our Balkan small-town marketplace chit-chat.' (cf. also Ežov 1952:211, Gołąb 1960, Markov 1955).

The process of replacing Turkisms involved three types of words: 1) Slavic, e.g. *običaj* for *adet* 'custom', *znači* for *demek* 'it means', *no* (borrowed from Russian; v. Koneski 1965:101) for *ama* 'but'; 2) Western, e.g. German-based *pegla* (from the first half of *Bügeleisen*) for *utija* 'iron', *pasuva* for *ujdisa* 'fit'; 3) so-called international (essentially, Greco-Latinate) words, e.g. *informacija* for *aber* 'information', *nacija* for *millet* 'nation'. In some cases, the replacement has resulted in a differentiation of written and spoken language. Thus, no educated Macedonian would use *ama* or *demek* in formal writing, but even academicians and professors use them routinely in speaking, where *demek* also has the additional function of a dubitative particle. In many cases Westernisms and Turkisms will be opposed in what they imply. Thus, for example, the Turkism *kujundžija* 'goldsmith' indicates a dealer in traditional jewelry while the Gallicism *bižuterija* 'jewelry' implies modern, Western-style items. In other cases, the Turkisms will remain standard for the concrete meaning while its replacement will be used for abstractions, thus, for example Turkish *tavan* is the standard word for ceiling, but the French *plafon* is used in abstract or figurative expressions such as *plafon na cenite* 'price-ceiling', (cf. Korubin 1981a, 1986). In some cases, the Turkism was replaced by extending the use of a Slavic word, e.g. the use of *narod* 'people' to mean 'nation' in place of Turkish *millet* as well as the international *nacija*.

It is interesting to compare the suggestions of language codifiers during the first decade of development with the realities of usage thirty years later. For example, Markov (1955) sought to limit and reduce the spread of the suffixes *-džija*, *-lija*, and *-lak* by suggesting replacements, e.g. *lebar* 'baker' for *furnadžija*, *čevlar* 'shoemaker' for *konduradžija*, etc. In an article in *Nova Makedonija* (21-X-83:7), a list of enterprises involved in the news story included the following: 11 *prodavači na zelenčuk* 'vegetable sellers' (not *zarzavatčii*), 11 *čevlari* (not *konduradžii*), 11 *časovničari* (not *saatčii*) 'watchmakers', 5 *furnadžii* (vs *lebari*), 13 *slatkarnici i leblebidžilnici* 'sweet shops and roasted chickpea shops' (not *šekjerdžilnici* or *leblebidžiski rabotilnici*), i.e., in the language of the daily press, most but not all the replacements have taken hold.

In many ways, by 1990 the situation had become the reverse of what it had been a century or even half a century earlier. Writers such as Joakim Krčovski (d.1820) and Kiril Pejčinovikj (d.1845) had to gloss many of their Slavic words with Turkish equivalents, which were more familiar to ordinary people, but late twentieth-century collections of folk tales (e.g. Penušliski 1968-73, 1981) had to have glossaries of Turkisms. Similarly, three and a half decades after Koneski's criticism of Turkisms in the translation of Molière, Korubin (1981b) found it necessary to admonish translators not to become so carried away by purism that they translate Turkisms used for archaic effect in BCSM rather than leaving them in the original, e.g. *Bujrum efendi* 'At your command, sir', with the native, but in such a context inappropriate, expression *Povelete gospodine*.

The position of Turkish loanwords in Macedonian by 1989 was essentially that described by Kazazis (1972) for Balkan languages in general. Within the normative register there are those words which are both literary and colloquial standard and are not likely to be replaced, e.g. *džeb* 'pocket', *jorgovan* 'lilac', various toponyms, e.g. *Čair* (Tk *çayır* 'meadow') a district in Skopje, *Altan* (Turk. *altın* 'gold'), *Merkez* (Turk. *merkez* 'center') names of coffee-houses in Skopje, and many others. As a close second come the standard colloquialisms which are not used in formal writing, e.g. *ama*, *demek*, etc. Another class of standard vocabulary not mentioned by Kazazis is that of certain types of specialized terminology. Thus, for example, in the hobby of dove-raising (*golubarstvo*, itself a native term) Turkish terms are used for the names of different types of birds, e.g. *ak kuruk* 'white tail', *kara kuruk* 'black tail', *beaz* (Tk *beyaz*) '[pure] white', *sija* (Tk *siyah*) '[pure] black' (Vlado Cvetkovski, p.c.). This terminology can be treated as a technical subset of the colloquial standard.

There are three other broad types of contexts which permit a wider range of Turkisms than those just alluded to: 1) historical/epic/archaic, 2) local color/dialectal, and 3) ironic/pejorative/low style. The first context is distin-

guished by a wide range of vocabulary items of all types, but many refer to specifically Turkish institutions. The second context is distinguished by a wider degree of phonological variation, especially the greater preservation of schwa. The third context also includes new formations with the suffixes *-džija*, *-lija*, and *-lak* which would not occur in the first and would be unlikely in the second. All these types are illustrated in various articles in *Nova Makedonija*, where Turkisms are manipulated to achieve these three effects. Thus, for example, in an editorial entitled *Mal kjar -- golemi šteti* (NM 21-4-84:3) 'small profit -- large damages', the author, who is arguing against the legalization of raising goats in Macedonia, uses the Turkism *kjar* for ironic pejoration and for linking the legality of goats to an oppressive past. In the body of the article, the author refers to the importance of goats to the economy of people who had to hide in the hills *begajkji pred zulumot na razni zavojuvači* 'fleeing before the violence of various conquerors'. Here, the choice of the Turkism *zulum* 'violence' (versus literary *nasilstvo*) is a serious stylistic device evoking negative aspects of Ottoman rule in Macedonia. There is another political side to this usage, however. Goats were declared illegal and herds of them slaughtered during the beginning of the communist period. The official justification for the banning of goats at the time was the belief that their grazing practices caused soil erosion. However, the financial ruin that this prohibition brought to goatherding families as well as the hardship to poor families for whom goats were an essential source of milk products was associated with other confiscatory practices of the communist regime connected with collectivization and redistributing wealth.¹² At the time the article was written, the author was positioning himself on the side of modernization as represented by state control of the economy, and his use of Turkisms to invoke the pre-1944 period was part of this strategy. The rise of Turkisms in modern contexts in the press after 1990 represents, in part, a rejection of the state's claim to control (see below).

Often articles using Turkisms for local color, i.e., as dialectisms, seek to conjure up images of the past, produce a humorous effect, or both. The former (local plus historical) is seen in articles such as one about the everyday life of the oldest generation in modern Macedonia *Da se živee so dikat* (NM 22-11-82:5) 'One should live with care (i.e. carefully)', where the author visits an old resident of Prilep and in describing the scene uses phrases such as *ì dade nekakov išaret...* 'he gave her [his wife] some sort of sign' (Tk *išaret* versus literary *znak*). The old man himself is quoted using dialectal Turkisms, e.g. *se-*

¹² It was argued later that it was the denuding of forests by humans and not the feeding habits of goats that had led to widespread soil erosion. For an account of the period leading up to the destruction of Macedonia's goat herds, see Starova 2012.

koj so svojot um i k'smet 'each with his wits and fate (literary *kasmet*)!' Combinations of local color and humor are seen in articles about the lighter side of rural life, especially minor domestic squabbles, in which both Turkisms and spellings that reflect colloquial pronunciation are used, e.g. *praam muabet* 'I make conversation' (literary *pravam*), *šo moži...ama sabajle...* 'what could he do...but in the morning' (literary *što može*) (NM 6-11-83:5). Sometimes an author uses Turkisms simply to convey a sense of the old-fashioned without quoting anyone, as in a local color piece about an old man who *niz pazarot nabavuva emiš i zarzavat* 'gets fruit and vegetables at the market' (Tk *emiş, zarzavat* 'fruit, vegetable' versus literary *ovoşje, zelenčuci*) (NM 1-8-82:5).

Other times, the effect is purely pejorative, e.g. an article about the European Economic Community *Ekonomski Džin -- političko džudže* (Sabota 2-6-79:6) 'Economic giant -- political dwarf' vs. *Giganti vo izgradba* (Sabota 14-7-79:5) 'Giants under construction' about a new *hidroelektrana* 'hydroelectric power plant'. A similar contrast is provided by a cartoon of a fat old man in a blue suit and black top hat labeled "EZ" (*Evropska zaednica* 'European Community') sitting on a ledge looking out over a distant battle and conflagration. On his back, the word *posmatrač* 'observer' printed in neat white letters has been crossed out in black and below printed in a handwritten style is the word *seirdžija*, a Turkism with the same basic meaning, but with the connotation of 'bystander, rubberneck'. (NM 4-10-92:11).¹³ A particularly interesting phenomenon in the use of Turkisms for ironic-pejorative purposes is their coupling with very recent loanwords -- also used ironically -- as in an article headlined *Biznes samo za džeparlak* (NM 26-1-84:7) which could be translated roughly 'Deals (business) only for crookedness (pickpocketing)'.

One phenomenon relating to local color which has not been remarked elsewhere is the use of Turkisms for regional identification. Thus, for example, *nejse* 'anyway, never mind' (Tk *neise*) is perceived by speakers from Bitola as being particularly characteristic of their region. This raises the question of the distribution of particular Turkisms in Macedonian dialects, which still requires investigation (see note 9).

It is also worthy of note that serious articles concerning modern Turks and Turkey make a special effort to avoid words of Turkish origin if an alternative exists. Thus, for example, an article on Turkish film director Yılmaz Güney (NM 7-9-82:5) did not contain a single word of Turkish origin, although the discussion of witnesses and prisons afforded ample opportunities. An article on Yuruk folklore (NM 29-3-81:5; the Yuruks are a Turkish speaking ethnic group

¹³ Cf. also the slang expression *fati seir* literally 'catch a spectacle', which denotes the enjoyment that one gains while witnessing the gossip-worthy follies of others.

living in the Štip-Radoviš region) used *običaj* 'custom' (vs. Tk *adet*) and even the uncommon *zabratka* 'kerchief', which was then glossed with the standard word *šamija*, which happens to be of Turkish origin.

Although, as was mentioned above, the situation described by Kazazis (1972) in the early seventies was still true into the late eighties, a linguistic effect of political pluralism in the post-'89 upheavals has been the rise of dialectal forms and Turkisms in serious public discourse. Thus, for example, in the early 1990s the Turkism *tajfa* became the neutral colloquial word for 'group' while the term *grupa* (a so-called internationalism) took on the negative connotations of 'faction'. This, too, could be associated with earlier debates concerning the position of Turkisms in literary normativization. Although, as indicated earlier, there was a school of thought that favored the retention of Turkisms in the literary language both as a distinctive feature of Macedonian and as a characteristic of colloquial speech, other scholars opposed the incorporation of most Turkisms on the grounds that their stylistic nuances were unsuitably ironic, dialectal, or old-fashioned (e.g. Koneski 1945b). The proliferation of Turkisms in the press and other media and contexts in which the norm is expected can be seen as an attempt to "democratize" Literary Macedonian via colloquialization. The logic of such a tendency would be that since the literary standard of the 1944-90 period tended to eschew Turkisms in formal contexts while they continued to thrive in colloquial speech (cf. Korubin 1994), and since the 1944-90 period was characterized by a one-party system, the eschewing of Turkisms is a characteristic of monism. Thus the opposite tendency, i.e. the use of Turkisms in formal contexts, becomes a marker of "democracy".¹⁴

As noted above, the success of the trend to avoid Turkisms has resulted in the need for folklore collections to contain extensive glossaries of Turkisms along with regional expressions. The obsolescence of some Turkisms has progressed to the point that even graduate students in Slavic philology do not know words like *utija* 'clothes iron', which were still in common use two or three decades ago. As indicated above, Turkisms have always been more common in informal styles than in formal speech or writing, and the recent rise in the use of Turkisms appears to be connected with a tendency to colloquialize the literary language in opposition to establishment norms. Although ironic usage still occurs, there are many serious uses in a broader range of contexts, albeit many of these contexts are negative, e.g. *Nema večje besplatno lekuvanje!: Najdrastičen primer e Valandovo kade momentalno duri 85 otsto od osigurenicite se lekuvaat na veresija.* (NM 8-17-91:5) 'There is no more free health care!: The most dras-

¹⁴ The fact that this reasoning is essentially syllogistic does not change its ability to affect change in linguistic usage.

tic example is Valandovo, where at the moment already 85% of those insured are being treated on credit.' The use of the Turkism *veresija* instead of the Anglicism *kredit* is striking here, as its use is clearly not ironic, neither is it historical, rather it is colloquial-pejorative in style but serious in intent. However, Turkisms are also being used more in positive contexts as well, e.g. *Tutunot dogodina nema da bide badijala* (NM 1-11-92:3) 'Next year's tobacco will not be for nothing'. Another new source of Turkisms in the news has been the increased attention focused on Islam and Islamic countries such as Iran. Thus, for example, the word *medžlis* is routinely used to refer to the Iranian parliament. This same word (*mejlis*) is used in English-language news accounts, but in English the word must be glossed whereas in Macedonian it is a revived Turkism.

From a sociolinguistic point of view, Turkish has become an object of affection and nostalgia for some urban Macedonians in comparison with the perceived competition from Albanian. It thus seems that a combination of pluralist linguistic politics and tensions with Albanian have contributed to a shift in usage and attitude concerning Turkisms among Macedonian-speakers. To this can be added the fact that there has been increased economic and cultural cooperation between the Republic of Macedonia and Turkey since Macedonia's independence.¹⁵

Turning now to Albanian we find essentially the same basic situation as in Macedonian. In both Macedonian and Albanian productive derivational suffixes based on Turkish, e.g. Macedonian *-džija*, *-lak*, Albanian *-xhi/-çi*, *-llëk*, are sources of variation both in older Turkisms that are replaced by formations using native material, e.g. Macedonian *čevlar* for *konduradžija* or Albanian *këpuçar* for *kundraxhi* all meaning 'shoemaker' (cf. English *cobbler*), and in their ability to produce new lexicon to compete with the old, especially at marked stylistic levels, e.g. Macedonian *lovdžija* 'hunter', Albanian *thashethemexhi* 'gossip-monger' and newer Macedonian *majstorlak* 'masterpiece' [of poor quality], Albanian *avokatllëk* 'advocacy' [regardless of the actual merits of the case], cf. also Albanian *partiakçi* 'party hack' (FeV 29-VII-94:11) but *njerzillëk* 'humaneness' (Tribuna-Sh 20-VII-94:21). It is noteworthy that Turkish *-hane* is not at all productive in Albanian and *-li* only weakly so,¹⁶ albeit there are other suf-

¹⁵ This increase is due to a variety of political factors including various forms of harassment by Greece, Bulgaria, and the EU and the desire of Turkey to expand its influence.

¹⁶ Most items in *-li/-lli* are Turkish. The chief exception appears to be words such as *skraparlli* 'person from Skrapar', *Prishtinali* 'person from Prishtina', but also *vendaslli* 'local person' (*vend* 'place'). Note also *Shkupjan* 'person from Skopje' has a derived form *Shkupjanali* which has an additional nuance of being from an old Skopje family.

fixes, e.g. *-kâr*, that do show limited productivity (i.e. the ability to combine with non-Turkish words, albeit not indiscriminately), e.g. *grabitqar* 'robber', *mundqar* 'hard worker' (see Boretzky 1975:265-69).¹⁷

There has been a significant puristic movement in Albania that has sought to eliminate as many foreign elements as possible, and Turkisms have been a particular focus of that campaign (cf. Kostallari et al. 1973, Mehdiu 1983). Although Albanian linguists outside of Albania have tended to endorse developments and trends in Albania since the literary unification of 1968-72, such is not always the case. Thus, for example, Qemal Murati in one of his series of articles on calques in Albanian (FeV 13-5-90:5) recommends using the Turkism *ujti* 'flatiron' (Turkish *ütü*) rather than native *hekur* 'iron' (both the metal and other meanings) on the grounds that the use of *hekur* to mean 'flatiron' is a calque on the Romance languages. This could be seen as a tendency parallel to that which sought to endorse the use of Turkisms in the early years of the codification of literary Macedonian.

For Albanian, as for Macedonian, Turkisms are characteristic of colloquial style and are also used for pejoration, historical flavor, and local color. Thus, the Geg dialect columns of *Flaka e vëllazërimit* abound in Turkisms that are not found in the Standard Albanian dictionaries, e.g. *memnun* 'pleased' (Turkish *memnun*, Standard Albanian *i kënaqur* cf. also Boretzky 1976:90).¹⁸ In the immediate pre- and post-independence period (1990-92) the Albanian-language press in Macedonia did not seem to manifest a significant expansion of Turkisms, but the use of Geg in serious contexts appeared to increase. Thus, for example, an article entitled *Ditë e natë, pagjumësi e pritje* 'Day and night, sleeplessness and waiting' (FeV 7-7-91:8), describing the anguish of parents waiting at the Macedonian Red Cross in Skopje for news of their children sent to the front in the Yugoslav war, one of the parents was quoted in Geg. It could be argued that this quotation was used for emotive purposes, but if so, it clearly shows that in such stressful situations Geg is felt to have more emotional power. It would seem that the increased use of Geg in the Albanian-language media of Macedonia served the same type of colloquializing function as the expanded use of Turkisms in Macedonian.

There was a similar move to "rehabilitate" Geg in Albania itself after the so-called fall of communism, especially by intellectuals from Shkodër (Scu-

¹⁷ Cf. also BCSM *poganóer* 'someone who defiles.' See now also Dizdari 2005 and Latifi 2006.

¹⁸ Standard Albanian is based on the southern (Tosk) dialect region of Albania, most of the dialects of Macedonia and all those of Kosovo and Montenegro belong to the northern (Geg) group.

tari) in northwestern Albania, but this idea did not receive much support from the Geg-speakers of former Yugoslavia.¹⁹ The situation changed after the 1999 NATO war and the implementation of UNSCR 1244. Although *de jure* Kosovo remained a UN protectorate within Serbia until the official declaration of independence in 2008, *de facto* the spirit of intellectual freedom from June 1999 onward led to significant expression of linguistic revisionism. Viewpoints ranged from those who supported the re-introduction of some specific Geg features (e.g., the infinitive), which they called “opening up the standard”, to those who wanted to re-introduce a second-Geg based standard.²⁰ The Geg of Macedonia and Kosovo is characterized by a large number of Turkisms that are not part of the Albanian standard. The development of a Kosovar Geg standard raises the possibility (in principle) of a standard with more Turkisms. As of the celebration of the 40th Albanian Orthography Congress (November 2012), however, such questions remain moot.

The number of Turkisms in the Albanian-language press of Macedonia began to rise in the middle 1990s, especially in the independent media. This appears to parallel exactly the Macedonian development. It can be added that a significant difference between the Albanian of Albania and that of Macedonia and parts of Kosovo (e.g. Prizren) is the significant presence of a Turkish-speaking population in the former and its absence from the latter (cf. Németh 1961). Although the post-1990 opening of Albania and movement of populations across the border with Macedonia brought reports of Turkish-speaking minorities in the regions of Elbasan, Saranda, Fier, and elsewhere (*Birlik* 16-3-91:6), the very fact that their existence remained unknown is an indication of the degree to which they were marginalized in Albania in contrast to the institutionalization of Turkish as a significant minority language in Macedonia and, to a lesser extent, in Kosovo.

In the case of Romani, as in other European languages, the frequency of Turkish loanwords decreases with an increase in distance from the old bounda-

¹⁹ It should be noted that the Albanian dialects of Kosovo are northeastern Geg. Those of Macedonia are northeastern, east-central, and southern Geg and northern Tosk, all different from the northwestern type of Shkodër.

²⁰ See Friedman 2004 for details. News and humor magazines using Geg proliferated after 1999, as did serious calls for a literary Geg. The generation making or endorsing such efforts, however, were all educated in the (Tosk-based) standard. Their critics have accused them of not writing in literary Geg (referring to the pre-1968 norm) but in a mish-mash of colloquial and standard.

ries of the Ottoman Empire.²¹ Thus, for example, Sampson (1926) does not give a single word of Turkic origin for the dialect of Wales, nor does Bhatia (1963) in his limited vocabulary of a dialect spoken in Philadelphia (originally from northeastern Europe). Pobožniak (1964:72-73) does mention Turkish in his description of Lovari, but only as an intermediary for Armenian and Greek.²² The presence of a significant lexical component of Turkish origin is a distinctive feature of the Romani dialects of the Balkans just as it is of the other languages in the Balkan *Sprachbund*.²³

In the Romani dialects of the southern Balkans, Turkisms still comprise a significant portion of the vocabulary, since Romani has remained for a longer time strictly in the realm of oral communication. As in the other Balkan languages, Romani has borrowed not only lexical items but also productive suffixes, e.g. *asjáv/asjvdžís* 'mill/miller' (cf. Boretzky 1992). Thus, the colloquial base of Literary Romani leaves open the possibility that a greater number of Turkisms will find their way into the codified literary language currently in the process of development. Because Turkisms are extremely rare in the Romani dialects spoken outside the boundaries of the former Ottoman Empire, however, the fate of Turkisms in Literary Romani will depend in some degree on the ex-

²¹ Kazazis (1972:95) points out an important exception to this principle. As a result of specific historical circumstances some Turkish lexical items actually spread after the fall of the Ottoman Empire. Three cases in point are BCSM, Romanian, and Greek. In the case of the first two, the literary prestige of the dialects of regions that were under Ottoman rule for extended periods, Serbia and Muntenia, respectively, led to the spread of some Turkisms into regions that became parts of subsequent Yugoslavia and Romania, e.g. parts of Croatia and Transylvania, where Turkish rule had been short (or non-existent) and its influence minimal. A concrete example is the BCSM word *čevàpčiči* 'grilled meat'. For colloquial Greek, a new source of Turkisms in the early twentieth century was the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey, which began in 1923. In Romani, too, it is possible that the role of the Balkan dialects in the progress of the literary language could result in the spread of some lexical items of Turkish origin.

