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B. M. GROEN

**A
STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION
OF THE MACEDONIAN DIALECT
OF DIHOVO**

THE PETER DE RIDDER PRESS



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The Faculty of Arts and my colleagues of the Slavic Institute

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Vianen, 28th of February 1977.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	V
CHAPTER 1: GENERAL INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 2: PHONOLOGY	7
0. Introduction	7
1. Vowel Phonemes	9
2. Consonant Phonemes	11
3. The opposition and neutralization of /i/ and /j/	18
4. Phoneme sequences	22
5. Distribution	28
6. Neutralizations and alternations	36
CHAPTER 3: MORPHOLOGY	41
0. Introduction	41
1. Morphophonology	41
2. Inflexion	46
2.1 The nominal inflexional system	47
2.2 The article	50
2.3 Nouns	53
2.4 Adjectives	72
2.5 Adverbs	75
2.6 Pronouns	78
2.7 Numerals	88
2.8 Nominal morphonemic alternations	90
2.9 The verbal inflexional system	99
2.9.0 The grammatical categories of the verb	99
2.9.1 Aspect and form	101
2.9.2 Types of formal relationships between aspect members	103

2.9.3 Alternations in aspect formation . . .	107
2.9.4 Inflexion	109
2.9.5 Paradigms	121
2.9.6 Verbal morphonemic alternations . . .	132
3. Derivation	136
3.0 Introduction	136
3.3 The formal means of derivation	138
3.5 The function of morphonemic alternations . . .	142
3.6 Survey of derivational relations	144
3.7 Derivational morphonemic alternations . . .	161
4. Accent	169
4.0 Introduction	169
4.1 Framework for the description	169
4.2 The elements of a stress system	170
4.3 Clitics	174
4.4 The rules of stress placement	176
4.5 Survey of occurring stress units	182
CHAPTER 4: NOTES ON SYNTAX	186
0. Introduction	186
1. Prepositions	186
2. Conjunctions	200
3. Particles	207
4. Interjections	209
5. Forms and use of the complex tenses of the verb.	210
CHAPTER 5: TEXTS	217
0. Introduction	217
1. Notes on external sandhi	217
2. Texts	220
CHAPTER 6: LEXICON	246
List of abbreviations and symbols	297
Bibliography	298
Rezime na srpskohrvatskom	301

CHAPTER 1

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1. The subject of the following study is the dialect spoken in Dihovo, a village lying about 8 kms to the West of the town of Bitola, on the lower slopes of the Pelister mountains in the South West of Macedonia. Bitola is the socio-economic and administrative centre of a region which extends to the Greek frontier about 15 kms to the South.

2. The dialects of the region of Bitola are always considered to belong to the Central-Macedonian group, which also include the dialects of the districts of Titov Veles, Prilep and Kičevo, upon which the literary language is based¹. Surprisingly there is no linguistic literature about the Bitola-region, although there are numerous publications relating to Macedonian dialectology. On the dialect map of Macedonia the Bitola-region is a blank. The existence of this "uncharted area" made us decide to approach Prof.Dr.Božo Vidoeski of the University "Kiril i Metodij" at Skopje. He suggested that we might study the dialect of Dihovo and we readily agreed.

3. The official spelling of the name of the village is Dihovo. We shall use this as the reference form; the dialect form is /dío/.

¹cf. Koneski 1967:59f.

The village of Dihovo contains about a hundred and forty houses and has a population of approximately 750. This population is at present 100% Macedonian and monolingual. Very few people know other languages such as Greek, Turkish or Albanian. Among the oldest generation there are many illiterates. In former times there was a Greek school in the village. There has been a Macedonian primary school for about ten years now.

Before 1912 about half of the population of the village was Albanian. In the contemporary dialect there are hardly any traces pointing to the former bilingual character of the community. Very probably contacts between the Macedonians and Albanians in the village were only slight and superficial.

In former times the working population was occupied mainly with agriculture, milling, (cloth-)fulling and sheep-rearing. Some of the men went to Rumania, the United States and Turkey (particularly Istanbul) to look for work (/petšalba/). Nowadays fulling and milling have disappeared and agriculture is no longer the main means of livelihood. People still cultivate their own plots of land, but a large section of the population has found employment on the large co-operative chicken-farm which was set up some ten years ago.

Nearby villages are Brusnik, Lafci, Trnovo, Magarevo, Bukovo, Bistrica and Nižopole. All of these except Nižopole are purely Macedonian. The small village of Nižopole, which is situated some five kms away further up the Pelister mountains, has a mixed population of Arumanians (Vlasi), Turks, Albanians and Macedonians.

Outside contacts made by the villagers of Dihovo are mainly with Brusnik, Lafci and Bukovo. The traditional costume of Dihovo is almost identical to the costume of those villages. Our short visits to those villages have given us a strong impression that the dialects of Brusnik and Lafci are very similar to the dialect described in the present study. The dialect of Bukovo, however, is definitely different².

²We spent a few weeks doing fieldwork in Bukovo. It has a very interesting and in many respects different dialect. Although the time spent there was

The villagers, particularly the women, have been very isolated. This aspect emerges from one of the texts included in the book (text no. 6); here the informant Jonka tells the story of how she lost her way, some ten years ago, at the age of 57!, when she went alone to Bitola to do some shopping. Villagers' contacts with the "outside world" were mainly of two kinds: at church festivals attended by inhabitants from surrounding villages, and at the market in Bitola, (they also used to meet at the markets formerly held in Magarevo and Trnovo). In both cases these contacts outside the village were what one would call group contacts; an individual, especially a woman, hardly ever had any contacts outside the native village. This explains why a 57 year old woman could lose her way in the fairly small town nearby where she had been many times before.

4. The fieldwork for this study was done in the village of Dihovo in the course of three visits, and covered in all a period of about seven months; the first visit took place during the summer of 1974, the second in the summer of 1975, and the final visit was in April 1976.

Like many other dialects, the dialect of Dihovo is going to disappear gradually because of the influence of radio, TV, education, etc., and already the dialect is spoken mainly by the older generation. This is why we did most of our fieldwork among the oldest people; we wanted to record as many as possible of the pure (uninfluenced particularly by the literary language) traits of the original dialect.

The work was done mainly with three informants, all three about 65 years old and natives of the village.

Our main informant was Josif Ćorĭievski, born in 1911. Apart from doing a period of military service away from the village he has lived his whole life in Dihovo working as a peasant-farmer. In his youth he attended the Greek school for three or four years. His wife is from Lafci. Josif turned out to be an excellent

too short to get a full picture of the dialect, we did gather enough material to compose an article for publication. This is in preparation.

informant: he was patient, intelligent and had enough time to spend one or two hours with us almost every day.

The other two informants had much less time available. They functioned mainly as control-informants: all the material collected with Josif was checked in sessions with (one of) the other two.

One of the remaining two informants was Tode Nasevski, born in 1913; he too has spent his whole life in Dihovo. He is a farmer. His wife also comes from Dihovo.

The other control-informant was Joanka (Jonka) Joanovič-Markovska, born in 1909; she is illiterate. She married a man from Lafci. After a year of marriage her husband went to France as a "/petšalbar/"; he never returned and died in France. She returned (from Lafci) to Dihovo. For about five years she has been living in Bitola with her daughter and son-in-law.

In addition to our regular three informants many other people of the village readily helped us by answering questions about particular points which often arose in conversations. We collected a fair amount of material in this way, but points were always checked with one or more of the informants mentioned above before being incorporated in our files.

A special contribution was made by Stojče Ilievski, born in Dihovo in 1905; he is a blind miller, who has lived his whole life in the village; his wife also comes from Dihovo. He is well-known locally as a good story-teller. We tape-recorded four of his legends; these are reproduced in the study. These legends are splendid examples of folk-tales told in the local dialect.

5. We arranged sessions with our informants as often as possible. The sessions hardly ever lasted longer than an hour and a half, but once or twice extended to two hours. We kept the sessions fairly short because we know that after an intensive period of questions and answers attention and interest tend to flag and inaccuracy may result.

The sessions were recorded on tape, the tapes were played back and analysed immediately after the sessions and the new material was compared with the material already on file. In this way new

and incomplete items, inconsistencies and obscurities were noted in preparation for the next session.

At the beginning of our fieldwork we used at many of the sessions the official questionnaire³, which has been prepared by the Institute for the Macedonian Language "Krstev Misirkov" at Skopje and is still used by members of that Institute to collect dialectological data for the Macedonian linguistic atlas. The questionnaire was very useful in two respects: firstly it was a good support in the early days of our fieldwork, and secondly the questionnaire was a very good means of extending the lexicon throughout the periods of fieldwork.

6. The present description is synchronic and structural. No historical aspects are included in the description. We tried to distinguish as carefully as possible the various levels of language structure. This is considered to be an important principle of structural linguistics. In addition to the phonological and grammatical (morphological and syntactical) levels, we make use of an intervening level known as morpho(pho)nemics to describe those linguistic facts which concern both the phonological and morphological parts of the description. More details about the principles and organisation of the description are given in the introductions to the separate chapters.

7. Finally we should like to make a few observations on the position of the dialect of Dihovo on the dialect map of the Macedonian linguistic territory. We pointed out earlier that, as far as we know, there are no publications devoted to a description of (one of) the dialects of the Bitola-district. The Bitola dialects have, however, not been omitted from studies which attempt to classify the Macedonian dialects into a number of groups and sub-groups. These attempts at classification must have been based on unpublished material, in most cases probably on material gathered by members of the already mentioned Institute for the Macedonian Language.

³Prašalnik za sobiranje dijalektološki materijal za makedonskiot lingvistički atlas

We should like to mention two classifications, both made by B. Vidoeski. In "Osnovni dijalektni grupi vo Makedonija"⁴ Vidoeski distinguishes Northern, Western and Eastern dialects. According to an appended map the Bitola-region belongs to the Western dialect group which also includes Ohrid, Struga, Debar, that is to say, dialects which differ markedly from the one described in the present study. The classification presented in the above-mentioned article is based on a list of rather heterogeneous characteristics; it includes phonetical, phonological, morphological and syntactical features which are synchronic as well as diachronic. Of the 36 features listed, 22 are in accordance with the facts of the dialect of Dihovo, six are not; of the remaining features it is very difficult to establish whether they hold for the present dialect or not, because they are worded in too rigid a form.

In the second publication⁵ the basis for classification are the vocalic systems which should occur in the Macedonian dialects. According to this paper the Bitola-region belongs to the group of dialects which have a triangular five vowel system /i e a o u/. For the dialect of Dihovo, however, we established a sixth vowel /ə/; although we must admit that the use of this vowel is very limited, it is nevertheless a phoneme which can distinguish words (in minimal pairs) from other words⁶.

Clearly then, a great number of detailed structural studies of various dialects will be necessary to obtain a more solid basis for their classification⁷. This conclusion shows what the priorities should be: first we need synchronic structural studies based on thorough fieldwork; only then can the classification begin.

⁴Vidoeski 1960/61:13-31

⁵Vidoeski 1971:22-27

⁶The same argument holds a fortiori for the dialect of Bukovo, also belonging to the Bitola-district; in this dialect we registered hundreds of words with the phoneme /ə/.

⁷Hendriks 1976:9

CHAPTER 2

PHONOLOGY

0. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter on Phonology is two-fold:

1. to establish the phoneme inventory;
2. to examine the syntagmatic use of the phonemes, i.e. their distribution.

Phonemes are considered to be unique sets of distinctive features which are relevantly unordered in time; they will be established only on the basis of those features which appear to be distinctive. Therefore we must first determine which are the relevant oppositions operative in the phonological system of the dialect.

The opposition between the vocalic and consonantal systems is constituted by the feature of syllabicity versus non-syllabicity. The vowel phonemes are distinguished by two features, namely their place of articulation and their degree of openness. The consonantal oppositions are established according to the following features:

1. the nature of the obstruction,
2. whether the sounds are voiced or unvoiced, and
3. the place of articulation.

After establishing the phonemes of the language we shall say something about the actual use made of the oppositions with special reference to possible cases of neutralization. As a logical deduction from the concept of neutralization we accept the concept of archiphonemes, although for practical reasons

archiphonemes will not be written with special symbols in the phonemic transcription. Then the distribution of the phonemes will be investigated as an aspect of the functional load of the various phonemes in a syntagmatic respect. The reason for doing this more thoroughly than is usual in slavic linguistics is that languages/dialects "may both have similar [distinctive] features and a similar phonemic inventory, but differ greatly on the syntagmatic level, i.e. in the distribution of both features and phonemes"¹. So, when comparing strongly related languages and/or dialects, one must have information about the distribution of their phonemes. Especially with dialects, the distribution may very often be the only aspect in which they differ on the phoneme level. In the field of structural dialectology the study of distribution might therefore be a means of classification.

The neutralization and phonemic (i.e. automatic) alternations will be listed in the last section of this chapter.

We should like to stress the fact that we propose to deal with the phonemic properties and peculiarities of units which are usually called "words". Although we are well aware of the difficulties involved in defining such a unit on a linguistic level, we shall nevertheless make use of the concept "word". In the introduction to chapter 5 (Texts) we shall make some comments on external sandhi phenomena which fall outside the traditional boundaries of the "word". In addition to the concept "word" we shall use the concept of a morpheme boundary. In the dialect we are describing a morpheme boundary appears to be effective between a grammatical (derivational) and a lexical morpheme in that order (cf. 2.5., 2.9.3.2., 4.1.2. and 4.2.3.) or between two lexical morphemes (4.1.2.). These grammatical considerations are the only ones that will be used in this chapter on phonology.

0.1. Note on transcription

Phonemic transcription will be enclosed in slanting lines //,

¹Aronson 1968:162

phonetic in square brackets [], morphonemic (in the section on alternations) in pointed brackets {}. In relevant cases in our description a morpheme boundary will be indicated by a plus sign.

1. Vowel phonemes

1.1. The vocalic system of the dialect of Dihovo is a six-vowel system, the vowels being characterized by two features: place of articulation and degree of openness:

place of articulation / degree of openness	front	central	back
closed	i		u
mid	e	ə	o
open	a		

Both /u/ and /o/ are back and rounded; both /i/ and /e/ are front and unrounded. We are not able to say whether one of these features is redundant. However, we ascertained that certain consonants are automatically palatalized before [i] and [e]. This palatalization must be regarded as a concomitant feature of these consonants with the front-feature of the above mentioned vowels. But this is not a decisive factor, and that is why we regard the opposition between /u o/ and /i e/ as being formed by the joint effect of both features: back/rounded and front/unrounded.

1.2. The vocalic system is the same in both accented and unaccented positions.

1.3. /ə/ is a central mid-vowel, occurring only in four stems, all found in words in everyday use among our informants. In these words /ə/ occurs in accented as well as unaccented positions:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. /gāska/ "goose" | cf. /gus/ "dense" |
| 2. /kāsmet/ "luck" | /kus/ "short" |
| | /kəsmétlija/ "lucky" |
| | /bēskəsmet/ "without luck" |
| 3. /kāsa/ "to bite, sting" ipf. | /kūsa/ "short" |
| /kāsni/ idem, pf. | /kāsap/ "butcher" |
| 4. /māska/ "mule" | /mūskul/ "muscle" |
| | /mas/ "butter" |
| | /mēso/ "meat" |
| | /mīsur/ "earthenware bowl" |
| | /mos/ "bridge" |

In all these stems, whether they be slavonic or loan, /ə/ is followed by /s/; in three of them /ə/ is preceded by a velar consonant. This may not be mere coincidence, but in view of the (near) minimal pairs which apparently exist in the dialect, one cannot but accept the existence of the phoneme /ə/, although the actual use made of this phoneme seems to be extremely limited. For one other occurrence of /ə/ we refer to 2.5.

1.4. /e/ has two clearly distinguishable groups of variants. The variants are usually very open in final position and before [a]: [fāte] "(he) grasped", [blēa] "(they) bleated". /e/ has more closed variants before [j] and in closed syllables: [blej] "(it) bleats", [mīnva] "to change". In other positions /e/ occurs both in relatively open or more closed variants.

1.5. /o/ has also open and closed variants. Like /e/ the variants of /o/ are more closed before [j]: [oj] "(he) goes". More open variants generally occur before [a]: [kōatš] "blacksmith".

1.6. /a/ is not involved in the opposition of the place of articulation; it is the only open vowel. Like /o/ and /e/ the phoneme /a/ has closed variants before [j], which are very near to the open variants of /e/ in final position: [prɛj] + /praj/ "(he) makes, does".

1.7. Vowels in this dialect always constitute a syllable, i.e. vocalicity = syllabicity. This is the feature which distinguishes vowels from consonants (with one exception, see 2.5.) and which is also of importance for the description of the accent-system (see Accent 4.2.1.).

2. Consonant phonemes

2.1. The consonantal system consists of the following phonemes:

	stops		fricatives		nasals	rolled	lateral	glide
	voiced	voiceless	voiced	voiceless				
labial	b	p	v	f	m			
dental	d	t	z	s	n	r	l	
palatal			ž	š			ʎ	j
velar	g	k						
laryngal			(h)					

Strictly speaking, not all the features listed are necessary to provide an adequate description of the consonant phonemes. In those columns and lines where only one phoneme is given, only one feature is needed to distinguish the phoneme in question from all other phonemes. Thus /r/ is rolled, /j/ is a glide, /(h)/ is

a laryngal.

2.2. The phoneme /h/ is a marginal one, occurring only in a few interjections, e.g. the frequently used exhortative interjection /haj, hájde, hájdeme/ "let's (go)".

2.3. There is no velar fricative in the speech of our informants. Although younger speakers of the same village certainly do have a phoneme /x/ in their phonemic system, the older speakers among whom we exclusively sought and found our informants and whose language we are trying to describe, systematically resist the pronunciation of a velar fricative like [x]; in their adaptation of foreign words or words from other dialects they always replace a possible [x] by [k] or zero: [kólandia] "Holland", [ókrit, órit] "Ohrid", [rísjanin] "Christian", [rístos] "Christ"². The dialect name of the village Dihovo (this is how it is spelt officially) is [dío] + /dío/. (An older way of spelling the name is "Diovo": this is how it is spelt at the village registry/post office.)

2.4. There is no reason why consonant sequences like [tš], [ts], [dž] and [dz] should a priori be interpreted monophonematically, as is very often the case in Slavic linguistics³. If we apply our criterion of distinctiveness, we cannot fail to arrive at a biphonematic interpretation of these sequences. The first question

²Compare Hendriks 1976:61/62

³Macedonian and Bulgarian linguists invariably arrive at a monophonematic interpretation of the above mentioned frequently occurring clusters. One of the reasons may be the influence of orthography, another reason may be the influence of grammar (i.e. alternations). American scholars too seem to see no problem here; compare Aronson 1968; Klagstad 1958:162f; Lunt 1952:9f.

to be answered in cases like this is whether the distinctive features present in the whole sequence (e.g. [tš]) are the same as those present in the segments (i.e. [t] and [š]). If the answer is in the negative, it might lead us to a monophonematic interpretation of the sequence. In our case the distinctive features found in [tš] are the same as those in [t] and [š]. The second question is then: are the distinctive features in the sequence relevantly ordered or are they unordered? If they are unordered, this again leads to a monophonematic interpretation. In our case, however, the features are ordered in time: there is a relevant difference between [tš] and [št], which can easily be shown by commutation:

/pétšalba/ "work far away from the native village"
/tšam/ "pine-tree" compare also: /šámak/ "reed"
/véšta/ "adroit" fem. /támu/ "there"

/tsut/ "blossom" /sut/ "court"
/stut/ "cold" /tútun/ "tobacco"

/džábe/ "in vain" /žába/ "toad"
/ždrébe/ "foal" /dábje/ "oak-trees"

/dzrřtsalo/ "spectacles" /zřno/ "grain"
/zdrak/ "ray" /dřtša/ "bad weather"

2.5. The phoneme /r/ is the only phoneme where the opposition vowel:consonant may be neutralized.

In the one position where there is an opposition between a vocalic [r] and a consonantal [r], we write the former as /ər/, and the latter as /r/. The position concerned is when [r] is preceded by a consonant and followed by a vowel. The only example we have in our material is [vřo] + /vřro/ "the top", as opposed to, for example /front/ "battle, fight".

In all other positions we shall write /r/. The consonantal and vocalic pronunciation of this /r/ is conditioned by the surrounding sounds. Vocalic [r] occurs:

1. initially, followed by a consonant: [rš] + /rř/ "rye",

[fġa] + /fġja/ "rust"

2. between consonants: [vrf] + /vrf/ "top", [pfsten] + /pfsten/ "ring", [bakfdanik] + /bakfdanik/ "maize porridge"

3. between a morpheme boundary and a consonant:

[zā + rġa] + /zā + rġja/ "to begin to rust", which is opposed to a form like /zārzavat/ "vegetables" without this morpheme boundary.

In the remaining positions /r/ is consonantal.

2.6. Besides the dental or alveolar realizations, one of the clearly distinguishable variants of /n/ is the velarised [ŋ], occurring before the velar consonants.

Cf. [kōpan] + /kōpan/ "bat used in the fulling mill"

[kōpaŋka] + /kōpanka/ "zinc trough for washing clothes"

[kōpantše] + /kōpantše/ idem, dim.

2.7. The phoneme /v/ has very weak realizations in most intervocalic positions, especially after [u]. During our field-work we often wondered whether a (labiodental) [v] was present or not in certain words. In the end one had to accept that there was opposition between, for example, [múva] "fly" with a very weak [v] + /múva/ and /múabet/ "talk", where there is no trace of the sound [v]. Other examples, where this opposition is effective, are:

/úvo/ "ear"	/dúovden/ "Whitsuntide"
/glúvo/ "deaf"	
/právo/ "right, true"	/gráo/ "the beans"
	/bráo/ "the ram"

The forms /túva/ and /túa/, both with the meaning "here", must be considered as doublet forms.

