

Definiteness in Macedonian with some parallels in Bulgarian

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Abstract

The objective of this paper is to present the positions in the Macedonian sentence in which the NP is used referentially (a) with the definite article as an exponent of the category of definiteness, (b) with indefinite markers such as *one* and *someone*; and (c) with a zero exponent of definiteness. The author shows the frequency of realization of the NP in a given position in the simple factive sentence, and gives evidence of change of meaning following from change of positions. The results of the analysis are compared to referentially used Bulgarian NPs in analogous positions in the simple factive sentence.

1. Introduction

Theoretical framework for the presented analysis of definite and indefinite NPs is Suzanna Topolinjska's *anthropocentric theory of case relations*, where definiteness is considered to be a feature of the NP at the level of the (predominately active) simple factive sentence.¹ (cf. 1997, 1999, Karolak 1999, 2002).²

The paper focuses on Macedonian referentially used NPs,³ i.e. Macedonian NPs that primarily and predominantly name material objects.⁴ As pointed out by Topolinjska (1997, 1999), there is a dependency relation between the position of the NP used referentially in the sentence and its definiteness. Therefore, we need to

¹ The simple sentence (Σ) is represented as follows:

$$\Sigma = M \{T \cdot L [p (a_1, a_2, a_3...)]\},$$

where M = modal component, T = temporal component, L = locative component, p = predicate, (a₁, a₂, a₃...) = arguments. The predicate is the head of the sentence. The realization of the listed components at the level depends on the structure of the given language.

² The anthropocentric theory was first applied in the Polish academic grammar (Gramatyka, 1984).

³ Reference is understood as a relationship of NPs to denotata in the extralinguistic world.

⁴ In section 5, an overview of NPs used non-referentially (i.e. predicatively) is given. Generic NPs are not discussed.

identify the position of definite NPs in the sentence and the type of definiteness marker in that position.

According to the anthropocentric theory of case relations, the case relations (CR) at the level of the simple factive sentence with first level predicates can be *adverbial* or *adnominal*. The adverbial case relations, which are the subject of our discussion, can be: *nominative* (NCR) i.e. case relations that primarily mark the agent/initiator the action; *accusative* (ACR) i.e. case relations that primarily refer to the first material object in the given situation; *dative* (DCR) i.e. case relations that primarily refer to the second human representative involved in the situation; *instrumental* (ICR) i.e. case relations that primarily refer to the second material object; *locative* (LCR) i.e. case relations that primarily indicate the localizers and spatial or temporal features of the given situation.⁵

Having identified the positions of the Macedonian referentially used definite NPs in Macedonian, I compare them with their counterparts in Bulgarian, in order to determine the similarities and differences between the two languages. For this purpose I make use of Macedonian and Bulgarian language corpora consisting of examples from three sources: contemporary literary prose, recent issues of daily and weekly newspapers, and elicitation.⁶ The corpora offer information on the frequency of a particular NP in a certain position. The order of presentation of language material in this paper reflects the frequency of occurrence of the NPs in the corpora. The absence of examples that illustrate a particular subtype indicates its low frequency or absence in the corpus.

2. Markers of definiteness of the noun phrase (NP) in referential use in Macedonian and some remarks in Bulgarian

A *definite* NP is here defined as an NP that refers to an identified referent. Two subtypes of definite NPs should be distinguished: NPs that are *inherently marked for definiteness* and NPs that are *not inherently marked for definiteness*. In the first subtype the head of the NP is inherently marked for definiteness because the participants

⁵ The adnominal case relations reflect, which we do not discuss, reflect the dependency of the constituents within the noun phrase – they are *genitive* case relations (GCR).

⁶ See Corpora of examples from the project The structure of the noun phrase in Macedonian and Bulgarian. (Project NR 158289/S30) (www.hf.ntnu.no/hf/adm/forskning/prosjekter/balkansim)

in the speech situation are known. The exponents of definiteness are here lexemes that carry this meaning, such as personal pronouns for 1Sg and 2Sg (cf. 1d) and proper names (cf. 1a, 1b). The article does not occur with the inherently definite markers, except in some nicknames and toponyms where it is used for emphatic purposes. In Macedonian, the inherently definite NPs frequently occur in NCR and are preverbal:

- (1) a. [Bojan]_{NPSub} go protolkuva
 razgovorot na (Mac)
 bojan.Sg.M Cl.Acc.3Sg.M understood
 language+the of
 eye+the.Pl
 očite.
 'Bojan has understood the language of the eyes...'
 (VM.R:13)
- b. [Vardar]_{NPSub} imaše samo eden
 most, ... (Mac)
 vardar.Sg.M had only one
 bridge
 'The Vardar had only one bridge,...' (KMR.Z:12)
- c. [Soliloto]_{NPSub} počnuvaše od
 Golica. (Mac)
 volilo+the.Sg.N began from Golica.
 'Soliloto began in Golica.' (KMR.Z:7)
- d. [Jas]_{NPSub} gazev vo nekoj drug
 pohod...
 (Mac)
 Pers.1Sg walked in some other
 campaign
 'I marched in another campaign...' (TP.S:11)

Most of the inherently definite NPs in NCR refer to names of persons, countries, regions, etc. There are few examples where the marker is a personal pronoun in 1Sg and even fewer in 2Sg (the latter, occurring only in dialogues).

The NPs in the DCRs (i.e. in the NPs representing the second human participant in a speech act) are in the corpus most often realized as *mi* – the clitic form

of the personal pronoun for 1Sg, or by the name of a person preceded by the preposition *na* (in postverbal position) doubled by a third person pre-verbal clitic.

- (2) a. Toj povti da [mi]_{NPIndObj} podari
 nomadska, kirgiska jurta... (Mac)
 he wanted to Cl.Dat.1Sg present
 nomad, Kirghiz yurt...
 'He wanted to present me with a Kirghiz nomad yurt...'

(TP.S:15)

- b. [i]_{NPIndObj} veleše [na Pelagija]_{NPIndObj} so
 eden tivok i (Mac)
 Cl.Dat.3Sg said on Pelagia.Sg.F
 with one low and
 ramen glas.

flat voice.