²² See now Matras 2002 for an excellent account of Romani dialectology and Elšík and Matras 2006 for material on contact with Turkish.

²³ Iglá (1996) notes that the Agia Varvara dialect of Romani, which was in such intense contact with Turkish that it still has Turkish conjugations (see Friedman 2010b), has only a small number of Turkisms left in its vocabulary. This is an indication of the speed with which vocabulary replacement can take place.

tent to which the Romani dialects of the Balkans serve as the basis for the currently emerging Romani literary language (Friedman 1989b; cf. also note 21).²⁴

A concrete example of the fact that Turkisms that have been stylistically lowered in the other Balkan languages (and even in Turkish itself) need not undergo the same transformation in Romani can be cited from the extraordinary census conducted in the Republic of Macedonia in June-July 1994. In accordance with article 35 of the census law, instructions for enumerators and census forms had to be made available in the six major languages of the Republic of Macedonia (see note 4). In the case of Romani (and Aromanian) the fact that the literary norm is still in the process of elaboration meant that the census documents themselves became part of the process of codification. Among the items to be enumerated were the number of baths and toilets in each dwelling. All those languages with established elaborated norms used euphemistic neologisms or recent borrowings as their official terminology on the census forms (P-2, VI.8 and 9 in Antonovska 1994): Macedonian *banja*, *klozet*, Albanian *banjo*, *nevojto*, Turkish *banyo*, *banyo-ayakyolu*, Serbian *kupatilo*, *klozet*. Except for the Serbian deverbal noun meaning 'bathing place' all the words for 'bath' are Latinate borrowings. The Macedonian and Serbian words for 'toilet' are from the British [*water*]closet, while the Albanian and Turkish are neologisms that can be glossed as 'necessarium' and 'bath-footplace', respectively. The Romani documents, however used the Turkisms *hamami* and *kenefi*, respectively. *Hamam* is the standard Turkish word for 'bath' but has come to mean 'Turkish bath' or 'public bath', while the *kenef* is considered vulgar in Turkish as well as in the other Balkan standard languages. These terms serve as clear and concrete examples that the function of Turkisms in Romani is following its own path of development and is more resistant to stylistic lowering.²⁵

This difference in Romani from the other Balkan languages with respect to Turkisms may be reinforced by the fact that upon leaving India the Roms came into direct contact with Persian and borrowed a number of important words. Some of these Persian words, e.g. *baht* 'luck, happiness', are found throughout the Romani dialects and also in Turkish, which undoubtedly reinforced their retention in the Balkan Romani dialects. Although the conscious

²⁴ As of this writing (2012) there are competing currents in Romani standardization in Macedonia, one favoring Turkisms, another favoring Indic neologisms or other non-local sources.

²⁵ In the 2002 census forms, for which the same six languages were defined as official, the words were the same except that the Romani variants were spelled *amami* and *khe-nefi* — reflecting local variations in pronunciation. The Turkish replaced *banyo-ayakyolu* with *tualet*, and Albanian had *banjë* for *banjo*.

attempt to eliminate Turkisms (or Arabo-Persianisms) in the Balkan literary languages has resulted in their stylistic lowering or marginalization (but, as noted above, this process is not necessarily irreversible), the same motivations need not apply to Literary Romani. Indeed, many Romani speakers in Macedonia consider the Turkisms in their language as part of what distinguishes it from Macedonian.

Moreover, Romani language planners have fewer language ideological reasons for eliminating words of Turkish origin. As was mentioned, many of these words are ultimately of Persian origin. Since the Indic and Iranian languages share a common Indo-European dialectal ancestor (Indo-Iranian), such words are historically more closely related to Romani than to the other Indo-European languages of the Balkans. Moreover, some of them were borrowed directly from Persian during the early history of the Romani people. Thus, for example, while *baksuz* 'luckless' is a Turkism in Macedonian (< *bahtsız*), *baxt* 'luck' is a Persianism in Romani. In addition to this, the elimination of Turkisms from the other Balkan languages was in part motivated by political independence from the Ottoman Empire.²⁶ In the case of Romani, the Turkish language does not occupy a similar political position as distinct from other non-Romani languages. This can be seen in the use of Turkisms when calquing from Slavic, e.g. *avazi* 'vote' (Turkish *avaz* 'voice, shout' < Persian *āwāz* 'voice') is based on Slavic *glas* meaning both 'voice' and 'vote' (cf. also the example from the 1994 census documents given above). Moreover, given the line of thought that favors Romani vocabulary enrichment by borrowing from other Indic languages, the presence of a loanword in both an Indic language of India and in Romani could be construed as justification for retaining the word in Romani regardless of its ultimate origin or the fact that it entered the languages independently.²⁷ Thus, for example, Jusuf and Kepeski (1980:211) use the Balkan Turkism *zamani* for 'epoch, time', and mark it as a Hindi word in their vocabulary despite the fact that it comes from Arabic *zamān* and probably entered Hindi via Persian.²⁸

²⁶ The is we can add that the overwhelming majority of Roms in the Republic of Macedonia (c. 90%) are Muslim, a religion which is associated with Turkish (albeit also with Albanian, a topic whose complexity goes beyond the bounds of this article).

²⁷ There is another group of Romani language planners in Macedonia who explicitly favor the use of Turkisms for vocabulary enrichment.

²⁸ Perhaps the most striking example of such lexical spread from Arabic is illustrated by the story of Morris Goodman, a Professor of African linguistics at Northwestern University. While attending the International Congress of Linguists in Bucharest, he attempted to buy some matches from a kiosk. He did not know Romanian, and the proprietor was unable to understand when he tried the word for 'matches' in English,

Aromanian and Meglenoromanian both have significant Turkish lexical components (Atanasov 1990:249-51, 1991; Gołąb 1984:195-261, Caragiu-Marioțeanu 1975, Polenakovikj 2007).²⁹ Pascu (1925:106-177) cites over 1,000 Turkisms in Aromanian and Polenakovikj 2007 has 1,638. Pușcariu (1976:316) states that Megleno-Romanian has many Turkisms not found in Aromanian. According to Atanasov (1990:249), Turkish ranks after Macedonian and Greek as outside sources of vocabulary, and either of these may actually have served as the intermediary for the Turkism. Basically, however, the situation is comparable with that of Romani. Like Romani, Aromanian is used in both print and mass media, but it is still primarily a language of oral communication, and as such the colloquial far outranks the literary in usage and frequency. The elaborators of an Aromanian standard could choose to preserve Turkisms as distinctive or eliminate them as non-Romance or old-fashioned, but at present the matter is not yet settled. Just as in Romani there is an Indicizing current of thought that favors the introduction of vocabulary from the Indic languages of India, so in Aromanian there is a Romanianizing current.

In some respects, however, the Aromanian situation parallels Macedonian as opposed to Romani (or Albanian). Just as many Bulgarian linguists continue to maintain that Macedonian is a dialect of Bulgarian and to deny the legitimacy and independence of the Macedonian language, so, too, there are Romanians (and also some Vlachs) who will insist that Aromanian and Meglenoromanian are dialects of Romanian. The lack of territorial contiguity between the Republic of Macedonia and Romania combined with the relatively small number of Aromanians in Macedonia renders these pressures and polemics less significant, but they could help reinforce a desire to differentiate Aromanian from Romanian by retaining Turkisms rather than adopting Romanianisms. For Aromanian, as for Romani, the 1994 Macedonian census forms provide a striking example of colloquial Turkisms preserved as literary forms. As mentioned above, the census documents themselves functioned as part of the codification of literary Aromanian.³⁰ Like Romani, Aromanian used Turkisms for 'bath' and

French, German, Dutch, and Russian. Finally, as he was leaving in frustration, he flung the Swahili word at her: "*Kiberiti*". The proprietor beamed understanding and exclaimed: "*Ah, chibrit!*"

²⁹ For the sake of convenience, the term *Vlah* will be used when referring to Aromanian and Meglenoromanian (and their speakers) when taken together as South Danubian Romance. For the most part, the comments here are limited to Aromanian owing both to the absence of a specific study of Meglenoromanian Turkisms and because only Aromanian is in use as a literary language in Macedonia.

³⁰ While this was implicit in the case of Romani, it was explicit in the case of Aromanian instructions to enumerators, which included a special, last page with guide to the

'toilet' in census instructions and forms, viz. *hàmami* and *hale*, respectively.³¹ The latter, from Turkish *helâ* appears in Albanian as *hale*, where it is considered colloquial and would never be used in a formal government document. Thus we see a parallel process in Romani and Aromanian in which the closeness of the emerging norm to current speech favors retention of commonly used Turkisms without stylistic lowering or marginalization.

In the process of vocabulary building, all of the nascent Balkan literary languages of the nineteenth and first three-quarters of the twentieth centuries made some overt attempts to eliminate vocabulary of Turkish origin, but in the case of Turkish itself these same words are often also considered foreign, being of Arabo-Persian origin (see Kazazis 1972:93-94). Thus in many cases the Turkisms of the Balkan languages are the Arabo-Persianisms of Turkish, since Turkish served as the intermediary via which many words of Arabic and Persian origin entered the Balkans. We thus have the interesting situation in which the same terms are considered archaic in both Turkey and the Balkan languages. For example Turkish *münasip* (< Arabic *munāsib*), Macedonian *munasip*, Albanian *mynasip* 'suitable' have been replaced, buy *uygun*, *zgoden*, and *përshatshëm*, respectively. Similarly the Turkish Arabicism *millet* 'nation, people', has been replaced by native *ulus* in Turkish, *narod* in Macedonian, and *kombë* in Albanian. In Turkey, too, this vocabulary can be stylistically manipulated with political implications. Thus, for example, politically right-wing publications such as the newspaper *Tercüman* favor older Arabo-Persian vocabulary while left-wing publications such as the newspaper *Cumhuriyet* support Turkic neologisms (cf. Friedman 1986c, Boeschoten 1991).

It is even possible to speak of Balkan Turkisms in the Turkish dialects of Macedonia (West Rumelian). In this context, Balkan Turkism refers to the phenomenon of Turkish words borrowed by various Balkan languages and then borrowed back into Rumelian Turkish. Thus, for example, in Macedonian Turkish *argat* 'day laborer' vs. Standard Turkish *ırgat* (< Greek εργάτης), where the initial /a/ represents a Macedonian adaptation whose form then influences the local Turkish dialect. Macedonian Turkish educators strive to replace these local forms with the literary ones (cf. Zekeriya 1976, Friedman 1982b, 2003). In

pronunciation of the orthography and a justification of the choice of symbols preceded by a brief statement on the significance of the census for the development of Aromanian. In the 2002 census, a single form was used for Turkish, Romani, Aromanian and Serbian with Macedonian translations. There was a separate Albanian-Macedonian form, and also a monolingual Macedonian form. This was a different solution from that of 1994, when each of the six languages had its own set of forms.

³¹ In the 2002 census, the orthography used a tilde instead of an grave accent for schwa, e.g. *hãmami*.

some cases, a neologism introduced in Turkey will be kept in the Balkan variant of literary Turkish even after it has gone out of use in Turkey. As a result, Balkan Turkish sometimes sounds "old fashioned" not because it has retained what we can call an "old" or "Ottoman" Turkism but because it has retained an obsolete neologism. A thorough study of these phenomena has yet to be done (but see Teodosijević 1985, 1987, 1988).

A type of politically-motivated differential use of what can be called Ottoman Turkisms similar to that seen in Turkey is also taking place in BCSM. In the case of BCSM, Turkisms have become symbolic in the breakdown of BCSM into at four literary languages (see note 4). This breakdown helps reflect and reify the disintegration of former Yugoslav society. Language planners and others in the BCSM-speaking territory utilize the encouragement or discouragement of BCSM Turkisms as one of the means of increasing the differentiation of the codified norms or literary languages currently developing out of BCSM. These attempts are directly connected with the political will to establish the separateness and identity of the nation and state via language. Croatian planners have coined or revived neologisms or incorporated dialectisms that on occasion, ironically, reduce the distinctiveness of Croatian by coinciding with Slovenian.³² Following the paradigm that identifies religion, nationality, and language (Croatian = Catholic, Serbian = Orthodox),³³ Bosnian language planners utilize Islam as the religion of national identity and have reinsated as much as possible of the Turko-Arabo-Persian lexicon of previous centuries, when Islam was the state religion of Turkey in Europe. Meanwhile, although Serbian and Montenegrin continue to follow the lines of lexical development which until recently were common to BCSM, which Serbian is accused of having dominated, there is pressure to avoid lexical items that have become identified with other variants of BCSM. Thus, for example, in order to say 'belt', the speaker of Serbian must choose the Slavic *pojas* the speaker of Bosnian must choose the Turkism *kaiš*, while the Croatian is told to use the neologistic *okolopasni pantalodržac* 'circumwaistal pantholder'.³⁴ Moreover, Bosnian has attempted to lay exclusive claim to a broad range of Turkish vocabulary of BCSM. Thus, for example, Pirić (1994) writes that the (common BCSM) Turkism *komšilik*

³² For the on-going contestations in Croatian language planning, see Granić 2009.

³³ From the nineteenth century to the end of World War One, during World War Two, and again since the outbreak of the Yugoslav War there have been linguists, politicians, and others who have openly attempted to break this paradigm via concepts such as *Catholic Serb*, *Muslim Croat*, etc. They are generally viewed merely as nationalists attempting to extend Serbian or Croatian territorial hegemony via assimilation.

³⁴ The Slavic *remen* literally 'strap' is also used.

'neighborliness' is a true Bosnian word expressing an essential feature of Bosnian culture to which it is unique. Turkisms thereby play a uniquely differentiating role in BCSM not found in any of the other languages spoken in the Republic of Macedonia.

Looking now at the commonalities and differences in the treatment of Turkisms in the languages of the Republic of Macedonia considered here, we can begin by observing that Macedonian and Albanian have had in common the attempt to restrict or marginalize Turkisms during most of the twentieth century. Many of these same words were purged from modern Turkish because they are ultimately of Arabo-Persian origin. Among the effects of this tendency — other than heightening the spilt between formal and informal speech — was reduction (or shift) of the commonality of lexicon that has been one of the characteristics of the Balkan linguistic league.³⁵

A tendency in the 1990s toward colloquialization in Macedonian and conservatism in Turkey (cf. Boeschoten 1991), however, had some effect in altering this direction. Owing to geopolitical configurations and rivalries, Turkey and Turkish are being rehabilitated to positions of influence and status in Macedonia. The situation for Albanian appears to be paralleling the Macedonian. Turning to Romani and Aromanian, we see that the very fact of non-codification has left the Turkish component in the lexicon in much the same position as that found in other Balkan languages before codification. Both Romani and Aromanian have the potential for similar puristic and neologizing tendencies, but at present they are still close enough to their colloquial bases to utilize many Turkish loans. Romani even calques from Slavic using Turkisms, while Aromanian may use Turkisms at least to some extent to resist Romanianization. In BCSM, Turkisms play a uniquely differentiating role. While Croatian follows a path of extreme purism and Serbian and Montenegrin continue with the type of stylistic differentiation seen during most of the twentieth century, Bosnian has chosen to move very consciously in the opposite direction and has selected Turkisms as a banner of identification in a manner not altogether dissimilar from that suggested by one stream of Macedonian intellectual thought right after World War Two, albeit with different ideological underpinnings (i.e. identity with Islam added to the creation of differential solidarity in the case of Bosnian).

³⁵ The adoption of so-called internationalisms, i.e. words of Greco-Latinate or West European origin, by the languages of the Balkans has led to a new commonality of vocabulary. This commonality, however, is not one specific to the Balkans but rather reflects a more global Euro-Atlantic hegemony.

The difference between the relationship of Turkish to the languages of Macedonia (and elsewhere in the Balkans) and that of French to English or Chinese to Japanese is striking (cf. Shibatani 1990:146). Although all three languages were in positions of superiority with relation to the languages that borrowed from them, French and Chinese have served as sources of high style vocabulary, while Turkish has been consciously relegated to low style. Subsequent events, however, have shown that the Turkish lexicon is not merely still vigorously present, but that its position in the overall word stock of the languages of Macedonia is still flexible. Although the pattern for most of the twentieth century was to reduce the commonalities among the Balkan languages by various means including the elimination or restriction of Turkisms or Arabo-Persianisms, tendencies of the 1990s showed that such a trend was not entirely irreversible. Nonetheless, Turkisms in the languages of Macedonia (and elsewhere in the Balkans) remain firmly identified with colloquial speech. Their fate is thus directly tied to the negotiation of the position of the colloquial in standardization, although in the case of Bosnian, the type of revival underway puts Turkish in a position much more similar to that of French or Chinese noted above. We see in this the role of politics in determining linguistic status.

The Implementation of Standard Macedonian: Problems and Results

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On August 2, 1944, at the monastery of St. Prohor Pčinjski, the Anti-Fascist Assembly for the National Liberation of Macedonia (ASNOM), which at that time was functioning as a provisional government under conditions of war, declared a Macedonian republic with Macedonian as its official language. Although this moment in time cannot be taken literally as the date of the creation of modern literary Macedonian — on the one hand, efforts towards a Macedonian literary standard had been on-going since the nineteenth century (see Vaillant 1938), on the other the official work of codification did not begin until after the liberation of Skopje from the Nazis in late 1944 — it nonetheless functions as the symbolic act demarcating the beginning of the period in which efforts received the official sanction that enabled standardization to reach the stage of implementation (“The Sociolinguistics of Literary Macedonian” and “The First Philological Conference for the Establishment of the Macedonian Alphabet and the Macedonian Literary Language: Its Precedents and Consequences” in this volume [=Friedman 1985a, 1993a]; Lunt 1984, 1986.) In this article, I shall examine the development of the implementation of standard Macedonian as an on-going process. This process can be defined in terms of five types of linguistic issues: 1) recurring, 2) remissive, 3) resolved, 4) new, and 5) non-salient.

Recurring themes are those which have been raised repeatedly since the early years of codification. I use the term remissive to refer to those issues that were the focus of debate at an earlier stage of implementation and subsequently ceased to be the object of dispute only to be raised again in the years following independence. Resolved questions are those which generated significant discussion in an earlier phase but no longer do so. New issues are those which have only acquired salience since independence, while non-salient topics are linguistic features which could have provided sources for contestation but did not, e.g. features that are not uniform in the dialects and could thus have been problematized, but that were successfully decided at the level of codification or elaboration and have not been involved in problems of implementation. Non-salient topics may be the focus of academic linguistic studies, but these are to be differentiated from normative writing that is specifically aimed at implementation.

These types of issues can be discussed in the context of four linguistic environments — 1) Dialectal, 2) Balkan, 3) Slavic, 4) (Western) Great Power — and within a three-stage chronological framework: 1945-50, 1950-54, and 1954-onward, with subdivisions in the first and third stages. A complete discussion of all the linguistic elements involved would require a monograph, not an article, and so I shall take particularly salient examples as illustrative of each type of linguistic issue in relation to the linguistic environmental context and chronological framework. From this approach it will emerge that the problems and results of the implementation of the Macedonian standard form a complex network of interacting processes.

In order to frame this discussion, I shall begin with some general remarks on language standardization and language planning that inform the approach taken here. In his classic article, Haugen (1966) identifies four stages in language planning: norm selection, codification, elaboration, and implementation. Fishman (1972:56) illustrates his reconciliation of Neustupný's (1970) somewhat different four-stage approach with Haugen's in the following diagram:

Stage	1	2	3	4
Problem	Selection	Stability	Expansion	Differentiation
Process	Policy Decisions	Codification	Elaboration	Cultivation

Figure 1: Language Planning Stages (Fishman 1972:56)

Radovanović (1986, 1992) provides a ten-stage cyclical schema, integrating the stages in such a way that they can overlap or even switch places (cf. also Fishman 1974):

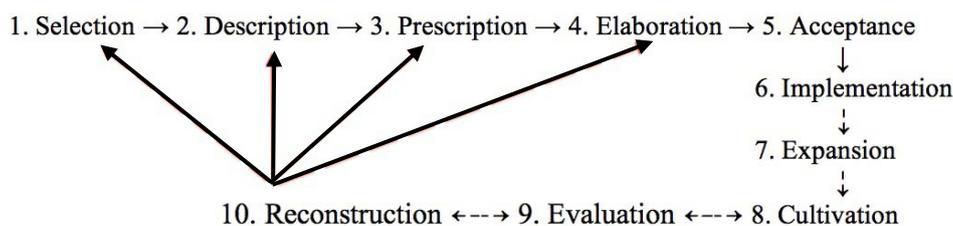


Figure 2: Language Planning Stages Based on Radovanović (1993)

The last four of Radovanović's stages concern the fate of that standard once it is in place.