2.8. In final position the realizations of /f/ are often very weak. But even there one can detect opposition between, for example, /braf/ "ram" and /gra/ "beans".

2.9. Palatalization

2.9.1. Only /l/ has a palatalized counterpart /lʲ/, which occurs finally, at the end of a syllable before certain consonants, before the vowels /a o u/ and automatically, as the realization of an archiphoneme, before /i e j/:

/sol/ "salt"	v. /sókol/ "falcon"
/bélka/ "white of an egg/eye"	/élka/ "fir"
/filán/ "a certain"	/láni/ "last year"
/téloj/ "wires"	/loj/ "fat of cow/sheep"
/gluš/ "ankle, knot"	/glúšets/ "mouse"
/ffli/ "to throw"	
/kólno/ "knee"	
/búljan/ "bush"	
/kólje/ "poles, sticks"	

The only argument for assuming a phoneme /lʲ/ opposed to /l/ is the occurrence of pairs like /búljan/ versus /filán/, or /íljada/ "thousand" versus /ílatš/ "medicine" versus /píla/ "saw". Otherwise it would have been possible to represent the palatalization of [l] by means of the phoneme /j/, as is done with all other consonants where the above opposition does not occur.

2.9.2. Palatalization also occurs phonetically with other consonants. However, an opposition of the kind [Cʲ] versus [Cʲj] or [Cj] , or [CʲV] versus [CʲjV] or [CjV] does not exist. These variants can therefore be represented by the cluster /Cj/:

[bʲ]:[dáb'e] + /dábje/ "oaks"	/džábe/ "in vain"
[pʲ]:[tškráp'a] + /tškrápja/ "scorpion"/kárpa/ "big stone"	
[vʲ]:[dřv'a] + /dřvja/ "trees"	/dřva/ "fire wood"
[fʲ]:[róf'a] + /rófja/ "thunder"	/fána/ "flannel shirt"
[mʲ]:[zém'i] + /zémji/ "countries"	/vzém/ "in the ground"
[zʲ]:[kóz'a] + /kózja/ "goat's"	/kóza/ "goat"
[sʲ]:[klás'e] + /klásje/ "ears of corn"	/kláse/ "to put forth ears"
[nʲ]:[kon'] + /konj/ "horse"	/kon/ "towards"
[rʲ]:[bór'e] + /bórje/ "fir trees"	/búre/ "barrel, cask"

2.9.3.1. The consonants [k], [g], [t] and [d] may also be

palatalized in certain positions.

Those consonants which automatically alternate with [k] and [g] (in e.g. [búka] "beech", [dálga] "wave") are palatalized automatically before front vowels ([búki] pl., [dálgi] pl.) and may be palatalized non-automatically before other vowels, in final position, or before [t v n].

Those consonants which automatically alternate with [t] and [d] (in e.g. [brut] "nail", [ródi] "to bring forth"), may be distinctively palatalized before all vowels, in final position, or before [t v n]; before front vowels they are automatically palatalized only after [š ž], ([véšta] "adroit" fem. [véšti] pl.).

When palatalized, [k] and [t], and [g] and [d] are freely interchangeable. In other words, in actual speech there is no difference between [búki] and [búti]. This phenomenon was tested during our fieldwork. When speaking to several informants we pronounced words like the one mentioned here containing either [k] or [t]. They hardly noticed any difference between the two and all found it very difficult to name the variant we had used. This means that the opposition between [k] and [t], and between [g] and [d], is neutralized. The archiphonemes will be represented by /k/ and /g/.

The feature of palatalization is represented by /j/, for the same reason as was mentioned in the foregoing section (i.e. lack of distinctiveness between /C'V/ and /C'jV/, see 2.9.2.). However, phonemic representation is necessary only when the palatalization is non-automatic. Before front vowels, where the realizations of /k/ and /g/ are always palatalized and the realizations of /t/ and /d/ may be palatalized, and when palatalized represented by the archiphonemes /k/ and /g/ respectively, /j/ is superfluous and will not be written.

Examples:

with /k/:	/búka/ "beech"	/búki/ pl.
with /t/:	/brut/ "nail"	/brúke/ pl.
with /g/:	/dálga/ "wave"	/dálgi/ pl.
with /d/:	/ródi/ "to bring forth"	/rógjam/ "(I) bring forth"

In some cases, when there is no automatic alternation of the kind [dálga] versus [dálgi, dálđi], identification with regard to /k g/ on the one hand, or /t d/ on the other hand, cannot

take place, e.g. [kúka, kúta] "house", [kúki, kúti] pl. But with the concept of archiphonemes this problem is very easily solved: /kúkja, kúki/.

Examples in the various positions where palatalization, and consequently neutralization, occurs, are:

/kěbe/ "blanket"	v. /tébe/ "you"
/kílo/ "kilogram"	/til/ "back of the head"
/fákjam/ "(I) take" ipf.	/fátam/ "(I) take" pf.
/kjútuk/ "block of wood"	/kámbur/ "hunchback"
/kxor/ "blind"	/tútun/ "tobacco"
/nokj/ "night"	/kútel/ "unit of weight for corn"
/nókjni/ "nightly"	/tóri/ "to load"
	/kóra/ "thin layers of dough"
	/pot/ "sweat"
	/špinok/ "(type of) shoe"
	/gótni/ "to swallow"
	/íkni/ "to hiccup"

2.9.3.2. There is one automatic restriction to the neutralization mentioned here. When a morpheme boundary intervenes, then the opposition is maintained: /ód + javi/ "to report someone's departure (to the police)".

2.9.4. The phonemes /k g n/, when palatalized, and thus phonemically followed by /j/ or front vowels, may also be preceded by [j], when they follow a back vowel or [e]:

[bráka]	and	[brájka]	"brothers"
[ródam]	and	[rójdam]	"(I) bring forth"
[kon']	and	[kojn']	"horse"
[préden'e]	and	[predejn'e]	"to spin"

Remarkable here is the fact that the absence of the segment [j] is optional and not its presence⁴, since there are words where the [j] in question in the same position cannot be omitted without changing the word form. As a result we might have another word form with different meaning or a non-existing word

⁴See also Kortlandt 1972:163

form. E.g. the verbal noun of [kroj] "to cut" is [krójn'e], but *[kron'e] does not exist. Phonemically we can write here only: /krójnje/. In those words where an anticipating [j] may or may not occur, we shall not write it phonemically, because the presence of the anticipating [j] is predictable, not its absence.

Compare:

/pránje/ → [prán'e, prájn'e], verbal noun of /péri/ "to wash"

/prájnje/ → [prájn'e], verbal noun of /praj/ "to make, do"⁵

/tšátia/ → [tšátija] "roof"

/tšákia/ → [tšájkija, tšájčija, tšákija] "pocket-knife"

3. The opposition and neutralization of /i/ and /j/

3.1. In initial position [i] and [j] are complementarily distributed, [i] occurring only before consonants, [j] before vowels:

[ígla] "needle"

[jáglen] "coal"

Anticipating the establishment of the phonemes /i/ and /j/ in the following exposition, we shall write /i/ and /j/ in this position according to their phonetic realization.

3.2. [i] and [j] in medial position

3.2.1. Between vowels only [j] occurs. Interconsonantly and after consonants, with the exception of /l/, the phoneme /j/ represents the palatalization of the preceding consonant (see 2.9.2. and 2.9.3.):

⁵The same phenomenon also occurs in external sandhi position: [koj te] or [ko te] + /kō ke/ "when" + fut.particle (see 4.2.1. and Introduction to the texts, chapter 5).

/VjV/ : /rázbojo/ "the weaving-loom"

/CjC/ : /kónjsko/ "horse" adj.

/CiC/ : /pónisko/ "lower"

/CjV/ : /iljada/ "thousand"

/Civ/ : /náliat/ "(they) cast (metal)"

The opposition between /i/ and /j/ is clearest in this latter pair of word forms; in both words the environment is exactly the same: a preceding /l/, a following /a/ + dental stop, the stress falling on the preceding syllable. Other examples of the opposition in this position are:

/dfvja/ "trees"

/gjézvia/ "small cans for making coffee"

/tšúžgjo/ "strange, unknown" ntr. /tšúžgio/ idem, masc. + art.

/kúkja/ "house"

/kútia/ "box"

/lózja/ "vineyards"

/sózia/ "little tears"

After /š/ and /ž/ which occur in this dialect only in very palatalized realizations the opposition between /i/ and /j/ is neutralized: [lóšio] or [lóšjo] "bad" (masc. adj. + article) is opposed to [lóšo] id. (ntr.). The archiphoneme will be represented by /i/: /lóšio/ versus /lóšo/.

3.2.2. Following a vowel and followed by a consonant there is complementary distribution between /i/ and /j/: when accented, only [i] occurs, when unaccented only [j] occurs when it is not in the final or second last syllable:

/VjC/ : /bájratsi/ "flags, banners"

/ViC/ : /aírlia/ "prosperous, successful"

/naigrate/ "to play" 2nd pl.

3.2.3. When [j] or unaccented [i] stand in the final or second last syllable, the opposition between them is also neutralized, but in some cases, phonetically speaking, both allophones occur. We found: [nájgram] and [náigram] "(I) play", but in other cases only [j] is possible: [s iznapéjme, s iznapéjš]⁶ "to have one's

⁶[s] is an external sandhi variant of the reflexive pronoun [se].

fill of singing" 1st. pl. and 2nd. sg., and the same forms with [i] are rejected.

The problem now facing us is how to phonemicize these possibilities adequately. If we choose /j/ we do not account for those cases where [i] occurs alongside [j]; on the other hand if we choose /i/, we overlook the [j]-realizations. Summing up then, although there is neutralization between [i] and [j] in the position described above, there appears to be a relevant difference in the possible realizations.

Here we have the phenomenon of optionality, which is described by Ebeling⁷, who distinguishes between "basic distinctive features" and "optional distinctive features", between "basic phonemes" and "heavy phonemes", i.e. phonemes containing an optional feature. Basic in the concept of optionality, as it is used here, is the fact that the relation between what can be called the basic form (i.e. the form containing only the basic phonemes) and the optimal form (the form where the optional distinctive feature occurs) is a unidirectional one. When applied to our problem this means that every [i] in the above-mentioned position can be replaced by [j], but the opposite is not the case: not every [j] can be replaced by [i].

Consequently this leads us to the following phonemicization: [s iznapějme, s iznápejš] + /se iznapějme, se iznápejš/, where /j/ is the representation of the archiphoneme of /i/ and /j/; [nájgram, náigram] + /nāigram/, where /i/ is the heavy archiphoneme, containing an optional feature of syllabicity (i.e. the feature by which /j/ and /i/ are opposed).

Other examples are:

/kráiškja/ "ends, extremities", but compare
/kraiškjata/ idem (+ article)
/lékoit/ "medicinal" masc. adj.
/lekóita/ idem, fem. adj.

Interesting examples for comparison are the plurals (with articles) of the following nouns:

⁷Ebeling 1967:134f.

/boj/ "fight, battle" /bǒjte/ + [bǒjte]
/bǒa/ "flea" /bǒjte/ + [bǒjte]

but:

/bǒja/ "colour" /bǒite/ + [bǒite, bǒjte]

3.2.4. When referring to forms where these kinds of optionality occur, we shall underline the heavy phoneme in order to remind the reader of the actual status of the phoneme in question: /bǒite/.

3.3.1. In final position we distinguish /i/ and /j/ when they follow a consonant. Here again /j/ represents the palatalization of the preceding consonant:

/Cj#/ : /konj/ "horse", pl. /kǒn*j*i/
/Ci#/ : /stāni/ "to rise"

3.3.2. When /i/ and /j/ in final position follow a vowel the situation is exactly the same as the one described above, i.e. between vowel and consonant. In other words: [j] is always a possible realization, [i] is possible in some cases, /j/ is again the basic archiphoneme, /i/ the heavy one.

Examples where only /j/ is possible:

/gnoj/ "dung" /praj/ "to do, make"
/bíkoj/ "bulls" /se iznápej/ "to have one's fill of singing"
/boj/ "fights, battles" /moj/ "my" sg.
/boj/ "fleas" /tvoj/ "your" sg.

Both /i/ and /j/ are possible:

/ǒdai/ "rooms"
/bǒi/ "colours"
/mǒi/ "my" pl.
/tvǒi/ "your" pl.
/súi/ "dry" pl.

3.4. Summarizing the relations between the phonemes /i/ and /j/, we established a basic opposition when /i/ and /j/ follow a consonant, except after /š ž/; neutralization after /š ž/ before a vowel, and intervocalically; complementary distribution in

initial position, and when not in the final or second last syllable following a vowel and followed by a consonant; an optional opposition when following a vowel either in final position, or followed by a consonant in the final or second last syllable.

4. Phoneme sequences

4.1.1. Sequences of two identical vowels occur very frequently in the dialect of Dihovo. They can be realized as one long vowel or as a sequence of two short ones. During our fieldwork, we ascertained that there is no opposition between these two possible realizations; this is the reason why we do not assume the phonemic existence of long vowels. They are accounted for by two identical vowel phonemes⁸.

But there is yet another possibility: in every sequence of two identical vowels the second is optional in its realization; it may be pronounced, but very frequently it is not.

Here again we encounter the phenomenon of optionality, which appears to occur fairly frequently in many languages and dialects⁹. Thus a form with a sequence of two identical vowel segments can always be replaced by a form with only one vowel, which is then considered to be the basic form. But the converse is, of course, not true: by no means every form with one vowel can be substituted by a variant form with two identical vowels. E.g. the plural of [tšínija] "water-bottle" is either [tšínī, tšínii] or [tšínī], but [tšínī] "to cost" 3rd sg., has just one realization, and *[tšínii] or *[tšínī] does not exist. In phonemic transcription we shall write therefore: /tšínii/ "water-bottles" and /tšínī/ "to cost".

⁸Cf. Steinhauer 1973:103

⁹For examples from other languages and the exposition of the problem see also Kortlandt 1972, chapter 9.

From the form with double /i/, the phonetic realizations [ii], [Ī] or [i] can always be predicted, whereas the form with one /i/ has only the phonetic realization with one [i]. Other examples are:

/snāa/ "daughter/sister-in-law"

/gfboo/ "hunch-backed"

/kooperátsia/ "communal shop in the village"

/arámii/ "robbers"

/bléeše/ "to bleat" imperf.

4.1.2. There are a few examples in our material where a morpheme boundary between two identical vowels prevents the realization of the two as one:

/pré + eska/ "a moment ago", where /pre/ is a preposition, and /eska/ is a bound morpheme also found in, e.g. /déneska/ "today".

/pré + e/ "a moment ago" (cf. /nóke/ "at night")

/šé + ese/ "sixty" (cf. /pédese/ "fifty")

Compare also the following pairs where in one case this optionality exists, while in the other there is no choice in the phonetic realization of the vowel segment(s) in question:

/glétoo/ "doughy"

v. /gléto/ "chisel"

/krásta/ "scabby"

/krásta/ "scab, crust"

/krastāata/ idem + article

/krástata/ idem + article

4.1.3. When referring to forms where this optionality occurs we shall underline the optional phonemes, just as we did in the case of the heavy phonemes described above (see 3.2.4.).

4.1.4. Cases in which we found this kind of optionality include the following:

1. plural of nouns ending in /ia/: /arámii/
2. fem. and ntr. forms of a number of adjectives ending in /af/ and /of/: /gfbaa, gfboo/, /jatšménoo/ "barley"
3. plural form of adjectives ending in /if/: /zadúvlii/ "tight in the chest"
4. 3rd plural present, imperfect and aorist of verbs belonging to Class 1: /ašladísvaa, ašladísaa/ "to graft"

5. 1st singular present, singular imperfect and 2nd and 3rd singular aorist of verbs belonging to Class 10: /pěem, pēef, pēēše, se iznápeġ/ "to sing"
6. 1st singular and 3rd plural present of verbs belonging to Class 8: /prāam, nápraam; práat, nápraat/ "to do, make"
7. 1st singular present of verbs belonging to Class 9: /kóom/ "to shoe a horse"
8. 3rd plural aorist of verbs belonging to Class 3: /isúkaġ/ "to roll out (paste)".

4.2. The sequences [oa] and [ea]

4.2.1. The sequences [oa] and [ea], and all other possible allophonic variants, such as [wa] and [ɛa], show us another example of the optional use made of phonemes.

It appears that every [a] immediately following [o] or [e] may be replaced by another [o] or [e] respectively. So we find instead of [tōar] "freight, load" also [tō̄ar], or in a variant with one lengthened vowel [tō̄r]. Moreover the second vowel segment, i.e. [a] in [tōar] or [a] in [tō̄ar] is optional. This is quite in accordance with the pattern of optionality which we saw above (4.1.1.) in sequences of two identical vowels. Summing up, there are the following realizations and their phonemic representation: [tōar, tō̄ar, tō̄r, tor] + /tō̄ar/, where we shall underline the phoneme /a/ twice, in order to remind the reader of the status of this segment. As a matter of fact this status is complicated: /a/ is a heavy phoneme when the phonetic realizations [tōar] and [tō̄ar, tō̄r] are compared, but it is an optional phoneme in relation to phonetic [tor].

An example with [ea] is: [živejat, živeat; živeet, živēt; živet] + /živeat/ "(they) live". [j] is here an automatic glide which, because of its predictability need not be represented on the phonemic level: every sequence [ea, ea] may also occur as [eja] and conversely (see 4.3.).

4.2.2. There is one phonetic (i.e. predictable restriction to

the optional occurrence of the second vowel segment in the sequence /ea/. This segment, whether it be /a/ or /e/, is not optional but obligatory, when the sequence is in absolute final position and the first segment is stressed. For instance, the 3rd. plural of the aorist of the verb "to ripen" has the following realizations [uzdrēja, uzdréa; uzdrée, uzdrē] + /uzdréa/ but *[uzdrē] does not occur. In order to mark the difference in the phonemic status of /a/ in /živeat/, the /a/ in /uzdréa/ is underlined only once.

Compare:

/naléa/ "(they) poured" and

/léata/ "the flower-bed" v. /léa/ "flower-bed".

4.2.3. There is a different restriction concerning the sequence /oa/. When there is a morpheme boundary between the two segments, then there is no optionality at all:

/pó + aren/ "more beautiful"

/pó + ardži/ "to spend".

4.2.4. Examples where the optionality occurs are:

/vóloar/ "herdsman of oxen"

/volōarka/ idem. fem.

/koštšnitsa/ "forge"

/zātoġ/ "therefore"

/bōġ/ "flea"

/māškeġ/ "stepmother"

/bēa/ "(they) were"

We found the optional use of the sequences /oa/ and /ea/ as described above in a number of cases including the following:

1. 3rd plural present, imperfect and aorist and past passive participle of verbs belonging to Class 10: /živeat, živea, poživēa/ "to live", /uzdréan/ "to ripen"
2. 3rd plural imperfect of verbs belonging to Classes 2-9:

/sóleġ/ "to salt"	/obūeġ/ "to put on shoes"
/píšeġ/ "to write"	/žnieġ/ "to reap"
/pētšeġ/ "to bake"	/prāeġ/ "to make, do"
/góreġ/ "to burn"	/kōeġ/ "to shoe a horse"
3. 3rd plural aorist of verbs belonging to Classes 4 and 5:

/pěkoa/ "to bake", /izgórea/ "to burn"

4. 3rd plural present tense of verbs belonging to Class 9:
/kóat/.

4.3. Vowel sequences and intervocalic [j]

In some cases intervocalic [j] must be considered to be an automatic glide, in others there is an opposition between a sequence of two vowels with or without [j].

4.3.1. [j] is an automatic glide in the following sequences:

[ija]:[arámija] + /arámia/ "robber"
[iju]:[viúlitsa] + /viúlitsa/ "snowstorm"
[ije]:[míjeme] + /míeme/ "(we) wash"
[ijo]:[bíjol] + /bíol/ "buffalo"
[uje]:[tšúješ] + /tšúeš/ "(you) will hear"
[eja]:[smfeja] + /smfea/ "stench"

[j] between [e] and [a], however, is not automatic when it follows a morpheme boundary: [né + jatka] + /né + jatka/ "fasting day before a feast-day", not *[néjatka], and consequently realizations like *[netka] are impossible.

4.3.2. [j] must be considered phonemic, however, in the following cases:

/aja/:/bájar/ "quack"	/tka <u>a</u> tš/ "weaver"
/ajo/:/beloglájo/ "with grey hair"	/grá <u>o</u> / "the beans"
/aju/:/nájubaf/ "most beautiful"	/arnáutin/ "Albanian"
/aje/:/kála <u>j</u> en/ "pewter"	/lěpaets/ "burdock"
/oja/:/bó <u>j</u> a/ "colour"	/bó <u>a</u> / "flea"
/ojo/:/jatšmenójo/ "barley" adj. masc.	/jatšmén <u>o</u> g/ idem ntr.
/oju/:/pójunak/ "more a hero"	/póubaf/ "more beautiful"
/oje/:/tvó <u>j</u> e/ "your"	/búkoets/ "inhabitant of the village Bukovo"
/uja/:/bú <u>j</u> at/ "dense"	/múabet/ "talk"
/ujo/:/glú <u>j</u> o/ "deaf" adj. masc.	/glú <u>o</u> / idem adj. ntr.