'He said to Pelagija in a calm, flat voice.' (TG.RZ: 129)

The analysis of the corpus shows infrequent and relatively limited usage of the DCR. This indicates that the presence of a second person participant in the speech act depends on the semantics of the predicate.

The type of NP in the ACR (denoting the first object in the speech act) in unmarked linearizations, often appears in a post-verbal position:

- (3)so godini i godini [ja]_{NPDObj}
 barale (Mac)
 with years and years
 Cl.Acc.3Sg.F searched
 [prestolninata Pela...]_{NPDObj}
 capital+the.Sg.F Pela.Sg.F
 '...for years they have searched for the capital Pela...'

(KMR.Z:7)

There was only one example with preverbal NP in ACR, which is given in (4):

- (4) [Ja]_{NPDObj} vide [Kalina]_{NPDObj} koga
 mina pod (Mac)
 Cl.Acc.3Sg.F saw Kalina.Sg.F when
 passed under

NPs of this type in the LCR (actually denoting toponyms) are usually postverbal:

- (7) ...sum rodena vo najubavoto
 selo [vo (Mac)
 am born in most-
 beautiful+the village in
Makedonija.]_{NPLoc}
 Macedonia.Sg.F
 '...[I] was born in the most beautiful village in
 Macedonia.' (KMR.Z:5)

In the second sub-type of definite NPs, the head of the NP *is not inherently marked for definiteness*. In these NPs the participants in the speech act are identified by articles and demonstrative pronouns. In accordance with the accepted theory, there are three types of situations when such NPs are used: (a) when the speakers are directly present in the speech act; (b) when the speakers talk about common cultural or historical heritage, so that the interlocutor's comments are based on individual experience (monologue) or common experience (dialogue); and (c) when the speakers refer to preceding text (anaphora) or to following text (cataphora). The borders between these three types are not clear-cut.

In situations when both interlocutors are present and are able to see the referent, the referent is usually definite, the function of definiteness marker being in Macedonian performed by an article or a demonstrative pronoun. There are, however, cases when no marker precedes a definite NP, but rather the NP is treated as definite because both the interlocutors and the object (referent) of the conversation are present in the speech act. The referent can in such cases be introduced into the discourse through a performative verb or a gesture.

The NPs of this subtype which in active sentences occur in the position of NCR are primarily preverbal:

- (8) [*VoZOV*]_{NPSub} odi kon jug.
 (Mac)
 Train+the.Sg.M goestoward south
 'This train is southbound.' (VM.R:122)

NPs of this subtype which in active sentences occur in the position of ACR are, on the other hand, primarily postverbal:

(9) ...da [gi]_{NPDObj} počestime
 [momčinjava!]_{NPDObj} (Mac)
 to Cl.Acc.3Pl.N treat
 guys+the.Pl.

'... let's treat these guys!' (BK.L:89)

The NPs of this subtype that occur in the position of ICR are mainly post-verbal and belong to the semantic type of instruments in a broad sense or to “parts of the body” (a part/whole relationship):

(10) Filozofot nišna [so
 glavata]_{NPDInst}, ...ljubopitno (Mac)
 philosopher+the nodded with head+the.Sg.F.,
 ...curiously
 počna da nè razgleduva [so svoite
 krupni,
 started to us consider with
 own+the.Pl. large.Adj.Pl,
 topli oči]_{NPDInst}
 warm.Adj.Pl eye.Pl

'The philosopher nodded his head,...curiously started to analyse us with his big, warm eyes.' (VA.P:21)

The NPs of this sub-type that occur in the position or LCR are primarily post-verbal:

(11) Ovoj narod što šetka
 [po ulicive]_{NPLoc}, što (Mac)
 these people which rambl on
 street+the.Pl, which
 ora [po poletu]_{NPLoc} ...
 plough on field+the.Sg.N

'These people walking on the streets, ploughing in the field...'(TG.RZ:244)

The second subtype also includes NPs whose “situational definiteness” is wider than the text, i.e., NPs that convey information about common cultural and social

experience. When occurring in the position of NCR, these NPs are primarily preverbal:

- (12) Navistina [site Apostoli]_{NPSub} došle.
 (Mac)
 indeed all+the.Pl Apostles.M
 arrived.

'Actually all the Apostles have arrived.'

(KMR.Z:16)

When occurring in the position of ACR in active sentences, they are, however, predominantly post-verbal:

- (13) [Ja]_{NPDObj} peevme [humnata]_{NPDObj}.
 (Mac)
 Cl.Acc.Sg.F sang anthem+the.Sg.F
 'We have sung the anthem.' (ŽČ.GV:101)

The same post-verbal position is reserved for NPs in the ICR with “companion” or instrumental semantics, e.g.:

- (14) ...šetavme po širokite bulevari
 na Taškent [so (Mac)
 [we] walked on wide+the boulevards of
 Tashkent with
*Makedonecot*_{NPDInstcomp...}
 Macedonian+the.Sg.M
 '...[we] were walking along the wide boulevards of
 Tashkent with the Macedonian guy...'

(TP.S:35)

NPs in the LCR, however, mainly occur post-verbally (14a), though when topicalized they can also occur pre-verbally (14b):

- (14) a. ...kozite se kriea [vo
podrumite]_{NPLoc}. (Mac)
 goat+the.Pl Cl.Ref hid in
 basement+the.Pl
 '... the goats were hiding in the basements.' (SL.K)

experience or common experience. In Macedonian colloquial speech (including journalistic discourse) NPs of this type are exclusively used when both the interlocutors (or the writer and the reader) are talking about something familiar to them as in (17):

- (17) Dotolku poveќе što e
na smetka na onie (Mac)
more so much-more because is
on account of those
što [od zemjava]_{NPIndObj}
karikatura ni napravija.
who from country+the.Sg.F
caricature us made.