Starting from the first of the four stages in the Haugen-Neustupný-Fishman framework, we can say that the selection of the dialectal base of the Macedonian standard is remarkable for the fact that it took place more than

once, under different circumstances and by different groups or individuals operating independently of one another, but in each case with the same results:¹ the west-central dialects, roughly a rectangle formed by the regions of Makedonski Brod, Kičevo, Demir Hisar, Bitola, Prilep, and Veles (see “The First Philological Conference for the Establishment of the Macedonian Alphabet and the Macedonian Literary Language: Its Precedents and Consequences” in this volume [=Friedman 1993a]).² The basic policy decision was thus made in an atmosphere of general consensus. The stability of the norm was achieved through codification in approximately five years (from the publication of the alphabet in 1945 to the orthographic handbook of 1950), and the expansion of the norm was elaborated in the subsequent twenty years. I have discussed the details of these processes elsewhere (see “The Sociolinguistics of Literary Macedonian” in this volume [=Friedman 1985a]). The circumstances under which implementation took place overlapped with the processes of codification and elaboration. The fact that the Macedonian standard was implemented in a context of various types of competition from Serbian and Bulgarian has been stressed on occasion to the exclusion of the other factors involved in this complex process, particularly the factors of dialectal compromise, relationship to the Church Slavonic tradition, and the treatment of Turkish, Russian, and Western elements.³ In this

¹ Misirkov (1903) and the stenographic notes from the 1944 codification conference (Risteski 1988a:231-257) are two examples. Moreover, during fieldwork in Macedonia in 1973-74 I had occasion to examine the 1940 manuscript of Risto Krle's play *Milion mučenika*, which was written in ignorance of Misirkov (1903). Its language was very close to the principles advocated in both the aforementioned documents.

² Metropolitan Skopje straddles the main bundles of isoglosses (see Ugrinova 1951 for details). For an accessible survey of the phonology of Macedonian dialects, see Vidovski (1983).

³ Thus, for example, the eastern shape of the neutral definite article (-ot vs. western -o) and third person clitic pronouns (fem. acc. *ja*, fem. dat. *i*, acc. pl. *gi* vs. western *je-je-i*), were chosen, despite the fact that these choices were the same as literary Bulgarian, individual lexical items with the northern reflex *u* < **q* were prescribed despite the fact that these were the same as in literary Serbo-Croatian (e.g. *bugarski* 'Bulgarian', *guska* 'goose'), and the productive suffixes for verbal nouns were prescribed as *-nie* (as in Church Slavonic and Russian) and *-nje* (as in literary Serbo-Croatian), despite the fact that there existed Western forms in *-jne* that were unique and would have added to the differentiation of literary Macedonian. To this can be added the fact that, as we shall see, the treatment of Turkisms was the same as in the other Balkan languages. In all of these cases, choices were made on the basis of factors other than the desire to make literary Macedonian as different as possible from neighboring languages. Other considerations such as the fact that a given choice was more widespread or that it had an older

examination of the implementation of the Macedonian standard I shall first discuss these linguistic environments, then outline the chronological framework, and finally give some examples of five types of implementation issues. Because these three categories are not discrete but intersecting, there will be some overlap in the presentation.

The chief problem of implementing the Macedonian standard in its dialectal environment has been twofold, on the one hand, the acceptance of west-central features in the speech and writing of those whose native dialect is outside that area, on the other the acceptance on the part of west-central speakers of the fact that while their dialects form the basis of the literary language, they are not identical with it (Vidoeski 1950; Ugrinova 1950a). The dialect of Skopje constitutes a special category in this context. As the dialect of the capital, which is at the same time by far the largest city in the Republic, the Skopje dialect has its own prestige which in some respects competes with the prestige of the norm.⁴ At the same time, for geographic reasons, some of the most salient features of Skopje Macedonian are shared with Serbian, which is an additional complicating factor (cf. Velkovska 1989). During the earliest years of codification, the Pirin dialects, which are spoken for the most part in Bulgaria (but also the extreme east of the Republic of Macedonia), also competed to some extent with the standard (Koneski 1945a).

I use the term Balkan environment here to refer to the non-Slavic languages of the Balkans with which Macedonian has been in intimate contact: Greek, Albanian, Aromanian, and Turkish as well as Romani and Judezmo. While all of these languages have contributed to the Macedonian lexicon, only Turkish occupies a significant position with respect to implementation of the

literary tradition were also important. It is thus a mistake to claim that differentiation was the only factor motivating the decisions made in the codification and elaboration of literary Macedonian (pace Troebst 1994:126).

⁴ According to the preliminary results of the 1994 census, the population of the Skopje metropolitan area was 541,280 of a total in the Republic of Macedonia of 1,936,877. Of these, the numbers declaring Macedonian ethnicity were 354,377 and 1,288,330, respectively. The second largest municipality, Tetovo, had a total population of 174,748. The second largest concentration of declared Macedonians was in Bitola, with 96,358 out of a total of 106,012. (Statistical Office of Macedonia 1994). While the correspondence of declared nationality and mother tongue is by no means one-to-one, these raw figures nonetheless convey some sense of the proportions involved. The final results for declared mother tongue in the 2002 census (Statistical Office of Macedonia 2002) were the following: total population 2,022,57 Macedonian mother tongue 1,344,815; Skopje total 467,257, Macedonian 341,339; Bitola total 86,408, Macedonian 80,738; Tetovo total 70,841, Macedonian 20,088. The differences in the proportions of the figures are in part the result of redistricting.

norm.⁵ This is because Turkish is in a unique relationship to Macedonian both Socio-politically and linguistically. From the fourteenth century until the beginning of the twentieth, Turkish was the language of administration in Macedonia and also a language of significant cultural and economic prestige.⁶ The Greek element in the Macedonian lexicon was the object of academic study (Tahovski 1951; Papazisovska 1966), but not of debate in language planning. Although Greek was a language of cultural and economic prestige for Christians, especially during the nineteenth century in southern Macedonia, its influence was not sufficient to constitute a problem for differentiation in the implementation of the norm. The other non-Slavic languages of the Balkans, while of linguistic significance, especially locally and historically, particularly taking into account Balkan Latin and proto-Albanian (cf. Gołąb 1964:5-27; Koneski 1965:182-89; Hamp 1981-82), also did not figure as elements in the debates over implementation. The Turkish element in the Macedonian lexicon is unique in its quantity as well as due to the fact that it pervades every part of speech, every level of style, and at the same time is perceived as distinct. The manipulation of Turkish lexicon for symbolic purposes has been and remains a vital element in Macedonian (and other Balkan standard languages, cf. "Turkish Influence in Modern Macedonian and the Turkish Lexical Element in the Languages of the Republic of

⁵ Albanian and Aromanian contributions have been limited in the standard language but quite significant in local dialects, e.g. the towns of Debar and Bitola (Koneski 1965:148; Jašar-Nasteva, Koneski and Vidoeski 1990; cf. also Mihailov 1954; Vidoeski 1968:81). Romani has been limited primarily to the informal and marginal layers (e.g. secret languages and slang, cf. Jašar-Nasteva 1953). Greek has had more of an impact in the south than in the north. See Friedman (1989c) for details. There has been very little study of Judezmo elements in Macedonian dialects, but in the standard language they seem to be limited to terminology relating to Jewish culture (see also Jašar-Nasteva 1988:154; Cvetkovski 1988:190; Kolonomos 1995). Most of the Jewish community of Macedonia was destroyed by the Nazis during World War Two. On 11 March 1943, almost all Macedonian Jews in the Bulgarian occupied zone were brought to Skopje and shortly thereafter deported to the Treblinka death camp. Approximately 200 Macedonian Jews survived the War, but most left after the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 (Kolonomos and Sadikario 1995:83). In addition to lexical influences, the Balkan languages have all had significant effects on the grammatical structure of Macedonian (see Friedman 1978, 1994c, 2006 and Koneski 1965:142-73). However, from the point of view of the implementation of the Macedonian standard, the Balkan origin of relevant grammatical features has not been an issue. These features are treated rather as integral parts of the dialects in which they occur (see Velkovska 1989; Mišeska-Tomić 1992).

⁶ Turkish has retained its cultural prestige among Muslims, and to a certain extent among non-Muslim urbanites, especially the older generation.

Macedonia” in this volume [=Friedman 1996]), and thus any implementation of a Macedonian standard language would have to take the position of Turkisms into account.⁷

The Slavic environment can be understood as subdivided into three parts: Serbo-Bulgarian, Russian, and Church Slavonic. Serbian and Bulgarian are the two standard languages closest to Macedonian as well as the two ends of that section of the South Slavic dialectal continuum between which the Macedonian dialects are located.⁸ At the same time, they are official languages that have served at various times as instruments of cultural and political domination in Macedonia and also at times as the vehicles of the denial of Macedonian identity (see Friedman 1975).⁹ Even when they functioned at their most negative, however, Serbian and Bulgarian were the languages of education for most Macedonians who were able to go to school, including those initially responsible for the implementation of the Macedonian standard (cf. Koneski 1950d).¹⁰ Taken in the context of the South Slavic dialectal continuum, the dialects forming the basis of standard Bulgarian are in many respects closer to Macedonian than those forming the basis of standard Serbian, but it was only in the context of Yugoslavia with its Serbo-Croatian *lingua communis* (cf. Naylor 1992) that

⁷ Had the Macedonian dialects of Aegean Macedonia or the districts of Lower Prespa, Golo Brdo, and Gora been in a position to participate actively in the implementation of the Macedonian norm, then it is conceivable that Greek or Albanian lexical elements, which are more significant in those dialects, might have played a more significant role if only as objects of purism. Since contact with the Macedonians of Albania was effectively cut off between 1948 and 1989, however, and since Greek government policies have never permitted free communication in Macedonian on Greek territory, the Greek and Albanian languages have remained uncontroversial and irrelevant as sources of lexicon. To this can be added the fact that the Macedonian dialects in closest contact with these languages are geographically peripheral, and were therefore marginalized in codification and elaboration as well.

⁸ The variant of the former Serbo-Croatian standard of the former Yugoslavia that had the most influence in Macedonia was the Serbian variant, and it was one of the six official languages in the 1994 and 2002 censuses. Thus, in this article I use the term *Serbian*, depending on the context, to refer to the Serbian variant of the former Serbo-Croatian, the current standard of Serbia, or to the Serbian dialects. Occasionally the term *Serbo-Croatian* is used to refer to the standard language of former Yugoslavia as such. Although Bosnian, Croatian and Montenegrin are now separate standards, they do not play a significant role in the issues under consideration here.

⁹ See now also Friedman 2000a.

¹⁰ Greek was also a language of instruction in southern Macedonia, and some Macedonians studied at Russian universities.

the Macedonian standard could be implemented. As the Slavic language with the most geo-political prestige, and moreover a significant language of culture and education for Macedonians, Russian held a special place as a source of lexicon. Similarly, Church Slavonic occupied a special place as the language of the church and as the bearer or inheritor of a tradition that originated in the Slavic dialects of Macedonia.¹¹ Since Church Slavonic occupies a relationship to modern Macedonian comparable to the relationship of medieval Latin to the modern Romance languages, it was available as a source of vocabulary enrichment.

By Great Power environment I mean both the so-called international (Macedonian *megjunaroden*; essentially Greco-Latinate) vocabulary that serves as the source for a great deal of modern terminology and also the languages of the Western Great Powers that have served as the diffusers of that terminology as well as their own lexicons: basically English, German, and French. The relative importance of these three languages has varied over time (cf. Gacov 1971; Lehiste 1980), but the post-1989 era has seen an explosive growth in the use of English in Macedonia as elsewhere.

The three main chronological stages of the implementation of the Macedonian standard language can be defined as follows: 1) the overlap of implementation and codification/elaboration: 1945-50, 2) the primary phase of pure implementation (acceptance): 1950-53, and 3) the phase of established implementation (expansion): 1954 onward. The first and third of these stages can also be subdivided. The first stage has two phases — 1945-47 and 1948-50 — while the third can be divided into three phases: 1954-70, 1970-88, and 1988/89-onward. Each of these stages and phases can be described in terms of specific publications and in some cases also by external political events, which while not always in a causative relationship with implementational phases nonetheless provide contexts in which those phases developed.

During the first stage of implementation, the problems faced were connected with codification and elaboration: the establishment of norms and expansion of vocabulary. The primary vehicle for implementation was the periodical

¹¹ The recension of Church Slavonic used in the Macedonian Orthodox Church is in fact the Russian one. Old Church Slavonic can be defined as the language reconstructed on the basis of a small corpus of undated manuscripts (and one inscription set up in 993 CE) that are of non-East Slavic origin prior to about 1100 CE (see Lunt 1974). This basically South Slavic language, which is in many respects quite close to our reconstruction of Common Slavic, was continued in later recensions as Church Slavonic. Church Slavonic had tremendous impact on the formation of the Russian literary language and survived in Russia after the fall of the Balkan Slavic states to the Ottoman Empire. The Russian recension thus became the one used on the Slavic Orthodox Churches.

press, particularly the daily newspaper *Nova Makedonija* and the monthly journal *Nov Den* (see Ugrinova 1950b). There were also local periodical publications in towns such as Bitola, Tetovo, Prilep, Štip, Veles, Zletovo, Lazaropole (see Vidoeski 1950), school textbooks (Dimitrovski 1951b), and pamphlets (e.g. Koneski 1945a). The first primer (Pop Eftimov et al. 1945) already showed considerable consistency in implementing the norm that was established that same year, with only occasional inconsistencies, e.g. *Učenikot Miša Davidov e presekol* (with third person auxiliary *e*) *telefonskata vrska, što ja postavile Germancite* (p. 90) 'The pupil M.D. cut the telephone connection that the Germans had set up.', *Vo tova vreme vlegova* (instead of *vlegoa*) *vo stajata* (for *sobata*) *nekolku deca...* (p. 91), 'At that moment several children entered the room'; *robstvo* (instead of *ropstvo*) 'slavery' (p. 91). Other features of the primer, such as the conjugation of derived imperfective verbs using *-ue(-)* vs. modern *-uva(-)*, plurals for monosyllabic masculine substantives in *-oi* vs. modern *-ovi*, *tova* vs. modern *toa* were in keeping with prescription and variations specified in the 1945 orthographic handbook (Pravopis 1945).

With regard to what I have termed the Balkan environment, it was during this period that Koneski (1945b) wrote an article which defined the direction of the position of Turkisms in the implementation of the Macedonian standard. He argued there against the use of Turkisms in formal contexts. Thus in Macedonian, as in the other Balkan languages (Kazazis 1972) and even in Turkish itself ("Turkish Influence in Modern Macedonian and the Turkish Lexical Element in the Languages of the Republic of Macedonia" in this volume [=Friedman 1996]), Ottoman elements were relegated to the archaic, colloquial, and ironic layers of vocabulary. Although there had been a current of thought in favor of using Turkisms as a means of distinguishing Macedonian from neighboring Slavic languages, Koneski argued effectively and successfully against this trend and in favor of Slavic elements from Macedonian dialects or adaptations of cognate forms. Thus, for example, instead of *komšiskite državi* 'the neighboring states' (Macedonian *komšija* 'neighbor' < West Rumelian *komši* 'neighbor' standard Turkish *komşu*) he recommended *sosedskite državi* citing the Galičnik dialectal form *sosed* 'neighbor'. The following year, Koneski (1946) addressed the issue of the Slavic context, which was an important one from the earliest codification conferences (see "The First Philological Conference for the Establishment of the Macedonian Alphabet and the Macedonian Literary Language: Its Precedents and Consequences" in this volume [=Friedman 1993a]). Here, too, he recommended *vo prv red do maksimum da se iskoristat elementite što vekje se dadeni vo narodniot govor* 'in the first rank let elements that occur in folk speech be used to the maximum'. One of his examples is *nastan* 'event', which occurs in Macedonian folk poetry collected by the Miladinov brothers in

the nineteenth century, as opposed to the Serbism *dogagjaj* or the Bulgarism *sobitie*. This did not exclude borrowing from Serbian, Bulgarian, and Russian, but rather made a principle of seeking native material first. Koneski made a particular point in this article of pointing out that the Pirin Macedonian dialects of Bulgaria are peripheral with respect to the central dialects, and that therefore just as literary Serbian and Bulgarian are based on specific dialect areas to which others are peripheral, so, too, Macedonian should stick to its central dialectal base. His point here was combating a current of thought that sought to bring literary Macedonian closer to Bulgarian.

On 28 June 1948, Yugoslavia was expelled from Cominform thus definitively marking the break between Tito and Stalin (see Jelavich 1983:321-29). The effect of this event on the implementation of the Macedonian standard was the expulsion of Macedonian teachers from Bulgaria and Albania, thus limiting further activity to the Macedonian Republic. It also marked the beginning of Bulgarian claims that the Macedonian standard was a Serbianizing plot (see Koneski 1948). Entirely independent of these developments, however, were modifications in the 1945 Pravopis two of which were particularly salient: in a number of lexical items with an etymological back nasal (*q) the northern, i.e. Skopje, Macedonian (and also Serbian, Russian, and Russian Church Slavonic) reflex /u/ was prescribed rather than the central reflex /a/, e.g. *oružje* 'arms' rather than *oražje*, because these particular lexical items were already in wide use in these forms in the spoken language before codification. In the early years of implementation, hypercorrection (spelling with <a> instead of <u>) was sometimes a problem. Similarly, a decision was made to change the conjugation of derived imperfectives from *-ue(-)* to *-uva(-)*, e.g. *kažue* 'says' > *kažuva*, the former being the Skopje (and also the northern Macedonian and Serbian) realization, the latter being used in the majority of west-central dialects (see "The Sociolinguistics of Literary Macedonian" in this volume [=Friedman 1985a]; Risteski 1988a:464-65). These changes were submitted on 20 November 1947 (Risteski 1988a:461) and were thus independent of the Tito-Stalin break, but as soon as the break occurred, Bulgarian linguists attacked the new norm as an attempt to Serbianize the Macedonian people (see Koneski 1948; 1952a; Mirčev 1952). It was not until 1956, however, that these same linguists — together with politicians — reverted to the earlier position that Macedonians were really Bulgarians and therefore their dialects were Bulgarian, a position which the post-communist period of political pluralization has done little to change (cf. Veličk-

ova 1991).¹² It is interesting to note that in the earliest Bulgarian claims that the Macedonian standard was an attempt at Serbianization, the codifiers decision to use the Skopje conjugation of derived imperfectives (*-ue[-]*) was highlighted as an example, but already before this claim appeared the decision had been made to use the west-central form (*-uva[-]*) instead.

With regard to the orthography, the chief problem during the first stage of implementation was the availability of typefaces and typewriters. Thus, for example, when the official Macedonian alphabet was first published in Nova Makedonija, the newspaper itself had to use a number of digraphs (кј, гј, дј, нј, дз, дж for ќ, ѓ, љ, њ, ѕ, џ) until enough typeface could be made (Stamatovski 1975: 8). After 1948, Bulgarian linguists also claimed that the Macedonian orthography was an attempt at Serbianization, since, like Serbian Cyrillic, the principle of one letter per sound was chosen rather than the more archaic Bulgarian-East Slavic Cyrillic which contained letters representing more than one sound and more than one representation for the same sound (e.g. Serbian and Macedonian <ja, jy> vs. Bulgarian and Russian <я, ю> for the sequences /ja, ju/, Macedonian and Serbian <џ> vs. Bulgarian and Russian <дж> for the phoneme /dž/, Serbian and Macedonian <j> vs. Bulgarian and Russian <й, ъ etc.> for the phoneme /j/, etc.) As we shall see, the claim resurfaced in Macedonia itself during the post-1988/89 period.

Thus, the initial stage of the implementation of the Macedonian standard, overlapping as it did with codification and elaboration, was involved in three types of problems. The first were the same problems as those faced in the tasks of codification and elaboration, viz. selection of grammatical features and vocabulary building. The implementation of these selections marks the beginning of the differentiation of issues into the five linguistic types adduced at the beginning of this article. The second sort of problem was strictly technical: availability of typefaces, etc. The third characterized the second phase of the first stage, viz. attempts on the international scene to negate the implementation of the standard on the part of Bulgarian linguists as well as the exclusion of the standard from Albania.¹³

¹² On February 2, 1999, Bulgaria officially recognized the Macedonian standard of the Republic of Macedonia as that country's official language. However, the Bulgarian state and its linguists still claim all Macedonian dialects as Bulgarian.

¹³ Greek linguists and politicians have been basically consistent in their negation of the Macedonian norm (see Andriotis 1957 for a typical example). Brief attempts at teaching Macedonian in Greece in the late 1940's were quashed. See Risteski (1988a:88-102) and Kiselinovski (1988:112-119) for details. Although both these books' treatment of Macedonian within the Republic of Macedonia must be approached with considerable caution due to the personal and political agendas of their authors, they nevertheless gather

The second stage in the implementation of the Macedonian standard can be defined in terms of the journal *Makedonski jazik*, which began publication in 1950 as the bulletin of the Department of South Slavic languages of the University of Skopje and appeared in ten numbers a year. This situation lasted until 1954, when *Makedonski jazik* began to be published as the journal of the newly founded Institute for the Macedonian language.¹⁴ In terms of codification and elaboration, 1950 was the publication date of the first Macedonian orthographic dictionary (Pravopis 1950), which marked the definitive culmination of the essentials of that process. Progress was such that Koneski (1950e) could write of the standardization of Macedonian: "*No bitnoto e tokmu toa što deneska se raboti za **podrobnosti**,...*" 'The essential point is that today it is a matter of **details...**' (boldface in the original). Many of the articles that appeared in the 35 issues of *Makedonski jazik* during its first four years of publication (six issues were double numbers), were concerned with implementation of that standard language. Among the chief problems were interference from local dialects, Serbian, and Bulgarian (cf. Vidoeski 1950). The range of phenomena affected all linguistic levels, but they were, as Koneski stated, details.

A memorial plaque located at the hydro-electric plant in the Matka Gorge outside of Skopje, apparently set up some time after 1947, illustrates all the basic types of problems from the early years of implementation. Since some of these are orthographic, I cite it here in the original Cyrillic with transcription and transliteration:

На паднали борци од I батаљон XII македонска бригада кој
воделе борба против фашистичките завојевачи и балистички банди за
ослободување на ел. Централата Матка
Од Околински одбор сојуз на борците од Н.О Б
Г. Петров.