4.3.3. No intervocalic [j] occurs between the following vowels:

/eo/:/kreok/ "tender"
/ee/:/krešnik/ "heel (of loaf)".

[j] does not occur either in vowel sequences the second segment of which is [i]. (For a discussion of these sequences see 3.2.2., 3.2.3., 3.2.4., 3.3.2. and 4.1.1.). The sequences [uu] or [uju] and [eu] or [eju] have not been attested in this dialect. (For sequences of more than two vowels see Distribution 5.2.)

4.4. Gemination

4.4.1. Sequences of two identical consonants occur only across morpheme boundaries, i.e. in those cases where a flexional or derivational suffix is attached to a lexical morpheme.

Two realizations are possible: just one consonant is pronounced: [krómitše] "onion", the countable form derived from [krómit], or both consonants are pronounced (phonetically this means a long closure where gemination of [t] concerns): [kromittše]¹⁰.

Phonemically we shall treat this again as a case of optionality. The phonemic representation is /krómittše/, where, arbitrarily but more practically (see below in this section), we shall underline the first of the two consonants.

Other examples of gemination are:

/páttše/ "small road"
/gráttše/ "small town"
/prólettá/ "the spring"
/smátttsi/ "addled eggs", pl. of /smátok/.

It should be noted that in cases like /jágotki/ "strawberries", where /k/ is an archiphoneme of /k/ and /t/, the optionality of the realization of the two consonants in the sequence is likewise applicable, because of the fact that the free variants of the archiphoneme /k/ are [K] and [t]:

[jágotti]
[jágotKi] + /jágotKi/
[jágoti]
[jágotKi]

¹⁰ Cf. Lunt 1952:13-14

4.4.2. No gemination takes place between consonants. For instance, the diminutive form of /névsta/ "bride, young woman" is formed by means of the suffix /tš/, accompanied by a morphonemic alternation, which changes /s/ into /f/ (see Derivation 3.7.12.). The result is then /névftše/ and not */nevefttše/.

4.4.3. In the case of double [j] there is likewise optionality, when double [j] is intervocalic: [nájjak, nájak] "strongest" + /nájjak/, but realization of double [j] is impossible in other positions. E.g. stem-final /j/ alternates with zero, when a desinence /-j(V)/ is added. The plural of /svínja/ "swine" formed by means of the suffix /-je/ is /svínje/; the plural of /boj/ "fight, battle", formed by means of the desinence /-j/ is /boj/.

4.4.4. Within the boundaries of the word there are no other cases of gemination apart from those mentioned with /t/ and /j/. So, for example, when the prefix /is/ is affixed to a verb beginning with /s/, the result is always with only one /s/: /isetši/ "to cut", pf. of /sétši/.

5. Distribution

5.1.1. Single vowel phonemes

The only restriction in the distribution pattern relates to the phoneme /ə/, which does not occur initially or finally (see 1.3.). The remaining vowel phonemes occur in initial, medial and final positions and may be either stressed or unstressed in these positions.

5.1.2. Single consonant phonemes

Apart from the marginal phoneme /(h)/, which occurs only initially, there is one restriction to the occurrence of single consonant phonemes. This concerns word-final position before a

pause, where the opposition between voiced and voiceless consonants is neutralized. (See further Neutralizations 6.1.1.)

	initially	medially	finally
/b/	bōja	dábo	-
/d/	dēte	ádet	-
/g/	gōre	úgare	-
/p/	pat	kápa	dap
/t/	tōa	pōtoa	pot
/k/	kára	ráka	mrak
/v/	vos	úvo	-
/z/	zap	kóza	-
/ž/	žába	kóža	-
/f/	fōsok	láfosva	laf
/s/	sábotá	bōsa	bos
/š/	šíše	dúšeme	gluš
/j/	járem	bájar	raj
/m/	mas	sámar	sam
/n/	nokj	kónop	kon
/r/	rop	póroj	bor
/l/	loš	žáloš	díšel
/l/	lále	žála	žal
/(h)/	hájde	-	-

5.2. Vowel clusters

For sequences of two vowel phonemes we refer to 4.3. No vowel clusters are possible with /ə/. Sequences of three vowels found in our material are the following:

/ioe:/díoets/ "inhabitant of Dihovo"

/iea:/spíea/ "(they) slept"

/oea:/stóea/ "(they) stood"

/aea:/láea/ "(they) barked"

/eoo:/oréoo/ "walnut" adj. ntr.

/eoa:/oréoa/ idem, fem.

/uea:/dúea/ "(they) blew"

As can be seen from the symbolization used above the last vowel in all the clusters except the first is always optional or heavy (see 4.1. and 4.2.).

5.3. Consonant clusters

A general restriction of consonant clusters concerns the feature of voicing. Phonemically voiced consonants may be preceded or followed only by voiced consonants; distinctively voiceless consonants may be preceded or followed only by voiceless consonants or by consonants where the feature of voicing is non-phonemic. One exception is /v/ which may follow voiced as well as voiceless consonants. (See for further restrictions the section on neutralizations and alternations.)

5.3.1. Initial clusters

The consonant phonemes /n r l l' j/ are never the first in an initial consonant cluster, /f/, on the other hand, occurs in our material in an initial cluster only as a first member.

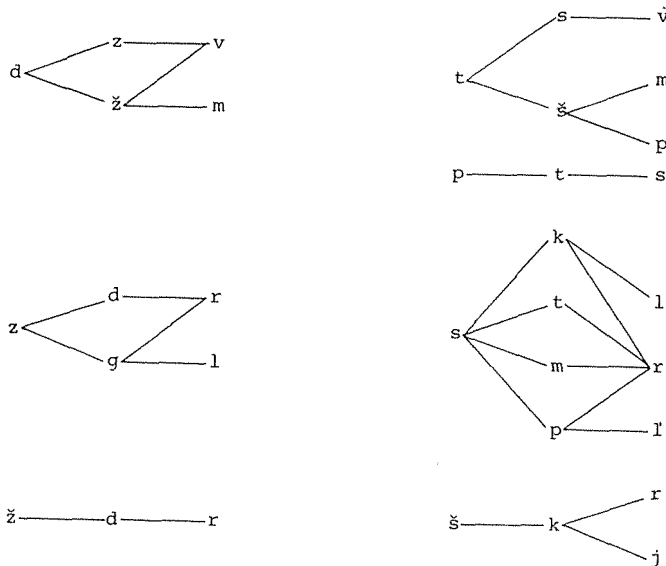
From the following matrix of initial consonant clusters consisting of two consonants it appears that the nasal /n/ and the liquidae /r l l'/ as the second member of a cluster have the largest distribution:

	b	d	g	v	z	ž	p	t	k	f	s	š	m	n	r	l	l'	j
b	-						-	-	-	-	-	-			+	+	+	
d		-		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-			+	+	+	-
g			-				-	-	-	-	-	-			+	+	+	+
v		+		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			+	+	+	+
z		+	+		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+		
ž					-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			+			-
p		-	-		-	-	-								+	+	+	+
t		-	-	+	-	-	-	+		+	+				+	+	+	-
k		-	-	+	-	-	-								+	+	+	+
f		-	-	-	-	-				-					+	+		
s		-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-		+	+	-	+	+	+
š		-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-				+			-
m													-	+	+	+	+	

A plus sign indicates the occurrence of a cluster, a minus sign means that the cluster cannot occur on phonemic grounds. When there is a blank the cluster may be occasionally absent or not attested.

The largest combinability in initial two-consonant clusters (as the first or second member of a cluster) was the phoneme /v/, occurring in eleven different clusters, followed by /l s n/, both occurring in ten clusters, then by /r k t/, occurring in nine clusters. The phonemes /ž/ and /f/, both occurring in only two clusters, have the smallest distribution. The total number of initial two-consonant clusters is sixty-four.

The following are three-consonant clusters which occur in initial position:



In our material there are only two four-consonant clusters in initial position: /tškl/ and /tškr/.

5.3.2. Medial clusters

In this survey of medial clusters syllabic or morphemic boundaries are not taken into consideration. Exceptions are those morphemic boundaries (marked by a plus sign) which appeared to be relevant in a phonemic respect. In other words a sequence of two consonants divided by a plus sign, such as /ód + javi/ "to report someone's departure (to the police)",

is not considered to be a cluster.

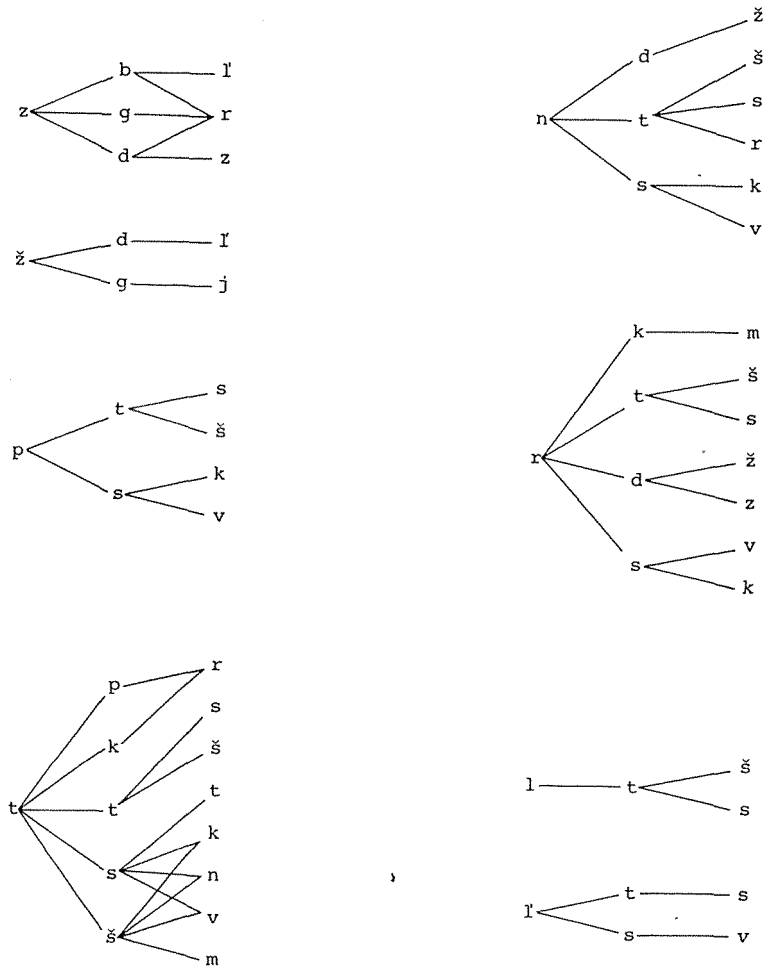
In medial two-consonant clusters all consonant phonemes occur as the first as well as the second member of the cluster.

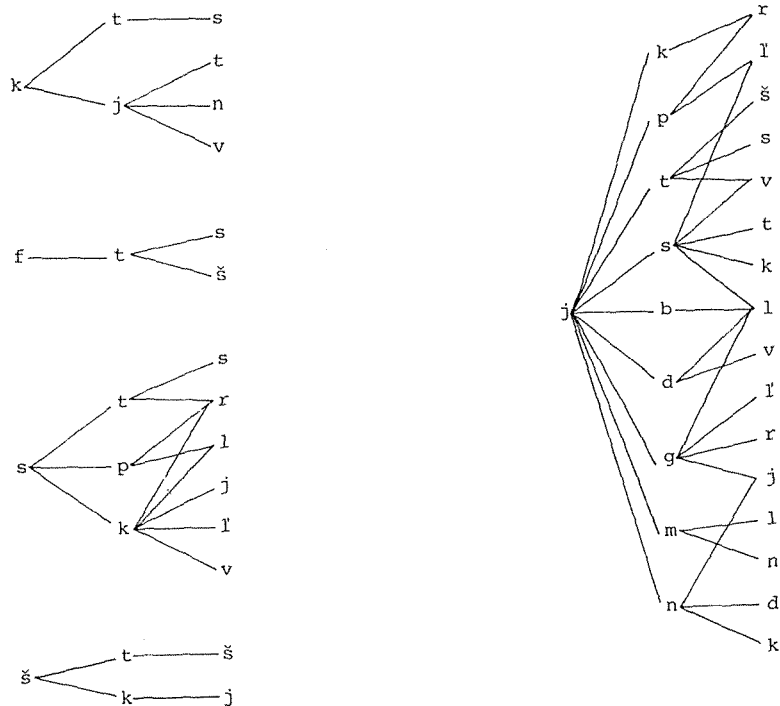
As in initial clusters the smallest distributions have /f/ and /ž/, both occurring in only seven clusters. The largest distributions have /j/, the nasals, the liquidae, the fricative /v/ and the stop /t/. The phoneme /j/ occurs in 31 different clusters, /n/ in 26, /t/ in 23, /r/ and /v/ in 22, /l/ and /l'/ in 21, and /m/ in 20 two-consonant clusters. The total number of medial two-consonant clusters in our material is 160.

The following matrix shows all these clusters:

	b	d	g	v	z	ž	p	t	k	f	s	š	m	n	r	l	l'	j
b	-	+		+	+		-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
d	+	-		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
g		+	-	+			-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
v		+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		+	+	+
z	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
ž	+		+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+					-
p	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+
t	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	-
k	-	-	-	+	-	-		+	-				+	+	+	+	+	+
f	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		-			+					+
s	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+		-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
š	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+		-	-	+	+		+	+	-
m	+			+			+	+	+	+	+		-	+	+	+	+	+
n		+	+	+	+		+	+					-		+	+	+	+
r	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+		+	+	-		+	+
l	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+			+		-	-	-	
l'				+			+	+					+	+	-	-	+	
j	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+

The following three-consonant clusters occur in medial position:





Now we can make a few general remarks on the phonemic structure of three-consonant clusters. There is only one three-consonant cluster the first member of which is a voiced stop. The number of unvoiced clusters is much larger than the number of voiced clusters: there are 61 unvoiced three-consonant clusters in our material, as against 21 voiced ones (and 3 clusters where voice is non-phonemic).

When the first two consonants of a three-consonant cluster are stops, the third cannot be a stop. When the first is a stop, and the second a fricative, the third cannot be a fricative, except /v/. When the first is a fricative, the second is always a stop, but the third is anything but a stop. A more general rule about fricatives might be formulated thus: fricatives are not followed or preceded by other fricatives, except /v/ which may be preceded

by other fricatives. When the first consonant of a three-consonant cluster is a nasal or a liquida (/m n r l l/), the second is a stop or /s/, the third is /k/ or /v/ after /s/, but is a fricative, /m/ or /r/ after stops. The restrictions mentioned above for three-consonant clusters are also applicable to four-consonant clusters. In our material we found three voiced clusters consisting of four consonants: /dzdr/, /jzdr/ and /ždžv/. The other clusters are unvoiced:

- /ptsk/
- /tstr/
- /ftsk/
- /njsk/
- /ltšl/
- /ltsk/
- /rskj/
- /rtsk/
- /rtšl/
- /jnts/
- /jntš/
- /jstr/

There is one cluster consisting of five consonants: /jntšn/.

5.3.3. Final consonant clusters

Final clusters are much more restricted than initial and medial clusters. The number of clusters found is very small. They consist of two consonants; only one cluster has three consonants: /rtš/ in /bortš/ "debt".

The final two-consonant clusters are:

	k	t	f	s	š	n	j
k	-	+					+
t		-		+	+		-
f			+	-	-	-	
n						+	-
r							+
l							+
j							+

5.4. Distributional classification of consonant phonemes

The following chart¹¹ gives the relative position which the

¹¹ The model for this chart is to be found in Cohen c.s. 1969:102

consonant phonemes may occupy with regard to the following or preceding vowel. For initial and medial clusters the relative position is counted from the following vowel, for final clusters from the preceding vowel. This enables us to classify the consonants as to the number of positions they may occupy:

	Initial clusters →				Vowel	Medial clusters →					Vowel	+ Final clusters		
	C4	C3	C2	C1		C5	C4	C3	C2	C1		C1	C2	C3
t	+	+	+	+									+	+
š		+	+	+									+	+
p		+	+	+									+	+
s		+	+	+									+	+
f			+	+									+	+
j				+		+	+	+	+	+			+	+
d		+	+	+										
ž		+	+	+										
k			+	+									+	+
n				+									+	+
z		+	+	+										
m			+	+									+	
r				+									+	
l				+									+	
v		+	+											
l				+									+	
b			+	+										
g			+	+										
h				+										

6. Neutralizations and alternations

6.1. Neutralizations

Below are listed the neutralizations which are of importance in the dialect. They are presented as follows: first the conditioning is given, then there follow examples where this conditioning is

operative. Finally the morphonemic basic alternants of the relevant morphemes of the examples given are presented in pointed brackets. In this section the morphonemic basic alternant is marked with an "f" or a "d". This means that in principle there are two basic alternants which must be distinguished, one for flexion, the other for derivation. All the information in morphonemic transcription anticipates what will be said about morphonemics in the chapter on Morphology.

The list is not in any particular order.

6.1.1. The opposition between phonemically voiced and phonemically voiceless consonants is neutralized in final position. For the archiphonemes we shall write the voiceless members of the neutralized opposition:

/dābo/ "the oak" /dap/ "oak" ⟨dab⟩ fd
 /žéladi/ "acorns" /želat/ "acorn" ⟨želad⟩ f
 /búbrego/ "the kidney" /búbrek/ "kidney" ⟨bubreG⟩ f
 /křvoj/ "blood" pl. /krf/ "blood" ⟨krv⟩ f
 /óbrazi/ "cheeks" /óbras/ "cheek" ⟨obraz⟩ f
 /mážo/ "the man" /maš/ "man" ⟨maž⟩ fd

6.1.2. Clusters formed by consonants which are phonemically voiced or voiceless are homogeneous, i.e. the cluster is either voiced or voiceless, except before /v/, where the opposition is maintained (but a cluster */fv/ is impossible):

/ffba/ "willow" /ffptše/ idem dim. ⟨frb⟩ fd
 /fžan/ "rye" adj. /fšta/ "the rye" ⟨rž⟩ d

Before /v/:

/tvárlia/ "complexion" v. /dvor/ "yard, court"
 /prašva/ "to ask" /kážva/ "to say"
 /slékva/ "to undress" /slégva/ "to come down"

6.1.3. The opposition between the dental and the palatal fricatives (/s z š ž/) is neutralized before the clusters /tš/ and /dž/ respectively. The archiphonemes will be written /š ž/:

/tšádi/ "to smoke" /ištšadi/ pf. ⟨iztšadi⟩ d
 /džvaka/ "to chew" /iždžvaka/ pf. ⟨izdžvaka⟩ d

6.1.4. The opposition between /l/ and /l̥/ is neutralized before /i e j/. The archiphoneme will be written /l̥/:
/kol/ "pole" /kól̥je/ pl. (kol) f

6.1.5. Followed by /i e/ and preceded by /š ž/, and before /j/, the opposition between /k g/ and /t d/ is neutralized. The archiphonemes will be written as /k g/ respectively:
/brut/ "nail" /brúke/ pl. (brut-je) f
/věšta/ "adroit" fem. /věški/ pl. (věšt-i) f
(See also Alternations 6.2.3.)

6.2. Alternations

Phonemic alternations are exclusively phonemically conditioned. They are automatic in the sense that there are no exceptions. The alternations are presented in the same way as the neutralizations, the morphonemic presentation again being in pointed brackets.

6.2.1. Non-final clusters /st/ and /zd/ alternate with /s/ in final position:

/mósto/ "the bridge" /mos/ "bridge" (most) f
/grózd̥o/ "the grape" /gros/ "grape" (grozd) f
/tšíst̥a/ "clean" fem. /tšis/ "clean" masc. (tšist) f

6.2.2. Non-final clusters /št škj/ and /žd žgj/ alternate with final /š̥/:

/věšta/ "skilful, adroit" fem. /veš̥/ masc. (věšt) f
/dóžgjo/ "the rain" /doš̥/ "rain" (dožgj) f

6.2.3. /j/ in the clusters /kj gj/ is dropped before front vowels:

/kúkja/ "house" /kúki/ pl. (kukj) f
/strékjno/ "happy" ntr. /stréken/ masc. (strekjEn) f

6.2.4. The clusters /kj gj/ alternate with /t d/ between consonants:

/dóžgjo/ "the rain" /dóžd̥liven/ "rainy" (dóžd̥dj) d

6.2.5. /t/ or /d/ are dropped after /s/ or /z/, when /k t v n l/ or /j/ follow:

/tkaj/ "to weave"	/ískaj/ pf.	(iztkaj) d
/smésti/ "to place, put"	/smés̥va/ ipf.	(smestva) d
/pósteli/ "to spread"	/póslaf/ aorist	(postEL ₁) f
/glíst̥o/ "the intestinal worm"	/glís̥je/ pl.	(glist) f
/brézdo/ "the birch"	/bréz̥je/ pl.	(brezd) f
/pósti/ "reaped tracks"	/pósta/ sg. + art.	(post-ta) f

6.2.6. /k/ is dropped after /f/ or /š/ and before /n/:

/ófka/ "to groan" /ófni/ pf. (ofkni) d
/léska/ "hazel-nut tree" /léšnik/ "hazelnut" (leS₁kn) d

6.2.7. Nasals (/m n/) are dropped after nasals before consonants:

/kámen/ "stone" /kámtše/ dim. (kamEn) d

6.2.8. A sequence of three stops does not occur. The second one is dropped:

/gjúptin/ "gipsy" /gjúpka/ fem. (gjúptkINK) d
(Cf. /gjúptski/ adj.).