'The more so since it is on account of those who have made a caricature of our country.' (F)

The most common subtype of NPs inherently unmarked for definiteness involves cases with anaphora and cataphora whose markers are articles or demonstrative pronouns. Examples with anaphoric preverbal NPs in the NCR are more frequent in the corpus (*cf.* 18). Such NPs include common names previously introduced in the text (18a), gerunds that code previously introduced events (18b), or personal pronouns for 3Sg 3Pl that refers to a previously mentioned person (18c):

- (18) a. [Nomadite]_{NPSub} sakaa da mi
govorat... (Mac)
nomad+the.Pl wanted to me talk...
'The Nomads wanted to talk to me...' (TP.S:16)
- b. [Sedenjeto]_{NPSub} tuka do izgrebot
na mesečinata... (Mac)
sitting+the here until rising+the
of moon+the
'Sitting here till moonrise...' (MJ.OD : 18)
- c. [Toj]_{NPSub} povti da mi
podari nomadska, kirgiska jurta... (Mac)
Pers.3Sg.M wanted to me present nomad
Kirghiz yurt...

'He wanted to present me with a Kirghiz nomad yurt...'

(TP.S:15)

Very common are emphatic subtypes that have the following ordering: NP in LCR + NP in the NCR + PPhr, illustrated in (19):

- (19) Dolu [pesokot]_{NPSub} čkrtaše, a
 ovde e [zemjata]_{NPSub} (Mac)
 down send+the.Sg.M grated and
 here is earth+the.Sg.F
 rovka...
 soft...

'Down there the sand was grating, while here the earth is soft...' (BK.L:5)

The placement of topicalized NPs in the NCR in post-verbal position increases the expressiveness of the utterance:

- (20) ...se razvreskaa
 [momčinjata...]_{NPSub} (Mac)
 Cl.Ref started-screaming boy+the.Pl
 '...the boys started screaming...' (ŽČ.GV:129)

This type of NPs in ACRs are most often postverbal:

- (21) Eden dalečen kuršum [gO]_{NPDObj}
 zaduši [dišenjeto]_{NPDObj} (Mac)
 one distant bullet Cl.Acc.3Sg.N suffocated
 breathing+the.Sg.N
 na noқта...
 of night+the

'One distant bullet has suffocated the breathing of the night..' (VM.R:110)

The preverbal position of the NP in the ACR is rare and is due to topicalization:

- (22) [Darovite gi]_{NPDObj} spušti
 na krevetot širok kolku (Mac)
 present+the.Pl Cl.Acc.3Pl pull-down on
 bed+the wide enough
 za dvajca...
 for two-persons...

(26) Sred Ezeroto
 plovea [*dvete reki*]_{NPSub}, no (Mac)
 in-the-middle-of Lake+the floated two+the
 river.Pl but
 najgolema beše Bistrica. (...) Vtorata
 beše Kara Azmak...
 most-big was Bistrica. (...)
 Second+the was Kara Azmak...
 'In the middle of the lake the two rivers were flowing,
 but the biggest one was the Bistrica river.(...) The second
 one was Kara Azmak...'

(KMR.Z:15)

2. Comparison between the inherently marked and inherently unmarked fore definiteness referential definite NPs in Macedonian and Bulgarian

The comparison between the Macedonian and Bulgarian referential NPs in the framework of the anthropocentric theory of case has shed light upon some important differences between the two languages with regard to use of possessive modifiers in an NP in all case relations. The structure of the Macedonian NP with possessive modifiers is as follows: full form of the possessive pronoun with the article (+facultative determiners) + noun:

(27) Pred [*mojot* *vid*]_{NPLoc}
 se otvoraše edno (Mac)
 in-front-of my+the.Sg.N eyesight
 Cl.Ref opened one
 povozbudljivo nebo vo čie
 raskinato pismo se rastajnuvaše
 more-exciting sky in whose rented
 letter Cl.Ref disclose
 i [*mojata* *lična*
sudbina]_{NPSub} i sudbinata [na
 and my+the.Sg.F personal fate.Sg.F
 and destiny+the of

mojot *narod.*]_{NPDObj}
 my+the.Sg.M people.Sg.M

'In front of my very eyes a more exciting sky was opening up in whose torn message my personal fate was revealing itself together with the destiny of my people.' (TP.S:9)

The structure of the Bulgarian NP is as follows: noun with the article + clitic:

(28) *Ništo* *interesno* *njama* [*v imeto*
mi.]_{NPLoc} (Bul)
 nothing interesting has-notin
 name+the.Sg.N ClDat3Sg
 'There is nothing interesting in my name.' (EV.I)

Thus, whereas in Macedonian the carrier of the article is the possessive modifier, in Bulgarian it is the noun.

In our Bulgarian corpus, full form of the possessive pronouns with the article (+facultative determiners) + noun is very rare. The following example was taken from a translation of a Macedonian literary work into Bulgarian:

(29) *A* *posle* *ot* [*svojata*
rabotna *staja*]_{NPLoc} (Bul)
 and after from his-own+the.Sg.F
 working.Sg.F room.Sg.F
sleze *i* *bašta* *mi.*
 come-down and father Cl.Dat.3Sg
 'And later my father also came down from his study.'
 (SL.K)

Constructions of this type have not been found in the Bulgarian corpus. The interviewed native speakers of Bulgarian claim that this type could possibly be used in texts where certain information is introduced for the first time.

There are important differences between definite NPs in ACR in the two languages. As a rule, the Macedonian NP of this type occurs post-verbally and is clitic-doubled (clitic + PPhr + noun with the article) (see 7.1.1.):

(30) [*Ja*]_{NPDObj} *peevme* [*himnata.*]_{NPDObj}
 (Mac)
 Cl.Acc.3Sg.F sang anthem+the.Sg.F
 'We were singing the anthem.' (ŽČ.GV:101)

The Bulgarian NP of this type is also post-verbal, but is, as a rule, not clitic-doubled:

- (31) Ivanka Ivanova pročete [*napisanoto...*]_{NPDobj}
 (Bul)
 ivanka Ivanova read
 written.Adj.Sg.N...
 'Ivanka Ivanova read the text...' (EV.I)

3. Markers of indefiniteness of the noun phrase (NP) in referential use in Macedonian and some remarks in Bulgarian

A referentially used indefinite NP refers to *an unidentified but individualized* (through its participation in the speech act) *referent*. Markers of the individualization in Macedonian are *nekoj* 'someone', *eden* 'one' and zero. (Topolinjska 1974,1977)⁷. Thus, we distinguish three types of NPs: (a) *zero* type, (b) *nekoj/someone*-type and (c) *eden/one*-type.