*Na padnali borci od I batal'on XII makedonska brigada koj vodele
borba protiv fašističkite zavojevači i balistički bandi za osloboduvanje na
el. Centrala Matka
Od Okoliski odbor sojuz na borcite od N.O B
G. Petrov.*

together a considerable quantity of useful data (see "The First Philological Conference for the Establishment of the Macedonian Alphabet and the Macedonian Literary Language: Its Precedents and Consequences" in this volume [=Friedman 1993a], note 2).

¹⁴ The official documentational process for the founding of the Institute took place in 1955-1956.

To the fallen fighters of the 1st battalion 12th Macedonian brigade
who fought against the fascist occupiers and the Ballist gangs for the libera-
tion of the el[ectric] power plant Matka

From the Regional Council of the Union of Fighters of the
N[ational] L[iberation] S[truggle]
G[jorče] Petrov.

The use of the *l*-form (old resultative participle) *padnali* instead of the verbal adjective *padnati* is a grammatical Bulgarism, the spelling of 'battalion' with љ instead of љj is an orthographic Serbism, and the form *zavojevač* instead of *zavojuvač* is a lexical Serbism. The spelling of the relativizer 'who' as *koj* instead of *kon* is an orthographic dialectism reflecting the pronunciation of /i/ as /j/ in final position after a vowel in colloquial speech. The lack of periods after the capital O and B and the lack of an acute over the Г. are mistakes in punctuation and accentuation. To modern Macedonians, the language of this plaque represents an interesting remnant of the days before the standard had been effectively implemented.

In 1954 *Makedonski jazik* became the journal of the Institute for Macedonian Language and ceased to be concerned directly with problems of the implementation of the norm, a task that was taken over by *Literaturen zbor* 'Literary word', a new journal that was started that year. That same year the second part (morphology) of Koneski's two-part university-level grammar was published (Koneski 1952b, 1954). It is from this point onward that I date the third stage in the implementation of the Macedonian norm, which had become the kind of process comparable with similar processes in most other countries with standard languages based on the speech of the majority of the population. Taking into account Radovanović's more nuanced schema of the process of standardization, this was the period in Macedonia during which the full circle had been completed in many respects and there was an interaction between the various stages. Major events connected with codification and elaboration also occurred during this period, e.g. the publication of the three-volume standard dictionary (Koneski 1961, 1965, 1966 — the hiatus being due to the terrible Skopje earthquake of 26 July 1963) and the publication of the 1970 orthographic dictionary (Pravopis 1970), but these were more marks of maturity in the process of standardization. This last event marks the end of the first phase of the third stage of implementation.

Throughout this period, implementation of the norm was advocated not only through *Literaturen zbor* but through writers unions, teachers unions, and mass media publications as well. The daily newspaper *Nova Makedonija* was a major disseminator of work aimed at implementation of the norms, which it

achieved under four different rubrics: 1) feature articles and serialized pamphlets devoted to linguistic questions, 2) the regular feature of letters to the editor, which often contained letters raising linguistic issues (during 1984-85 such letters received their own rubric, *Jazična kritika* 'linguistic critique', 3) the literary supplement *Kulturen život* 'Cultural life', which in 1986 began publication as a separate periodical and was replaced by a weekly supplement named *Lik* 'image', and 4) the weekly feature *Jazično katče* 'linguistic corner', edited for decades by Blagoja Korubin, a member of the Institute for the Macedonian Language. Many of Korubin's columns were collected in the first four volumes of his *Jazikot naš denešen* (Korubin 1969, 1976, 1980, 1986) and serve as a good barometer of the problems that were faced in the course of implementing the standard.¹⁵ Oral media such as theater, film, television and radio also serve as means of implementation both by their use of language and occasionally by means of special programs focusing on linguistic questions. Thus, for example, Friedman (1985a = "The Sociolinguistics of Literary Macedonian" in this volume) was translated into Macedonian and broadcast as a two-part special radio program in 1987. From time to time articles have appeared criticizing the quality of the language of television and radio announcers, which is itself an indication of the importance attached to the media.

The decade of the 1980's saw the first events that would lead to the break-up of Yugoslavia.¹⁶ At the same time, the multiplicity of voices raised in linguistic discussions increased and became more diverse. From a strictly linguistic academic point of view, this increased pluralism did not always mean an increase in quality, but certainly in variety. An interview with Trajko Stamatovski (director of the Institute for Macedonian Language) in the 8 June 1988 edition of *Lik* touched off a vociferous debate over the status of Macedonian and especially its relationship to Serbo-Croatian and the relationship of the standard to the dialects. Parts of that debate were reprinted or published for the first time in Kosteski (1989). Among other things, there was a call for the for-

¹⁵ From 1956-1969 the column was called *Pouka za jazikot* 'Advice about Language'. The importance of these columns can be seen in the fact that Lazar Koliševski, one of Macedonia's and Yugoslavia's most powerful politicians, kept a file of clippings from this column covering more than 20 years, marking specific items of particular interest to him (Fond Lazar Koliševski 94/56-I, II).

¹⁶ The 1981 uprising in Kosovo, which resulted in the first use of martial law in Yugoslavia since World War Two, was arguably the beginning of the end. Of the plethora of books that have sprung from this tragedy, Woodward (1995a) gives a particularly clear analysis of the role of international involvement (see also Hayden 1995). Silber and Allen (1995) represents the best journalistic account in English in the opinion of many educated inside observers (Vesna Pusić, p.c.). See also Gagnon 2004.

mation of a separate normative body to attempt to dictate or influence public opinion concerning linguistic usage, and criticisms of the orthography were again raised. I date the third phase in the third stage of implementation from this period.

In addition to the mass media that had been engaged in the implementation of the standard, new independent media and publishing houses began to contribute their own voices. Some of these, especially organs of opposition political parties, such as *Demokratija* and *Delo*, concerned themselves particularly with the remissive issues discussed below. During this period a new rubric began appearing irregularly in *Lik*, *Od zbor kon zbor* 'From word to word', with debates over issues of implementation of the standard. Ilija Milčin, who also had a linguistic column in the daily (except Sunday) tabloid *Večer* called *Od jazičen agol* 'From the linguistic corner', was a frequent contributor, but linguists from the Department of Macedonian language such as Liljana Minova-Gjurkova also contributed. During the pre-1988/89 period, syntax did not figure in monographic normative works, although there were some scholarly treatments intended for the academic community, e.g. Topolinjska (1974). The post-1988/89 period has seen an increase in academic monographs treating syntax, e.g. Čašule (1989), K. Koneski (1990), Korubin (1992), as well as the first normative monographic treatment of the subject, viz. Minova-Gjurkova (1994). Another important effect of political events in this last period has been the increase in Macedonian-language radio and television broadcasting and film dubbing and subtitling. Whereas prior to Macedonian independence in 1991 much of this mass media material was taken from Belgrade and other Serbo-Croatian speaking areas and thus in Serbo-Croatian, the combination of political independence and the war and sanctions in former Yugoslavia caused Macedonians to invest significantly more effort in their own mass media programming. A somewhat ironic result of this has been that while complaints of Serbianization continue to be directed at Macedonian language usage in the media, there is far less Serbian actually being heard or seen (e.g., in subtitles).

Having outlined the basic chronological stages and phases of implementation as well as the linguistic environments to which they relate, we shall now turn to the five types of issues involved in implementing the Macedonian standard: recursive, remissive, resolved, new, and non-salient. We shall examine some typical examples of each.

Fixed antepenultimate stress is one of the most distinctive phonological characteristics of the western Macedonian dialects. It was a feature that was agreed upon without dispute at the first codification conference (Risteski 1988a:316), and yet it has been the focus of continuous attempts at implementation. In 1950, Koneski (1950b) wrote the following lines:

"Za objekt na ovie posmatranja se zemeni neкои intelektualci od Zapadna Makedonija, lugje što, bi se reklo, so majčinato mleko go imaat usvoeno i praviloto za tretosložnata akcentovka, vneseno od zapadnite govori i vo literaturniot jaik. Bi se reklo deka tie i da sakaat ne možat lošo da akcentiraat. No sepak rabotata stoi poinaku: prosto e neverojatno kolku tie naši intelektualci grešat vo ovoj pogled, i kakvi odlomki od strojnata makedonska akcentna sistema izleguvaat od nivnata usta."

'We are taking as the object of these remarks certain intellectuals from Western Macedonia, people who, one might say, along with their mother's milk also acquired the rule of antepenultimate accentuation that has also been taken into the literary language from the western dialects. One might say that even if they wanted to they would not be able to make mistakes in accentuation. And yet the matter is not so: It is simply incredible how much our intellectuals err in this regard and the kinds of deviations from the structure of the Macedonian accentual system that come out of their mouths.'

In Koneski's article the emphasis is more on the influence of Bulgarian, whereas in later phases, the problem has been perceived more as one of Serbian or local dialects. Koneski (1950b) states that under the influence of Serbian and Bulgarian there was a tendency among intellectuals to keep the stress on the same syllable rather than shifting to the antepenultimate when morphology required, e.g. *široki* 'wide' should have a definite form *širókite* 'the wide' but instead one heard *širokite narodni masi* 'the broad [popular] masses' rather than *širókite*. Koneski makes the point that these same people would never say *širokite bečvi* 'the broad breeches' but only *širókite bečvi*. His point here is that there were two styles of accentuation among these intellectuals, in their informal style they would automatically use their native — and the normatively correct — accentuation, but in formal ('high') style, they tended to adopt an artificial accentuation that was contrary to the norm but in keeping with the languages in which they had received their education — Bulgarian or Serbian. In each of his four collections of normative articles, Korubin (1969:114-20, 1976:145-60, 1980:215-27, 1986:186-88) devotes attention to problems of accentuation. Among the problems he addresses are the overgeneralization of antepenultimate stress to cases that constitute exceptions, e.g. verbal adverbs (which bear penultimate stress, e.g. *gledájkji*

'looking' not *glédajki*)¹⁷ and various recent foreign borrowings. Accentual units, i.e. phrases that bear penultimate stress as a unit, e.g. interrogatives such as *Kolkú pari* 'How much money', constitute another class of difficulties. Although such units are characteristic of the west-central dialects and prescribed as part of the norm, most of them are not used outside their native region (see "Macedonian" in this volume [=Friedman 1993b] for details). Educated speakers from outside the west-central area — including speakers in Skopje — view most accentual units as regionalisms. In the 1990s, the influence of Serbian and Skopje dialect was frequently cited as responsible for difficulties in the implementation of the accentual standard (see Trenevski 1995; Herson-Finn 1996:159). Thus, implementation of accentual norms constitutes a recurring problem in Macedonian, although the specific manifestations have varied over time and the environmental emphasis has shifted from Bulgarian and the eastern dialects to Serbian and the Skopje dialect.

The place and representation of lateral sonorants in the literary Macedonian system has been another recurring theme. It was the subject of considerable debate at the 1944 codification conference (Risteski 1988a:293-99). Although not as constant a topic of discussion as the place of stress in subsequent years, it has been a recurring theme at least since the early 1970's, hence my decision to treat it as recurring rather than remissive (see Korubin 1976:106-12, 1980:157-66, 1986:173-74; Tomovski 1972). According to the literary norm, there are two laterals in Macedonian — dark (velarized) /ʎ/ and clear /l/, and the opposition is neutralized before front vowels and /j/, where only clear /l/ occurs. In the orthography, distinctive clear /l/ is represented by the grapheme љ, whereas elsewhere л is written. Under the influence of Serbian and the Skopje dialect, however, there has been a tendency to pronounce both the grapheme љ and the sequence лј as a palatal /l'/ as in Serbian. In some dialects, such as Prilep, there is also a tendency among the younger generation to pronounce л as velar /ʎ/ before /e/ and /i/. This has resulted in orthographic confusion so that, for example, the proper name /liljana/, which should be written Лилјана is misspelled Лиљана, which is also how it would be spelled in Serbian (cf. also the example of 'battalion' cited above). In the 1990s period, this problem was taken as emblematic of excessive Serbian influence and was cited in calls for orthographic reform, e.g. Velkovska (1989), Ristovski (1994).

¹⁷ Etymologically, verbal nouns do conform to the antepenultimate rule, the suffix *-ájki/-éjki* being descended from earlier **-áejkji/-éejkji*. In some peripheral western dialects, e.g. Tetovo, the antepenultimate stress rule has been extended to the modern shape of verbal nouns as well; however, the literary standard was consistent in its selection of the west-central base in this regard.

The use of Latin orthography is another recursive problem of implementation, although its symbolism has changed over time. In the earliest stages, the problem was essentially one of availability of typewriters and typefaces. Throughout the pre-1988/89 period, the use of Latin orthography or the mistaken use of a Latin letter in a Cyrillic sign would arouse critical commentary (cf. e.g. N.M. 21.VI.75: 7). In the 1990s, however, the use of Latin orthography in public took on political overtones. Thus, for example the 28 July 1994 *Nova Makedonija* reported that The Republic Market Inspection Commission had given the owners of stores in Skopje with signs in Latin eight days to replace them with Cyrillic or obtain special permission to use Latin. In focus were Macedonian-owned stores with western signs (e.g. "boutique DALLAS"). The article criticized the commission for not informing shopkeepers in time. However, this move could also be seen as the type of symbolic oppression of nationalities whose languages use the Latin alphabet, especially Albanians and Turks. Article 7 of the Macedonian Constitution (which specifies Macedonian as the official language and Cyrillic as the official alphabet in the Republic) was cited as the Commission's justification. However, that same Article allows for other languages in localities with a "majority or significant number" of other nationalities, and Article 48 protects the language rights of minorities.¹⁸

On the levels of morphology and syntax, some typical western features such as the three-way deictic opposition in the definite article (the east has only one type of definite article) and the use of oblique forms for masculine proper names and some other animate nouns (lacking in the east) have received repeated attention (Korubin 1986:67-93, 202-204).¹⁹ Problems resulting from excessively literal translations from Serbian such as the separation of clitics from verbs, permissible in Serbian, which follows Wackernagel's law, but not in Macedonian where verbal clitics are strictly bound to the verb, have also been recurring themes (Kepeski 1950b; Dimitrovski 1951a; Korubin 1986:41).

While recursive themes have been more or less constant, remissive themes are distinguished by the fact that they were at issue in the earliest stages

¹⁸ Amendment 5 replaced Article 7 and Amendment 8 replaced article 48 in the 2001 constitution. At issue were specifications for "a language spoken by more than 20% of the population", i.e. Albanian. The use of alphabets in signs remains extremely varied and is worthy of a separate study.

¹⁹ By the early 21st century, the oblique forms of substantives have become increasingly marginalized. The tri-partite definite article, however, is still quite strong. We can note also that synthetic dative pronouns (a western feature) are being replaced by their analytic counterparts (an eastern feature). Except for the personal pronouns, oblique forms in general are becoming obsolete, e.g. *na koj* 'to whom, etc.' instead of either accusative *na kogo* or dative *komu*, cf. the status of *whom* in English.

of codification and did not arise again or did so only sporadically until the post-1988/89 period. An example is the treatment of schwa. Although distinctive schwa occurs in a majority of the Macedonian dialects, it is absent from the core of west-central dialects that served as the basis of codification. Moreover, schwa is of different origins in different dialects (in the north it is from Common Slavic **ǐ* and **ǐ̃*, in the east-central dialects from vocalic **ɨ*, in parts of the south and elsewhere on the periphery from nasal **ɔ̃*, etc.) and thus it occurs in different words in different dialects (cf. Vidoeski and Peev 1981). In the west-central core, schwa is allophonic before vocalic /*ɨ*/ in initial position and after another vowel. The representation of schwa was the subject of heated debate at the first and second codification conferences. At the first, Cyrillic ъ as in Bulgarian was proposed. At the second, it was decided that schwa would be represented with an apostrophe and only used before initial vocalic /*ɨ*/ and in dialectal forms and Turkisms when used for poetic or artistic purposes. Interestingly enough, during the 1950-54 period, when lexical material from the dialects was being collected as part of the process of elaborating the lexicon, readers were instructed to use ъ when sending in their material, in keeping with "*običnata naučna transkripcija, što se upotrebuva nasekade među slavistite*" (Koneski 1950c) 'the usual scholarly transcription used everywhere among Slavists'. When the 1970 orthographic dictionary (Pravopis 1970) was published, there was some discussion of eliminating the apostrophe as unnecessary, while others supported its retention as potentially distinctive, e.g. *po'rti* (< *'rti*) 'begin to germinate' vs. *porti* 'gates' (see Jankuloski 1972). Throughout this period, however, there was no question of establishing ъ as part of the orthography.

The post-1988/89 period, however, saw the resuscitation of this debate (e.g. Nedelkoski 1989). It so happens that, like the core west-central Macedonian dialects, Standard Serbo-Croatian and the dialects on which it is based have no schwa while Standard Bulgarian and the dialects on which it is based do. This fact became a politicized issue in the rivalry between Macedonian politicians and politically oriented academics (one of the parties in the 1990 elections was founded by a professor of Macedonian literature) on the one hand, and the political and linguistic establishment on the other. The decision to exclude schwa from the Literary Macedonian inventory was portrayed by non-establishment Macedonian nationalists as an example of Serbianization, while their opponents viewed the attempt to reintroduce the grapheme ъ as an example of Bulgarophilia. Throughout the 1990's this issue was discussed in both government-sponsored and independent mass media. This challenge to the standard was reflected not only in polemics around the letter ъ but also in the use of the orthographically sanctioned apostrophe in contexts other than the belletristic ones originally prescribed, e.g. an individual writing to the letters to the editor

section of *Nova Makedonija* who signed his name В'чко [v'čko] (N.M. 7.IX.90:12). Since the 1990 elections, however, this issue has essentially disappeared from public discourse.²⁰

Related to the question of schwa is the entire question of phonemic versus historical orthography. As was mentioned above, during the first stage of implementation, there were polemics that portrayed the Macedonian phonemic orthography as Serbianization, since it followed Vuk Karadžić's linguistically sound principle of one letter per phoneme. In the post-1988/89 polemics over the relationship of Macedonian to Serbian, not only the issue of schwa but the question of the orthography as a whole was occasionally raised. Nedelkoski's (1989:133) challenge to the orthography and accusation of Serbianization provides a fairly typical example of the type of rhetoric that was used:

"Nie sme istoriski i prirodni naslednici na tradiciite na Kirilometodievskata pismenost ... no nie se služime so patvorenata Vukkaradžievska azbuka: grupite žd i št zameneti se so mekite soglaski ř, љ, њ i ř..."

We are historically and naturally the heirs to Cyrillo-Methodian literacy ... but we use the misbegotten Vukkaradžićian alphabet: the groups št, žd are replaced with the soft consonants gj, l', ŋ, and kj ...

Aside from the fact that Vuk's innovations were actually quite in the spirit of Cyril and Methodius' original alphabet — Glagolitic, which was phonemic — and not Cyrillic, which is derived from Greek uncial and has a number of historical digraphs, we can note here that clear or palatal /l/ and palatal /ŋ/ have nothing to do with the dorso-palatal stops, and, moreover, the dorso-palatal stops represent the reflexes of Common Slavic *tj, *dj in most Macedonian dialects, including the west-central ones. The reflexes /št, žd/ for Common Slavic *tj, *dj are for the most part typically Bulgarian. The polemic is thus not merely concerned with orthographic reform, but with a tug-of-war between those who would draw Macedonian closer to Bulgarian by accusing the current establishment of Serbophilia and those who would continue the principles established during the first phase of implementation.

Another remissive complaint relating to Serbian influence is the tendency to use /z/ in places where the literary norm has prescribed the voiced dental affricate /dz/ (Cyrillic s versus з). The voiced dental affricate is relatively

²⁰ Occasionally one can encounter the omission of the apostrophe in printed news media where the norm would require it as a non-standard feature. Such omissions serve as a kind of protest against the use of the apostrophe for schwa.

rare in Macedonian, and the letter representing it is unique to Macedonian Cyrillic (among modern languages) and therefore not available in other typefaces.²¹ Moreover, it corresponds to /z/ in Serbian and elsewhere in Slavic. The substitution was a problem in the earliest days of implementation, when it was decried as disrespectful towards the literary norm (Šopov 1950). The issue was raised again in the post-1988/89 phase as part of the complaint against Serbianization (Velkovska 1989). During the intervening years, the treatment of the use of this sound and the letter representing it were limited to questions where different dialects were in competition, e.g. literary *noze* 'legs' versus dialectal *nodze* (Korubin 1976:115-17).

The use of Turkisms can also be classed as a remissive issue. As indicated earlier, the trend to exclude such words from formal discourse was set in 1945. Three and a half decades later, Korubin (1981b) found it necessary to admonish translators not to become so carried away by purism that they translate Serbo-Croatian Turkisms such as *Bujrum efendi* 'At your command, sir' with the native but contextually inappropriate *Povelete gospodine*. Modern folklore collections must now contain extensive glossaries of Turkisms along with regional expressions, and the obsolescence of some Turkisms has progressed to the point that even graduate students in Slavic philology do not know words like *utija*, "clothes iron" (literary Macedonian now uses *pegla*, ultimately from a dialectal form of German *bügel[eisen]*), which were still in common use two or three decades ago. Another linguistic effect of political pluralism of the post-88/89 period, however, has been the rise of Turkisms in public contexts. This, too, could be associated with earlier debates concerning the position of Turkisms in literary normativization. Turkisms have always been more common in informal styles as opposed to formal speech or writing and the apparent rise in Turkisms also appears to be connected with a tendency to colloquialize the literary language in opposition to establishment norms. The post-1988/89 period has seen a significant increase in the use of Turkisms in formal contexts where they would previously have been eschewed, e.g. in the press, and a tremendous increase in their use in informal contexts. This is a result, in part, of the perceived democratization of Macedonian by opposing earlier policies.²²

Among the resolved issues, i.e. those that were problematic during the early years of implementation and that have not recurred, we can cite the position of the phoneme /x/, the morphological classification of verbs according to

²¹ The letter also occurs in Old Church Slavonic

²² See also Jašar-Nasteva (1972) for a study relating to the intermediate phase of the third stage and Minova-Gjurkova (1991) on the productivity of Turkish affixes in standard Macedonian during the third phase of the third stage of implementation.

stem class, the consistent omission of the auxiliary in the third person of the past indefinite, the shape of relativizers, and the place of Russian and Church Slavonic lexical items, all of which received attention in early implementational works (e.g. Vidoeski 1950a, 1950b; Ugrinova 1950a, 1950b).