6.2.9. Fricatives (/v z ž f s š/) are dropped before other fricatives except /v/ which may follow a fricative:

/sétši/ "to cut" /ísetši/ pf. (izsetši) d
/maš/ "man, husband" /máški/ adj. (mažšk) d

6.2.10. If /s z/ are followed by prevocalic /r/, then /t d/ respectively are intercalated:

/rénda/ "to grate" /ízdrenda/ pf. (izrenda) d
/nád̥zira/ "to watch" /nád̥zdri/ pf. (nadzIra) d
/rábota/ "to work" /strábota/ pf. (srabota) d
(Cf. /řti/ "to germinate" /ízrti/ pf.)

6.2.11. Apart from /tt/ and /jj/ no geminates occur:

/játšmen/ "barley" /játšmenik/ "bannock" (jatšmennik) d

6.2.12. Geminates do not occur between consonants:

/névesta/ "bride" /néveftše/ dim. (neveS₂ttš) d

6.2.13. When a form ending in /j/ is followed by another /j/ which is wordfinal, then one /j/ is dropped:

/póroj/ "torrent, flood" /póroj/ pl. ⟨poroj-j⟩ f
/ódaja/ "room" /ódaaj/ pl. ⟨odaj-j⟩ f

When a form ending in /Cj/ is followed by /jV/, then one /j/ is also dropped:

/svínja/ "swine" /svínje/ pl. ⟨svinj-je⟩ f

6.2.14. When /j/ after a back vowel is followed by /i/, it alternates with zero:

/kraj/ "end, extremity" /krájiskja/ coll. pl. ⟨kraj-išk-ja⟩ f
(Cf. /krájoj/ pl.)

6.2.15. /r/ in a sequence /CrC/ alternates with /ər/ when /r/ is immediately followed by a vowel:

/vrf/ "top" /véro/ "the top"
/véroj/ "tops" ⟨vrF⟩ f

6.3. As an example of the application of the rules formulated above we shall give the phonemic representations of the verbal prefix ⟨iz⟩:

before /tš/ or /dž/ (rule 6.1.3.): /iš/ or /iž/:

/ištšešla / "to comb" /iždžvaka/ "to chew"

before /p t k f/ (rule 6.1.2.): /is/: /ístetši/ "to flow"

before /s z š ž/ (rule 6.2.9.): /i/: /ísuši/ "to dry"

before /rV/ (rule 6.2.10.): /izd/: /ízdrarni/ "to level"

in the remaining positions: /iz/: /ízʔupi/ "to peel"

CHAPTER 3

M O R P H O L O G Y

0. Introduction

This chapter on Morphology is divided into three sections: inflexion, derivation and stress. In structural linguistics inflexion and derivation are generally accepted to be two equally important parts of morphology. Stress, however, is not normally considered as belonging to morphology. We have decided to include stress in our chapter on morphology, because it operates on the level of wordforms or even larger units. Stress is not a property of a single phoneme, but of a word. (For further explanations see the section on stress 4.0.)

1. Morphonology

1.0. In our treatment of morphology we shall make use of the concept of a basic alternant, presented in a morphonemic transcription. In our description a basic alternant is a unit, in many cases an artificial one, to which morphonemic alternation rules must be applied in order to arrive at forms to which morphological processes are applicable. The function of such a basic alternant is as follows: it makes it possible to present lexical and grammatical morphemes by one unit. This unit must

be chosen in such a way that when we apply the simplest sets of morphonemic and phonemic alternations we arrive at the correct phonological form. Although we have tried to present our description in the simplest possible way we can only do this when the facts to be described are themselves simple.

We have tackled the problem in an analytical manner. Wordforms are split up as far as possible and necessary into smaller meaningful units. These smaller units are then presented in morphonemic transcription. Morphonology is an important part of our morphology, because it analyzes clearly the relations existing between semantically identical or strongly related units which are formally different. In some cases our approach might appear to be rather fragmentary. A possible disadvantage is perhaps that different aspects of one and the same wordform have to be dealt with in different sections. But the alternative would be an ad hoc description of the facts and a description in which the various grammatical levels are not sufficiently distinguished.

1.1. A morphoneme can be considered as the union of two or more phonemes. If we compare morphonemes with archiphonemes we find that the latter may be defined as the intersection of two or more phonemes. A significant difference between archiphonemes and morphonemes is that archiphonemes are not mere constructs of the linguist, but may have physical reality. Morphonemes, on the other hand, cannot be phonetically realized.

Morphonemes are enclosed in pointed brackets $\langle \rangle$. Capitals, sometimes with index numbers, point to morphonemic alternation rules. Inflexional suffixes (desinences) are preceded by a hyphen. In the morphonemic transcription stress will not be indicated. In the introductory sections the indications "f" (for flexion) or "d" (derivation) are added, but in the corresponding chapters on inflexion and derivation they are, of course, omitted.

Example: $\langle be\text{le}G_1 \rangle$ f "mark". The morphoneme $\langle G_1 \rangle$ indicates that in the inflexional phonemic forms there is an alternation of /g/ and /dz/, which point to a morphonemic alternation rule symbolized as follows (cf. 2.8.1.8.):

$\langle G_1 \rangle$: /g/ ~ /dz/ || If masculine nouns with stemfinal /g/ and zero desinence of $\langle -a \rangle$ for singular take the plural suffix $\langle -i \rangle$ they undergo this alternation, which is predictable.

As a result the plural form of $\langle be\text{le}G_1 \rangle$ is /béledzi/. In addition to this morphonemic rule there is also a neutralization of the voice opposition in the representant of $\langle G_1 \rangle$, whenever it is found in final position (cf. Phonology 6.1.1.): /bélek/. The singular form with an article is not subject to either automatic or morphonemic rules. This form can be derived directly from the basic alternant: /bélego/.

1.2. Morphonemic alternations are non-automatic. In this respect they differ from phonemic alternations, which are always automatic. Moreover another difference in the rules for morphonemic and phonemic alternations is the nature of the conditions involved. The conditions that determine morphonemic alternations are always partly morphological, i.e. they concern a single morpheme, or a group of morphemes which can be listed or defined on the basis of certain morphological characteristics. Phonemic alternation rules, however, are based exclusively on phonological conditions and therefore, by definition, there are no exceptions to these rules.

Morphonemic alternation rules can be predictable or non-predictable. They are considered to be predictable when they apply, without exception, to all cases which satisfy the conditions stated in those rules. Otherwise they are non-predictable.

The function of the morphonemic alternations in our dialect is formal. From a semantic viewpoint these alternations are in most cases redundant and no more than phenomena which accompany certain morphemic affixes. There are, however, cases, where a certain alternation points to the kind of desinence we are dealing with. For instance, the plural form of $\langle raK_1 -a \rangle$ f "hand" is /rátse/, the derived diminutive, (the basic alternant is then $\langle raK_2 -a \rangle$ d), is /rátše/; both words have a suffix /-e/, but

different alternation rules apply. The type of alternation informs us about the morphemic function of the desinence; in the first case an inflexional suffix indicates the plural, in the second a combined derivational and inflexional suffix indicates a diminutive and singular/neuter.

The rules of alternations affecting nominal and verbal inflexion and those affecting derivation will be presented in separate lists at the end of the sections on nominal and verbal inflexion and on derivation, respectively.

In order to give some guidance to the reader about the symbols used, the kind of alternations and the word classes in which they occur, we present here a list of vocalic and consonantal alternations of all inflexional and derivational alternations.

1.3. List of morphonemic vocalic alternations:

Morpho- phoneme	Alternating phonemes	Inflexional alternations			Derivational alternations	
		nouns	adj./pron.	verbs	aspectual	other
E	e #	+	+	+		+
E ₁	e f	+P				
E ₂	e j	+P				2
A	a #	1	1		+P	2
A ₁	a o	1	+P			
O	o #	+	+	+		+
O ₁	o f		1			
U	u #				+P	
I	i #			+	+P	+(P)

+: occurs in more than two examples.

P/(P): predictable or partly predictable alternation.

1,2: no more than one or two examples.

1.4. List of morphonemic consonantal alternations

Morpho- nemes	Alternating phonemes	Inflexional alternations			Derivational alternations	
		nouns	adj./pron.	verbs	aspectual	other
F	f #	+(P)	+P			3
F ₁	f š					+
V	v #	1	+			
V ₁	v š	1				1
J	j #	1		+P	+P	1
J ₁	j d				1	
K	k #	1				
K ₁	k ts	+P				+
K ₂	k tš	1		+	+P	+(P)
K ₃	k š					1
G ₁	g dz	+P				2
G ₂	g dž					+P
G ₃	g ž			+	1	+P
G ₄	g z			+	+P	1
S	s #	1	1			1
S ₁	s š	1		+		+(P)
S ₂	s f					+(P)
Š ₂ (Ž ₂)	š f	1				+(P)
Z ₁	z ž			+		2
T	t #	1				
T ₁	t ts/tš	1				
D	d #				1	1
L ₁	l l'				+	+
L ₂	l or # ž					1
IN	in #	+P				+
ETS	ets #	+P				+P
JD	jd #				2	2

Note: all alternations but one are alternations with two alternating members. Only (T₁) has three members: /t/ ~ /ts/ ~ /tš/. This alternation occurs in only one (neuter) noun: (deT₁-e) (cf. 2.8.1.9.). The alternation (L₂) has the members

/l/ ~ /ž/ or # ~ /ž/. It concerns only one derivation, where the derivant has doublet forms.

2. Inflexion

The words of the dialect of Dihovo can be divided into two morphologically different classes: classes which have inflexional endings which may be zero and classes which do not and which can be distinguished only syntactically.

The first class of words will be dealt with in this part of the grammar. On the basis of the various sets of inflexional desinences which represent the morphological categories, these words can further be distinguished into the following sub-classes:

1. nouns,
2. adjectives,
3. adverbs,
4. pronouns, and
5. numerals.

These five sub-classes belong to the nominal (and pronominal) inflexional system; they have at least certain categories and forms in common. In this respect they must be distinguished from the verbal inflexional system, which is constituted by the subclass of:

6. verbs.

The verbal system has formal endings and categories represented by these endings which belong uniquely to the subclass of verbs.

Although adverbs have no inflexion, very many members of this class are formally strongly related to adjectives in a completely regular way. This, in our opinion, justifies their treatment in the inflexional (as well as the derivational) part of the chapter on morphology. Moreover some adverbs may express the semantic features of proximity and distance, which are found exclusively in the nominal word classes (more precisely in nominal phrases). (For one exception, see the end of this section.)

The non-inflecting word classes are:

7. prepositions,
8. conjunctions,
9. particles, and
10. interjections.

These classes will be dealt with in the chapter on syntax.

The boundaries between the different classes and particularly between the inflecting and non-inflecting classes are not always clearly defined. There are, for instance, indeclinable words, which by reason of their meaning and syntactical use must be regarded as adjectives. We shall consider them as adjectives in order to avoid unnecessary complications. They are therefore treated as exceptions in the relevant section of this chapter.

On the other hand there are two remarkable exceptions of "inflexion" in the non-inflecting word classes: there is a particle which expresses the semantic features of proximity and distance, and an interjection which distinguishes sex. These cases are likewise regarded as exceptions and will therefore be treated in the chapter on syntax (see Syntax 3.4. and 4.4.).

2.1. The nominal inflexional system

2.1.1. Nouns are characterized by the following categories:

1. number: singular and plural
2. gender: masculine, feminine and neuter.

In the present dialect there is a vocative form, but it is marginal. Very few nouns, only non-neuters denoting human beings, may take a vocative desinence. But by no means all non-neuter nouns denoting human beings have a vocative form. And with regard to the small group of nouns which have such a form, the use of the vocative is optional: the vocative form can always be replaced by the non-vocative form.

2.1.1.1. Almost every noun can be used in the singular and in the plural, the formal difference being a different set of

desinences. A relatively small number of nouns are, in a grammatical sense, *singularia tantum* or *pluralia tantum* (see 2.3.3.5.). Although the number of examples is very small, a distinction can be made between what is known as a collective plural and a quantifying plural, both marked plurals, versus the "normal" unmarked plural (see 2.3.3.4.). We have no examples of an expressive plural in our data¹.

2.1.1.2. Every noun in the singular belongs to a certain gender. Gender cannot be established on the basis of the phonemic shape of the form without article, i.e. the final phoneme of this form in the singular, because no singular desinence corresponds to only one member of the gender opposition. The functional load of gender in the Macedonian literary language as well as in the dialects is almost zero, its meaning is only a grammatical one and lies in the agreement of the noun with the possible accompanying pronouns and adjectives and (partly) with verbs. The only reason the noun /*ěsen*/ "autumn" is said to be feminine is that it is found with adjectives and pronouns with feminine desinences: /*stŭdena ěsen*/ "a cold autumn". For the same reason a noun like /*dědo*/ "grandfather" must be called masculine: /*stario dēdo*/ "the old grandfather".

In this grammatical survey gender will be established therefore on the basis of syntactical agreement only. For most nouns gender is an inherent (invariant) feature; with very few exceptions (see 2.3.2.5.) nouns all belong to a fixed gender.

Gender, characterized here as a syntactical feature of agreement, exists only marginally in the plural; the numeral "two" has two forms: /*dva*/ for masculine and /*dve*/ for non-masculine. But even here there are exceptions: the nouns /*nokj*/ "night" and /*většer*/ "evening", both feminine, can be combined only with /*dva*/ (see 2.3.2.5.).

2.1.2. Adjectives are characterized by the categories number and gender. In contrast to nouns, however, both these categories are

¹Compare Stankiewicz 1962^a:1-15 and Hendriks 1976:106f.

categories of congruency, depending on the noun they qualify. As a class of qualifying words, many adjectives may express a greater or the greatest degree of the quality they present.

2.1.3. Adverbs, like adjectives, are qualifying words, but unlike adjectives, which qualify nouns, they qualify verbs, adjectives or other adverbs. They too may express a higher or the highest degree of the quality they present.

2.1.4. Pronouns distinguish the categories of number, gender, person and case. Their meaning is entirely grammatical. Case is distinguished only by the personal pronouns, and by the reflexive pronoun which does not distinguish number and gender. The category of person is distinguished only by the personal and possessive pronouns.

On the basis of grammatical meaning and use we divide the pronouns into the following classes²:

1. personal
2. possessive
3. reflexive
4. possessive reflexive
5. intensive
6. demonstrative
7. interrogative
8. possessive interrogative
9. relative
10. indefinite
11. qualifying and quantifying.

2.1.5. Numerals are treated as a separate nominal class based on their semantic, and partly, formal relations, although some of them, on formal grounds, might be considered as nouns (/i'ljada/ "thousand" /m'iljon/ "million"), others are like adjectives (/ėden/ "one").

²This classification is mainly based on Lunt 1952:36f

2.2. The article

2.2.1. The dialect of Dihovo has certain formal means which are normally called definite articles. Their function is to identify nouns (or more exactly nominal phrases) as already or generally known from context and/or extralinguistic situations.

Hendriks (1976:208f) is correct when he says that there is little point in talking about a definite article (as is traditional in Macedonian linguistics) when there is no indefinite one. The only word which could possibly function as an indefinite article is the word /éden/, which must be distinguished from the homonymous numeral, but for reasons of meaning, optionality of use and low frequency of occurrence in comparison to the use of the "definite" article there are very few grounds for establishing the existence of an indefinite article.

Another problem is whether the set of forms in question must really be considered as articles or as demonstrative pronouns. As a matter of fact these forms are always regarded as (definite) articles. Only Lunt (1952:41) regards them as short, unstressed forms of the demonstrative pronouns, but he gives no strong arguments for this viewpoint. The meaning of these short forms is, according to Lunt, the same as the meaning "of the three demonstrative pronouns, but weakened - that is, they show that the noun which they accompany is identified as previously mentioned or generally known". In our opinion this is a definition which corresponds closely to a possible definition of an article.

When speaking of the distinction between (demonstrative) pronouns and articles Krámský (1972:33) comes "to the conclusion that we can speak about an article only when the definite article indicates a noun in GENERAL function (e.g. the horse is an animal); an individual stands here for a whole class. If the pronoun has this meaning it becomes article". Another difference between pronoun and article in Krámský's opinion is: "the pronoun is only facultative whereas the article is obligatory, it is a constant quality of the noun". Krámský mentions other criteria as well for distinguishing articles

from pronouns, but, in our opinion, the semantic and the formal arguments quoted here may be regarded as a sufficient basis for distinguishing the unmarked member ⟨t⟩ (of the set of articles, see below 2.2.2.) from the demonstrative pronouns.

We add a syntactic argument for regarding the forms in question as articles. This is the very frequent use of phrases like /toj kónjo/ "this horse", /óvaj kftšmaro/ "this inn-keeper", /ónaj drúgaro/ "that friend". If we were to regard the desinence /o/ (of the article ⟨t⟩) as a demonstrative pronoun, this would mean the use of two demonstrative pronouns in the same nominal phrase, which is much more unlikely than a phrase consisting of a single demonstrative pronoun + a noun with an article. In our opinion these arguments give us sufficient grounds to call the forms in question articles.

2.2.2. In addition to the function of identification the forms of the articles have yet another semantic function. According to the subset of forms used we distinguish a ⟨t⟩ ⟨v⟩ or ⟨n⟩-article.

The ⟨v⟩-article denotes proximity³. By proximity we mean that when a nominal phrase has the ⟨v⟩-article the object(s) referred to by this nominal phrase is/are close to the speaker, either in a literal or in a metaphorical sense. For example: /détvevo/ "this child here" or "my child", /godínava/ "this year, the current year".

The ⟨n⟩-article is diametrically opposed to the ⟨v⟩-article. It denotes distance. The object(s) referred to by a nominal phrase which is provided with the ⟨n⟩-article is/are far away from the speaker, again either literally or metaphorically. Examples: /kaj lúgeno pot sénkana/ "with those people in the shadow over there".

The ⟨t⟩-article is unmarked with respect to the semantic features of proximity or distance.

An important point is that neither the use of the ⟨v⟩ nor of

³This term and the term used for the ⟨n⟩-article are taken from Hendriks 1976:215,217.

the ⟨n⟩-forms is obligatory: they can always be replaced by the neutral article ⟨t⟩.

The semantic distinctions discussed here and their formal correlates ⟨t⟩, ⟨v⟩ and ⟨n⟩ are not only present in the forms of the article, but also in those of the demonstrative pronouns (see 2.6.6.), the qualifying and quantifying pronouns (2.6.11.), a number of adverbs (2.5.2.) and one particle (see Syntax 3.4.).

2.2.3. The forms of the article are suffixes which must be attached to the first member of the nominal phrase which is capable of taking these suffixes. The following subclasses of words may take these forms: nouns, adjectives, possessive and intensive pronouns, and numerals. When the first member of a nominal phrase cannot take the article, such as for instance demonstrative pronouns, it is attached to the following member of the nominal phrase: /óva dětevo/ "this child".

We noticed two instances of an adverb used with the article: /sabájle/ "early in the morning" /sabájleto/ which in the given context means approximately "that day early in the morning", and /ránoto/ "early".

2.2.4. The forms of the article are strongly related to those of the demonstrative pronouns (2.6.6.). The ⟨t, v, n⟩-forms of the article are always followed by a desinence, consisting of a vowel or zero, which agrees in number and gender with the head (mostly a noun) of the nominal phrase.

When the article is suffixed to adjectives or pronouns, it agrees without exception with the adjectival or pronominal desinences, which in their turn agree with the noun they qualify. The forms of the article taken by nouns are for the greater part selected on formal grounds.

In the sections which deal with the inflexion of the separate word classes the distribution of the forms of the article will be dealt with in detail.

*One remarkable exception to this formal rule is /tri sáto/ "three o'clock" as compared to /trite sáti/ "the three hours".

2.3. Nouns

2.3.0. The stem

In this dialect the stem of a noun mostly ends in a consonant. There are very few exceptions; these are listed here:

1. three masculine nouns have a stem ending in ⟨a⟩: ⟨gra⟩ "bean(s)", ⟨stra⟩ "fear", ⟨vra⟩ "grain to be threshed". There is a fourth masculine noun ⟨vlaS⟩ "Arumanian", the phonemic shape of which is in the singular /vla/. One masculine noun has a stem ending in ⟨o⟩: ⟨gospo⟩ "God".
2. a group of words, mostly (Turkish) loans, or Slavic roots with a (Turkish) loan suffix, have a stem ending in ⟨i⟩. They all have the singular desinence ⟨-a⟩ and the plural desinence ⟨-i⟩ /i/. Most nouns of this group are feminine, a small number are masculine, and a few are epicene forms. Examples: ⟨džami-a⟩ "mosque" feminine, ⟨golemdži-a⟩ "a swank" masculine or feminine.
3. a small number of feminine nouns end in a vowel. They all take ⟨-a⟩ in the singular and ⟨-j⟩ in the plural. We found the following nouns:

⟨le-a⟩ "flower-bed"	⟨bo-a⟩ "flea"	⟨gla-a⟩ "head"
maške-a "stepmother"	ko-a "bucket"	sna-a "daughter/ sister-in-law"
pare-a "steam"	osno-a "weaving-loom"	
smrde-a "stench"	potko-a "horseshoe"	
stre-a "eaves"		

2.3.1. The singular

The singular is marked by the desinences ⟨-∅ -a -o -e⟩. The suffixes ⟨-∅⟩ or ⟨-a⟩ are taken by nouns which are masculine or feminine, the suffixes ⟨-o⟩ or ⟨-e⟩ by nouns which are masculine or neuter.