(a) In the *zero* type, the speaker omits the marker of definiteness as he/she only asserts the existence of something, without identifying it. NPs with this type of NCR are primarily post-verbal, unlike the identified ones in the same position:

- (32) a. ...živeel [*starec*]_{NPSub} što naizust znael
 slova ... (Mac)
 lived old-man.Sg.M who by-heart
 knew speeches...
 '...there was an old man who knew speeches by heart ..'. (VA.P:14)

In journalistic style, frequent use of "zero" pre-verbal NPs in NCRs can be found at the beginning of the texts, especially in brief reports:

- b. [*Golem* požar]_{NPSub}
 izbuvna vo semejna kuća... (Mac)
 big.Adj.Sg.M fire.Sg.M exploded
 in family house...

⁷ There are differences in the functional load of the three types of indefinite pronouns: a) the type *nekoj* 'someone' carries positive information that the speaker does not know how to identify the object in question; b) the type *eden* 'one' or *drug* 'another' imparts the information that the speaker does not know how to tell whether s/he can identify the object in question - a variant of this type are NPs with *izvesen* 'certain').

'A big fire exploded in a family house...' (V)

A small number of the interviewed Macedonian speakers omit the marker *one* or *someone* in the same position. NPs of this type in the ACRs are primarily post-verbal:

- (33) Ognobiecot izvadi [*krivo nože*]_{NPDObj}
 vo koskena (Mac)
 warrior+the pool-out curved.Sg.N little-
 knife.Sg.N in bone.Adj.Sg.F
 držalka,...
 handle.Sg.F,...
 'The warrior has taken out a curved knife with a bone
 handle,...'

(VM.R:199)

This type of NPs in the ACRs are more rarely pre-verbal:

- (34) Mnogu [*trud*]_{NPSub} vložil otec Stefan...
 (Mac)
 lots effort.Sg.M invested father
 Stefan...
 'Father Stefan has put in a great deal of effort ...'

(VA.P:29)

NPs of this type in the ICR are rather common, occupying primarily the post-verbal position. They refer to instruments or "companions". The degree of application of these derived models depends on the author and the type of the text:

- (35) Negoviot život beše dinamičen i
 kratok, no ispolnet (Mac)
 his+the life+the was dynamic
 and short, but filled
 [*so blagrodni dela*]_{NPDInstcomp}
 with noble.Adj.Pl deed.Pl
 'His life was brief and dynamic, but filled with noble
 deeds.' (D)

NPs of this type in post-verbal LCRs, headed by *vo* 'in', indicate spatial (36a) or temporal (36b) location:

- (36) a. Me naselija [*vo kirgiska*
jurta.]_{NPLoc} (Mac)

Cl.Acc.1Sg inhabited in
 Kirghiz.Adj.Sg.F tent.Sg.F
 'I was accommodated in a Kirghiz tent.' (TP.S.:13)

b. ... sum go
 prizival Boga [vo časovi bestelesni (Mac)
 am.1Sg Cl.Acc.3Sg.M invoke.Pt
 God in hours incorporeal
i besčulni]_{NPLoc.}
 and unsensual.
 '...I have invoked God in time incorporeal and
 unsensual.' (VA.P:23/24)

It is necessary to examine the behaviour of indefinite NPs of the type "zero" in some contexts that involve description of landscapes or other situations (in literary prose) and see whether in such contexts they can also carry the same meaning. A question arises whether the narrator regards the readers as his/her interlocutors and thus actively wants to create the desired. Moreover, we should also ask the question whether in the case of insufficient clarity of the text the marker *eden* 'one' or *nekoj* 'someone' (or possibly *nešto* 'somewhat') is needed to clarify the text (and make it explicit that reference is made to unidentified referents). Examples from the corpus indicate that the "zero" type NPs are frequent in non-factive sentences, often in the future tense. (b) The examples of NPs with the marker *nekoj* 'someone' show that this marker carries information about an unidentified referent that the speaker is unable to identify. NPs of this type in the NCR are usually preverbal:

(38) [*Nekoi majki*]_{NPSub} vikaat od portite
 ili od (Mac)
 some.Pl mother.Pl shout
 from front-doors+the or from
 dvorovite.
 yards+the
 'Some mothers are shouting from their front doors and
 yards.' (BK.L:11)

NPs in the ACR of this type are often post-verbal:

(39) Toj edinstveno soopšti [*nekojsi zakon*]_{NPDObj} za
 životot (Mac)

he only reported one
 law about life+the
 so vojni.
 with wars.

'He only reported on some law regarding life in the wars.' (VM.R:71)

NPs of this type in the ICR are often post-verbal and belong to the semantic subtype "companions":

(40) ...drugi ležat [so nekoj
 mornar]_{NPDInstcomp} (Mac)
 other.Pl lye with some.Sg.M
 sailor.Sg.M
 megu nozete.
 between leg+the.Pl
 '...and others are lying with some sailor between their legs.' (GS.RS:11)

NPs of this type in the LCR can be found both in post-verbal and preverbal positions:

(41) Jas gazev [vo nekoj drug
 pohod]_{NPLoc,...} (Mac)
 I marched in some.Sg.M
 other.Adj.Sg.M expedition.Sg.M, ...
 'I was marching in some other expedition,...' (TP.S:11)

In colloquial speech, we notice the use of *nekakov* 'somewhat' instead of *nekoj* 'someone', which poses the question about a possible influence of language contact or regional dialect. Moreover, the use of *nekojsi* 'someone' is registered in cases when the speaker wants to create a certain distance between the truth of the proposition and his/her subjective attitude to that proposition. Thus, the use of *nekoj(si)* 'someone' with a personal name, title or occupation implies that the speaker has a negative stance towards this individual or his/her professional skills:

(42) [Na nekoja(si) Elizabeta i]_{NPIndObj}
 teknalo (Mac)
 to some.Sg.F Elizabeta
 Cl.Dat.3Sg.F came-to-her-mind

da se zagrađivati balkonite
od zgrada.
to Cl.Ref enclosing balcony+the.Pl
from building+the

'It occurred to some Elizabeta that the building's balconies needed to be enclosed.' (IntMac)

(c) *Eden* 'one' (a variant of *izvesen* 'certain') is used in NPs when the speaker does not know or does not see the need to identify the referent. Yet, it is rather unclear when this marker functions only as a stylistic variant of *nekoj* 'someone', and when it has additional meaning. The NPs of this type in the NCR are predominantly preverbal:

(43) [*Eden polkovnik*]_{NPSub} mi
šepna deka... (Mac)
one.Sg.M colonel.Sg.M Cl.Acc.1Sg
whispered that...
'One colonel whispered to me that...' (VM.R:224)

The NPs of this type in the ACR are mainly postverbal, e.g.:

(44) Deneska čitav [*edna*
kniga]_{NPDObj}, se opišuje (Mac)
today read.1Sg one.Sg.F book.Sg.F
Cl.Ref describe
životot vo Kina.
life+the in China.

'Today I was reading a book, which describes life in China.' (BK.L:69)

The NPs of this type in the LCR occur mostly in post-verbal positions as in (45a) and in preverbal position, with temporal semantics as in (45b):

(45) a. ...milosrdnite vodi go
isfrlivaat [*na eden*] (Mac)
merciful+the waters Cl.Acc.3Sg throw
on one.Sg.M
brod]_{NPLoc} koj izgleda pust.
ship.Sg.M which seems deserted.

'...the merciful waters throw him up on one ship which seemed deserted.'

b.	...[edna	topla	letna
	noć] _{NPLoc}	go	(Mac)
	one.Sg.F	hot.Adj.Sg.F	summer.Adj.Sg.F
night.Sg.F	Cl.Acc.3Sg		
	povikuva	glasot	na negovata
majka ...			
	calls	voice+the	of his+the
mother...			

'One hot summer night his mother's voice calls him...'

(GS.RS:13)

The preverbal NPs with the marker *eden* 'one' in the (temporal) LCR convey the meaning of intensity or quantity of the activity. The marker can be paraphrased as 'exactly at that time', 'exactly like that', 'all of a sudden'. Unless it functions as a numeral or quantifier (*eden od* 'one from'), the marker *eden* 'one' is quite rarely used in everyday language, though it frequently occurs in contexts in which the referential NP is emphatic (and in predicative use, see section 5.). In such cases, there is an implied additional modification meaning 'someone/something of this particular kind': *eden takov* 'one such', *nekakov* 'some sort of', *samo eden takov* 'only one such', *baš/tokmu takov* 'exactly such' *nekakov a ne poinakov* 'of some kind, but not of a different kind etc. It is used similarly to *nekoj* 'someone' to create an epistemic distance between the speaker's attitude and the truth of the utterance, e.g.: ... *i kako što eden kolumnist, profesor po pravo veli ...* '... and as one journalist, a professor of law says ...'; *Državata ja vodi eden kolumnist* 'The country is run by one journalist ...' (and everyone involved in the situation knows who the journalist is). Further research is needed to determine whether the NP with *eden* 'one' requires the presence of a relative clause, e.g.: *eden čovek, kojšto...* 'one man, who...' Our investigation indicates that there is a greater presence of *eden* 'one' in translations from English and Albanian – languages in which the indefinite article is regularly used. The use of *eden* actually makes the text seem "heavy" and "artificial". The corpus examples show that there exist several fused meanings in the marker *eden* 'one', which, depending on the context, can become salient in the text. I found it very hard to conduct a survey of native speakers, without influencing their selection and interpretation in the usage of the NP with the marker *eden* 'one'.

is unworthy for man.Sg.M
 to Cl.Acc.3Sg.N spend
 svoeto telo...
 his-own+the body...
 '...it does not deserve a man to waste his body...'

(GS.RS:21)

4. Comparison between indefinite referential NPs in Macedonian and Bulgarian

Interesting results were obtained from the corpus of Macedonian texts translated into Bulgarian regarding the zero-type marker in NPs in ICRs with the structure: preposition *so* 'with' + verbal/deverbal/abstract noun. These NPs have the meaning of *nekako* 'in some way/somehow' when denoting instruments in the broad sense of the word, or *zaedno so...* 'together with...' when denoting "companions":

- (48) a. ...za da ja smali
 napnatosta, [*so neprirodna* (Mac)
 for to Cl.Acc.3Sg.F reduce tension+the
 with unnatural.Adj.Sg.F
blagost]_{NPDInst}, prv ni
 se obrati...
 mildness.Sg.F, first Cl.Dat.1Pl Cl.Ref
 addressed...
 '...to alleviate the tension, with unnatural mildness, he
 addressed us first...' (SL.K)
- b. Službenikot gi zapišuvaže
 iminjata [*so glasno* (Mac)
 clerk+the Cl.Acc.3Pl wrote
 names+the with loud.Adj.Sg.N
izgovaranje]_{NPDInst}
 pronunciation.Sg.N
 'The clerk was writing down the names pronouncing
 them loudly.'

(SL.K)

The analysed material shows that this construction can be found frequently in Bulgarian. Its distribution depends on the author's style, e.g.:

(49) a. Srebristata edva sega [s
učuduvane]_{NPDInst} osážna... (Bul)
 srebrista+the hardly now with surprise
 realized...

'It was only then that the Blondie realized with
 surprise...!' (DA.T)

b. ... [*săs skok*]_{NPDInst} se
 spusna prez livadata (Bul)
 with jump Cl.Ref
 went across meadow+the

'...with a jump he/she ran down across the meadow.

(DA.T)

However, in the translated literary works from Macedonian into Bulgarian this type is often rendered by other forms (cf. examples 48a and 50a; 48b and 50b):

(50) a. ...da smekči može bi natrupaloto se
 napreženie (Bul)
 to moderate may be piled-
 up+the Cl.Ref tension

pretsedateljat na komisijata
 reče...

chair+the of committee+the

said

'...maybe in order to ease the piled up tension, the chair
 of the committee said...!' (SL.K)

b. Činovnikăt zapisa imenata,
 izgovarjajki bukvite (Bul)

clerk+the wrote names+the
 pronouncing.Pt letters+the
 glasno.

loudly.