The strikingly non-salient issues, i.e. areas of the grammar that could have been singled out for implementational debate but were not, include morpho-syntactic features of the literary language specific to the western dialects such as the perfect with the auxiliary *ima* 'have' plus the verbal neuter adjective (which has now spread well beyond its original region owing to the influence of the standard) as well as eastern features adopted into the literary language such as the shape of clitic pronouns and the neutral masculine definite article (-*ot* versus western -*o*), which have not figured in discussion centering around the implementation of the norm, although the use of the *ima* perfect is still more likely in speakers from regions where it is native. Colloquial features such as double determination (e.g. *ovie decava* 'these here children') have figured only in technical linguistic discussions.

A new issue in the implementation of the Macedonian standard is the relationship of Macedonian to the Great Power linguistic environment, especially to the influence of English as seen in the influx of lexical items in the speech of the younger generation, in popular media, and in the press. Youth-oriented radio uses a large number of English expressions, and in the daily newspapers one commonly sees advertisements mixing alphabets and using loanwords where native forms exist. This is especially the case with computer related equipment, as in the following example cited in Cyrillic as well as transcription for orthographic reasons. In the transcription, words originally in the Latin alphabet are italicized while technical loanwords are boldfaced:

Online девизијата CompuServe објави дека пушта во работа нов сервис кој им овозможи на корисниците на Mobile Comm, Page Mart, како и на Page Net да ја примаа својата пошта преку алфанумерички пејџери. (N.M. 22.V.96:17)

*Online devizijata CompuServe objavi deka pušta vo rabota nov **servis** koj im ovozmoži na korisnicite na *Mobile Comm*, *Page Mart*, kako i na *Page Net* da ja primaa svojata pošta preku alfanumerički **pejdžeri**.*

The Online division of CompuServe has announced that it is setting up a new service which enables users of Mobile Comm, Page Mart, as well as Page Net to receive their mail via alphanumerical pagers.

The flood of new English words and expressions has aroused the ire and concern of puristically oriented linguists and writers, who have objected to the influx of English terms in much the same way as the French have done (see Venovska-Antevska 1995; Herson-Finn 1996:159). The explosion of English in the Macedonian vocabulary is in part a reflection of the political and technological situation since 1989, but it is especially prevalent among the youngest generation and thus also seems to be an emblem of youth culture. In much the same way, Skopje features such as the form of derived imperfectives in *-ue(-)* as opposed to the literary *-uva(-)*, have functioned as markers of hip, urban, slangy expression.²³

In conclusion we can say that the implementation of the Macedonian norm is the source of on-going debate in which complex grammatical and linguistic-environmental factors have interacted in a definable chronology. Certain themes in this debate have been recurring, others have receded only to be resuscitated, still others have been resolved while new problems have arisen. Finally, there are parts of the norm that, while not universally shared by all the dialects, have nevertheless not constituted the focus of any particular problematization. Moreover, the same issue can take on different implications at different times. In the pre-1947 and post-1988/89 periods, the relation of the standard to Bulgarian informed many of the debates over implementation, whereas the relationship to Serbian has been a constant theme ebbing and flowing in importance. Similarly, the competition between Skopje and the west-central dialects was an important issue prior to 1948 and again after 1988/89. While the Russian question was important during the first stage, it has not resurfaced, but the symbolic significance of Turkisms as distinctive has come back as a kind of lexical democratization. The association of nationalist politics with Serbophobic linguistic policies that end up appearing Bulgarophilic is a particularly ironic effect of the 1990s phase of the implementation debates.

Given the relative constancy of certain aspects of both the internal and external Macedonian linguistic environment, these debates continue to be available for various types of discourse. The use of the standard language as a resource for power and prestige ensure this. What is striking about the Macedonian case is the rapidity with which the basic outlines of the standard were

²³ It is interesting to note that on occasion old Balkanisms are perceived as Skopjeisms, e.g. reduplication with *m-* to mean 'and such' as in *knigi-migi* 'books and such like', which is a widespread Balkan phenomenon borrowed from Turkish, was perceived by a group of young people in Skopje as a typical Skopjeism. The imperfectivizer *-ue-*, however, seems to have gone out of fashion among the youngest generation in the early 21st century.

achieved and implemented. In terms of everyday use and general control of the norm, the implementation of the Macedonian standard in Macedonia has been basically successful, although many issues remain open to contestation and manipulation. The period of independence has seen a rise in the use of Macedonian as the primary means of communication, and attention is continually paid to language issues. In the many decades of standardization some prescriptions have changed, some have been dropped, some have become facultative, and the facts of implementation have influenced all of this. For all the problems that have been discussed and continue to be discussed, however, the fact remains that the Macedonian standard language has been successfully implemented as the primary means of communication in the Republic of Macedonia.

Language in Macedonia as an Identity Construction Site

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The paper on which this article was based was originally read at a conference at the Ohio State University in 1998. This version is significantly updated and takes into account the subsequent fifteen years of events and developments.

Introduction

Language contact can be understood as comprising the phenomena of linguistic variation and, ultimately, change resulting from multilingualism. Such contact can occur in an atmosphere of conflict, which implies a social and/or political attempt to eliminate the contact by either assimilation or separation, or it can occur in an environment of coexistence, which could be defined as the lack of such attempts without, however, necessarily leading to different results, i.e. coexistence does not necessarily entail stability, although such may be the case. Thus, for example, the multilingual contact that led to the situation identified at the beginning of this century as the Balkan linguistic league (Trubetzkoy 1923, 1930 cf. also Friedman 1997b), a language group characterized by significant shared structural innovations, could only have resulted from centuries of relatively stable coexistence.¹ The twentieth century in the Balkans, however, was unstable linguistically as well as politically — a situation that continues into the twenty-first, and the two phenomena are not unrelated.² In some areas changes

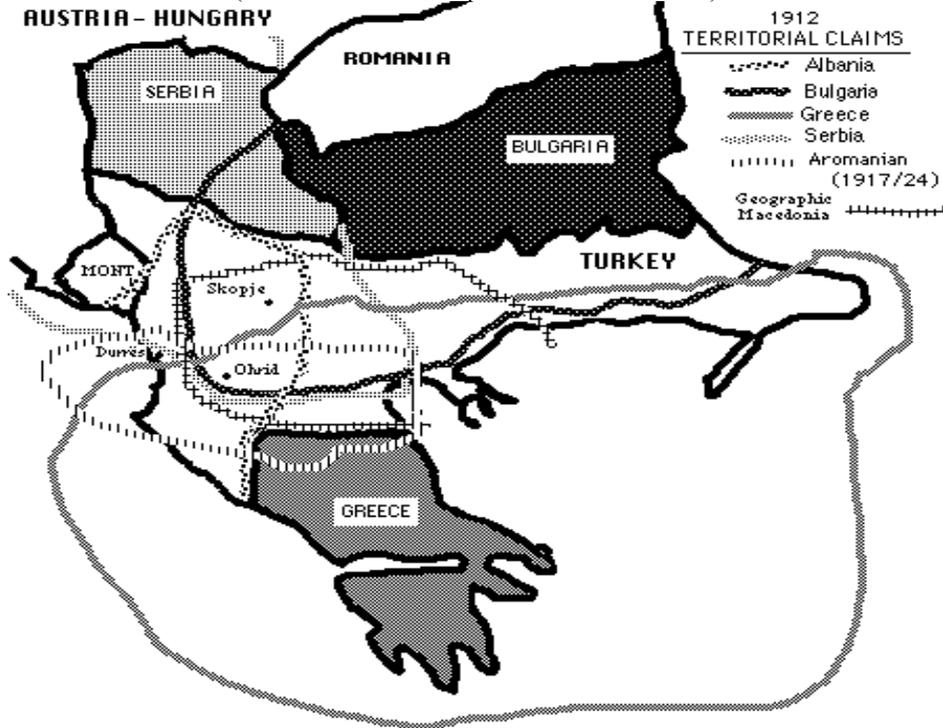
¹ This stability, however, is underlain by a series of instabilities. The pre-Indo-European languages of the Balkans were wiped out by those of Indo-European invaders, and from prehistoric times until after the Ottoman conquest various Indo-European and Turkic languages entered the Balkans, some with identifiable descendents in the present, some leaving a passing lexical imprint, and some disappearing without any identifiable linguistic trace.

² According to The Economist Unit, the Risk of social unrest in 2014 on a 5-division scale from Very Low to Very High the chance of social unrest was Very High in Bosnia and Greece, High in Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, Moldova, Romania, and Turkey, and Medium in Serbia. Montenegro and Kosovo were not included in the assessment (*The World in 2014* p. 80).

and shifts have occurred or are occurring in obvious conditions of conflict and elsewhere under conditions that could be described as coexistence. As "the world's most famous contact situation" (Thomason and Kaufman 1985:95), the Balkans constitute a particularly appropriate focus for a study of language "collision." This appropriateness is enhanced by the abundant media attention that was focused on the region after the so-called fall of communism and the subsequent outbreak of a series of armed conflicts 1991-2001: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Preshevo Valley [southwest corner of Serbia], Macedonia. I propose, therefore, to examine the fate of the Balkan languages in their twentieth-century socio-political context as artifacts of identity formation. As a frame for my study, I shall take the geographic region of Macedonia (see definition below), which has long been described as the linguistic "heart" of the Balkan contact area (Hamp 1977:281), as well as its geopolitical "apple of discord."

MAP ONE

Conflicting Claims to Macedonia, 1912, Prior to the Balkan Wars
(After Clissold 1968:137, Dako 1919, Kăncov 1900, Ionescu 1945)
(Albania did not declare independence until 28 November 1912)
(Aromanian claims represent Greater Vlahia)



It is indeed ironic that this center of conflicting territorial claims that constituted the main focus of the Second Balkan War in 1913 (see Map One) was referred to as the “oasis of peace” for almost a decade after the outbreak of the Yugoslav Wars of Succession.³ During the course of the 20th century, the region has undergone various partitions and remains a site of competing claims, among them linguistic ones. If the very term Balkan has, since the end of World War One, come to be associated with the notion of fragmentation, then in that same West European (or “Euro-American”) discourse, Macedonia (or its French form *Macédoine*) has come to mean the intermingling of those fragments (apparently originally a reference to the perception of multi-ethnicity in ancient Macedonia, see Lunt 1984:96). It is yet another irony that the term Balkanism, when used geopolitically, means fragmentation due to conflict while its original use as a linguistic term means precisely the opposite, i.e. a shared feature due to linguistic contact, in other words, interpenetrating coexistence (see Seliščev 1925 vs. Todorova 1994).⁴ By using Macedonia as my frame, I shall attempt to highlight current tendencies in Balkan linguistic politics. On the one hand, language is still in competition with religion as a site for the construction of identity, on the other, the congruence between declared mother tongue and national identity has demonstrably increased. When language becomes an identity construction site, the concept of dialect ceases to be a historical classificatory device and passes into the realm of sociopolitical category. In this same context of language and dialect as loci of identity politics, *minority* is a status that some groups are struggling for, while others reject it as inadequate. Among the rights minorities

³ This expression was frequent in the Macedonian media from the second half 1991 until the bombing of the FRY and resultant refugee crisis of 1999. Perhaps the most poignant usage I have encountered was at the opening of a conference on Macedonian-Turkish cultural relations held at the University of Skopje in October 1991 as Yugoslav National Army planes flew low over the University. The Wars of Succession had begun that June, and Macedonia had just passed a referendum for independence in September, but the political situation was unresolved and Yugoslav National Army troops had not yet withdrawn. Despite the Kosovo refugee crisis of 1999, armed conflict in Macedonia was avoided until the insurgency of February-June 2001.

⁴ It is worth emphasizing that the term *Balkanization* and its congeners did not originate during the period when the Balkan states were breaking off from the Ottoman Empire but rather at the end of World War One with the establishment of nation-states in Eastern Europe taken from territory that had been ruled by Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Russia. Todorova (1997:33-37) cites a usage from the 20 December 1918 *The New York Times* in which the term is used to mean ‘devastation’ or ‘ruin’, but she correctly points out that the meaning of political fragmentation emerges only with the treaties following World War One that divided up the so-called “New Map of Europe” (see Gibbons 1915).

demand is mother-tongue education, which, as the vehicle of identification through both the language of instruction and instruction in language, becomes a battle ground of identity politics and even of politics itself. Finally, the rhetoric of equality in these contexts pits groups against one another, with their respective elites at their heads and having the most to gain.

Defining Macedonia

Owing to the level of contestation, one cannot begin a discussion of language and politics in Macedonia without first defining what is meant by *Macedonia*. At the beginning of his study of the relationship of politics to the ethnographic cartography of Macedonia from 1730 to 1950, Wilkinson (1951:1), claims that “Macedonia defies definition” (cf. Brown 1995:34), and then goes on to claim that “[o]f all attempts to define Macedonia, that which makes its appeal to physical geography is least profitable, and also the easiest to refute” (Wilkinson 1951:2). On the next page, however, Wilkinson writes that he uses the name Macedonia “as a convenient means of referring to the region which lies between the Sar [*sic*] mountains in the north, the Aegean sea in the south, the lower Mesta river and Rodopi mountains in the east, and the Albanian highlands in the west.” (1951:3). This is essentially the same physical definition used since the days of classical geographers (cf. Wilkinson 1951:1, also Barker 1950:9), despite differences in detail at the edges and the occasional Greek or Serbian attempt to set the northern boundary somewhere in the middle of the region thus defined (Wilkinson 1941:2, 4). It is the definition that has informed most of the debate since the nineteenth century, and it the one that I shall utilize here.⁵ I shall use the term *Macedonia* or *geographic Macedonia* to refer to this region as defined by physical geography. I shall modify the term *Macedonia* with the adjectives *Vardar*, *Aegean*, and *Pirin*, to refer to the regions that correspond politically to the modern-day Republic of Macedonia, the Greek province of Makedhonía, and the Bulgarian district of Blagoevgrad (former Gorna Džumaja), respectively.⁶ These political divisions correspond — with a few minor

⁵ See Kǎnčov (1900:138-40) for a detailed breakdown in terms of Ottoman administrative districts. ASHSH (1998:23) provides an additional perspective: Based on the last administrative division of the Ottoman Empire, it claims almost all of northern Macedonia as part of “historical Kosovo with its capital Skopje.” It is ironic that this definition is reminiscent of Serbian claims to “Old Serbia” in the period of the Balkan Wars, based on the territory of Dušan’s Empire in the mid-fourteenth century.

⁶ As of 1 January 2011, the territory of the former Greek Macedonia was divided: In the Administration of Epirus and West Macedonia, the West Macedonia region; in the Administration of Macedonia and Thrace, the Central Macedonia Region and the Regional Units of Drama and Kavalla in the East Macedonia and Thrace Region.

subsequent adjustments — to the boundaries set by the Treaty of Bucharest in 1913. To these three traditional regions can be added the regions of Gora, Golobrdë (Albanian Golobordë) together with Erbele (Albanian Herbel) and Gonro Kärčište (Albanian Kërçishti i Epërm), and Prespa, located on the western mountain slopes from Šar to the southern tip of Lake Little Prespa in Kosovo and Albania.⁷ In addition to these regions, the villages of Boboshtica and Drenovene (Macedonian Drenov'äne) near Korça, Lin just south of Radožda on Lake Ohrid, and Vrbnik (Albanian Vërnik) east of Bilisht on the road to Greece, all had Macedonian speaking majorities at the time of the Balkan Wars, and Vrbnik still does.

The Languages of Macedonia

Turning now to the linguistic situation, one can, without fear of any accusation of lack of objectivity, identify the following linguistic groups as present among significant numbers of people on the territory of geographic Macedonia: Albanian, Hellenic, Romance, Slavic, Turkic, and Indic (i.e., Romani). The moment one attempts to become more specific at the taxonomic, distributional, or statistical levels, however, one is immediately confronted by contestation. At the taxonomic level, one encounters contestation over the distinction between language and dialect for Slavic and Romance, dialect competition for Albanian and Indic, and competition between language and religion for Hellenic and Turkic. Nor do these characterizations exhaust the possibilities, but they will suffice for our purposes of focusing on those conflicts that are most salient. Distributional

⁷ These regions still have significant numbers of Macedonian-speaking villages. The classification of the Slavic dialects of Gora as Macedonian rather than Serbian, on the basis of certain salient, relatively archaic innovations shared with most of western Macedonia, e.g. fixed antepenultimate stress, was proposed by Vidoeski (1986a) and tacitly accepted by Brozović and Ivić (1988). The speakers themselves are Muslim and have traditionally identified as neither Serbian nor Macedonian but rather as Goran. They find Standard Macedonian easier to understand than Standard Serbian, however and share salient folklore with Macedonians rather than Serbs (Naim Dokle, personal communication, Tirana, 1995; also attested in Letters to the Editor published in *Nova Makedonija* 18 and 25 January 1986, p.2). When Serbian negotiators finally recognized the existing border between Macedonia and the FRY (including Kosovo) in February 2001, after almost a decade of foot-dragging, a group of Gorans sought inclusion in Macedonia or special status with dual citizenship and Macedonian schools (MILS 13 February 2001). The compromise was to agree to establish a new border crossing at Restelica-Stražimer (MILS 16 February 2001). The Macedonian-speakers of the Golo Brdo region (Albanian Gollobordë) are mixed Christian and Muslim. Those of Lower Prespa and adjacent regions are Christians. Only the Christian villagers of southeastern Albania have Macedonian-language schooling (through grade four).

and statistical contestations are interrelated, albeit separate. The former is concerned with absolute presence, the latter with relative presence. I shall begin with the taxonomy of Slavic, which is arguably the most contested of the above mentioned language groups at the linguistic level. For the purpose of our focus here, the main question is the relationship of Macedonian to neighboring Bulgarian and, to a lesser extent, Serbian.

The classic debate about the distinction between language and dialect (cf. Haugen 1966, Lunt 1984:91, Posner 1996:189-226) continues to be waged with a vehemence that has continued more or less unabated since the middle of the nineteenth century, with the exception of a brief hiatus between 1946 and 1948.⁸ The political implications of the distinction between the concepts of language and dialect were summed up in Weinreich (1945:13) in Yiddish and in the context of the plight of Yiddish: *a shprakh iz a dialekt mit an armey un flot* ‘a language is a dialect with and army and navy’. While equally applicable to the various standards that have developed or are developing among South Slavic speakers, the adage has nonetheless only been selectively applied not only by numerous politicians, journalists, and diplomats, but also by some linguists, historians and other academics. Some of these, while not motivated by national interests, nonetheless present uneven accounts of the role of construction in identity formation,

⁸ At the end of World War Two, with Yugoslavia and Bulgaria in the same political camp and discussions of a Balkan federation, Bulgaria recognized Macedonian as a language, as a nationality, and as a minority on its territory. With the Tito-Stalin break of 1948, however, Bulgaria repudiated first the Macedonian standard language (see Koneski 1948) and subsequently (from 1958) the existence of a separate Macedonian nationality (see Čašule 1972:21, 183; Lunt 1984:87), although tacit acknowledgment of the existence of Macedonian occasionally slipped by as late as 1968 (Lekov 1968:184-85). When the Republic of Macedonia declared independence in 1991, Bulgaria hastened to recognize the political independence but refused to recognize either the language or the nationality. Throughout most of the 1990’s bilateral agreements between Bulgaria and Macedonia remained unsigned owing to Bulgarian refusal to approve bilingual documents in Macedonian and Bulgarian. Macedonia likewise rejected Bulgarian proposals such as having the agreements be only in English. This stalemate was resolved when a document in which Bulgaria recognized the Macedonian standard language and Macedonia renounced any concern with Bulgarian internal affairs, i.e. any support for the Macedonians of Pirin Macedonia, was signed by representatives of the two sides on 22 February 1999. It is worth noting, however, that even during the late communist period, when the official Bulgarian line was that Macedonian not a separate language but a dialect of Bulgarian, cooperative agreements between the two countries were signed in both languages (*Nova Makedonija* 6.II.81: 10). After the 1999 recognition, Bulgarian claims on all Macedonian dialects (as opposed to the standard language) continued unabated; Kočev 2001 is typical in this respect.

reifying one identity vis-à-vis another. It is thus that Macedonian is “objectively” or “linguistically” presented as a dialect of Bulgarian, which is roughly equivalent to describing Swedish as a dialect of Danish or Norwegian. Since this debate cannot be properly understood without some sense of the historical background, I shall outline its main contours (for greater detail see Friedman 1975, 1985a, 1998a, 2000a).⁹

The Development of Macedonian Linguistic Identity

If we take the years at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries as the point of departure, the position of language as an identity marker in the Ottoman empire, including Macedonia and adjacent regions, was not particularly salient.¹⁰ Religion was a far more important source of identity,¹¹ and the majority of the population was either (Greek Orthodox) Christian or Muslim, for which the labels *Greek* (Turkish *Rum*) and *Turk* (Turkish *Türk*), respectively, were commonly used.¹² This is to say that at that time the term *Greek* did not necessarily refer to a speaker of Greek (which language in any case was then called by its speakers *Romaika* ‘Romaic’, i.e. Roman’ — a reference to Christian Byzantium rather than the pagan Hellenes, cf. Herzfeld

⁹ Thus, for example, Poulton (1995:116), who purports to be sympathetic to Macedonia, Vickers and Pettifer (1997:205), who are clearly pro-Albanian, and Henninger (1994:429-30), who is a Bulgarianist by profession and training, all reproduce the same delegitimizing Bulgarian hegemonic discourse that Macedonian is a “dialect” of Bulgarian. Pettifer also does this in a 1992 article reprinted in 1999 (see Greenberg 2001:172). See Lunt (1984:90-91) for an excellent summary of the distinction between language and dialect as well as a trenchant critique of the Bulgarian material uncritically accepted by Poulton.