2.3.2. Gender

2.3.2.1. Masculine

The overwhelming majority of masculine nouns take a zero desinence in the singular. All masculine nouns with a suffix other than zero (i.e. ⟨-a -o -e⟩) denote male human beings,

among them kinship terms or nouns denoting males with certain negative characteristics, professions, and proper names. Examples of nouns

with zero desinence:	with (-a):
(beleG ₁ /bēlek/ "mark"	(gazd-a "landlord"
kožuF /kōžuf/ "leather coat"	odž-a "Moslem priest"
vlaS /vla/ "Arumanian"	vladik-a "bishop"
stra /stra/ "fear"	gjorgj-a proper name
josiv) /jōsif/ proper name	furnadži-a "baker"
	suari-a) "soldier"

with (-o):	with (-e):
(tatk-o "father"	proper names only:
zlatk-o proper name	(jontš-e
babatšk-o "big strong person"	spas-e
lažg-o "liar"	tod-e)
mrzl-o "lazy-bones"	
platšk-o "cry-baby"	
spank-o "sleepy head"	
zabl-o) "buck-toothed person"	

The nouns /lážgo, mřzlo, plátško, spánko, záblo/ have feminine counterparts in (-a).

Because of the fact that gender is considered to be a category of agreement (/gōlem lážgo/), a noun like /mážiške/ "a big, strong man" is neuter: /zdrávo mážiške/ "a healthy man".

2.3.2.2. Feminine

Nouns which are feminine have a singular desinence either in (-a) (the great majority) or in zero. All nouns found in our material with a zero desinence are listed here:

Examples of feminine nouns

with (-a):
(mas-a "table"
smrek-a "juniper"
bitoI-a) "Bitola"

with zero-desinence (all):

(bolest "illness"	(pesok, "sand"	(staros "old age"
esen "autumn"	pomož "help"	sves "consciousness"
gordelivos "pride"	post "reaped track"	tšast "part"
kal "mud"	pot "sweat"	tšes ⁵ "honour"
koris "benefit"	prolet "spring"	var "lime"
krv "blood"	propas "loss"	vetšer "evening"
mas "fat"	rados "joy"	vlast "power"
mof "moss"	rž "rye"	vrs "generation"
nokj "night"	smrt "death"	žal "pity"
pamet "memory"	soI) "salt"	žalos) "sorrow"
pepel) "ash"		

Feminine too, of course, are those nouns mentioned in 2.3.0.3. which have an optional desinence (-a) (see Phonology 4.1. and 4.2.).

2.3.2.3. Neuter

Neuter nouns take either the suffix (-o) or (-e) in the singular. In many instances the singular desinence (-e) is both inflexional and derivational at the same time (see Derivation 3.6.3.6.).

Examples:

(brašn-o "flour"	(lozj-e "vineyard"
ok-o "eye"	braťtš-e "little brother"
tetov-o) "Tetovo"	mas-e "little table"
	prI-e) "young donkey"

2.3.2.4. Epicene nouns

A number of nouns in (-a) denoting human beings are either masculine or feminine depending on whether they refer to males or females. For example the noun (pianits-a) "soak" combined

⁵The reason why the basic alternant of words such as (tšes) is not *(tšest) (as one would expect on historical grounds) is that no form with (t) belonging to the stem is attested in our material. We found such a form, for instance, of (tšast): /tšásti/ "parts", where /i/ is the marker for plural and /t/ the final consonant of the stem. In the form /tšésta/ "the honour" /t/ is considered to belong to the form of the article.

with an adjective results in /gõlem piánitsa/ or /gõlema piánitsa/.

Other examples of epicene nouns are:

⟨bortšli-a	"debtor"	⟨budal-a	"blockhead"
gõlemdži-a	"a swank"	kabadaj-a	"ruffian"
oraoli-a	"oro-dancer"	ovard-a	"dude"
platškadži-a)	"robber"	pustikuj-a)	"prodigal"

Some of the epicene forms in ⟨i-a⟩ have nevertheless developed a feminine derived form: /arámia/ "thief" is either masculine or feminine, but /arámifka/ is feminine only. Another example is /kõmšia, kõmšifka/ "neighbour".

Not all nouns which might be used to refer to either males or females are grammatically either masculine or feminine. For instance the nouns /sírak/ "orphan" and /svédok/ "witness" may refer to both males or females, but they remain masculine.

The noun :tšélat/ "children of one household", *singulare tantum*, is a hybrid. We found /moj tšélat/ "my children", when males were referred to, as well as /mõja tšélat/, referring to either males or females. But when this noun takes the article, it can take the feminine form only: /tšélaṭta/.

2.3.2.5. Variant gender

By variant gender we mean the use of one or another gender for one and the same noun, when this use does not depend on natural sex. We found a small number of nouns which are both masculine and feminine:

⟨konop	"hemp"	/kõnopo, kõnopta/
mozoK,	"brain"	/mõzoko, mõzokta/
piper	"paprika"	/pípéro, píperta/
žar	"embers"	/žáro, žárta/
život)	"life"	/životo, životta/

For ⟨piper⟩ one might make a distinction between /píper/¹ "paprika-seed" and /píper/² "ripened product". Compare: /go sádime pípéro/ "(we) plant the seed" and /je tõtšime píperta/ "(we) pound the paprika" or /túta píper/ "hot pepper".

The nouns ⟨vetšer⟩ "evening" and ⟨nokj⟩ "night", which are both considered feminine, are irregularly used with the masculine form of the numeral "two":

/vétšerta/ "the evening"

/dobrá vetšer/ "good evening"

but: /dva vétšeri/ or /dva vétšera/ (see 2.3.3.4.2.).

/nõkjta/ "the night"

/tséla nokj/ "whole night"

but: /dvá noki/ or /dvá nokja/.

2.3.3. The plural

The plural is marked by the following desinences: ⟨-oj, -ej, -ofts-i, -je, -ja, -išk-ja, -j, -i, -e, -a, -en-a, -ia⟩.

The distribution of these plural endings is illustrated in the following chart, which gives horizontally the genders with their desinences for the singular. These desinences are then interrelated with the plural endings. A detailed treatment of the plural will then follow:

singular plural	masculine			feminine		neuter		
	-∅	-a	-o	-e ¹	-∅	-a	-o	-e
-oj	++ ²		+ ²		+ ²			
-ej		+ ³						
-ofts-i			+ ⁴					
-je	+					+		
-ja	+ ⁵						+ ⁵	
-išk-ja	+ ⁶					+ ⁶		+ ⁶
-j	+					+		
-i	++	++			++	++	+ ⁷	
-e						+ ⁸		
-a							++	++
-en-a							+ ⁹	
-ia							+ ¹⁰	++

++ means productivity of the plural desinence in question.

¹ only proper names without (attested) plural forms.

² only monosyllabic stems.

³ only one noun: ⟨šur-a⟩.

⁴ only six nouns: ⟨lažg-o, mrzl-o, platšk-o, spank-o, zabl-o, tatk-o⟩.

⁵ only three nouns: ⟨brat, drv-o, kril-o⟩.

⁶ this complex desinence has always an additional collective meaning. There are only four masculine nouns, one feminine and one neuter noun, which take this desinence: (grob, kraj, pat, plamEn; papr-a kutš-e).

⁷ only three neuter nouns: (oK₂-o, uV₁-o, lakt-o).

⁸ only two nouns: (noG₁-a, raK₁-a).

⁹ only one noun: (ram-o)

¹⁰ only one noun: (gumn-o) with additional collective meaning.

2.3.3.1. Masculine

Within the class of masculine nouns ending in a consonant it is useful to make a distinction between polysyllabic and monosyllabic stems. Monosyllabic stems are stems with no more than one vowel, excluding what is known traditionally as the "fleeting" vowel. A noun like (ogAn) "fire" will be considered to have a monosyllabic stem.

2.3.3.1.1. Plural suffix (-oj)

The majority of monosyllabic masculine stems which take (-ø) or (-o) in the singular take the plural suffix (-oj).

The converse is true, without exception: (-oj) is taken only by monosyllabic stems. We consider this desinence to be productive. Below is a list of the nouns which have this desinence:

(ap	/ápoj	(grob	/gróboj	(pat	/pátoj	(stap	/stápoj
beg	bégoj	grozd	grózdoy	plamEn	plámnoy	stog	stógoj
bik	bíkoj	grst	grstoy	plet	plétoj	stol	stóloj
blud	blúdoj	jaz	jázoj	plod	plódoj	stroj	strójoj
braF	bráoj	kat	kátoj	plug	plúgoj	strug	strúgoj
breg	brégoj	kjoš	kjóšoy	pop	pópoj	stud	stúdoj
buF	búoj	klutš	klútšoy	praF	práoj	sud	súdoj
dar	dároj	kok	kókoj	prat	prátoj	svat	svátoj
del	déloj	kol	kóloj	raft	ráftoy	šeJ	šéoj
dEn ⁶	dénoy	kraj	krájoj	rab	ráboj	štrk	štfkoj
dol	dóloj	kraJ	králoj	rast	rástoj	teJ	téloj
dožgj	dóžgjoj	krap	krápoj	red	rédoy	top	tópoj
drag	drágoj	krst	kfstoy	rid	rídoy	trem	trémoj
dren	drénoy	krt	kftoy	rog	rógoj	tsalt	tsáltoy
dvor	dvóroj	laf	láfoj	rt	ftoy	tšam	tšámoj
dzid	dzídoj	laF	láoj	sad	sádoj	tšad	tšádoj
dzver	dzvéroj	laž	lážoj	satš	sátšoy	tšep	tšépoj
džam	džámoj	lek	lékoj	sin	sínoy	tšpirt	tšpírtoy
džep	džépoj	leb	léboj	slez	slézoj	vetEr	vétroj
ež	éžoj	lost	lóstoy	slog	slógoj	vir	víroj
fes	fésej	lub	lúboj	smok	smókoj	vol	vóloj
front	fróntoy	meF	méoj	sneg	snégoj	voz	vózoj
gjum	gjúmoj	meF	méoj	snop	snópoj	vrF	véroj
glog	glógoj	most	móstoj	soj	sójoj	zbor	zbóroj
glužgj	glúžgjoj	mraz	mrázoj	sok	sókoj	zet	zétoj
gnoj	gnójoj	nos	nósoj	sor	sóroj	zglób	zglóboj
grad	grádoj	nož	nóžoj	srp	sfpoj	zmeF	zméoj
greF)	gréoj/	ogAn)	ógnoy/	srt)	sftoj/	znak)	znákoj/

The plural suffix (-oj) is also taken by the three monosyllabic masculine nouns with a stem ending in (a):

⁶The noun (dEn) "day" has, strictly speaking, not a monosyllabic but a non-syllabic stem. However (E) in (dEn) does not alternate with # before the plural desinence (-oj): /dénoy/, in contradistinction to (ogAn, plamEn, vetEr). See 2.8.1.4. and 2.8.1.5.

(gra) "bean(s)" /gráoj/
 (stra) "fear" /stráoj/
 (vra) "grain to be threshed" /vráoj/

A third group of nouns taking this plural suffix is formed by those masculine nouns denoting kinship terms which have a singular desinence (-o):

(ded-o) "grandfather" /dédój/
 (nunk-o) "godfather" /núnkój/
 (strik-o) "uncle: father's brother" /stríkój/
 (tatk-o) "father" /tátkój/
 (vujk-o) "uncle: mother's brother" /vújkój/

2.3.3.1.2. There is only one noun which takes the plural ending (-ej): (šur-a) "wife's brother" /šúrej/.

2.3.3.1.3. There are five nouns in our material which have a singular suffix (-o), all five denoting a certain negative characteristic, and taking the plural desinence (-ofts-i) (cf. 2.3.3.1.9.):

(lažg-o) "liar" /lážgoftsi/
 (mrzl-o) "lazy-bones" /mřzloftsi/
 (platšk-o) "cry-baby" /plátškoftsi/
 (spank-o) "sleepy-head" /spánkoftsi/
 (zabl-o) "buck-toothed person" /zábloftsi/

2.3.3.1.4. The plural ending (-je) is non-productive. We found a number of bisyllabic nouns with a stem ending in (en), one in (un), and a few monosyllabics:

(bor	/bórje	(jaglen	/jáglenje	(remen	/rémenje
bozd	bózje	kamen	kámenje	snop	snópje
brezd	brézje	klast	klásje	šip	šípje
brut	brúke	kol	kólje	trap	trápje
dab	dábje	koren	kórenje	trn	třnje
dren	drénje	kosten	kóstenje	trup	trúpje
glist	glísje	list	lísje	tšam	tšámje
grozd	grózje/	prsten	přstenje/	tutun)	tútunje/

2.3.3.1.5. The plural ending (-ja) is found in the noun (brat) "brother" /brákja/ and the prefixed derivative (pibrat) "half-brother" /príbrakja/.

2.3.3.1.6. There are a few nouns which also take the plural ending (-ja) preceded by the suffix (-išk), which may be held responsible for a "collective" meaning which accompanies this plural, and which is absent in parallel plurals of the same nouns:

(grob) "grave" /gróbiškja/ "church-yard" /gróboj/ "graves"
 (kraj) "end" /krájškja/ /krájoj/
 (pat) "road" /pátiškja/ /pátój/
 (plamEn) "flame" /plámniškja/ /plámnoj/

2.3.3.1.7. The plural suffix (-j) also occurs only rarely. A few nouns with a stem ending in (j), a few in (F), one in (K) take this ending:

(boj	"fight, battle"	/boj
obitšaj	/óbitšaj/ "custom"	obítšaj
poroj	"torrent, flood"	póroj
povoj	"nappy"	póvoj
raj	"paradise"	raj
razboj)	"weaving-loom"	rázboj/

(kožuF	"leather coat"	/kóžuj
morkoF	"carrot"	mórkój
oreF	"walnut"	órej
ostroF	"island"	óstroj
otruF	"poison"	ótruj
otšuF	"stepfather"	ótšuj
perduF	"feather"	péřduj
rakA,F	"sleeve"	rákaj
vakaF)	"parish"	vákaj/

(požoK) "snail" /póžo/

2.3.3.1.8. All other masculine nouns take the desinence (-i) in the plural. Examples:

(tšaršaf	"bed sheet, tablecloth"	/tšaršafi
mastrav	"expense"	mástravi
krlež	"tick" insect	křleži
badžanaK ₁	"brother-in-law"	badžánatsi
bubreG ₁	"kidney"	búbredzi
kotEl	"kettle"	kótl _i
lepaE ₂ ts	"burdock"	lepájtsi
mrazuEts	"icicle"	mrázul _t si
rkulEts	"germ"	řkul _t si
sokOl	"falcon"	sókli
opinOK ₁	"(kind of) shoe"	ópintsi
tsrvEts	"worm"	tsřftsi
veřesjanETS	"native of Veles"	veřšjani
argatIN	"day-labourer"	árgati
vladiK ₁ -a	"bishop"	vláditsi
arami-a	"thief"	arámi _i
gazd-a)	"landlord"	gázdi/

It must be realized that because of strict phonemic conditioning the plural suffix of nouns like /arámia/ may be realized also as zero: /arámii/ (cf. Phonology 4.1.).

Monosyllabics taking the plural ending {-i} are as follows (see also 2.3.3.1.9.):

(džak ₁	"part of the weaving-loom"	/džátsi
fnuK ₁	"grandson, nephew"	fnútsi
grK ₁	"Greek"	gřtsi/
kjunG ₁	"stove-pipe"	/kjúndzi/
konj	"horse"	kónji
maž	"man"	máži
nokt	"nail"	nókti
pat	"time"	páti
post	"fast"	pósti
prst)	"finger"	přsti/
(sat	"hour, clock"	/sáti
seiz	"groom, stable-boy"	séiz
tsut	"blossom"	tsúti
tšel	"shoe"	tšéli
vlaS	"Arumanian"	vlási
volK ₁	"wolf"	vóltsi
zab)	"tooth"	zábi/

2.3.3.1.9. A small number of masculine nouns have doublet forms in the plural. The four nouns having either {-išk-ja} with collective meaning, or {-oj}, have already been mentioned.

There is still another noun with the distinction collective

plural versus "neutral" plural, viz. {grozd} /gros/ "grape" /grózje/ collective plural, /grózdoj/ "countable" plural.

The nouns {dEn} "day" and {grst} /grs/ "handful" have parallel plurals: /dni, dénoj/ and /gřsti, gřstoj/. It is not known whether there is any difference in meaning between the two plural forms of {grst}. The form /dni/ can be considered as a countable plural form: /tšetirí dni/ "four days", whereas /dénoj/ is unmarked in this respect; the latter may be combined with numerals /tšetiri dénoj/ and also be used with a collective meaning /pomínađ denójte/ "the days passed by", in which meaning the form /dníte/ is impossible (cf. {godin-a} 2.3.3.2.7.).

Other doublet plural forms are:

{kosten	"chestnut"	/kóstenje, kósteni
tatk-o	"father"	tátkoj, tátkoftsi
dren	"cornel"	drénoj, drénje
kol	"pole"	kóloj, kólje
snop)	"sheaf"	snópoj, snópje/

We were not able to establish with certainty whether the forms with the suffix {-je} express a collective plural.

The noun {plamEn, plamen} "flame" is a notable exception with the following plurals:

/plámniškja/ collective plural, /plámnoj, plámni, plámeni/.

2.3.3.2. Feminine

2.3.3.2.1. A small number of monosyllabic feminine nouns with zero desinence in the singular take the suffix {-oj} in the plural:

{kal	"mud"	/káloj
krv	"blood"	křvoj
pot	"sweat"	pótoj
žar)	"embers"	žároj/

2.3.3.2.2. The plural ending {-je} is taken by a limited number of nouns with the stemfinal consonants {d m n v j):

<detelin-a	"clover"	/detělinje/	<ograd-a	"yard"	/ógrage
glavin-a	"hub"	glávinje	planin-a	"mountain"	pláninje
godin-a	"year"	gódinje	rodnin-a	"relative"	ródninje
gořin-a	"glade"	góřinje	slam-a	"straw"	slámje
grmad-a	"heap"	gřmage	svinj-a	"swine"	svínje
kapin-a	"blackberry"	kápinje	trev-a	"grass"	trévje
ředin-a	"virgin soil"	řédinje	utrin-a	"early morning"	útrinje
řivad-a	"meadow"	řivage	vod-a)	"water"	vóge/
niv-a)	"field"	nívje/			

2.3.3.2.3. There is one feminine noun which takes the collective plural suffix <-išk-ja>:

<papr-a> "fern" /pápřiškja/

(Note, that there is no plural form such as */pápri/ or */pápriške/.)

2.3.3.2.4. All feminine nouns having a stem ending in a vowel other than <i> take the plural ending <-j>:

<bo- <u>a</u>	"flea"	/boj
ko- <u>a</u>	"bucket"	koj
ře- <u>a</u>	"flower-bed"	řej
maške- <u>a</u>	"stepmother"	máškej
gla- <u>a</u>	"head"	glaj
sna- <u>a</u>)	"daughter/sister-in-law"	snaj/

There is one other feminine noun which takes the same plural ending: <muV-a> "fly" /muj/.

2.3.3.2.5. Plural desinence <-e> is taken only by two nouns:

<noG ₁ -a	"foot"	/nódze
raK ₁ -a	"hand"	rátse/

2.3.3.2.6. All other feminine nouns take the plural suffix <-i>. This productive ending is also taken by all feminine nouns not yet mentioned which have a zero desinence in the singular:

<duzin-a	"dozen, ten"	/dúzini
dinj-a	"melon"	dínji
grad-a	"breast"	grádi
knig-a	"book, paper"	knígi
kukj-a	"house"	kúki
arnaučk-a	"Albanian woman"	arnáučki
džami-a	"mosque"	džámij
bolest /bóles/	"illness"	bólesti
nokj	"night"	nóki
pesok ₁	"sand"	pésotsi
boj-a)	"colour"	bóij/ (cf. Phonology 3.3.2. and 6.2.14.)

2.3.3.2.7. The noun <godin-a> "year" has two plural forms: /gódinje/ collective plural and /góđini/ unmarked plural: /pomínale góđinje/ "years passed by" versus /dve, tri, mnógu góđini/ "two, three, many years". From <rodnin-a> "relative" one gets the collective plural /ródninje/ and the unmarked plural /róđnini/.

2.3.3.3. Neuter

2.3.3.3.1. There are three neuter nouns with plural ending <-i>:

<oK ₂ -o	"eye"	/óťši
uV ₁ -o	"ear"	úři
lakT-o)	/láko/ "elbow"	lákti/

2.3.3.3.2. All neuter nouns (except the three mentioned in the foregoing section) with a singular ending <-o>, and neuter nouns with stemfinal <ts> or <řkj>, and a few others have the plural desinence <-a>:

<blat-o	"swamp"	/bláta
ezer-o	"lake"	ézera
jabok-o	"apple"	jáboka
kořen-o	"knee"	kóřena
drřts-e	"bit of wood"	dřřtsa
jajts-e	"egg"	jájtsa
řits-e	"face"	řítsa
ařiřkj-e)	/ářiřke/ "article of dress"	ářiřkja/

(mažiškj-e / mážiske/	"big, strong man"	/ mážiškja
vóltšiškj-e / vóltšiške/	"big, strong wolf"	vóltšiškja
kopj-e	"lance"	kópja
lozj-e	"vineyard"	lózja
deT ₁ -e)	"child"	détsa/ (cf. 2.3.3.3.4.)

The plural of the noun (ram-o) "shoulder" is formed by adding the suffix (-en-a): /rámena/.