'The clerk wrote down the names pronouncing loudly
 the letters one by one.' (SL.K)

5. The marker *eden* 'one' in non-referential predicative NPs and NPs used as a second component of the periphrastic predicate (PPred) in Macedonian and their equivalents in Bulgarian

On the morphosyntactic level, the predicates can in Macedonian be coded as: (a) autosemantic verbs (e.g.: *čita* 'read', *pee* 'sing', *razgovara* 'talk'); (b) nominal predicates (NPred) made up of auxiliary verb *sum* 'be' + nominal part (noun, adjective, adverb), (e.g.: *Tem i e studentka* 'Tem i is a student'; *Tem i e ubava* 'Tem i is beautiful'; *Vo Makednija e toplo* 'In Macedonia it is warm'); (c) periphrastic constructions, which consist of two components – a synsemantic, semantically poor verb + a second component. The “second component” may be a noun phrase (NP) of two types: *nomen actionis* (verbal/deverbal noun) or *nomen essendi* whose choice is sensitive to the semantics of the first component (e.g.: *dodeluva nagrada* 'present an award', *vodi razgovor* 'make a conversation'). This two-component construction enables a subtler expression of the predicative content. The information conveyed by the predicate is divided between its two components: the "verbal" component, which carries exponents of the verbal categories (aspect, tense, voice), and "nominal" component, which can co-occur with different types of modification – adjectives (relational, qualitative, numerical), numbers, personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns indefinite pronouns etc. In the following overview I will focus on NPs that appear as the second component of the nominal predicate (NPred) preceded by the marker *eden* 'one'. The lexeme *eden* 'one' in Macedonian carries two meanings: of a number and of a pronoun. Its function in predicative use is rather specific (Topolinjska 1974:103).⁸ In this syntactic environment *eden* 'one' may express intensity (quality/quantity) of the activity or the property of the event or numerical quantification (*eden i samo eden* 'one and only one').

The examples of Macedonian NPs preceded by the marker *eden* 'one' in nominal predicates can express: (a) qualitative evaluation (that someone or something is a sort of something), or (b) qualitative comparison (that someone or something is like something):

⁸ "Subjectively indefinite phrases in predicative use [of the type *Ti si eden tiran* 'You are a tyrant'] signal comparison, and are usually emphatic".

(51) ...baraniot potez {e [izmamen
 potez]_{NPPred}, [edna (Mac)
 required+the move is provoked
 move, one.Sg.F
 obična besmislica,
 glupost edna]_{NPPred} }_{NPred}
 ordinary.Adj.Sg.F nonsense.Sg.F, stupidity.Sg.F
 one.Sg.F
 nedostojna za tebe.
 unworthy for you.
 '...the requested act is a provoked act, one ordinary

nonsense, one

stupidity, unworthy of you.' (BK.L:35)

In example (51) that belongs to type (a) 'someone or something is some kind of...' the first argument is in a NCR. The marker *eden* 'one' in the nominal predicate carries additional meaning: 'in a way; in a sense, little/much, just like this and not otherwise'. In example (52) illustrating the second type, the initial argument is in the nominative case; the marker *eden* 'one' carries the same additional information:

(52) ...za nego {beše [samo edna
 sozercatelna (Mac)
 for him was only one.Sg.F
 contemplative.Sg.F
 igra]_{NPPred} }_{NPred}, vo koja vpečatokat
 se iscrpuva
 game.Sg.F in which
 impression+the Cl.Ref exhausts
 celiot sam sebesi...
 whole+the alone itself...
 '...for him it was only a contemplative game, in which

the impression

exhausts itself through itself ...' (BK.L:56)

In addition to the verb *sum* 'be', a number of verbs with inchoative semantics (e.g. *stane*(pf.)/*stanuva*(ipf) 'become', *nastane*(pf.)/*nastanuva*(ipf) 'become'; *nastapi*(pf.)/*nastapuva*(ipf) 'appear') can appear as heads of the two-component construction. They may occur in the so called agentless constructions with a suppressed first argument. Locative constructions such as the one in (53) are paraphrased as 'something happens or exists'(somewhere)':

(53) ...vo dušata može {da nastane [edna
 studena (Mac)

like that'. As we have mentioned above, both in Macedonian and Bulgarian, those infrequent examples are emphatic.

6. Final remarks

The application of the anthropocentric theory of case to the analysis of definiteness in Macedonian and its equivalents in Bulgarian has led to the following conclusions. (1) There are differences in the functioning of the exponents of definiteness in Macedonian and Bulgarian. (2) Both Bulgarian and Macedonian show similarities with other Balkan non-Slavic languages (Albanian, Greek, Aromanian) where the category of definiteness is morphologically marked in the nominal and verbal systems. (3) Both languages display differences with other Slavic languages in which the morphological markers of definiteness are not developed in the nominal system, except in demonstratives. Further research should explore in more detail the positions that would provide answers about the level of balkanization of the category of definiteness in the two languages examined.