¹⁰ This lack of salience is arguably connected with both the multilingualism and shared structures characterizing Balkan societies and languages at that time.

¹¹ At least among the rural population, however, even religion was to a certain extent a pragmatic affair. Thus, for example, a saint’s tomb could be equally venerated by both Christians and Muslims as a source of healing power. Among urban populations, the very fact of living in a town rather than a village had a prestige that in some senses trumped religion as a source of identity and valued Turkish as the language of urban culture (see Akan 2000:1-5, 64).

¹² Other religiously defined minority categories in Macedonia and elsewhere in the Balkans at that time were Jewish (*Yahudi*), Armenian Orthodox Christian (*Ermeni*), and Catholic (*Latin*). By the end of World War Two, most Armenians had left for Soviet Armenia, Catholics came to identify with linguistically defined nationality categories, and most Macedonian Jews had been murdered by the Nazis and their collaborators (Assa 1972:92-119).

1993:199-200) and *Turk* did not necessarily refer to a speaker of Turkish. Rather the terms meant ‘Greek Orthodox Christian’ and ‘Muslim’, respectively.¹³ At the same time, none of the literary languages then in general use were vernacular-based. To the extent that Slavic was used in writing at all, it was restricted primarily to monasteries — and insofar as literacy existed in Macedonia outside ecclesiastical circles (and often even inside them), Greek had to a large extent supplanted Slavic, especially in the south. As vernacular-based Slavic literacy emerged in the course of the early nineteenth century to compete with both Greek and late varieties of Church Slavonic (including here for general purposes Slaveno-Serbian), two centers of literacy emerged on Macedo-Bulgarian territory, one in what is today southwestern Macedonia and the other in what is now northeastern Bulgaria. During this same period, Vuk Karadžić was laying the foundations for what would become what is now the former literary Serbo-Croatian based on the dialects of most of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro as well as adjacent parts of Serbia and Croatia, also called eastern Herzegovinian neo-štokavian (see Naylor 1980 for details). That linguistic boundaries had not yet been conceptualized in modern terms can be seen in the fact that as late as 1822, Vuk found it necessary to argue that Bulgarian was not a dialect of Serbian (de Bray 1980:78, 312, Lunt 1984:115).

By the middle of the nineteenth century, a conflict had arisen over what was to serve as the dialectal base for the emerging Bulgarian literary standard. It is clear from the attacks in the Constantinopolitan Bulgarian-language press on the language of textbooks based on western Macedonian dialects that the differences between the Balkan Slavic dialects of northeastern Bulgaria and those of southwestern Macedonia were sufficiently salient to native speakers that they could, and ultimately did, serve as the bases of separate literary languages and separate identities.¹⁴ The following quotation from an 1851 editorial is illustrative: “As concerns the language of Mr. Jordan [Hadži Konstantinov-Džinot of Veles, in western Mace-

¹³ Nonetheless, we have records of 19th century jokes whose point was that Slavic speaking Muslims called themselves *Turks* but did not necessarily know Turkish (Cepenkov 1972:132-34). Since the attestations date from the mid 19th century, these jokes might be manifestations of a growing ideological awareness of the shift from religion to language as an identity marker (cf. also Akan 2000:123, 143, 194, 213).

¹⁴ Sandfeld (1930) included Serbian in his study of Balkan linguistics, as do some others, but it is well recognized among Balkanists that the processes of structural convergence that characterize the Balkan linguistic league did not extend over the whole of former BCSM dialectal territory nor even over the whole of that territory subject to Ottoman suzerainty. Heuristically speaking, it is only the so-called Torlak (Prizren-Timok) dialects of BCSM that participated fully in the processes, although individual isoglosses extend into the rest of Štokavian, and, to a lesser extent, even Čakavian.

donia], anyone can see that it is so different from our written and spoken language, so that to a person reading it for the first time it will appear not only incomprehensible but completely different. [...] it can be more easily learned and spoken correctly by a foreigner, and not by a native Bulgarian. May the residents of Skopje forgive us, along with those who speak a similar language; since they do not understand our language nor can they speak it.” (*Carigradski vestnik* No. 55, 6 October 1851 cited in Dimitrovski et al. 1978:23).

It was precisely this type of rejection that helped lead to the formation of a separate Macedonian linguistic and ethnic consciousness. Such a formation took place, however, under extreme political duress. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, national movements in Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, and Serbia all crystallized in such a way that Macedonia was (and remains) at the edge of their overlapping territorial claims (see Map One).¹⁵ In both Serbia and Bulgaria, language was used as one of the bases of those claims.¹⁶ Since the Slavic dialects of Macedonia are located on the South Slavic continuum in a region between Bulgaria and Serbia, linguists in both camps chose shared features in one direction or the other to justify territorial expansion, as illustrated in Map Two and the following quotation from Vaillant (1938:195-96, 197, 208): “Some bring up Bulgarian traits of Macedonian, others Serbian ones: They battle fiercely, brandishing the postposed article [isogloss 2] or the treatment of *ć* [isogloss 1], delivering blows with jers or the nasal vowels; the battle is confused and unmethodical [...], and it demonstrates that Macedonian furnishes arms to both camps. [...] At the time of the first historical data from the ninth and tenth centuries [...] Macedonian was closely allied with Bulgarian, and its subsequent evolution was parallel to that of Bulgarian; still it was sufficiently independent that it is difficult to make of Macedonian a simple dialect of Bulgarian, and it is more accurate to attribute to it a separate place in a Macedo-Bulgarian group...”

¹⁵ See ASHSH 1998 and Velev 1998 for modern-day Albanian and Bulgarian equivalents of such claims couched in terms of “ethnic Albanian territory” and “ethnic Bulgarian territory,” respectively. See MANU 1999 for a response to the former. Maximal Aromanian claims also included part of Macedonia, but the minimalist claims for an independent Pindus Republic were limited to that part of former Ottoman territory that lay between the Greek border of 1912, the Albanian border of 1913, Mt. Grammos and the town of Yanina (Ioannina), i.e. what became the northeastern part of Greek Epirus (Ionescu 1945). Trajkovski (1997:76, 81, 83, 84) gives a Macedonian conflation of *ethnic* and *geographic*.

¹⁶ Greek claims usually referred to religion (see Table One), but they also deployed language on occasion. Language-based claims, however, referred to the language of “commercial relations” and not to home language (Nicolaïdes 1899:1-2).

MAP TWO

Differing isoglosses used to support conflicting territorial claims
[1] the reflex of Common Slavic *tj, [2] the presence of a definite article
These representations are highly schematic.

The precise distribution of features is complex but irrelevant to the basic point.
See Ivić (1958:25-49 and Alexander (2000:17-18).

Key to Map Two

(The forms cited in the table are those used in the modern standard languages.)

	[1]shoulders	[2]woman/the woman
Serbian	pleći	žena
Macedonian	pleki	žena/ženata
Bulgarian	plešti	žena/ženata



It is clear that by the beginning of the twentieth century (when Macedonia was still a part of Turkey but independent Bulgarian, Greek, and Serbian states were already in existence) a separate Macedonian consciousness was well-established not only among some intellectuals (Misirkov 1903) but even in some rural areas. The following example, from a British philhellene, is illustrative:¹⁷

On the second day of my stay in Vodena [Greek Edhessa, VAF] I made an excursion with Mr. Kalopathakes to two villages. [...] Vladova [Greek Agras, VAF], the first village, was reached after a two-hours' ride. [...] I sent out for a man who seemed to be a leading spirit in the place, and he came into the guard-house and answered my questions freely in the presence of the Turkish captain. [...] I asked what language they spoke and my Greek interpreter carelessly rendered the answer *Bulgare*. The man himself had said *Makedonski*! I drew attention to this word, and the witness explained that he did not consider the rural dialect used in Macedonia the same as Bulgarian and refused to call it by that name. It was Macedonian, a word to which he gave the Slave [sic!] form *Makedonski*... (Upward 1908:202-204).

Nonetheless, the lack of any sort of state, ecclesiastical, or other governmental type of structure combined with the propagandas (and organized violence) of the already existing Balkan states that were seeking to extend their territorial rule to include Macedonia contributed not only to a retardation of the process of the development of a Macedonian standard language but also to the development of Macedonian ethnic consciousness. The result was a sense among many Slavic-speakers in Macedonia that the only choices for identity were those supported by established power structures, i.e. Greek, Bulgarian, or Serbian. (Moreover, the entire identity question was felt by many Muslim speakers of Macedonian to have nothing to do with them, an attitude that persists in some areas into the present day.) Thus people's choices for identity were often motivated by factors other than language, and situations arose in which three brothers could each have three different national identities (cf. Danforth 1995). The

¹⁷ Brown 2010 presents evidence from the immigration records of Ellis Island that Macedonian peasants from Ottoman Turkey declared their nationality as Macedonian. See Friedman 2012c for additional data and commentary. Also, Dimevski 1968 and Andonovski 1985a adduce evidence from an 1893 report by the Serbian consul at Monastir (Bitola) that a group of Macedonians in Kostur (Greek Kastoria) attempted to eliminate both Greek and Bulgarian from the parish school and use Macedonian as the language of instruction. The Greek bishop succeeded in convincing the Turkish governor of Kostur to close both the school and the one church in town that was using the Slavonic liturgy. The matter ended when a Bulgarian representative from Plovdiv convinced the parish council to adopt literary Bulgarian lest they lose both their church and their school to the Greeks.

partition of geographic Macedonia in 1913 among Greece, Serbia (later Yugoslavia), Bulgaria, and Albania increased this sense of limitation among many Macedonians. Thus, for example, Krste P. Misirkov, who in 1903 had written an articulate program for Macedonian self-determination and a literary language (Misirkov 1903), ended his life in the 1920's advocating Bulgarian identity for Macedonians as a choice preferable to Serbian (see Nihtinen 1995).

Macedonian Outside the Republic

Vardar Macedonia, which was given to Serbia by the Treaty of Bucharest in 1913, became the Peoples' Republic of Macedonia within the Yugoslav Federation in 1944 and the independent Republic of Macedonia in 1991.¹⁸ It was only here that a Macedonian literary language was allowed to develop freely, starting in 1944.¹⁹ In Pirin Macedonia, except for the brief hiatus of 1946-48, Macedonian was considered a dialect of Bulgarian, and, after 1958, Macedonian ethnic identity became an unrecognized minority category, which it remains to this day.²⁰ Similarly in Aegean Macedonia, except for the *Abecedar* of 1925 that was published in accordance with article 6 of the Treaty of Sèvres but never distributed (Andonovski 1985b) and a few brief efforts during the Greek Civil War, which were discouraged even by the Greek communists (Risteski 1988a, Rossos 1997), Macedonian has been a proscribed language. During the 1930's mothers were jailed for speaking it to their babies and school children had their tongues pierced with needles and rubbed with hot pepper for speaking it in school (Risteski 1988a:97-102). Persecution of Macedonian is considerably less vehement in Greece today, but on-going. In addition to police harassment (see, for example, Šmiger 1998:21-22, and Friedman 2012c), the Greek government continues to refuse to recognize that Greece has any national minorities at all. A

¹⁸ There were minor adjustments to the border after World War One and partition between Albania and Bulgaria during World War Two. The northern borders saw a number of fluctuations

¹⁹ During the interwar period, publications in Macedonian appeared in both Yugoslavia and Bulgaria as dialect literature of Serbian and Bulgarian, respectively, and during World War Two illegal pamphlets and newspapers were published. Although these publications showed dialectal features, overall their language was quite close to what became the standard.

²⁰ In the 1992 Bulgarian census, 10,800 people claimed Macedonian nationality. In 1997 Bulgarian prime minister Petar Stojanov asserted to the European parliament that there is no Macedonian minority in Bulgaria (MILS 21 September 1998). As indicated above, the February 1999 language agreement includes a clause (Article 11) in which the Republic of Macedonia *de facto* promises not to support the claims of the Pirin Macedonians.

Reuters press release cited by Greek Helsinki Watch 23 July 1999 gives a typical example, as does the ethnographic map of the Balkans published as a supplement to the February 2000 issue of *National Geographic* (Vol. 197, No. 2); the claim was even made in the November 2006 issue of *Maxim* magazine, where the following quotation was given as the “hometown fact” for a scantily clad, provocatively posed model labeled *Miss Greece*: “According to the Greek government there are no ethnic divisions in Greece.” In mid-1998, according to the researchers involved, the first EU funded minority language research project in Greece was stopped by the government because the project concerned Macedonian.²¹ The Greek government did permit the development of a second EU funded minority language project dealing with Arvanitika, a group of Albanian dialects spoken in central and southern Greece since the Byzantine period and successfully driven during the course of this century to the brink of extinction, so that they can now serve as a permitted topic of investigation and thereby legitimate Greece as a “European” country.²² In Albania education in Macedonian is supported only through grade four and only in the southernmost of the three Macedonian-speaking areas (Lower Prespa). Members of the Albanian government have occasionally made public statements siding with Bulgarian claims and questioning the legitimacy of Macedonian identity (e.g. a statement made by then-president of Albania Sali Berisha reported in MILS 6 March 1995). In the course of the 1990’s, Serbian extremist politicians such as Voislav Šešelj occasionally made statements to the effect that Macedonians are Serbs,

²¹ In 2009, in Athens, thugs from the Golden Dawn (*Hrisi Avgi*), with apparent Police connivance, vandalized the podium at the book launch of the first Macedonian-Greek dictionary to be published in Greece. On the occasion of the book launch of the Greek-Macedonian companion dictionary, in Florina, the Greek government tried to keep at least some foreigners from going to the event, and it was only thanks to EU intervention that I was allowed into Greece to be able to attend.

²² It is no coincidence that Zazari, a minority language project funded by the European Commission and based in Florina (Macedonian Lerin; there is a Lake Zazari south of Florina), was aimed only at Aromanian, Albanian and Romani (*Interface* No. 35, August 1999, p. 3). This is despite the fact that there is only one Albanian-speaking village in the Florina region (Lehovo) whereas Macedonian continues to thrive even after a century of expulsions and other repressive policies. Similarly, Volume 5 (1996-98) of the Greek journal *Ellēnikē Dialektologia*, devoted entirely to “bilingual communities of the Greek people” (*Oi diglōsses omades tou ellēnikou hōrou*) — itself a formulation intended to avoid the acknowledgment of the existence of language-identified minorities — covers all the minority languages of Greece except Macedonian. This is a clear example of *erasure* in the sense of Gal and Irvine 1995:975-78, also Irvine and Gal 2000).

and the Serbian government did not cooperate with the Macedonian government in the counting of Macedonians living in Serbia during the 1994 census. Macedonian language schools in Serbia ceased to operate shortly after Macedonia declared independence.

Such, then, is the situation of Macedonian in the various Balkan countries in which it is spoken as an indigenous or autochthonous language, in a modern sense. Within the Republic of Macedonia, however, there are five officially recognized minority ('nationality') languages: Albanian, Turkish, Aromanian, Romani, and Serbian.²³ As such, the Republic of Macedonia represents a kind of Balkan microcosm. While a complete history of the standardization of all these languages is obviously beyond the scope of this paper, a few salient facts on each will be essential to our main points.

Albanian

Albanian has two main dialects, Geg, spoken north of the river Shkumbi (which runs through central Albania), and Tosk, spoken to the south. The Albanian dialects of Montenegro, Kosovo, and most of Macedonia are Geg. Those of Greece and the southwestern corner of Macedonia are Tosk. Historically, the main bundle of isoglosses separating Geg and Tosk in Macedonia runs along the course of the river Drim through the middle of the town of Struga, at the north end of Lake Ohrid.²⁴ In 1916, a Literary Committee met in Shkodër and agreed to elaborate a standard based on Elbasan Geg with some concessions to Tosk, this became *de jure* the standard in 1923, and remained so in Albania until the early 1950s. In practice, both literary Geg and literary Tosk continued to be elaborated in Albania until after World War Two (Pipa 1989:3-4), when the communist regime succeeded in imposing a Tosk-based so-called unified standard on all of Albania, taking the dialect of Korçë as the basis.

²³ The wording of the preamble of the 1991 constitution mentions "Albanians, Turks, Vlachs, Roms and other nationalities," but Article 35 of the 1994 census law specified the five languages mentioned above as official, together with Macedonian, for the census (the fifth was Serbian; see Friedman 1996b). Linguistically, there is a distinction between Aromanian and Meglenoromanian, but for our purposes here they can be treated together as *Vlah*. See Friedman 2001 for details. Constitutional Amendment 4, which replaces the 1991 preamble, in addition to the Macedonian people, mentions "the Albanian people, Turkish people, Vlach people, Serb people, Roma people, and Bosniak people."

²⁴ There are also non-contiguous Tosk Albanian dialects spoken in Italy (Arbëresh), southern Greece (Arvanitika), and in Albanian speaking villages in the eastern Balkans and Ukraine, but these need not concern us here (see Friedman 1998b:218-21).

For Albanians, language was the essential factor in building a sense of national identity (Skendi 1967:124-25), divided as the population was among Islam, Orthodoxy, and Catholicism. Muslim Albanian-speakers were under pressure to identify as Turks, Orthodox Albanian-speakers as Greeks, while the Catholics of the north were under pressure from Italy and Austria. Thus, overcoming religion as the source of identity and shifting the basis to language became a major goal of the Albanian national movement.²⁵ Orthography was a key issue for Albanian during the period before independence was declared in 1912. The three religious groups each had a different alphabet: Latin for the Catholics, Greek for the Orthodox, and Arabic for the Muslims, as well as competing Latin alphabets for all three. Although an Alphabet Congress held in Monastir (modern Bitola, in the Republic of Macedonia) 14-22 November 1908 was unable to reach a definitive decision between two Latin alphabets (one using digraphs, the other diacritics), the fact that it was able to narrow the field to those two Latin alphabets has given reason for that Congress to be regarded today as a definitive moment in the creation of Albanian national unity (Buda and Domi et al. 1972, Skendi 1967:370-75). The codifiers of the post World War Two “unified literary language” (*gjuha letrare e njësuar*) insisted that their standard was neither “northern” nor “southern” — the ethnic terms *Geg* and *Tosk* were likewise eliminated from official discourse for the sake of promoting national unity — but rather a supradialectal norm that was neither one nor the other but combined both. In fact, however, that standard was basically *Tosk*, and as such was vigorously attacked by Pipa (1989).²⁶

This *de facto* *Tosk*-based standard was officially adopted by the Albanians of what was then Yugoslavia — thus replacing the *Elbasan Geg*-based standard they had been elaborating since the end of World War Two — in a process that began in 1968 and culminated in the first unified Albanian orthographic handbook and dictionary agreed upon in 1972.²⁷ With the so-called fall of communism and the upheavals of the 1990s, the question of reintroducing literary *Geg* as a co-equal variant with the current *Tosk*-based standard was first raised at a conference in the fall of 1992 and has remained a salient issue ever since (e.g., Çeliku 1995:215-16;). The *Gegs* of Shkodër, the town in northwest Albania with an old, independent literary tradition as well as a university, have proposed the revival of literary *Geg*, and the Tirana establishment and *Tosks* of the south

²⁵ See also Ladas (1932:380-88) on the Çams, cited later in this article.

²⁶ See Ismajli (1998:193-98) for commentary.

²⁷ See Byron 1976 and Ismajli 1998 for accounts of the complex processes following World War Two. Byron stresses the processes as they took place within the Republic of Albania, whereas Ismajli focuses on events in what was then Yugoslavia.

have opposed it. The Kosovars favor a single standard but declined to define how that standard should be determined (e.g. Bajçinca 1995). They do not want to support a diglossic situation from their perceived need for [trans]national unity, but neither do they wish to abandon the possibility that their dialectal base (which is northeastern Geg and thus significantly different from both the northwestern Geg of Shkodër and the Southern Geg of the old standard) could be more represented. While some Geg speaking intellectuals advocate pluricentrism or bidialectalism in the standard, and some Tosk speaking intellectuals vigorously reject the notion of any fundamental changes, a kind of middle ground is represented by Geg intellectuals who want to “open up the standard” to Gegisms. The focus of this approach is the infinitive, a Geg grammatical feature that is both absent from Tosk and a component in many of the grammatical differences between the two dialect groups. When I asked a colleague of mine in Kosova why he was focusing exclusively on the infinitive as the sole Geg element that should be introduced into the standard, he replied: *Paskajorja është lokomotivi* ‘The infinitive is the locomotive.’²⁸

Aside from the Albanians of Albania and former Yugoslavia, there are four distinct groups of Albanians in what is now Greece. One group calls their language *arbërisht* (in Greek *Arvanitika*) and emigrated from southern Albania/Epirus to Thessaly, Central Greece, Euboea, the Peloponnesos, and various islands during the Byzantine and early Ottoman periods, at which time these dialects separated from the main body of southern Tosk.²⁹ These Albanian-speakers are Christians and Greek-identified. Many of the leading figures in the Greek independence movement of the nineteenth century and subsequent politics were in fact native speakers of Arvanitika.³⁰ A second group are the Çams of Epirus (Çamëri), most of them Muslim. Although exempted from the com-

²⁸ Some Kosovars view Albanian as having one standard with two variants (in Albania and in Kosovo). In practice the situation in Geg speaking regions is diglossic: The standard is used in writing and formal contexts, Geg is used informally and colloquially.