2.3.3.3.3. The remaining neuter nouns, (all taking the singular ending (-e)), including numerous diminutives with the suffix (tš), take the plural desinence (-ia):

(bard-e	"small water-jug"	/bárdia
jaž-e	"rope, rein"	jážia
ež-e	"small hedgehog"	éžia
odajtš-e	"small room"	odájtšia
tsvek-e	"flower"	tsvékia
brat-e)	"little brother"	brátia/

2.3.3.3.4. The noun (gumn-o) "threshing-floor" has two plural forms: /gúmnia/ collective plural versus /gúmna/ unmarked plural. The noun (drv-o) has two meanings: "tree, wood", which are distinguished in the plural: /dřvja/ "trees", /dřva/ "firewood". The noun (kutš-e) "dog" has the collective plural /kútšiškja/ and an unmarked plural /kútšia/. The noun (deT₁-e) also has two plurals: a collective plural /détšia/ and an unmarked plural /détsa/. The plural forms of the noun (kril-o) "wing" are /krílja/ collective plural and /kríla/ unmarked plural. The noun /nébo/ "heaven" has a regular plural form /néba/, but there is a set expression containing an irregular plural form: /do nébesi/ "(reaching) up to heaven".

2.3.3.4. Marked plural

2.3.3.4.1. The collective plural forms have already been dealt with. They were marked by the desinences (-išk-ja), (-je), (-ja) or (-ia). Only the desinence (-išk-ja) may be considered to express exclusively a collective plural. (Cf. Derivation 3.0.)

2.3.3.4.2. The quantifying plural has a special desinence (-a) which must be attached to the noun when it is used with (definite or indefinite) numerals. Its use in the dialect is optional: it may always be replaced by the unmarked plural form. Moreover the quantifying plural is marginal: we found only six nouns, four masculine and two feminine nouns that had such a plural:

(dEn	"day"	/désset děna/, but also /desét dni/ or /désset dénoj/
gram	"gramme"	/stó grama
mesets	"month"	dva mésetsa
sat	"hour, clock"	tri sáta ⁷
nokj	"night"	dvá nokja
vetšer)	"evening"	dva vétšera/

2.3.3.5. Pluralia tantum

In morphological descriptions it is not unusual to find a list of the pluralia tantum. It is not common practice, however, to present a list of singularia tantum, although from the point of consistency it would be the natural counterpart to the pluralia tantum. This is quite understandable, not only because there are undoubtedly so many singularia tantum, but also because this phenomenon of defectivity is very likely much more difficult to establish.

This is why we shall not deviate from common practice, and we shall present a list of pluralia tantum occurring in our material. We are, however, well aware of the fact that there are also problems concerning the establishment of pluralia tantum. For instance, is the noun /pári/ "money" a plurale tantum? It is true that the singular form /pára/ exists, but it means "one hundredth of a dinar". Thus there is a clear semantic difference. Is /níški/ "shafts of a weaving-loom" a plurale tantum? The singular form /níškja/ was never used spontaneously, but the form was not rejected when we asked for it.

⁷/tri sáta/ or /tri sáti/ both with the meaning "three hours" must not be confused with :tri sáto/ "three o'clock".

It is therefore not without some doubt and hesitation that we present below a list of the pluralia tantum occurring in our material:

/břdila	"part of a loom"	/napa'ǫni	"gold coins"
bukǫjtsi	"beech firewood"	pantǫni	"trousers"
dabǫjtsi	"oak firewood"	pārmatsi	"banisters"
džmírinki	"crackling"	plátški	"things"
fārmerki	"blue jeans"	pǫkladi	"carnival"
gāški	"underpants"	pǫtotški	"rest of home-brew"
gēti	"stockings without foot"	rodíte'li	"parents"
grēbni	"card"	sāžgi	"soot"
jāsli	"manger"	sklǫptsj	"bowl with cover"
kǫtšiškja	"hemp remainders"	sūdžutsi	"home-made sausage"
leskǫjtsi	"hazel firewood"	trítsi	"bran"
mātasi	"crossing"	vǫditsi	"baptism of Christ"
mǫzolkj	"itching"	zāviftsi/	"(kind of) puttees"
mústaki/	"moustache"		

The plurale tantum /lǫge/ "people, men" is considered to be a suppletive plural form to singular (tšǫek₁), to which, however, a regular plural /tšǫetsi/ also exists, but this form is used much more rarely than /lǫge/.

2.3.4. The vocative (cf. Derivation 3.0.)

2.3.4.1. Masculine

The vocative suffixes for masculine nouns are (-u) or (-e).

The only group of nouns where the use of the vocative form seems to be productive is the group of proper names with a zero desinence for the singular. Examples:

with (-u):

(brat	"brother"	/brātu
maž	"man"	māžu
svat	"wedding-guest"	svātu
beg)	"bey"	bēgu/

with (-e):

(daskal	"teacher"	/dāskale
drugar	"friend"	drūgare
svekOr	"husband's father"	svēkre
josiv	proper name	jǫsive
tsar)	"czar"	tsāre/

The vocative form of (gospo) "God" is /gǫspodi/. Masculine nouns with a non-zero ending in the singular never have a special vocative form.

There are a few nouns with a singular desinence (-o) which function only as a form of address to a male person. They are derived by means of the suffix (k) from masculine nouns, denoting kinship terms. The form /brātko/, derived from /brat/ "brother" is mainly used to address a person of about the same age you meet by chance somewhere, but who is certainly not your brother. Similarly there are:

/sínko/ to address a younger person, derived from /sin/ "son".

/tšítško/ to address an older person, derived from /tšítšo/ "uncle"

/fnútško/ to address a little child, derived from /fnuk/ "grandson".

2.3.4.2. Feminine

The vocative desinences are (-o) or (-e). Most nouns take (-o); the few that take (-e) are listed here:

(bab-a	"grandmother"	/bābo
sna-ǫ	"son's wife, brother's wife"	snāo
svakj-a	"wedding-guest"	svāke/
mam-a	"mama" /māme/, but also /māmo/	
nunk-a)	"marriage witness" /núnke/ (cf. /núnko/ which is the male counterpart of /núnka/.	

2.3.5. The article

The suffixes of the article are presented below. They are interrelated with the desinences for number/gender of the nouns:

Number/gender	masculine				feminine		neuter		plural		
Article	-∅	-a	-o	-e	-∅	-a	-o	-e	-a	-e	-i/-j
-o, -ov, -on	+										
-ta, -va, -na		+			+	+			+		
-to, -vo, -no			+	+			+	+		+	
-te, -ve, -ne										+	+

¹Only two feminine nouns: ⟨raK₁-a⟩ "hand" and ⟨noG₁-a⟩ "foot", which are anomalous in all respects.

From this table it is clear that the formal relations between the suffixes of the article and the suffixes for number/gender are the strongest. The only group of nouns with different article suffixes because of a (non-formal) difference in gender is the group of nouns with zero desinence in the singular. In all other cases the relation is completely formal.

In referring to the endings of the article we shall mention only the ⟨-t⟩ member, but the ⟨-v⟩ or ⟨-n⟩-forms can be substituted for it.

2.3.5.1. Masculine nouns with a singular desinence ⟨-∅⟩ take ⟨-o⟩, and in rare cases ⟨-ot⟩:

⟨tšoeK ₁ ⟩	"man"	/tšōeko
petrovden	"St. Peter's day"	petrōvdeno
gra	"bean(s)"	grāo
glužgj /gluš/	"ankle"	glūžgjo
grozd /gros/	"grape"	grōzdo
koftšeG ₁ /kōftšek/	"trunk"	kōftšego
razboj	"weaving-loom"	rāzbojo
oreF	"walnut"	ōreo
rakA ₁ F	"sleeve"	rāko _o
ogAn	"fire"	ōgno
kotEl}	"kettle"	kōtelo/

Masculine nouns with a singular ending ⟨-a⟩ or ⟨-o, -e⟩ take ⟨-ta⟩ or ⟨-to⟩, respectively:

⟨odž-a⟩	"Moslem priest"	/ōdžata
komši-a	"neighbour"	komšīata
ded-o)	"grandfather"	dēdoto/

2.3.5.2. All feminine nouns take the article ⟨-ta⟩:

⟨gun-a⟩	"long peasant coat"	/gūnata
pare- <u>a</u>	"steam"	paré <u>a</u> ta
stre- <u>a</u>	"eaves"	stré <u>a</u> ta
pepel	"ash"	pépelta
smrt)	"death"	smf <u>t</u> a/

A few nouns with variant gender take either ⟨-o⟩ or ⟨-ta⟩

(see 2.3.2.5.):

⟨piper⟩	"paprika"	/pípero, píperta/
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2.3.5.3. All neuter nouns take ⟨-to⟩:

⟨tšel-o⟩	"forehead"	/tšēloto
gjuabr-e)	"garbage"	gjuābreto/

2.3.5.4. Plural nouns with a plural desinence ⟨-a, -ia, -ja⟩ or ⟨-išk-ja⟩ or pluralia tantum ending in ⟨a⟩ take ⟨-ta⟩:

⟨rebr-a⟩	"ribs"	/rēbrata
kotl-ia	"small kettles"	kotlíata
brat-ja	"brothers"	brájkjata
ram-en-a	"shoulders"	raménata
pat-išk-ja)	"roads"	patíškjata/

Plural nouns with plural suffix ⟨-je⟩ or pluralia tantum ending in ⟨e⟩ take ⟨-to⟩:

⟨glíst-je⟩	"intestinal worms"	/glísjeto
svinj-je	"swine" pl.	svínjeto
luge)	"people"	lūgeto/

All other nouns in the plural take ⟨-te⟩:

⟨bik-oj⟩	"bulls"	/bikōjte
šur-ej	"wife's brothers"	šurējte
komši- <u>i</u>	"neighbours"	komší <u>i</u> te
mas-i	"tables"	māsíte
uV ₁ -i	"ears"	úšíte
spank-ofts-i	"sleepy-heads"	spankōftsite
razboj-j)	"weaving-looms"	razbōjte/

perduF-j	"feathers"	/perdújte
gla-j	"heads"	glájte
odaj- <u>i</u>	"rooms"	odájte
noG ₁ -e	"feet"	nódzete
raK ₁ -e	"hands"	rátsete
tritsi)	"bran"	trítsite/

2.4. Adjectives

2.4.1. The stem of adjectives ends in a consonant except for a small number of adjectives that are mostly loanwords (see below).

Adjectives have three gender forms in the singular and one form for the plural, where no gender can be distinguished. The desinences for masculine are ⟨-i⟩ or ⟨-∅⟩: when the stem ends in one of the final clusters ⟨sk, šk(j), žg(j)⟩ the desinence is ⟨-i⟩, otherwise it is ⟨-∅⟩. The desinence for feminine is ⟨-a⟩, for neuter ⟨-o⟩. The plural desinence is ⟨-j⟩ for adjectives ending in ⟨F⟩, otherwise ⟨-i⟩. Adjectives with a stem ending in ⟨uF⟩ admit, for phonological reasons, both plural desinences (only two examples). (There are very few exceptions to these rules; they will be listed separately.) Examples:

boqat	"rich"	/bóqat, bóqata, bóqato, bóqati
blag	"sweet"	blak, blága
diosk	"of Dihovo"	díoski, díoska, díosko, díoski
mašk	"male"	máški, máška
tšuzg _j	"unknown"	tšúžgi, tšúžgja
vešt	"adroit"	veš, véšta, véšto, véški
žežok	"hot"	žéžok, žéška, žéško, žéški
kozina ₁ F	"made of goat's wool"	kózinaf, kozínaa, kozínoo, kozínaj
zdrav	"healthy"	zdraf, zdráva, zdrávo, zdrávi
oreoF	"walnut"	óreoF, oréoa, oréoo, oréoj
fetoV	"worn-out"	fétof, fétva, fétvo, fétvi
gotov	"ready"	gótof, gótova
suF	"dry"	suf, súa, súo, súi
kamenliV	"stony"	káménlif, kaménliva, kaménlivo, kaménlij
živ	"alive"	žif, žíva, živo, zívi
gorde ₁ liv)	"proud"	gorde ₁ líf, gorde ₁ líva, gorde ₁ livo, gorde ₁ lívi/

2.4.2. Exceptions to the rules stated above are:

1. ⟨vetšern⟩ "evening" masculine /vétšerni/
2. ⟨koz⟩ "goat's" /kózi, kózja, kózjo, kózi/
3. ⟨vel⟩ "great"; this adjective occurs only in fixed expressions: /ve₁í petok/ "Good Friday" /ve₁li tšétvrtok/ "Maundy Thursday" /ve₁lja sábotá/ "Easter Eve"; /ve₁liden/ or /ve₁ligden/ "Easter" is considered to be a compound noun because of the form with the article: /ve₁ligdeno/.
4. ⟨žitn⟩ "corn" masculine /žitni/, is attested only in /žitni pázar/ "corn market" where it probably functions as a proper name.
5. ⟨siromaS⟩ "poor" is defective. Feminine and neuter forms do not exist. Masculine /síroma/, plural /sirómasi/ (cf. 2.4.7.).
6. a small number of adjectives (loans from Turkish) are indeclinable:
 - /kába/ "worthless" /kába tšóek/
 - /sálam/ "sane"
 - /társene/ "obstinate"
 - /ásli/ "genuine" /ne mu e ášli májka/ "(she) is not his own mother"
 - /sámsur/ or /námsur/ "gloomy"

2.4.3. A small group of loans (also from Turkish) have doublet forms: a form in ⟨i-a⟩⁸ which is indeclinable in the singular, and a form in ⟨iv⟩ which is inflected according to the rules stated in 2.4.1.:

⟨kəsmətli-a⟩ "happy, lucky" /kəsmətli_a/, plural /kəsmətli_j/ and ⟨kəsmətliV⟩ /kəsmətli_f, kəsmətli_v, kəsmətli_j/

Other examples are:

⟨bortšli-a	"in debt"
imašli-a	"rich"
kabaetli-a	"guilty"
mukaetli-a	"who cares much about"
namuzli-a	"honest, decent"
tšakarli-a)	"having a cast in the eye"

⁸Lunt considers them as substantives, although they are semantically and syntactically the same as their doublets (1952:36).

2.4.4. The compound adjective ⟨gluFnem⟩ "deaf and dumb" inflects both parts: /gluFném, glúanéma, glúonémo, glújnémi/. The masculine form has a doublet form /glúoném/.

2.4.5. There is one adjective, /tšéstit/ "happy", with a vocative ending in a set expression: /tšéstiti tsáre/ "honourable Czar!"

2.4.6. Comparison

By means of the prefixes ⟨po⟩ and ⟨naj⟩ the lexical meaning of many adjectives may be intensified. Every form of an adjective may take these prefixes. ⟨po⟩ expresses the comparative as well as a rather high degree of the quality the adjective is referring to, ⟨naj⟩ forms the superlative or implies an extreme degree: ⟨golem⟩ "big" /pógolem, pogoľémio, pogóľema/ etc.

/nájgolem/

⟨jak⟩ "strong" /pójak, nájjak/

⟨arEn⟩ "good" /pó + aren, nájaren/

The prefix ⟨pre⟩ which serves to express the excessive degree of a certain quality occurs less frequently: ⟨star⟩ "old" /préstar/ "very old".

In addition to adjectives (and adverbs, see below) the intensifying prefixes may be attached to other wordclasses. We found in our material a few examples with nouns and participles. The semantic function of the prefixes remains the same:

/júnak/ "hero" /pójunak/ "more of a hero"

/arámia/ "thief" /najaramíata/ "the biggest thief"

/rásipan/ "depraved" /porásipan/

2.4.7. The article

The masculine form of the adjectives takes ⟨-o⟩, the feminine form ⟨-ta⟩, the neuter ⟨-to⟩ and the plural ⟨-te⟩. When the basic alternant of the adjective ends in a consonant other than ⟨F⟩, ⟨V⟩ or ⟨j⟩, an ⟨i⟩ is inserted between the stem and the masculine form of the article ⟨-o⟩. A ⟨j⟩ is inserted when the basic alternant ends in ⟨F⟩ (the ⟨F⟩ alternates with # in this form, cf. 2.8.4.3.); nothing is inserted when the article ⟨-o⟩ already follows ⟨i⟩, i.e. when the basic alternant ends in ⟨j⟩, or ⟨iv⟩ (where ⟨V⟩ alternates with #, cf. 2.8.4.5.) or when

the masculine form of the adjective has the desinence ⟨-i⟩.

Examples:

⟨bel⟩ "white" /bélio, bélata, béloto, bélite/

⟨moltšliv⟩ "tacit" /moltšlívio, moltšlívata, moltšlívoto, moltšlívite/

⟨nov⟩ "new" /nóvio, nóvata, nóvoto, nóvite/

⟨beloglaF⟩ "with grey hair" /belogljájo, belogljáata, belogljáoto, belogljájte/

⟨mrzliV⟩ "lazy" /mřzlio, mrzlívata, mrzlívoto, mrzlíite/

⟨diosk⟩ adjective of Dihovo /dióskio, dióskata, dióskoto, dióskite/

⟨tšuzgj⟩ "unknown" /tšúžgio, tšúžgjata, tšúžgjoto, tšúžgite/

There is one adjective with a basic alternant ending in ⟨S⟩ in which ⟨j⟩ is also inserted before the masculine article:

⟨siromaS⟩ "poor" /siromájo/. This word is considered to be a substantive (for literary Macedonian) by Lunt⁹. We treat it as an adjective on syntactical grounds: /síroma tšóek/ "a poor man", as well as on formal grounds, viz. the presence of a glide before the masculine form of the article, which is typical for adjectives, but never occurs at all with substantives (cf. ⟨vlaS⟩ /vlao/ "the Arumanian").

2.5. Adverbs

2.5.1. The adverb class is for the greater part derived from other word classes. A very productive way of forming adverbs is from adjectives. The neuter form of adjectives or, the masculine form of adjectives ending in ⟨-i⟩, are also used as adverbs:

⟨arEn⟩ "good, nice" /árno

ubA,F "beautiful" úbog

nov "new" nóvo

makedonsk "Macedonian" makedónski

densk) "day" děnski/, e.g. /děnski bef/ "(I) was (there) in the day-time".

2.5.2. There are a number of adverbs which are strongly related

⁹Lunt 1952:28. In the Rečnik na Makedonskiot jazik, tom 3, 1966:200, the word is regarded both as a substantive and an adjective.

to pronouns. Their grammatical meaning corresponds with the interrogative, relative, demonstrative and indefinite pronouns (cf. 2.6.)¹⁰. It is remarkable that the adverbs which correspond to the demonstrative pronouns also express, by the same means, the semantic opposition of proximity ((v)-forms) and distance ((n)-forms), which is neutralized in the (t)-forms (cf. 2.6.6.):

	space	time
interrogative	/kaj, káde, ka/ "where"	/kóga, kóga/ "when"
relative	/kájšo/	/kóšo, kógašo/
demonstrative	/támu/ "there"	/tógaš, tógaj/ "then"
	/vámu/ "here"	
	/ónamu/ "over there"	
indefinite	/níkade/ "nowhere"	/níkogaš/ "never"
	/někade/ "somewhere"	
	/sékade/ "everywhere"	/sékogaš/ "always"
	/kaj bílo/ "wherever"	/kóga bílo/ "whenever"

	manner	quantity ¹¹
interrogative	/káko/ "how"	/kó(1)ku/ "how much"
relative	/kákošo/	/kókušo/
demonstrative	/táka/ "thus"	/tó(1)ku/ "so much"
	/váka/ "like this"	/óku/ "this much"
	/ónaka/ "like that"	/ónoku/ "that much"
indefinite	/níkako/ "not at all, in no way"	/někoku/ "some"
	/sékako/ "all sort of ways"	
	/káko bílo/ "however"	

The relative forms ending in /šo/ also occur without /šo/. Alongside /níkade, někade, sékade/ there occur also /nigde, níkaj/ etc.

¹⁰ Cf. Lunt 1952:52.

¹¹ The quantitative adverbs might also be considered as indefinite numerals. In order to show the analogy we have listed them here.

2.5.3. Apart from the most productive class of derived adverbs already mentioned (2.5.1.), adverbs derived from other parts of speech will be presented in the chapter on derivation. We shall mention here only a small number of underived adverbs (including a few which are derived from other adverbs):

<u>time</u>	<u>space</u>
/láni/ "last year"	/dólu/ "(to be) downstairs"
/olómlani/ "the year before last"	/údu/ "(to go) downstairs"
/ódma/ "at once"	/ózdola/ "from downstairs"
/odváj/ "in the nick of time"	/góre/ "(to be) upstairs"
/někni/ "the day before yesterday"	/zgóra/ "from upstairs"
/sabájle/ "early in the morning"	/úgare/ "(to go) upstairs"
/séga/ "now"	/ó(d)zgora/ "from upstairs"
/sétne/ "after that"	/óvde(ka)/ "here"
/tšéra/ "yesterday"	/ónde(ka)/ "there"
/úš(k)e, uš/ "still, more"	/óttuka, óttuva/ "from here"
/véke/ "already"	/túka, túva/ "here"
	/ (v) nátre/ "inside"

<u>manner</u>	<u>measure</u>
/báška/ "separately"	/dip/ "very"
/ínaku/ "otherwise"	/mál(k)u, máltse/ "a little bit"
/kélepur/ "gratuitously"	/ (m) nógu/ "much, many"
/pěški/ "on foot"	/rétšisi/ "almost"
/tóptan/ "all together"	/tro, trótska/ "a bit"

2.5.4. Comparison

Just as in the case of adjectives, adverbs can also express intensifying degrees of the lexical meaning they represent by means of the prefixes (po) and (naj):

/árno/: /pó + arno, nájarno/
/úboo/: /poúboo, najúboo/
/sétne/: /pósetne, nájsetne/ "later on; finally"
/ódu/: /pódolu, nájdu/
/báška/: /póbaška/, e.g. /to e póbaška/ "that is again something else"
From /mnógu/ "much, many" are formed /póke/ "more" and /nájpoke, nájmnogu/ "most".