Appendix: Markers of definiteness in Macedonian and in Bulgarian

7.1. In Macedonian the postpositive *article* functions as a marker of definiteness of an NP. Beside articles, the prepositive demonstrative pronouns also serve as markers of definiteness:

Sg	M	<i>toj</i> 'he'	<i>ovoj</i> 'this'	<i>onoj</i> 'that'
	F	<i>taa</i> 'she'	<i>ovaa</i> 'this'	<i>onaa</i> 'that'
	N	<i>toa</i> 'it'	<i>ova</i> 'this'	<i>ona</i> 'that'
Pl	M,F,N	<i>tie</i> 'they'	<i>ovie</i> 'these'	<i>onie</i> 'those'

The postpositive article ‘-ot, -ov, -on...’ originates from the root morpheme in the above mentioned demonstrative pronouns ‘*toj, ovoj, onoj...*’.⁹

The following articles are used in Macedonian (for male, female, neuter genders / plural does not make a gender distinction. The choice of the article morpheme is

⁹ According to Koneski (1966:146-147) "... the role [of articles as morphemes] is to modify the object as being familiar...". And he adds "The article ‘-ov, -va, -vo’ serves to point at objects in the proximity of the speaker - ‘*čovekov*’ (*this man, this here*), while the articles ‘-on, -na, -no’ point to more remote objects, but still within the reach of our senses - ‘*čovekon*’ (*that man, that one there*) ... and the article ‘-ot, -ta, -to’ is mainly used for the general modification of the object, without referring to its spatial position."

mainly based on formal criteria with little influence from the categories of gender and number¹⁰):

	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
M	-ot	-te	-ov	-ve	-on	-ne
	maž-ot	maži-te	maž-ov	maži-ve	maž-on	maži-ne
	'man+the'	'man+the'	'man+the- over-here'	'man+the- over-here'	'man+the- over-there'	'man+the- over-there'
F	-ta	ženi-te	-va	ženi-ve	-na	ženi-ne
	žena-ta	'women(pl)+the'	žena-va	'women(pl)+ the-over- here'	žena-na	'women(pl)+ the-over- there'
	'women+the'		'women+the -over-here'	here'	'women+the -over-there'	there'
N	-to	-ta	-vo	-va	-no	-na
	dete-to	deca-ta	dete-vo	deca-va	dete-no	deca-na
	'child+the'	'children+the'	'child+the- over-here'	'children+th e-over-here'	'child+the over-there'	'children+th e over-there'
	selo-to	sela-ta	selo-vo	sela-va	selo-no	sela-na
	'villige+the'	'villiges+the'	'villige+the- over-here'	'villiges+the -over-here'	'villige+the over-there'	'villiges+the -over-there'

Adjective, pronouns and numbers, as additional elements in NPs, precede the head noun in the NP and carry the article, e.g.: *noviot / mojot / prviot student* 'new+the/my+the/first+the student', *ubavata / negovata / tretata devojka* 'beautiful+the/his+the/third+the girl', *maloto/nivnoto/pettoto dete* 'little+the/their+the/fifth+the child'.

7.1.1. The term "reduplication of the object" in Macedonian (see Koneski 1966:213). The usual order of the sentence constituents is the following: 'the NP in the NCR + the clitic in front of an object (Cl) + PPhra + NP in ACR (with the article as a marker)', e.g. *Milica ja otvori knjigata* 'Milica has opened the book' (**Milica otvori knjigata*). However, in imperative sentences that belong to stylistically marked, colloquial, non-standard language it is possible to omit the clitic to achieve the meaning of a strong order: *Milica, otvori (ja) knjigata!!!!* 'Milica, open the book!!!!'.

¹⁰ The form of the articles in the singular (and plural) depends on the final vowel of the noun it is attached to. Nouns ending in a consonant (mainly male) have the inventory of article morphemes '-ot, -ov, -on...'; nouns ending in the vowel '-a' (most often female) have the inventory of article morphemes '-ta, -va, -na...'; some male gender nouns end in -a e.g.: *sudija-ta* 'judge+the', *sudija-va* 'judge+the-over-here', *sudija-na* 'judge+theover-there' / *sudii-te* 'judges+the', *sudii-ve* 'judges+the-over-here', *sudii-ne* 'judges+the-over-there'; nouns ending in the vowel '-e' or '-o' (commonly of neuter gender) have the inventory of article morphemes '-to, -vo, -no...'. Exceptions are insignificant, and include loan words (such as *žiri*: *žiri-ot / žiri-to* 'jury', etc.) and the only two nouns ending in '-e': *race* (*race-te, race-ve, race-ne*) 'hands' and *noze* (*noze-te, noze-ve, noze-ne*) 'legs'.

The so called duplication of the object is obligatory and, respectively, so is its non-application with a definite object NP in the ACR e.g. *Milica otvori kniga* (*'Milica ja otvori kniga'). The form of the personal pronoun marked for gender and number agrees with the NP in the ACR.

3Sg nego - go (M., N.) /
nea - ja (F.)

3Pl niv - gi (M., F., N.)

The forms of object (accusative) and of the indirect object (dative) for the personal pronouns in Macedonian are remnants of the old declension.

Personal pronouns

person number	Forms of subject		Forms of object (accusative)		Forms of indirect object (dative)	
	1Sg	jas	I	mene-me	me	mene-mi
2Sg	ti	you	tebe-te	you	tebe-ti	you
3Sg	toj,taa,toa	he,she,it	nego-go,	him,	nemu-mu,	him,
			nea- ja	her	nejze-i	her
1Pl	nie	we	nas-ne	us	nam-ni	us
2Pl	vie	you	vas-ve	you	vam - vi	you
3Pl	tie	they	niv-gi	them	nim - im	them

7.2. The article in Bulgarian is postpositive and is added at the end of the nominal words (nouns, adjectives, numbers, pronouns, participles) after the suffixes for gender and number. The following article morphemes are used in Bulgarian: (see Bojadžiev, Kucarov, Penčev : 1998; *Grammatika* : 1983) (depending on the phoneme in which the form without article ends¹¹):

	Sg	Pl
M	-ăt, -ă	-te
	stol-ăt /stolă/, 'chair+the'	stolove-te 'chairs+the'
	den-jat /den'ăt/ 'day+the'	dni-te 'days+the'
	den-ja /den'ă/ 'day+the'	
	vodač-ăt 'leadher+the'	vodači-te 'leaders+the'
	vodač-a /vodačă/ 'leader+the'	drugar-jat
	/drugar'ă/ 'friend+the'	drugari-te 'friends+the'

¹¹ Nouns of masculine gender that in the singular end in '-a', take on the article morpheme '-ta': vojvoda-ta 'duke+the', bašta-ta 'father+the', vladika-ta 'byshop+the'. Nouns of masculine gender ending in '-o' or '-e' in the singular take on the article morpheme '-to': djado-to 'grandfather+the', vujčo-to 'uncle+the', ataše-to 'attaché+the'.