²⁹ The form *arbër-* is derived from *alban-* (via Greek change of /l/ to /r/ before the consonant and Tosk rhotacism of the /n/) and originally referred to a region in central Albania. The name *shqip*, which is modern Albanian for ‘Albanian’, used in Albania proper and contiguous territory, does not appear until the Ottoman period and appears to derive from an expression meaning ‘pronounce clearly’ (Hamp 1994). Nonetheless, the Arvanitika dialects of Greece display a continuum of isoglosses that evidence a very gradual migration southward and into the Peloponnesus. By contrast, the dialects of Arbëreshë of Italy, which arrived there as a result of the Ottoman conquests, show that the ancestors of today’s speakers came from all over Albanian and Greek Tosk territory (Eric P. Hamp, pc).

³⁰ See Grillo 1985 for details. On the current status of Arvanitika see Tsitsipis 1998.

pulsory exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey following World War One (Ladas 1932:380-88) — itself the largest act of “ethnic cleansing” in the twentieth century — most of them were driven into Albania at the end of World War Two (ASHSH 1998:47). These speakers represent a geographic extension of the southern Tosk dialects the Albanian Republic, the division being the political boundary between Greece and Albania established by the Protocol of Florence in 1913, which corresponds more or less to the current border. A third group consists of northern Tosk speakers who emigrated during the Ottoman period and live in village enclaves such as Lehovo (Florina district) and Mandres (Kilkis district).³¹ The fourth is comprised of economic migrants in the wake of the opening of the Albanian border after the so-called fall of communism.

Serbian and Turkish

Of the remaining four languages, Serbian and Turkish on the one hand and Vlah and Romani on the other represent striking contrasts. Both Serbian and Turkish have well-established norms that are based in other states, and their modern-day standardizations took place far from Macedonia. Interestingly enough, both languages also have made inroads on speakers of Macedonian dialects, but in different ways. Among Macedonian-speaking Muslims, an association between Macedonian identity and the Macedonian Orthodox Church has alienated Macedonian-speaking Muslims to the extent that some communities have demanded that the government provide Turkish-language elementary schools for their children (MILS 17 February 1998, cf. also *Nova Makedonija* 91/05/13). The situation is exacerbated by both some Turkish ethnopoliticians who, in an attempt to increase their power base, have claimed that Macedonian-speaking Muslims are linguistically Slavicized Turks (although the historical record shows that they are in fact descendants of Slavic-speaking converts to Islam) and by the emphasis of some Macedonian nationalist politicians on the connection between the Macedonian Orthodox Church and Macedonian nationality (MILS 23 October 1996).³² During the 1994 census, there were numerous cases

³¹ These latter emigrated from Mandrica in what is today southeastern Bulgaria (Hamp 1965). They were originally part of the North Tosk Albanian diaspora that migrated to Thrace (see Friedman 1995b). A fourth group would be the post-1989 Albanian economic migrants in Greece and Italy.

³² The precipitous banning of the Muslim veil (*zar* and *feredže*) as part of a secularization campaign of the early 1950's also alienated Macedonian speaking Muslims and increased their sense that Macedonian identity was a Christian one (see Friedman 1993c:88-89, also Akan 2000:21). However, there are also Macedonian Muslim organizations actively encouraging Macedonian Muslim identification with the Macedonian

in certain Macedonian-speaking Muslim villages in which monolingual Macedonian Muslim families would demand a bilingual Turkish form with an interpreter but then have to have the Turkish translated into Macedonian (Friedman 1996). These incidents are part of a larger pattern of conscious language shift based on religion (cf. Fraenkel 1993).³³ This issue of schooling is particularly fraught with complications. On the one hand, the purpose of minority-language schooling is to facilitate children's learning by teaching them in the language they know from home. This purpose is defeated if the language of instruction is one the children do not know. On the other hand, framed as a human rights issue, representatives of organizations such as the OSCE (p.c., Skopje, 1995) interpret Article 26, Section 3 of the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights (10 December 1948) as giving parents the right to choose the language in which their children will be schooled (and demand that the state supply the schools), even if that choice is detrimental to the children's progress in school.³⁴ On the other hand, there are parents who believe that education in Turkish will make their children more competitive in a larger, transnational market. This issue appears to be unaddressed by both political and human rights activists (but cf. especially Ladefoged 1992 and Dorian 1993).

In the case of Serbian — leaving to one side those who came to Macedonia in the relatively recent past — there are speakers in the northern Macedonian dialect area, e.g. some villages on Kozjak and Skopska Crna Gora, who identify as Serbian on the basis of religion or national feeling and whose dialects in no way differ from those of their Macedonian-identified neighbors (Vidoeski 1998:10).

Romani and Vlah

The situation for Vlah and Romani is quite different. Both of these languages are transnational, not fully standardized, and not associated with a nation-state. In the case of Vlah, there are those who would make of it a dialect of Romanian (see Ivănescu 1980:30-46 for a summary of the debate in Romania) just as there

language, albeit not necessarily Macedonian ethnicity but rather as *Torbeš* (Ajradinoski 2011). *Torbeš* is a folk term used in Macedonia for Macedonian speaking Muslims, including those of Gora. In the 1994 Macedonian census, Bosniak activists tried to claim all Macedonian speaking Muslims were Bosniaks (Friedman 1996).

³³ This situation obtains mainly in the Debar region. In the Kičevo region, there is a similar shift among Macedonian-speaking Muslims, but in the direction of Albanian. Shifts from Albanian to Macedonian also occur among Albanian-speaking Christians.

³⁴ Section 3 makes no reference to language but rather to “type of education.” The situation thus created is arguably in conflict with Section Two of Article 26, which defines the goals of education (cf. Dembour 1996).

are those who treat Macedonian as a dialect of Bulgarian, while in the case of Romani, some post-modern literary critics — writing as historians — have argued that Romani is not an ethnicity but rather some sort of Western construct and that Romani is not a language at all (e.g., Willems 1997 vs. Matras 2005, among others).³⁵ With the Vlachs, as with the Macedonians, the distinctness of their identity and language is based in their own perceptions combined with an ontologically distinct linguistic base (in the case of Vlah, one that separated from Romanian about a thousand years ago).³⁶ The distinctness and coherence of the Romani language (despite dialectal diversity) is obvious to anyone who has done fieldwork on Romani. It is only those who have worked exclusively in countries where Roms have assimilated linguistically or those who have done no fieldwork at all that can maintain — on the basis of their lack of experience — that Romani is not a distinct language and a member of the Indic linguistic group (see Matras 2005). On the other hand, the phenomenon of assimilation affects both Roms and Vlachs, albeit in different directions. The majority of Macedonian Roms are Muslims, and as a result there have been tendencies among them to assimilate to Albanian or Turkish language and nationality, although some have assimilated to Macedonian. In the case of the Vlachs (speakers of

³⁵ A similar attempt to delegitimize Aromanian as a language, albeit different in its motivation, is Lazarou's (1986) attempt to demonstrate that the Aromanian dialects of Greece are not Romance but rather relexified Greek. While silly in terms of modern historical linguistic methodology (see Kazazis 1996 for a detailed critique), such work serves Hellenization and Greek nation-building mythology.

³⁶ Within Vlah, there is some discussion of the relationship of Aromanian to Meglenoromanian. Meglenoromanian shares archaisms with Romanian and innovations with Aromanian. While some linguists suggest that Meglenoromanian separated from Romanian about five centuries ago, the fact that shared innovations are diagnostic in ways that shared archaisms are not suggests that the separation was from Aromanian. This situation is quite different from that of the Literary Moldavian of the Soviet era (post-Soviet Moldovan), which is based on the same Wallachian dialectal base as standard Romanian rather than being based on the dialects of Moldova (see Dyer 1996). There is also a significant difference from the current differentiation of the former Serbo-Croatian into separate Serbian, Croatian, and Bosnian. While dialects of the former Serbo-Croatian are regionally clearly differentiated, they do not follow ethnic lines to any structurally significant degree (see Greenberg 1996), and all three or four of the currently developing standards historically share the same Eastern Herzegovinian neo-štokavian dialectal base, albeit one that has been elaborated in different directions. At the same time Romanian identified Vlachs and Bulgarian identified Macedonians have their own reasons for choosing to be a part of a larger nation-state whole. In the case of Greek-identified Vlah and Macedonian speakers, the identity is distinct from a positive evaluation of the home language.

Aromanian and Meglenoromanian), most of those who were Muslims went to Turkey, while Christian Vlachs in the Republic of Macedonia tend to assimilate as Macedonians.³⁷

Within the context of standardization in the Republic of Macedonia, there is dialectal competition within both Romani and Vlah. Most of the Roms in Macedonia speak variants of the Arli and Bugurdži dialects, which belong to the Balkan group, but a significant number also speak Džambaz, which is in the southern branch of the Vlax group.³⁸ The emerging standard is based on Arli, but with certain compromises in the direction of Vlax group, to which the native dialects of some of the main activists belong. Similarly in the case of Vlah, there is an East/West division, with the western dialects being somewhat more prestigious because they are associated with urban Vlachs, but the emerging standard is influenced by the fact that those producing the texts are from the east.³⁹

Language and Other Determiners of Ethnicity

While most of the ethnic or 'nationality' categories of Macedonia correspond to linguistic categories, there are several that do not and should be mentioned here. The two most salient are Muslim (*Musliman*) and Egyptian (*Egipkjanin* or *Eg-juptin*, plural *Egipkjadi*, *Gjupci*).

³⁷ The Muslim Aromanians and Meglenoromanians of Aegean Macedonia were included among those expelled to Turkey in the compulsory exchange of populations between those two countries after World War One. During the Ottoman period, many urban Christian Vlachs identified as Greeks (the Vlachs did not achieve their own church and thus the status of millet until 1905), and during subsequent upheavals some of them went to Greece and assimilated as Greeks. Vlachs today living in Greece are under the same assimilatory pressures as other non-Greek-speaking orthodox Christians, while among those in Albania some have assimilated as Albanian, some as Greek, while others are asserting their difference (see Schwandner-Sievers 1999). The Muslim Vlachs of Dolna Belica in the republic of Macedonia have assimilated to Albanian language and identity.

³⁸ The Vlax dialects of Romani are descended from dialects that were spoken for a significant period of time in Romania and contain a salient proportion of Romanian loanwords as well as certain specific internal developments, such as the use of an unrounded vowel in the 1 SG preterit and the loss of intervocalic /n/ before a high front vowel. See Matras 2002 for more.

³⁹ The older Aromanian dialectal division is North (Albania)/South (Greece). Owing to patterns of migration and transhumance, however, this division is realized as an East/West split, respectively, in the Republic of Macedonia.

Muslim as a nationality category had its origins in the second Yugoslavia. In the 1948 census, there was a category *Neopredeljeni Muslimani*, ‘undeclared Muslims’, who constituted 30.7% of the population in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) and less than 1% in each of the other republics (Savezni zavod za statistiku 1954). In the 1953 census approximately 90% of those declaring themselves as *Jugosloveni neopredeljeni* ‘Yugoslavs undeclared’ lived in BiH and declared *srpski ili hrvatski* ‘Serbian or Croatian’ as their mother tongue (Savezni zavod za statistiku 1959). The 1961 census introduced the ethnolinguistic category *Muslimani (etnička pripadnost)* ‘Muslim (ethnic affiliation)’ in addition to *Jugosloveni nacionalno neopredeljeni* ‘Yugoslavs of undeclared nationality’. Muslims were the second largest group in BiH with approximately 25%, undefined Yugoslavs were the fourth largest group at about 7% (Serbs were 55%; Croats were 13%). In the other republics, both groups were less than 1% (Savezni zavod za statistiku 1964).

From the 1960s until the end of the second Yugoslavia, Muslims were one of the constituent nations of Yugoslavia along with Serbs, Macedonians, Montenegrins, Croats, and Slovenes. Owing to the nature of Ottoman classificatory practices, the first three of these latter identities were all associated with Orthodox Christianity, while the latter two were associated with Catholicism.⁴⁰ This left Slavic speaking Muslims without a nation with which they could identify. In the nineteenth century and through World War Two, Serbian and Croatian national activists competed in claiming Muslim Slavic speakers of the former Serbo-Croatian as “Muslim Serbs” or “Muslim Croats”. Neither attempt was successful, however. As can be seen from the census statistics, the solution was motivated primarily by the Serbo-Croatian speaking Muslims of BiH. Most of those who identified as ethnic Muslims elsewhere were in the former Sandžak of Novi Pazar — which was part of the Eyalet of Bosna until 1864, divided between Serbia and Montenegro in 1913, and is currently divided among Serbia, Montenegro, and Kosovo — as well as Gora in southwestern Kosovo and in the Republic of Macedonia.⁴¹

With the break-up of Yugoslavia, “Yugoslav” ceased to be a viable identity category, and, Muslims in BiH were faced with the need to define themselves in national terms vis-à-vis Serbs and Croats. There followed a contestation over the terms *Bosanac* (noun), *bosanski* (adj.) ‘Bosnian’ and *Bošnjak* (noun), *bosnjački* (adj.) ‘Bosniak’. Both terms — given here in the masculine singular — originally referred to inhabitants of *Bosna* (itself named after a river;

⁴⁰ Strictly speaking, the territory of Slovenia and parts of Croatia never under Ottoman rule, but the basic associations are the same.

⁴¹ See note 32.

the hydronym is pre-Slavic and possibly pre-Indo-European) using different derivational affixes. In former Yugoslavia, *Bosanac*, *bosanski* were regional terms referring to inhabitants, dialects, etc. of BiH as a whole, without regard to ethnicity (religion). Muslim speakers of former Serbo-Croatian laid claim to *Bosanac*, *bosanski* in exclusive terms that were rejected by Bosnian Serbs and Croats. At present, *bosanski* 'Bosnian' is the term by which Bosnian Muslims refer to their language (versus Serbian for Serbs and Croatian for Croats, but Bosniak is the ethnonational category). This usage has extended to the former Serbo-Croatian speaking Muslims of the Sandžak, and Bosniak activists have successfully extended their influence to Gora and Macedonia. Thus, while in the 1994 Macedonian census, there were 15,418 declared ethnic Muslims (among whom a small number declared Catholic religion) vs. 6,829 Bosniaks (see Friedman 1996), in the 2002 census 17,018 declared Bosniak ethnic affiliation, and Muslim was not counted as a separate census category. In 1994 there were 9,797 in the 'Other' category, whereas in 2002 there were 20,993 in that category. Since ethnic affiliation is freely declared, i.e. the census taker fills in a blank space rather than checking off one of a set of predetermined categories, these differences reflect people's choices of declaration. Given the absence of mechanical growth, we must conclude that there is now a significant number of Macedonian speaking Bosniaks in the Republic of Macedonia.

Egipkjani are mostly Albanian-speakers, although some speak Macedonian (see Table Three). On the basis of their ethnonym and physiognomy they are assumed by most others in Macedonia and elsewhere to be linguistically assimilated Roms, but they do not identify as Gypsies (*Romi*, *Cigani*). Although as late as the early 1970's I knew *Gjupci* who told me "we don't know where we come from" and who rejected being identified with Gypsies, by 1981 members of this community were declaring themselves as Egyptians (Friedman 1985a) and claimed descent from Egyptians either who had been brought to the Balkans by Alexander the Great or who had migrated there during the Byzantine period (Risteski 1990:11).⁴² Although not recognized as a separate nationality category in the 1981 census, in the 1991 and 1994 censuses they were so recognized. In the 2002 census, however, they were again included among "Others" statistical publications.⁴³

⁴² Some Romani speaking Gypsies also lay claim to the Alexander story. In both cases, the story reflects an ideology of relative indigeneity as a claim to legitimacy.

⁴³ The groups distinguished in the 2002 census were Macedonians, Albanians, Turks, Roms, Vlahs, Serbs, and Bosniaks, i.e. those mentioned in amendment IV (see note 23; see Friedman 1996b, Duijzings 2000:132-156).

The old manipulation of religion also intersects with the more recent concept of citizenship in Greece in various official attempts to separate minority language from identity formation. Thus, for example, while the Albanian-speaking Orthodox Christians of Albania are referred to as *Albanophone Greeks* (Ruches 1967 is a typical example) on the basis of religion, Turkish-speaking Muslim Greek citizens in Greek Thrace (who identify themselves as a Turkish minority) are referred to as *Muslim Greeks* on the basis of the 1923 treaty of Lausanne, which defined the affected populations in religious terms.⁴⁴ The term *Slavophone Greek* is sometimes used for Macedonian-speakers, with the basis being either religion or citizenship. However, members of the Greek-speaking minority of Albania are never referred to as *Hellenophone Albanians* nor are the Greek-speakers of Turkey ever labeled in Greek sources as *Hellenophone Turks*.⁴⁵ The relation between religion and nationality among Albanians and Greeks continues to be sensitive, as the following news item demonstrates: “Democratic Party leader Sali Berisha told journalists in Tirana on 9 November that the Socialist-backed draft constitution will lead to a ‘process of massive changes in Albanian [nationhood]’ and ‘a quiet and soft ethnic cleansing, not through massacres, hunger, or diseases but through visas, baptisms, money, and jobs.’ He added that the draft ‘destroys Albanian [nationhood]’ because it allows citizens to change their declared nationality and religion. He suggested this will enable ethnic Albanians to declare themselves ethnic Greeks in order to improve their chances of emigrating to and finding a job in Greece.” (Fabian Schmidt, RFE/RL NEWSLINE Vol. 2, No. 217, Part II, 10 November 1998).

Another deployment of *ethnicity* as a category of legitimacy that utilizes language as both a legitimizer and a delegitimizer in a double-standard type of hegemonistic discourse is the practice in various sources of information (print and other news media, official and NGO reports, etc.) of referring to Albanians in Macedonia (and elsewhere) as *ethnic Albanians* while in these same sources Macedonians are not referred to as *ethnic Macedonians* but rather as *Slav Macedonians*, *Macedonian Slavs*, *Slavo-Macedonians* or some variant thereof. The argument that has been offered is that since the Republic of Macedonia is a multi-ethnic society, the term *Macedonian* by itself is potentially unclear. The underlying discourse, however, is one that recognizes *Albanian* as a language and an ethnicity as well as a citizenship category (for the Republic of Albania) while denying the same possibilities to ethnic Macedonians. The implication is

⁴⁴ On the cover of *Ellēnikē Dialektologia* Vol. 5 (see note 22 above), the Turkish dialect of western Thrace is referred to as *Mousoulmanika Thrakēs* ‘Thracian Muslimian’ rather than *Tourkika* ‘Turkish’.

⁴⁵ See Andrews (1989:142-47) on Greek-speaking Christians and Muslims in Turkey.

that the language spoken by ethnic Macedonians is Slavic (Slavic being a linguistic category) but not necessarily independent (*Macedonian* being deployed as a geographic or political category), and that *Macedonian* does not constitute an ethnic identity. This discourse in turn leaves room for questioning the legitimacy of the Macedonian state and its territory (cf. note 15) and also helps delegitimize claims for recognition on the part of ethnic Macedonian minorities outside the Republic of Macedonia. The nature of this discourse is exposed by comparison with Russia, which is also a multi-ethnic society. When it is necessary to specify *Russian* as referring to Russian-speakers inside or outside of Russia the term *ethnic Russian* is used, never *Slavo-Russian*, *Russian Slavs*, *Slav Russians*, etc.⁴⁶

Censuses, Languages, and Nationality Categories

While religion, language, and nationality (or ethnicity) compete as sites for the construction and reproduction of identity, numbers also compete as legitimators of status and even as justifications for territorial claims. It was during the late nineteenth century that *nationality* was introduced as a category for censuses, a move supported by self-defined nation-states such as France and resisted by multi-national states such as Austria-Hungary (cf. Gal 1993:344-45). The manipulations of such census figures were used by competing nation states in their claims to Macedonia during the period leading up to the Balkan Wars and again in connection with the Yugoslav Wars of Succession. Table One reproduces claims from four different sources (each with a specific national interest) made for the population of Macedonia while it was still part of Turkey.

<i>ethnic group</i>	Bulgarian	%	Serbian	%	Greek	%	Turkish	%	Albanian	%	Aromanian	%
Bulgarians	1,181,336	52.31	57,600	2.01	332,162	19.26	896,497	30.8	300,000	7.92	450,000	24.66
Serbians	700	0.03	2,048,320	71.35	0	0	100,000	3.4	40,000	1.05	50,000	2.74
Greeks	228,702	10.13	201,140	7.01	652,795	37.85	307,000	10.6	150,000	3.96	250,000	13.70
Turks	499,204	22.11	231,400	8.06	634,017	36.76	1,508,507	51.8	0	0	300,000	16.44
Albanians	128,711	5.70	165,620	5.77	0	0	0	0	2,500,000	65.96	300,000	16.44
Other	219,571	9.72	166,540	13.86	105,844	6.13	99,000	3.4	800,000	21.11	0	0
Aromanians	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	375,000	20.55
Jews	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	100,000	0.55
Total	2,258,224	100.00	2,870,620	100.00	1,724,818	100.00	2,911,004	100.00	3,790,000	100.00	1,825,000	100.00

TABLE ONE
Conflicting Census Figures for Macedonia: 1889-1907
 Others = Predominantly Aromanians [Vlahs], Roms [Gypsies], and Jews
 (also Circassians, Armenians, Georgians, Russians, Africans ["Black Arabs"])
 Greek claims exclude the Vilayet of Kosova (Üsküb)
 Albanian claims exclude the Vilayet of Selânik but include İşkodra and Yanya
 Sources: d'Estournelles de Constant (1914:28-30), Saral (1975:75), Gika (1907), un Latin (1905:49)

⁴⁶ The examples are legion. It is worth noting that in the late 1990s both the BBC News service and the ICG (International Crisis Group) took cognizance of this issue and altered their usage from *Macedonian Slav*, *Slav[o-]Macedonian*, etc., to *ethnic Macedonian*.