2.6. Pronouns

From a formal and syntactic point of view the grammatical class of pronouns is a very heterogeneous one. A number of pronouns are very like adjectives (possessive, qualifying and quantifying pronouns), others form a group apart in the morphology of the dialect.

Pronouns differ largely in the grammatical categories they distinguish. The richest in this respect are the personal pronouns which express person, number, and to a limited extent gender and case. The poorest are the interrogative and relative pronouns, which at best distinguish human and non-human, and sometimes gender, if used attributively.

The binding element of pronouns is their grammatical meaning; a pronoun is a substitute, which is defined as "a linguistic form or grammatical feature which, under certain conventional circumstances, replaces any one of a class of linguistic forms"¹².

2.6.1. Personal pronouns

The personal pronouns distinguish number (singular and plural), person (1st, 2nd, 3rd) and partly, only in the 3rd singular, gender (masculine, feminine, neuter). The personal pronouns are the only class of words which distinguish case. They have special forms when they have a subject function (we then call them non-objective), and other forms to express the direct object; there is a third group of forms for the indirect object (the last two groups are called objective forms). The objective forms further distinguish what are known as long and short forms; the short forms are clitics; the long forms, except when they occur after prepositions, are almost exclusively used together with the short forms.

The relations between the stem variants of the personal pronouns are not presented in terms of morphonemic alternations. One might establish, as has been done for Polish by Schenker¹³,

¹² from Bloomfield 1933:247. Cf. Hockett 1958:255f.

¹³ Schenker 1964:33.

what are called suppletive alternations, e.g. singular ~ plural in the 1st person: /m/ ~ /n/, in the 2nd person: /t/ ~ /v/ etc. In other cases, however, the variants will not lend themselves to such an analysis. (Compare the non-objective forms of the 1st and 3rd singular and 3rd plural with the corresponding objective ones.) In addition the personal pronouns have entirely distinct forms compared to adjectives or other pronouns; we prefer therefore simply to give a survey of the occurring forms in terms of phonemes and their syntactic functions:

	non-obj.	objective			prepositional
		short		long	
		dir.	indir.		
sg. 1st	jás(ka)	me	mi	méne	méne
2nd	ti	te	ti	tébe	tébe
3rd m.	toj	go	mu	négo/toj	négo/toj
f.	tája/táa	je	mu	néze/tája	néze/tája
n.	tóa	go	mu	négo/tóa	négo/tóa
pl. 1st	níe	ne	ni	nas/nam	nas
2nd	víe	ve	vi	vas/vam	vas
3rd	tíe	<u>i</u>	mu	ním(i)/tíe	ním(i)/tíe

Notes:

1. The form /jáska/ is an emphatic variant of /jas/; its use is very often accompanied by inversion: /ne mú davaj ti, mu dádoj jáska/ "Don't (you) give him, I gave him".
2. The long forms are the same both for the direct and indirect objective case. The formal difference lies only in the accompanying short forms: /toj méne me víde/ "he saw me", /toj méne mi dáde/ "he gave me".
3. The 2nd plural forms are only used in the plural. There are no honorific forms in the dialect. They are not even to be found for other pronouns or for the verb.
4. Variant forms of the 3rd person objective case are used:

	direct long	indirect long
singular 3rd m./n.	go...négo or go...toj	mu...négo or mu...na toj
fem.	je...néze or je...tája	mu...néze or mu...na tája
plural 3rd	<u>i</u> ...ními or <u>i</u> ...tíe	mu...ními or mu...na tíe

5. There are also variant forms for the 3rd person when used after prepositions: /so něgo/ or /so toj/ "with him"; /so něze/ or /so tája/ "with her". /něze/ has a reduced clitic form /ne:/ /só ne/.

6. The direct short form of the 3rd plural /i/ is very often realized as [j]. We refer to this phenomenon in the introductory remarks, concerning external sandhi position, of chapter 5 (section 1.3.).

Examples:

/mu go dáof něze/ or /mu go dáof na tája/ "(I) gave it to her"
 /toj nam ne víde/ or /toj nas ne víde/ "he saw us"
 /toj nam ne ně vide/ or /toj nas ne ně vide/ "he did not see us"
 /toj nam ni go dáde/ or /toj nas ni go dáde/ "he gave it to us"
 /toj nam ne ni gó dade/ or /toj nas ne ni gó dade/ "he did not give it to us"
 /jas je vídof taja/ or /jas je vídof něze/ "I saw her"
 /něgo ne gó vidof/ or /ne gó vidof toj/ "(I) did not see him"
 /káj nim béme/ or /káj nimi béme/ "(we) were with them"
 /na ženata tvója májka mu tébe ti e bába/ "the mother of your wife is mother-in-law to you"
 /mu go ínam stráo/ "I am afraid of him"

2.6.2. Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns distinguish number and person. In the 3rd singular they distinguish gender (feminine and non-feminine), according to the gender of the noun or pronoun to which they refer. They also distinguish gender and number according to the noun which they qualify. The desinences are then: for masculine <-ø>; for feminine <-a>; for neuter 3rd person <-o>, otherwise the neuter ending is <-e>; for plural 3rd singular non-feminine <-j>, otherwise the plural ending is <-i>.

	basic alternant	masc.	fem.	ntr.	pl.
singular 1st	<moj>	/moj	mója	móje	móji
2nd	<tvoj>	tvoj	tvója	tvóje	tvóji
3rd non-fem.	<negoF>	négof	négoa	négoo	négoj
fem.	<nezin>	nézin	nézina	nézino	nézini
plural 1st	<naš>	naš	náša	náše	náši
2nd	<vaš>	vaš	váša	váše	váši
3rd	<nin>	nin	nína	níno	níni/

Apart from the neuter forms in the 1st and 2nd persons (with desinence <-e>), the desinences of the possessive pronouns are those of adjectives. And it is not only in their forms, but also in their function that these pronouns are like adjectives¹⁴.

The suffixes of the article taken by the possessive pronouns are: masculine <-o> with insertion of <i> or <j> before this suffix under the same conditions that hold for adjectives (cf. 2.4.7.), feminine <-ta>, neuter <-to> and plural <-te>: <moj "my" /mójo, mójata, mójeto, mójite/ negoF "his" /negójo, negóata, negóoto, negójte/ naš "our" /nášio, nášata, nášeto, nášite/.

Examples of the use of possessive pronouns:

/negootó dete/ or /déteto négoo/ or /dčete négoo/ "his child" (* /négoo dčete/ was rejected by our informants)
 /ta e mója žena/ "this is my wife"
 /da ójme kaj mojata žena/ "let's go to my wife"
 /négoa e kúkjata/ "it's his house".

With kinship terms, instead of the possessive pronouns, the indirect short forms of the personal pronouns are generally used, always in postposition, the noun being without article:

/sín mi/ "my son"
 /sinój mu/ "his/her sons"
 Or to avoid ambiguity or give emphasis:
 /sín mu nézin/ or /sín mu na tája/ "her son"
 (Our informants rejected */dčete mi/.)

¹⁴ Lunt (1952:36) calls them "pronominal adjectives".

2.6.3. Reflexive pronoun

The reflexive pronoun refers to the subject of the sentence. There is one long form and there are two short forms for the direct and indirect objective case. The long form can only be used after prepositions or when accompanied by one of the short forms. The short forms are clitics (cf. Accent 4.3.). The forms are analogous to those of the personal pronouns:

direct: /se/

indirect: /si/

long: /sébe/

Both /se/ and /si/ occur very frequently in the dialect. /se/ is used as follows:

1. with a passive meaning:

/mándžata se vári/ "the food is being cooked"

/to ne sé jaj/ "that's not edible"

/dváta zboroј se zborvaј/ "both words are used"

2. with a reflexive meaning:

/toj se grěj ná soba/ "he warms himself at the stove"

/haj, mori, směni go toј "go and change that dress, put fústano, oblětši se drúgi/ on another one"

/káлта se lěpi na lopátata/ "the mud sticks on the shovel"

3. With a reciprocal meaning:

/se bíef so filán tšoek/ "I fought with a certain man"

/tíe se ízbia úboо tšěra/ "they had a good fight yesterday"

4. in a limited number of impersonal expressions to express desire, need, (im)possibility:

/se se móži/ "everything is possible"

/mi se jáј/ "I am hungry"

/ne mu se spíeše/ "I could not sleep"

/ne mi se ráбота/ "I could not come to work"

/mi se píe/ "I am thirsty"

/na tšoeko ne mu sé jaj "the flesh does not eat [= hurt] a mėsoto, mu se jáј zboro/ man, but the word does"

/támu ne sé oj/ "you can't get there"

5. with certain verbs:

/mi se bėndisa knígata/ "I like the book"

/óvde mi se bėndisa/ "I like it here"

/hajde, da se napíeme éдно káfe/ "let's drink a cup of coffee"

/toj sámo jaj i ne se nájadva/ "he only eats and can't get enough"

The short form /si/, in addition to fulfilling an indirect object function, very often accompanies certain verbs, where its use is optional. It is very difficult to describe its function in these cases, but this form seems to concentrate the effect of the action expressed by the verb on the subject of the sentence. Examples:

/túri si sam/ "pour yourself out a glass"

/lep si zěla/ "(she) bought bread"

/dóma tsel den ke si ráботаš/ "you will work the whole day at home"

/ódi, ódi, rabótaj si/ "go, go and work!"

/ke si ójme/ "we shall go home"

/haj, legněte si/ "go and have a lie-down"

/si lěgnaf/ "I went [already] to bed"

/ěla si na lěpenje kómpiri/ "come here to help us to peel potatoes"

/sámo si móltši, itš ne zboro/ "he only sits mum, does not utter a word"

/si ódvam, bre/ "I'm going home".

2.6.4. Possessive reflexive pronoun

This pronoun also refers to the subject of the sentence and means "myself, yourself" etc. depending on the subject. The forms of this pronoun, including those with an article, and its use, are identical to the forms and use of the possessive pronouns:

(svoj) /svoj, svója, svóje, svóј/.

Example: /toj íma svojá kukja/ "(he) has a house of his own".

2.6.5. Intensive pronoun

The intensive pronoun means "self, myself, himself" etc., depending on the noun or pronoun to which it refers. It has the same desinences as adjectives and is mostly used together with the article suffixes:

(sam) /sam, sáma, sámo, sámi/

/sámio, sámata, sámoto, sámite/

Examples:

/sam dójdoф/ "(I) came myself"

/sáma sěbe se míef/ "(I) myself washed myself"

/sámio pop dójde/ or /pópo sam dójde/ "the priest himself came"

<sam) may also have the meaning "alone": /sámi žěni běme/ "(we) were women alone".

2.6.6. Demonstrative pronouns

As already indicated, demonstrative pronouns express the opposition: proximity versus distance, formally <v> versus <n>, neutralized by the form <t> (cf. 2.2.2.).

In addition they distinguish number and gender (masculine and non-masculine). Formally they are very close to the personal pronouns (cf. the non-objective case of the 3rd person):

	"neutral"	proximate	distant
singular masc.	toj	óvaj/óvoj	ónaj/ónoj
non-masc.	ta	óva	óna
plural	tě	óvie	ónie

Instead of /ta/, also /tája/ is used for the feminine, and also /to/ is used for the neuter. The form /óno/, alongside /óna/, for the neuter also exists.

The demonstrative pronouns very often form accentual units with the noun which follows (see chapter on Accent for detailed treatment). A few examples are given here: /ováj tšoeK/ "this man", /ová žena/ "this woman", /onié detsa/ "those children", /tá dete/ "that child".

When preceded by a demonstrative pronoun, the noun may or may not have an article attached: /to pěrtseto/ "that feather".

The demonstrative pronouns are also used substantively: /ónie, šo i nósat farměrkite od itálie, i prodávaa na páto/ "those who bring the blue jeans from Italy sell them on the road".

2.6.7. Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative "what" is presented by the indeclinable /šo/ (or doublet form /škjo/) in all positions. We found an indirect form /tšúmu/ used only in the expression: /tšúmú ti je?/ "of what use is it to you?"¹⁵

¹⁵ Cf. Hendriks 1976:144

The interrogative "who" is presented by /koj/ when used non-attributively. In the direct objective case /koj/ is optionally accompanied by /go/: /kój go víde ti?/ "whom did you see?" A sentence like /kój go víde?/ is ambiguous and may mean "who saw him?" as well as "whom did (you/he) see?" In the indirect objective case this ambiguity does not exist: /koj/ then must always be accompanied by the clitic /mu/ and preceded by the preposition /na/: /na koj mu rétše?/ "whom did (you/he) tell?", /koj mu rétše?/ "who told him?"

Attributively, <koj> distinguishes gender and number with the same desinences as do the possessive pronouns: /koj, kója, kóje, kóji/. These forms, when not preceded by a preposition, are always accompanied by the short forms of the personal pronouns 3rd person.

Examples:

/šo víde ná pazar?/ "what did (you) see at the market?"
 /só šo běše ti ná pazar?/ "with what (how) did (you) come to the market?"
 /šo brój se?/ "what size are (they)?"
 /kój tšoeK go víde ti?/ "what man did you see?"
 /so kóje děte ígraše ti?/ "which child did you play with?"

2.6.8. Possessive interrogative pronoun

This pronoun is presented by one indeclinable form, which is independent of the noun which it qualifies or the person or persons it refers to: /tši/.

/tší e ová niva?/ "whose field is this?"
 /tší se dětsava?/ "whose children are they?"

2.6.9. Relative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns /koj/ and /šo/ are also used as relative pronouns, but their function, in relation to the antecedent, is quite different from their function as interrogative pronouns. As an interrogative /koj/ refers only to persons, /šo/ to non-persons. As a relative pronoun the use of both is much wider: /koj/ in attributive use (with the same desinences as the corresponding interrogative) and /šo/ may both refer to persons as well as to things. Examples:

/dětsata, šo ódat támu, móite se/ "the children who walk there are mine"; /koj/ with the noun /del/ "part" + article in: /vo kojke bídi dělo párata/ "in which part the coin will be". Both relative pronouns may optionally be accompanied by /go/ when used in non-subject position:

/odběri si šo go sákaš/ "take what you want".

Another example is:

/slívite, tšéra šo béreme, ně beq úbaj/ "the plums which we gathered yesterday were not good".

2.6.10. Indefinite pronouns

The indefinite pronouns are compounds of /koj/ and /šo/ (or /škjo/), with the prefixed particles /ne/ implying "negation", /ni/ "indefiniteness", and /se/ "universality" or /bílo/ and /da e/ in postposition "generality".

In attributive use the compounds of /koj/ distinguish number and gender (masculine and non-masculine) by means of forms which differ from the forms used as interrogative pronoun: masculine /koj/, non-masculine /ko/, plural /koj/.

The compound forms are:

/níkoj/	"no-one"	/níšo/	"nothing"
/někoj/	"someone"	/něšo/	"something"
/sékoj/	"everyone"	/séšo/	"everything"
/koj bílo/	"whoever"	/šo bílo/	"whatever"
/kóq da e/	idem	/šó da e/	idem

Examples:

/níkoj ně vidof/ "(I) have not seen anybody"
 /na něko děte mu dáof/ "(I) gave (it) to some boy"
 /séko žena go znáj/ "every woman knows this"
 /po někoj den/ "after a few days"
 /někoj dva sáti/ "about two hours"

There is still another indefinite pronoun meaning "everything": /se/. It expresses singular and neuter. In attributive use it is always accompanied by the article and agrees in number and gender with the noun it qualifies: /sétio, sóta, séto, síte/. The plural form /síte/ also occurs non-attributively: /síte ke si ódat/ "everyone will go home".

Finally, there is yet another indefinite pronoun: /filán/ "a certain". It is mainly used attributively and is indeclinable: /filán tšoek/ "a certain man" /filán den/ "one day" /filán žena/ "a certain woman" /filán luge/ "certain people". There is a rarely used non-attributive form expressing singular feminine /filánka/ "a certain woman".

2.6.11. Qualifying and quantifying pronouns

The qualifying and quantifying pronouns are constituted by a group of forms about which views differ as to whether they should be considered as adjectives or pronouns. Formally and syntactically they are like adjectives. Unlike adjectives, however, they cannot take the article. Semantically they form a parallel group with some interrogative, demonstrative and indefinite pronouns. Like the demonstrative pronouns they also express the opposition of proximity and distance. They differ from the above mentioned pronouns in that they contain an additional qualifying or quantifying element.

The following forms occur in our material:

	qualifying	quantifying
interrogative	{kakOv "of what type"	{kokaV "of what size"
m.	/kákof	/kókaf
f.	kákva	kokáva
n.	kákvo	kokávo
pl.	kákvi/	kókaj/
demonstrative	{takOv "of the type"	{tokaV "of that size"
	vakOv "of this type"	okaV "of this size"
	onakOv "of that type"	onokaV "of that size"
indefinite	sekakOv "of every type"	
	nikakOv "of no type"	

Alongside the forms in /of/, /af/ also occurs: /kákaf, vákaf/. Side by side with (kókav), (kólkaV) also exists.

Instead of {kakOv} the interrogative /šo/ is also used. The latter form is frequently used as an exclamatory qualifying pronoun: /so úbaq žena et!/"what a beautiful woman she is!"

2.7. Numerals

Numerals, like personal pronouns, have forms so distinct from those of other word classes that we shall not present them in terms of morphemes either. With the exception of one or two alternations, all alternations are irregular in the sense that they do not occur in other word classes and occur only once or twice within the class of numerals. Some of the alternations referred to here have more the character of suppletion.

The numerals can be divided into three groups: cardinals, ordinals and collectives.

2.7.1. The cardinal numeral "one" is the only numeral which distinguishes gender and number (by means of adjectival endings); "two" expresses only masculine versus non-masculine. All other cardinals have only one form. From 11 to 19 they are formed from the numerals 1 to 9 + the suffix /najse/; the tens from "30" onwards take the suffix /(d)ese/, in "20" this suffix is /jse/. /iljada/ "thousand" and /míljon/ "million" are formally nouns, having a plural form in <-i>. All the cardinals ending in /e/, except /dve/, may take an additional /t/ in external sandhi position (for instance in compound numbers: /dvájset i osum/ "28").

2.7.2. The ordinals are formed, with a few exceptions, on the basis of the stem of the cardinals + a suffix, mostly <t> and adjectival endings, expressing the categories of number and gender: <-i> for masculine and plural, <-a> for feminine, <-o> for neuter. The numerals "1" and "2" have suppletive forms for the ordinals, "3" and "4" undergo unique alternations.

2.7.3. The collectives are very limited: from "2" to "10" they are used fairly frequently, we once heard the collective form for "20", but otherwise they hardly exist. Their use is restricted to nouns denoting male persons and in combination with the plural form of the noun /dúša/ "soul", which then means "persons". The collectives form an opposition to the cardinals: /pétmina brákja/ "five brothers" considered as a group in comparison to /pet brákja/ unmarked in this respect.

The collectives are formed from cardinals by means of the

suffix /(<m>)ina/ or /itsa, jtsa/.

2.7.4. All numerals may take the article; the ordinals especially are used more frequently with the article than without.

The cardinal "one" and all the ordinals take the forms of the article, like adjectives: /édnio, édnata, édnoto, édnite/ "one", /přvivo, přvata, přvoto, přvite/ "first", /pěttio, pěttata, pěttoto, pěttite/ "fifth". The collectives and the cardinals ending in /a/ take <-ta>: /dváta/ and /dvájtsata/ "the two"; all other (cardinal) numbers take <-te>: /dvéte/, /pětte/ "the five" /dvájsete/ "the twenty".

	cardinals	ordinals	collectives
1	éden édna édno édni	přvi přva přvo přvi	
2	dva dve	ftóri	dvájtsa
3	tri	tréti	trójttsa
4	tšétiri	tšétvrti	tšetvóritsa
5	pet	pětti	pět(m)ina
6	šes	šesti	šesmina
7	sédum	sédmi	sedúmina
8	ósum	ósmi	osúmina
9	dévet	děveṭti	devétina
10	déset	děseṭti	desétina
11	edinájse	edinájseti	
12	dvanájse	dvanájseti	
13	trinájse	trinájseti	
14	tšetrinájse	tšetrinájseti	
15	petnájse	petnájseti	
16	šesnájse	šesnájseti	
17	sedumnájse	sedumnájseti	
18	osumnájse	osumnájseti	
19	devetnájse	devetnájseti	
20	dvájse	dvájseti	dvajsétina
21	dvájset i éden	dvájset i přvi	
30	tríese	triéseti	
40	tšetríese	tšetriéseti	
50	pédese	pedéseti	
60	šé + ese	še + éseti	

70	sedúmdese	sedumdéseti
80	osúmdese	osumdéseti
90	devédese	devedéseti
100	sto	stóti
200	dvéste	
300	trísta	
400	tšetrístóti	
500	petstóti	
600	šestóti	
1000	íljada	
2000	dve íljadi	
1000000	míljon	

The masculine forms of the ordinals from "one" to "four" have doublet forms with zero ending: /prf ftor tret tšétvrt/; /tríese/ is also realised as /tríse/.

A half is expressed by /pol/: /edinajset í pol/ "eleven and a half".

2.8. Nominal morphonemic alternations

2.8.0. In this section the occurring alternations will be listed according to word class and morphological categories in which they occur. First the kind of alternation is mentioned, then the conditions which are relevant for the occurrence of the alternation, finally the alternation is illustrated by means of examples. It will be stated whether an alternation is predictable or not. When an alternation is predictable within the conditions stated, only examples will be given. When an alternation is non-predictable, all the cases in our material undergoing the alternation concerned will be listed.