	drugar-ja /drugar-ǎ/, 'friend+the'	
F	-ta	
	žena-ta 'women+the'	ženi-te 'women(pl)+the'
	voda-ta 'water+the'	vodi-te 'waters+the'
	kost-ta 'bone+the'	kosti-te 'bones+the'
	večer-ta 'night+the'	večeri-te 'nights+the'
N	-to	-ta
	selo-to 'village+the'	sela-ta 'villages+the'
	blato-to 'mud+the'	blata-ta 'muds+the'
	momče-to 'boy+the';	momčeta-ta 'boys+the'
	učilište-to 'school+the'	učilišta-ta 'schools+the'

From the functional point of view there is no difference between different forms of masculine gender nouns with the so-called full article '-*ăt*', as opposed to the short article '-*ǎ*'. An orthographic rule requires the use of the full article only in the nominative case, while the short article should be used in other oblique cases. This linguistic phenomenon can not be explained as a result of the influence of the standard vs. regional dialects; and thus poses serious problems to native Bulgarian speakers.

7.3. Markers of indefiniteness in Macedonian¹²:

	Sg	Pl
M	<i>eden</i> 'one'	
F	<i>edna</i> 'one'	<i>edni</i> 'some'
N	<i>edno</i> 'one'	

Indefinite personal pronouns (derived from the relative pronouns *koj, što, čij* 'who, which, whose'¹³):

¹² Koneski argues (1966 : 207) that: "The word *eden* 'one' has developed other meanings in addition to its numerical *one*. So it has a meaning synonymous with *nekoj* 'someone' i.e. it is also used as a pronoun. *Eden čovek i edna žena* si odele vo grad (...) 'A man and a woman were walking in the town' (...). When *eden* 'one' functions as a number, it is stressed; when it is a pronoun it is not stressed." (see Koneski. 1966:112): (cit.) "The pronominal adjective *nekoj, nekoja, nekoe, nekoi* 'some' (in singular - all genders and in the plural form) is attached to the noun: *nekoj_č'ovek, nekoja_ž'ena* 'some man, some woman', etc. Logically, it can be stressed as: *n'ekoj č'ovek* 'some man' (with the stress on both) etc. while in *eden č'ovek* 'one man' (with the stress on *č'ovek* 'man') the word *eden* 'one' takes on the meaning of a simple number."

¹³ See Koneski. 1966:112: (cit.) "The derivatives of *koj* 'who': *koj: nekoj (nekojsi), sekoj, nikoj* 'someone, (some), everyone, no-one' (indefinite personal pronouns) are often characterised by assuming of an attributive role as opposed to *koj: nekoj čovek, nekoi luže* 'who': *some man, some people*. Also *koj* 'who' can itself, in some situations, take on the meaning close to *nekoj* 'someone'. With the same meaning as *nekoj* 'some', the series 'one' is used: *eden, edna, edno, edni* 'one' (in all three genders and also in the plural). However, *eden* 'one' also has other meanings. The demonstrative meaning of *nekoj* 'some' becomes salient in the structures with *drug* 'other': *i edniot i drugiot* 'both the one and the other' (i.e. 'both him and the other one'). In examples such as the following *eden* 'one' is used as an

	Sg	Pl
M	<i>nekoj</i> 'one, some, somebody'	
F	<i>nekoja</i> 'one, some, somebody'	<i>nekoj</i> 'one(pl), some(pl), somebody(pl)'
N	<i>nekoe</i> 'one, some, somebody'	

7. 4. Markers of indefiniteness in Bulgarian.

An ordinal number, however, it can also be used as an indefinite pronoun (*Grammatika* : 1983) when it does not refer to the uniqueness of the object, but to its indefiniteness, focusing on the fact that it is unidentified.

	Sg	Pl
M	<i>edin</i> 'one'	
F	<i>edna</i> 'one'	<i>edni</i> 'some'
N	<i>edno</i> 'one'	

Indefinite personal pronouns.

	Sg	Pl
M	<i>njakoj</i> 'one, some, somebody'	
F	<i>njakoja</i> 'one, some, somebody'	<i>njakoi</i> 'one(pl), some(pl), somebody(pl)'
N	<i>njakoe</i> 'one, some, somebody'	

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Fokus (F)

Interview - native speakers of Macedonian (IntMac)

Abbreviations and symbols

* = grammatically incorrect
[] = members of the NP
{ } = members of the predicate
+the = definite article
Acc = accusative
ACR = accusative case relation
Adj = adjective
Bul = Bulgarian
Cl = clitic
CR = case relations
Dat = Dative
DCR = dative case relation
F, f = feminine
GCR = genitive case relation
ICR = instrumental case relation
LCR = locative case relation

M, m = masculine
 Mac = Macedonian
 N, n = neuter
 NCR = nominative case relation
 NP = noun phrase
 NPDIInst = NP derived model of primary instrument
 NPDIInstcomp = NP derived model of primary instrument - companion
 NPDObj = NP Direct object
 NPIndObj = NP indirect object
 NPInst = NP instrument
 NpLoc = NP location
 NPPred = NP in predicative usage
 NPred = nominal predicate
 NPSub = NP subject
 Pers = personal pronoun
 Pl, pl = plural
 PPhr = predicative phrase
 PPred = periphrastic predicate
 Pt = participle
 Ref = reflexive (clitic)
 Sg, sg = singular

Transcription

Macedonian	Bulgarian
a = a	a = a
б = b	б = b
в = v	в = v
г = g	г = g
д = d	д = d
ѓ = ğ	е = e
е = e	ж = ž
ж = ž	з = z
з = z	и = i
s = dz	й = j
и = i	к = k
j = j	л = l
к = k	м = m
л = l	н = n
љ = lj	о = o
м = m	п = p
н = n	р = r
њ = nj	с = s
о = o	т = t
п = p	у = u
р = r	ф = f
с = s	х = h
т = t	ц = c
ќ = k	ч = č
у = u	ш = š
ф = f	щ = št
х = h	ъ = ä
ц = c	ь = ' (soft sign)
ч = č	ю = ju
џ = dž	я = ja
ш = š	