These discrepancies are not entirely arbitrary. Rather, at least to some extent, different authors selected criteria that would support their point of view. Thus the Greek and Turkish figures used religion as the criterion of ascription, resulting in the complete elimination of the Albanians, who were counted as Turk if Muslim, Greek if Orthodox, or Other if Catholic. The Serbs were likewise eliminated from Greek figures because the Greek definition of Macedonian territory stopped short of the northern districts included in the jurisdiction of the Serbian church. Bulgarian and Serbian figures used linguistic criteria, but chose different isoglosses (cf. Map Two) to justify the claims for the territorial extent of Bulgarian or Serbian.

During the decades following the end of World War Two, nationality in former Yugoslavia was construed as a basis for power sharing and access to resources.⁴⁷ Moreover, declarations of Albanian and Turkish nationality were directly influenced by Yugoslavia's international relations as illustrated by census figures in Table Two:

	1948	1953	1961	1971	1981
Albanian	750,431	754,245	914,733	1,309,523	1,730,878
Turkish	97,954	259,535	182,964	127,920	101,291

Table Two
*Numbers Declaring Albanian and Turkish Nationality
in Yugoslav Censuses 1948-71*

Sources: Tanasković 1992:143, Kovačec 1992:45-46

When the 1948 census was conducted, relations between Yugoslavia and Albania were good while those between Yugoslavia and Turkey were not. By 1953, Tito had broken with Stalin and in the wake of that split Yugoslavia had broken with Albania while improving relations with Turkey. The subsequent decades saw both emigration to Turkey (sometimes for economic reasons, but see also Akan 2000:81-119) by those declaring Turkish nationality (sometimes declared on the basis of Muslim religion rather than Turkish mother tongue) as well as rising Albanian nationalism and pressure on Muslims in Kosovo and Western Macedonia to declare Albanian nationality (Tanasković 1992:143-44, cf. Akan 2000:179-221).⁴⁸ The 1981 census was the last uncontested census conducted in former Yugoslavia.

⁴⁷ This included quotas for access to jobs and education. The quotas did not prevent inequality, however (see Woodward 1995b and Dimova 2013).

⁴⁸ US journalist Peter Lippman writes: "In Prizren most of the Albanians speak Turkish as a second, often as a first, language." (Letter from Kosovo #2, 13 July 1999,

By 1991 the political situation in the SFRY (former Yugoslavia) had deteriorated to the extent that Albanians boycotted what would be the last Yugoslav census, arguing they would be unfairly undercounted. An extraordinary census was conducted in the Republic of Macedonia in 1994 primarily in response to Albanian claims of under-representation in the 1991 census (for which the number of Albanians had been estimated owing to the boycott).⁴⁹

In the 1994 census, which was funded and overseen by the Council of Europe and the European Union, 22.7% of the total population declared Albanian nationality.⁵⁰ Nonetheless, despite the fact that it was at the urging of ethnic Albanian elites that Albanians in Macedonia boycotted the 1991 census, the Albanian Academy of Sciences claimed: “For almost 20 years, Macedonian authorities have not announced the exact number of Albanians. Officially they claim that Albanians represent about 23% of the population of the Republic. [...] But other sources speak of a larger number of Albanians. One can say without fear that they represent not less than 35% of its [Macedonia’s] population. As a consequence, the Macedonians represent only 55% of the population, including here those who consider themselves Bulgarian (the others are Serbs, Turks, and Roms). With such a significant importance, the Albanians cannot in any sense be considered as a minority but as participants, equal to the Macedonians, in their common state.” (ASHSH 1998:44).⁵¹ The Albanian state itself is well aware of potential challenges to its own hegemony from its minorities, as indicated by the fact that in its 2001 census it omitted questions concerning the religion and ethnicity of its population, a move that was protested by Greek and

<<http://balkanwitness.glyph.com/>>). This raises the issue of the correspondence between home language and nationality or ethnic identity. A similar situation holds in west Macedonian towns, especially Gostivar, where the pre-World War Two identification of Albanian as rural and Turkish as urban continues (cf. Fraenkel 1993, Akan 2000). In Debar, however, Turkish was traditionally rural and Albanian was urban.

⁴⁹ See Friedman 1996b for a detailed account of the 1994 Macedonian census.

⁵⁰ The 1994 census was partially boycotted in the Debar and Župa municipalities, and figures for those two were estimated.

⁵¹ While Albanian claims contest official statistics without offering proof, other claims are simply false. Bell (1998:29) writes: “For its part, the Macedonian republic has not been sympathetic toward its citizens who wish to express a Bulgarian ethnicity; the recently completed census did not find a single Bulgarian in the county.” Nikolov (2000:229) makes a similarly false claim. While the official figure of 1448 declared Bulgarians in the 1994 census (see Table Three) may be argued over in terms of relative accuracy, there is no way that the publication of this figure can be construed as complete absence.

Macedonian minority organizations in Albania (MILS 12 April 2001, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty NEWSLINE Vol. 5, No. 72, Part II, 12 April 2001).

Linguistic Constituencies

Although these “other sources” are not named and no concrete basis is given for the figure 35%, the rejection of the term *minority* is itself not a matter of mere arithmetic, since even if the proportion were in fact 35/55, Albanians would still be a minority and Macedonians a majority in numerical terms. The question is rather one of *constituency*, i.e. the demand for the status of *constitutive nation*, a concept based on the notion of the nation-state and one used to determine language policy in former Yugoslavia (see, e.g., Kovačec 1992), in which Macedonian, Serbo-Croatian, and Slovenian, as the languages of constituent nations, were official at the national level, while all other languages, as the languages of national minorities (changed to *nationalities* in the 1974 constitution for all languages except Roms and Vlachs, who were given the status of *ethnic groups*), were official at a local or other smaller level.

The phrase *equal participant*, however, calls to mind the use of *equal* in the following statement, taken from the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences’ *Memorandum*: “Without the equal participation of the Serbian people and Serbia in the entire process of the determination and realization of all vital decisions, Yugoslavia cannot be strong; its very existence as a democratic and socialist union would come into question.” (SANU 1986:146). A complete analysis and comparison of the 1986 SANU document and the 1998 ASHSH document are beyond the scope of this article, but we can note here that the apparent similarities are disturbing, given the role of the SANU *Memorandum* in heralding the open rise of Serbian nationalism. It is worthy of note that the Albanian demand was not for a state without a national basis nor for one in which all possible nationalities are constitutive, but rather for a bi-national state. The issue was rendered moot by the 2001 amendments to the Macedonian constitution after the ethnic Albanian insurgency of that year (see also note 23).

Burg (1996:150-57) critiques the role of ethnic elites in dismantling multi-ethnic states, and it is worth noting that the oft-cited success stories of Switzerland and Belgium are not without their own problems. Thus Grin (1999:13) writes of Switzerland that it appears to be faced either with an “‘economization’ of linguistic and cultural differences, in the sense that these differences translate into unequal access to socio-economic success” or “an ‘ethnicization’ of socio-economic inequality, which would no longer manifest itself along the usual lines of education, socio-economic background, occupation, or more generally, social class, but along linguistic, cultural or quasi-ethnic lines. Either way, this can only be deeply divisive and would not bode well for the long-term cohesion

of the country.” As for Belgium, politicians have long been accused of attempting to dismantle the state, and the following newspaper quotation is typical: “Some observers say [the victory of the Liberal Party] may be the last chance to hold Belgium together as a single country, with the extreme Vlaams Blok, which also scored well in the election, eager for a split.” (*Herald Tribune* 13 July, 1999, p. 7).

Language and Identity as Non-Isomorphic

A final example of the extent to which language became increasingly to stand for identity since World War Two is given in Tables Three and Four, which quantify degrees of non-correspondence between declared nationality and declared mother tongue in the 1953 and 1994 censuses in the Macedonian republic. Table Three gives a detailed breakdown of declared mother tongue and declared nationality. These are summarized in Table Four, where in each of the two charts, the top figure is the total of those whose declared nationality differed from the corresponding declared mother tongue (*Non-co*), followed by a figure indicating the percentage of the total of those declaring the mother tongue in question that the non-corresponding number represents. The lower figure gives the numerical total of those declaring the relevant mother tongue. In each chart an overall total is given below the language-by-language totals. While it is clear from these figures that declared nationality does not always correspond to declared mother tongue, it is equally clear that in all cases except the former Serbo-Croatian there has been an increasing tendency toward such congruence, in many cases a dramatic one. The relative stability of the former Serbo-Croatian in this respect is related to various political and demographic factors beyond the scope of this paper. Figures for other categories (Other, Unknown, etc.) are not reproduced here.

1953

Declared Mother Tongue

Declared Nationality	<i>Macedonian</i>	<i>Albanian</i>	<i>Turkish</i>	<i>Serbo-Croat</i>	<i>Romani</i>	<i>Vlah</i>
Macedonians	853,971	1,986	281	934	277	2,565
Albanians	2,152	153,502	6,569	181	70	1
Turks	32,392	27,087	143,615	534	70	10
Roms	1,040	860	2,066	25	16,456	1
Vlahs	137	4	2	14	0	8,130
Serbs	3,945	0	8	31,070	41	9
Muslims	*	*	*	*	*	*
Yugoslavs	2,152	25	50	563	2	4
Others	322	341	569	5,258	173	31
Total	896651	183805	153160	38579	17089	10751

1994

Declared Mother Tongue

Declared Nationality	<i>Macedonian</i>	<i>Albanian</i>	<i>Turkish</i>	<i>Serbo-Croat†</i>	<i>Romani</i>	<i>Vlah</i>	<i>Bulgarian</i>
Macedonians	1,289,868	124	124	94	259	125	1,938
Albanians	2,063	426,418	210	135	x	x	0
Turks	10,885	906	62,726	86+x	11	0	x
Roms	5,974	1212	1311	14+x	34955	x	x
Vlahs	1,800	x	0	12	0	6747	0
Serbs	11,693	0	8	27843	x	x	32
Muslims	5,552	605	180	1181	20	x	x
Bosniaks††	36	21	x	312+x	0	0	x
Bulgarian	358	0	x	80	0	x	1216
Egyptians	961	1856	42	10	x	0	0
Others	3,793	221	64	3,484	40	30	75
Total	1,332,983	431,363	64,665	35,095	35,120	7,036	1,448

*Not specified

xUnder 10

†This figure represents *Serbian* and *Croatian* which were listed as separate languages in the 1994 census.

††6426 Bosniaks were listed in the column 'Other' for mother tongue. Presumably the overwhelming majority declared Bosnian. 7795 Muslims were also in the 'Other' column and presumably also listed Bosnian.

Table Three***Difference between declared nationality and declared mother tongue for the six main languages of the Republic of Macedonia: 1953 and 1994***

Sources: Savezni zavod za statistiku 1959, Republički zavod za statistika 1996

1953

Declared Mother Tongue

Declared Nationality	<i>Macedonian</i>	<i>Albanian</i>	<i>Turkish</i>	<i>Serbo-Croat</i>	<i>Romani</i>	<i>Vlah</i>
Non-Co	42,140=4.6	30,303=16.4	9,545=6.2	7,509=19.5	633=3.7	2,621=24.4
Total	896,651	183,805	153,160	38,579	17,089	10,751
TOTAL POPULATION OF REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA						
Non-Co	92,751=7.1					
Total	1,300,035					

1994

Declared Mother Tongue

Declared Nationality	<i>Macedonian</i>	<i>Albanian</i>	<i>Turkish</i>	<i>Serbo-Croat</i> †	<i>Romani</i>	<i>Vlah</i>	<i>Bulgarian</i>
Non-Co	43,115=3.2	4,945=1.1	1,939=2.9	7,252=20.6	165=0.5	289=4.0	232=16
Total	1,332,983	43,1363	64,665	35,095	35,120	7036	1,448
TOTAL POPULATION OF REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA							
Non-Co	57,937=3						
Total	1,907,710						

†The 1994 figure for Serbo-Croat represents *Serbian* and *Croatian* which were listed as separate languages in that census.

Table Four
Difference between declared nationality and declared mother tongue
1993 and 1994 - summary

Non-Co is number= percentage of total declaring mother tongue different from nationality. Total is the total number declaring a given nationality.

Conclusion

The linguistic situation in geographic Macedonia during the course of the 20th century can be seen as a collision of ideological fluidity and rigidity in the use of language as an identity construction site. In connection with the conflicts thus generated, the concepts of *language* and *dialect* as well as *equality* and *minority* are deployed in ways such that they interact as tools of both hegemonic discourse and resistance. The language contact that produced the Balkan linguistic league was an historical linguistic phenomenon in which literacy played a peripheral role (albeit one that can be documented, e.g. Kappler 2002). This limited role was aided by late documentation of Balkan Romance and Albanian (as well as Romani), plus the highly conservative literary traditions of Greek and Balkan Slavic (and also Turkish). Added to this was the fact that the majority of speakers of all the languages in question were both illiterate and the subjects of a single state for centuries. The nineteenth century ideology that nation = language = territory = state (Lunt 1984:89, Friedman 1997b) — i.e. that the human population of the world consists of nations, which are defined by language and

which occupy discrete territories and should thus constitute the basis of independent states — provided an impetus for the shift from religion to language as the basis of supra-regional identity. This ideology in turn gave rise to the modern colloquial-based literary languages of the Balkans and the educational systems necessary to perpetuate them (and the nation-states for which they are vehicles of construction). Such a development has led to the decline of Balkan multi-lingualism (cf. Icevska and Salihu 1998:44 for a typical current example) and produced a reservoir for territorial conflicts, given the fact that discrete monoglot territorial units are rare even at the village level and almost non-existent at the level of municipality (cf. Kǎnčov 1900, *Zavod za statistika na Republika Makedonija* 1997). The relative subjectivity of the distinction between language and dialect further complicates the picture.

In the context of geographic Macedonia, in which all of the Balkan linguistic groups are represented, the conflict and competition among Slavic, Greek, and Albanian has been most salient, while those involving Romance, Romani, and Turkish are relevant but not necessarily tied to a nation state. In the case of Slavic, a shift from religion to language as a source of identity provided resistance to the hegemony of Greek, but the abovementioned ideology resulted in both the basis of a distinct Macedonian national identity and literary language and in Bulgarian claims that the identity does not exist and that the language is a dialect of Bulgarian. Albanian nationhood, too, arose from the shift from religion to language as means of identity production, but in the context of post-World War Two nation-states, religion has again emerged as a significant fact in language and/or identity shift. In the case of Greek, the maintenance of a religious-based identity in the form of the Greek Orthodox Church has continued to serve as a vehicle of language shift either to Greek. in the case on non-Hellenophone Greek Orthodox Christians. or away from Greek. in the case of Hellenophone Muslims, who were included in the compulsory exchange of populations following World War One (see de Jong 1992). While the deportation of Muslims from Aegean Macedonia as well as the deportation and murder of its Jews resulted in a religiously homogenous region, linguistically Aegean Macedonia is still as complex as Vardar Macedonia, despite on-going Greek denials of this fact (Greek Helsinki Monitor 24 July 1999 gives a typical example).

On the one hand Macedonian census figures demonstrate that the correspondence between declared mother-tongue and declared nationality has become more congruent during the second half of the 20th century. On the other hand, religion continues to compete with language as the major focus of identity. Muslims, whose religion was also officially recognized as a nationality category in former Yugoslavia, may adopt Albanian or Turkish or Bosnian, re-

ardless of mother tongue, while Christians may adopt Macedonian or Greek, depending on where they find themselves. Also, Muslim Albanians may convert to Greek language and/or religion for economic reasons (cf. Schwandner-Sievers 1999 on Vlah deployment of Greek or Romanian identity for access to resources). Since joining the EU in 2007, the Bulgarian state's policy of giving its passports to ethnic Macedonians who declare themselves to be Bulgarian has proved attractive to some Macedonians simply as an economic resource (see Neofotistos 2009).

Despite these complexities, as noted above, there is a striking trend in the increasing correlation of nationality and mother tongue. And so a greater consistency of correspondence between language and ethnicity is influenced by religion, which continues to function as a kind of linguistic wild card, especially among the (former) *Muslimani*. The *Egipkjani* are a special case reflecting the highly marginalized status of Roms. Finally, just as religion continues to exert its effect, so, too, the numbers game continues to be played by various interested parties. The Macedonian census scheduled for 2011 had to be cancelled owing to ethnopolitical tensions. To this has been added the rhetorical twist (already evident in the years leading up to the 1974 Yugoslav constitution) of contesting the concept of minority.

Taken as a linguistic category in the context of geographic Macedonia, *minority* is a highly mutable identity that emerged from the treaties at the end of the Second Balkan War and went through numerous vicissitudes after that. At the beginning of the 21st century, the situation is much the same as at the end of the 20th. For some groups, e.g. Vlachs and Roms, the status of minority is absolute, whereas for others, e.g., Macedonians and Albanians, it is relative. For some it is perceived as an attempt to deny greater legitimacy, e.g. Albanians in Macedonia, for others it is a sought-after status, e.g. Macedonians in Bulgaria and Greece. Brubaker (2004) has argued for a theoretical concept of *groupness* to replace (or get beyond) ethnicity, basing himself empirically on Romanian cases when violence did not occur. In a related vein, Brown (2013) has castigated what he labels *pidgin social science* for imposing categories rather than analyzing them. I would argue that Brubaker's *groupness* is applicable to Ottoman Macedonia, where *millet*, while serving as a state category based on religion, did not necessarily correspond to language until the firman of 1870 that created the Bulgarian Exarchate. In a sense, *groupness* intersects with Brown's (2013) *loyalties* as an organizing principle distinct from ethnicity. Neofotistos' (2012) account of everyday inter-ethnic civility in Macedonia during to 2001 Albanian insurgency, especially in the traditionally mixed Čair neighborhood of Skopje, both contributes too and complicates these understandings.

Despite advances in the social sciences, ethnicity is still a powerful taxonomic category in many contexts. The Republic of Macedonia is in a sense a double minority country, since it has more recognized minorities than any other Balkan nation state, but its majority ethnic group is a minority in all of its neighbors. The chronic denial of even so much as minority status — or even existence — to Macedonian language and ethnicity, a denial in which some political leaders of some minorities within Macedonia have sometimes been complicit when thinking it would further their goals — adds to a sense of fear within Macedonia that demands for equality are in fact preludes to demands for partition. One is reminded the question asked by Macedonian president Kiro Gligorov's son, Vladimir, in the epigram of Susan Woodward's account of the destruction of Yugoslavia (Woodward 1995a:xvi): "Why should I be a minority in your country when you can be a minority in mine?"

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The original article was written in 1998-1999 and I decided to leave the closing lines more or less the same. On 31 May, 2001, when I happened to be in Macedonia, during the ethnic Albanian armed insurgency of February-August of 2001, several newspapers in Macedonia published a map and commentary attributed to Georgi Efremov, then president of the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts (MANU). The document proposed territorial exchanges among Macedonia, Albania, and Kosovo (which at that time was administered under UNSCR 1244). According to the version published in the newspapers, Debar would go to Albania, the Macedonian villages of Lower Prespa would go to Macedonia, and the Polog region, from Gostivar to Tetovo and the villages to the west and north would go to Kosovo. The proposal met with a storm of media protest, man-on-the-street interviews, etc. As in the media interviews, so too, in every conversation I happened to have, regardless of the ethnicity or social class of my interlocutor, everyone I spoke with was against the idea. In June, Efremov resigned his office as president of MANU. In August, the Ohrid Framework Agreement laid the bases for the 15 (Nos. 4-18) constitutional amendments passed November.

Amendment V specified "any other language spoken by at least 20% of the citizens" as official, in addition to Macedonian, at the federal or local level (*Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia* No.91/2001 November 20, 2001). A census was carried out 2002 in the shadow of all these events. The final results in terms of ethnicity and mother tongue are given in Table Five, and a comparison with 1994 is given:

	Ethnic Af- filiation <i>nacionalna pripadnost</i>	Mother Tongue <i>majčin jazik</i>	1994(from Table 3) Mother Tongue
Macedonian	1297981	1344815	1332983
Albanian	509083	507989	431363
Turk	77959	71757	64665
Rom	53879	38525	35120
Vlah	9695	6884	7036
Serb	35939	24773	35095 (includes all BCSM)
Bosniak	17018	8560	not included
Other	20993	1830	
Total	2022547	2022547	1945932

Table Five

Ethnic affiliation and mother tongue
as declared in the 2002 census, with
mother tongue data from 1994

Sources: Zavod 2004 XII:34, Zavod 2004 IX:446
and Republički zavod za statistika 1996

As can be seen from these figures, the drive for correlation between ethnicity and language remains strong. The Bureau of Spastics did not publish figures correlating ethnicity with mother tongue, and religion was given only in correlation with gender and age. The 2002 census was the basis for applying the constitutional amendments of 2001. Albanian was added to Macedonian as an official language at the federal level, and other languages became official at the local level. While there is clearly material here for more investigation, for the purposes of this article I shall end this postscript here.

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