The majority of nominal inflexional alternations concern masculine nouns. There are only four feminine nouns and four neuter nouns which undergo an alternation. There is only one (masculine) noun undergoing an alternation in the vocative; there are very few nouns, only masculines, which alternate when taking the article. All other alternations affecting nouns concern the

singular-plural relation of masculine nouns.

As was mentioned before, the personal pronouns and the numerals are not given in terms of morphonemes, because of the unique and unpredictable character of the occurring alternations.

2.8.1. Nouns: singular ~ plural

- 2.8.1.1. <F> : /f/ ~ # || Final consonant in the singular is
 <K> : /k/ ~ # || dropped before plural ending,
 <J> : /j/ ~ # || predictably before <-j>, non-predictably before <-oj>:

before <-j> (only examples):

<kožuF> "leather coat" /kóžuj/

<požoK> "snail" /póžoj/ (only one example with <K>).

before <-oj> (all cases found in our material):

<šeJ> "thing" /šéoj/; cf. <gnoj> "dung" /gnójoj/

laF "lion" /láoj/; cf. <laf> "word" /láfoj/

braF "ram"

buF "owl"

greF "sin"

meF "belly"

meF "bellows"

praF "dust"

vrF "top" /vároj/

zmeF) "dragon"

- 2.8.1.2. <V> : /v/ ~ # || Only one feminine noun:
 <muV-a> "fly" /muj/

- 2.8.1.3. <S> : # ~ /s/ || Only one masculine noun:
 <vlaS> /vla/ "Arumanian" /vlási/ (cf. 2.8.3.4.).

- 2.8.1.4. <E> : /e/ ~ # || Three masculine nouns drop the vowel
 <A> : /a/ ~ # || before plural ending <-oj>:
 <plamEn> "flame" /plámnoj/
 ogAn "fire" /ógnoj/ (cf. 2.8.3.2.)
 vetEr) "wind" /vétroj/ (cf. 2.8.3.2.)

The noun ⟨plamEn⟩ also drops /e/ before the plural suffix ⟨-išk-ja⟩:
/plámniškja/ (cf. next alternation).

2.8.1.5. ⟨E⟩ : /e/ ~ # || A relatively large number of (masculine)
⟨O⟩ : /o/ ~ # || nouns drop the vowel before plural
desinence ⟨-i⟩. This alternation is
non-predictable.

It concerns:

1. almost all masculine nouns with a stem ending in /Cel/,
/Cel/ or /Col/:

⟨petE1 "cock" /pétli
dikE1 "two-pronged hoe" díkli
žegO1 "part of a yoke" žégli
sokO1 "falcon" sókli/

Exceptions are ⟨gredel⟩ "shaft joining the yoke and the plough"
/grédeli/, ⟨temel⟩ "foundation" /témeli/, ⟨tšel⟩ "shoe"
/tšéli/.

2. the nouns:

⟨dEn "day" /dni/ (cf. with plural ⟨-oj⟩): /dénój/
strmEn "stirrup"
dobitOK1 "cattle" /dóbittsi/ (cf. 2.8.1.8.)
momOK1 "young man"
opinOK1 "(kind of) shoe"
pasinOK1 "step-son"
smatOK1 "bad egg"

The noun /plāmen/ "flame" has two possibilities: ⟨plamEn⟩
/plámni/ and ⟨plamen⟩ /plāmeni/.

3. masculine nouns with a stem ending in /Cets/ (with very few
exceptions, but cf. 2.8.1.7.):

⟨palEts "thumb" /páltsi
mrazuEts "icicle" mrázultsi
tsrvEts "worm" tsfftsi
svetEts) "saint" svéttsi/

Exceptions: ⟨mesets) "month" /méssetsi/
⟨patets) "parting (in hair)" /pátetsi/

The noun ⟨gluš2Ets) "mouse" appears to be a special case; it
simultaneously alternates /š/ ~ /f/: /glúftsi/.

2.8.1.6. ⟨E1⟩ : /e/ ~ /f/ || Nouns with a stem ending in /oets/
⟨E2⟩ : /e/ ~ /j/ || ⟨E1⟩ or /aets/ ⟨E2⟩ in the singular
undergo these alternations before
plural ending ⟨-i⟩. These alternations
are, very likely, predictable, but
the number of examples is too small
to be certain about this (cf.
2.8.3.3.).

⟨dioE1ts "native of Dihovo" /díoftsi
vdoE1ts "widower" vdóftsi
IepaE2ts) "burdock" Iepájtsi/

2.8.1.7. ⟨IN⟩ : /in/ ~ # || A small number of masculine nouns,
⟨ETS⟩ : /ets/ ~ # || mostly denoting natives of countries
or towns, which have a stem ending
in /in/ or /ets/ in the singular,
drop these suffixes before plural
ending ⟨-i⟩. This alternation is
considered predictable. Examples:

⟨bugarIN "Bulgarian" /būgari
gostIN "guest" gósti
bitoltšanETS "native of Bitola" bitóltšani
orianETS "native of Ohrid" oríani
risjanETS) "Christian" rísjani/

A special case is turtS1IN. /túrtšin/ "Turk", which simultaneously
alternates /š/ ~ /s/: /túrtsi/.

2.8.1.8. ⟨K1⟩ : /k/ ~ /ts/ || When taking the plural suffix ⟨-i⟩,
⟨G1⟩ : /g/ ~ /dz/ || all masculine nouns with stemfinal
/k/ or /g/ and zero desinence or
⟨-a⟩ in the singular undergo this
alternation, which is predictable.
Besides, three (of the four)
feminine nouns which have an
alternation undergo the one
mentioned here:

Examples:

(petoK₁ "Friday" /pétotsi
koftšeG₁ "trunk" kóftšedzi
vladiK₁-a) "bishop" vláditsi/

The three feminine nouns are:

(raK₁-a "hand" /rátse
noG₁-a "foot" nódze
pesoK₁) "sand" pésotsi/

2.8.1.9. <K₂> : /k/ ~ /tš/ || Only four neuter nouns:

<V₁> : /v/ ~ /š/ ||

<T> : # ~ /t/ ||

<T₁> : /t/ ~ /ts/ ~ /tš/ ||

(oK₂-o "eye" /ótši
uV₁-o "ear" úši
lakT-o /láko/ "elbow" lákti
deT₁-e) "child" détsa, dětšia/

2.8.2. Vocative alternation

<O> : /o/ ~ # || Only one (masculine) noun:

(svekOr) "husband's father" /svékre/

Note, however, plural: /svékori/, with article: /svékoro/.

2.8.3. Alternations dependent on the article

These alternations concern a very limited number of nouns, and only masculines in the singular.

2.8.3.1. <F> : /f/ ~ # || The same nouns in <F> and <J> as were

<J> : /j/ ~ # || mentioned in section 2.8.1.1. undergo
this alternation, which is non-
predictable.

(kožuF "leather coat" /kóžuo/
laF "lion" /láo/, cf. <laf> "word" /láfo/
šeJ) "thing" /šéo/, cf. <kraj> "end" /krájo/

The noun <zaduF> "asthma" which has no plural form, also undergoes this alternation: /zāduo/.

The noun <rakA₁F> "sleeve" undergoes a supplementary alternation /a/ ~ /o/, when it takes the article: /ráko_o/, cf. <vakaF> "parish" /vákao/.

2.8.3.2. <E> : /e/ ~ # || For both alternations there is only

<A> : /a/ ~ # || one example:

(vetEr "wind" /vétro
ogAn) "fire" ógno/

2.8.3.3. <E₂> : /e/ ~ /j/ || Nouns in /aets/ undergo this alternation which, very likely, is predictable, but the number of examples is very small to establish this with certainty (cf. 2.8.1.6.):

(lepaE₂ts) "burdock" /lepájtso/; cf. <bukoEts> "native of Bukovo" /bukóetso/
<tegaE₂ts> "plantain"

2.8.3.4. <S> : /s/ ~ # || Only one noun:

(vlaS) "Arumanian" /vláo/

2.8.4. Adjectives

2.8.4.1. <E> : /e/ ~ # || The vowel is dropped before a stemfinal

<O> : /o/ ~ # || consonant when a non-zero desinence is

<A> : /a/ ~ # || attached. This alternation is non-
predictable and occurs in stems with
final /n/ (many), /r/, /k/, /f/, or
/i/ (only one example):

with <E>:

(arEn) "good" /árnio, árna, árno, árni/

cf. <šaren> "multicoloured" /šarénio, šarena/ etc.

(bakarEn	"copper"	<prirodEn	"natural"
bolEn	"ill"	radosEn	"joyous"
desEn	"right"	ramEn	"level"
dolEn	"lower"	ratšEn	"hand-"
doždĭivEn)	"rainy"	sebitšEn)	"selfish"

<gladEn	"hungry"	<silEn	"strong"
gorEn	"upper"	skrišEn	"stealthy"
iznenadEn	"unexpected"	směšEn	"hilarious"
jasEn	"clear"	stotšEn	"cattle-"
kalajEn	"tin"	strekjEn /stréken/	"fortunate"
kalEn	"muddy"	strašEn	"fearful"
krasEn	"beautiful"	stredEn	"middle"
kusogledEn	"short-sighted"	strmEn	"steep"
kusovidelEn	"squinting"	temEn	"dark"
ladEn	"cold"	tšejntšEn	"wheaten"
lesEn	"easy"	tšenkarEn	"maize-"
letEn	"summer"	tšesEn	"honourable"
matEn	"unclear"	ukusEn	"tasty"
mrsEn	"containing fats"	verEn	"true"
mrzEn	"frosty"	vlašEn	"damp"
natrežEn	"inner"	vodEn	"wet"
nokjEn /nóken/	"night"	zadEn	"back"
oblatšEn	"cloudy"	zimEn	"winter-"
pambutšEn	"of cotton"	zlatEn	"of gold"
pazarEn	"market-"	žedEn	"thirsty"
pesotšEn	"sandy"	železEn)	"of iron"
popametEn	"intelligent"		
posEn	"fast"	<dobEr	"good"
prazEn	"empty"	itEr	"cunning"
predEn	"forward"	jadEr)	"strong"
presEn)	"fresh"		

With (O):

<nisOk)	"low" /nískio, níska, nísko, níski/ cf. <širok) "wide" /širótkio, široka/ etc.
<knotšOk	"thin, lean" <fetOv "old"
plitOk	"shallow" mrtOv "dead"
žežOk	"hot" topOl) "warm"
težOk)	"heavy, difficult"

With (A) there are only two examples:

<vedAr)	"clear" /védrio, védra, védro/
<dobAr)	"good" /dóbrio, dóbra/; note that <dobAr) forms

a doublet with <dobEr), see above.

2.8.4.2. (O₁) : /o/ ~ /f/ || Only one adjective:
<kreO₁k) "frail" /kréfkio, kréfká/

2.8.4.3. (F) : /f/ ~ # || Final /f/ is dropped when a non-zero desinence is attached. This alternation does not concern stems ending in /if/ or /tof/ and monosyllabic stems (/nof/ "new", /praf/ "true", /zdraf/ "healthy"). Otherwise this alternation is predictable:

<krastA₁F) "scabby" /krastájo, krásta_a, krástoo, krástaj/

The examples found in our material are:

<beloglA ₁ F	"grey-haired"	<bukoF	"beech"
bolnitšA ₁ F	"sickly"	daboF	"oak"
gletA ₁ F	"sodden"	jatšmenoF	"barley"
gologlA ₁ F	"bare-headed"	oreoF	"walnut"
grbA ₁ F	"hunch-"	oreškoF	"walnut"
kafeA ₁ F	"brown"	ovezoF	"oat-"
kašlitšA ₁ F	"coughing"	voltšoF)	"wolf-"
kozina ₁ F	"of goat's wool"		
mrzla ₁ F	"lazy"	<gluF	"deaf"
sipajntšA ₁ F	"pock-marked"	suF)	"dry"
keĽA ₁ F	"bald"		
ubA ₁ F	"beautiful"		
zablA ₁ F)	"with large teeth"		

2.8.4.4. (A₁) : /a/ ~ /o/ || Adjectives with final stem in (A₁F) (cf. foregoing alternation) alternate /a/ with /o/ before a desinence /-o/ (i.e. neuter):

<ubA₁F) "beautiful" /úbo_o/ (cf. <prav) "true" /právo/).

2.8.4.5. (V) : /v/ ~ # || /v/ is dropped when the adjective takes the desinence for plural or when the masculine form takes the article. This alternation is non-predictable:

<imašliV> "rich" /imášlio, imášlii/, cf. neuter /imášlivo/
cf. <živ> "alive" /živio, živi/.

Our material contains the following examples, which are all
adjectives ending in <liV>:

<bigorliV	"calcarious"	<bortšliV	"in debt"
doždliV	"rainy"	kabaetliV	"guilty"
kamenliV	"stony"	kəsmetliV	"lucky"
magliV	"foggy"	namuzliV	"honest, decent"
mrzliV	"lazy"	tšakarliV	"having a cast in the eye"
mukaetliV	"who cares much about"	zaduvliV	"asthmatic"
nagjorliV	"having a cast in the eye"		

2.8.4.6. <S> : /s/ ~ # || Only one (defective) adjective:
<siromaS> "poor" masc. /síroma/ pl. /sirómasi/.

2.8.5. Pronouns

2.8.5.1. <F> : /f/ ~ # || Final /f/ alternates with #, when a
non-zero desinence is attached. This
alternation is of exactly the same
nature as the one mentioned in 2.8.4.3.:
<negoF> "his, its" /négof, negójo, négoǰ, négoǰ, négoj/.

2.8.5.2. <O> : /o/ ~ # || /o/ alternates with #, when a non-zero
desinence is attached. This alternation
concerns the qualifying pronouns:
<kakOv> "of what type" /kákof, kákva/.

2.8.5.3. <V> : /v/ ~ # || /v/ is dropped before plural desinence
<-j>. This alternation concerns the
quantifying pronouns:
<kokaV> "of what size" /kókaf, kokáva, kókaj/.

2.9. The verbal inflexional system

2.9.0. The grammatical categories of the verb.

The forms of the verb may be divided into two groups: simple
and complex forms. The complex forms will be dealt with in the
chapter on syntax.

The simple verb forms, taken as a whole, are characterized by
the following categories:

1. aspect: perfective and imperfective
2. tense: present, aorist and imperfect
3. mood: indicative and imperative
4. number: singular and plural
5. person: 1st, 2nd, 3rd
6. gender: masculine, feminine and neuter.

There is no verb form which expresses all these categories.
Person and gender are mutually exclusive. In the indicative what
we call the finite forms are characterized by the category of
person, and the participles by gender. Aspect and number are the
only categories which are present in all the verb forms¹.
However, for number there is a remarkable difference in the sets
of desinences used: the endings used for the participles are
almost the same as the adjectival endings, whereas the desinences
of the finite forms and of the imperative are only found in verb
forms. Gender is essentially a nominal category: semantically and
formally this category, present in participles, is identical with
the one found in adjectives.

The verbal noun² must be viewed as a marginal form: it does
not participate in typically verbal categories like aspect, tense
and mood. One might object that, because verbal nouns are formed
from imperfective verbs, the aspect category is also present (as
imperfective) in the verbal noun. This is, in our opinion, only
formally the case. Semantically there is no opposition; aspect
has neither meaning nor function in the verbal noun. Formally

¹See below our remarks on the verbal noun.

²There is no verbal adverb in the dialect.

and syntactically the form in question is a noun, expressing number (singular) and gender (neuter). As a consequence it may also take the article. For instance /otvóranje, otvoránjeto/ from the verb /ótvora/ "to open". The only reason for treating the verbal noun here is its regular derivational relation with the verb: from every imperfective verb a verbal noun may be derived in a formally predictable way.

In the following table the simple forms of the verbs and the categories are interrelated:

	finite forms			
	present	impf.	aorist	imperative
aspect: pf., ipf.	+	+	+	+
tense	non-past	past	past	
(past)		simult.	non-sim.	
mood	ind.	ind.	ind.	imper.
number: sg., pl.	+	+	+	+
person: 1st, 2nd, 3rd	+	+	+	
gender: m., f., n.				

	non-finite forms			
	impf. part.	aor. part.	past pass.part.	noun
aspect: pf., ipf.	+	+	+	
tense	past	past		
(past)	simult.	non-sim.		
mood	ind.	ind.	ind.	
number: sg., pl.	+	+	+	+
person: 1st, 2nd, 3rd				
gender: m., f., n.	+	+	+	ntr.

In the following sections we shall deal with the formal relationship between aspectual pairs. Strictly speaking this should be described in the chapter on derivation, because the formal relations between the members of an aspectual opposition are in many cases relations between lexical units. Since this kind of derivation exists only within the word class of verbs it seems justifiable and more practical to present the

description here. After this the inflexional morphology of the verb will follow.

2.9.1. Aspect and form

There are two main types of aspect formation: prefixation and suffixation.

2.9.1.1. When an imperfective verb takes a prefix, it always becomes perfective. Whether prefixation changes both the aspect of the verb and its lexical meaning is a much discussed problem in Slavic linguistics. One might assume three different semantic relations³:

1. the prefix changes the lexical meaning of the verb to such a degree that an independent lexeme results. When this is the case very often secondary imperfectives are formed: /praj/ "make, do" /pópraj/ "improve" pf. /póprava/ sec. ipf.;
2. the lexical meaning does not change, but the prefix gives an indication as to how the action develops or proceeds. Examples of what are called "procedurals" (Aktionsarten) are: /spie/ "sleep" /póspie/ "sleep a little bit";
3. the prefix only perfectivizes the imperfective verb: /péri/ "wash" /ísperi/.

As a matter of fact, especially in the 2nd and 3rd type of relationship there are many problems concerning the actual semantic function of the prefixes. In the following exposition we shall pay no further attention to these problems. We only wanted to point out that the correlations concerning aspect and prefixation are very probably essentially the same in the present dialect as they are in other Slavic languages and dialects.

When a perfective verb takes a prefix, its aspect will not change, but its lexical meaning always changes. In almost all cases a secondary imperfective verb is then formed by means of

³Cf. for Russian Forsyth 1970:18f.

⁴This form, the 3rd singular present tense, is, by lack of an infinitive, traditionally used as a reference form for verbs in Macedonian linguistics.

suffixation: /daj/ "give" pf. /pródaj/ "sell" pf. /pródava/ ipf.

2.9.1.2. The formal means of suffixation are more complicated. The semantic relationship is, however, much clearer. There is no doubt that the difference between /praša/ "ask" pf. and /prašva/ ipf. is only an aspectual one.

Although the suffix ⟨v⟩ is very often the formal mark of imperfective verbs, it is neither a constant nor an exclusive mark. One can, however, say with certainty that there are no unprefixated stems ending in ⟨v⟩ which are perfective. A similar remark might be made regarding the suffix ⟨n⟩, which is a formal mark of the perfective. There are no prefixed stems ending in ⟨n⟩ which are imperfective. But with regard to unprefixated stems in ⟨n⟩ no prediction about aspect can be made. If one does not know the morphological status of a stemfinal ⟨v⟩ or ⟨n⟩ in prefixed or unprefixated stems respectively, one cannot predict the aspect of those stems. Compare the morphemic structure of the following verbs:

stem				
prefix	root	aspect suffix	thematic morph	
pre	ffl(u)	v	a	"throw over" ipf.
iz	lūmpuv		a	"carouse"

The first verb is imperfective because of the occurrence of the aspect formans ⟨v⟩. But at first sight we do not know whether the second is perfective or imperfective. Compare:

δt	preg	a	"unyoke"
δ	tvor	a	"open"

Once we know the form of the aspectual counterparts of those verbs we are in most cases able to determine their respective aspects:

	lūmpuv		a	ipf.
δt	preg	n	i	pf.
δ	tvor		i	pf.

With stemfinal ⟨n⟩:

	rán		i	"feed" ipf.
	stán		i	"stand" pf.
ná	ran		i	"feed" pf.
	stán	v	a	"stand" ipf.

The examples given show the following: before we can establish the aspect of a verb, we must know its morphological structure and its aspectual counterpart (and even then this is not always possible, see below). The imperfective verb is the one that is unprefixated, or the one with stemfinal ⟨v⟩, or the one belonging to flexion-class 1 (see below). The perfective verb is the one that is prefixed, or the one with stemfinal ⟨n⟩, or the one not belonging to flexion-class 1. A unique exception is /dúva/ and /dúe/ "blow", which are synonyms and are both imperfective.

Consequently, on the basis of three formal properties (prefixation, suffixes ⟨v⟩ or ⟨n⟩, membership of flexion-class, section 2.9.4.2.) we are able to describe the formal relationships between the members of an aspectual pair and classify the verbs into a number of types according to the role these properties play in aspect formation.

In a number of cases aspect formation is accompanied by certain morphonemic alternations. These alternations do not play a role in the various types of aspect derivation. They are only formal and accompanying phenomena in certain derivations.

2.9.2. Types of formal relationships between aspect members

First the types of aspect formation will be established, and next the alternations will be listed.

2.9.2.1. Type 1

The imperfective is unprefixated, the perfective is prefixed. We shall give a complete list of the occurring verbal prefixes with examples. When the prefix causes a change in lexical meaning this is indicated by a translation into English, in other cases

the lexical meaning of both imperfective and perfective verbs is considered to be the same.

prefix imperfective		perfective
(do	/pétši/ "bake"	/dópetši/ "bake more, to the end"
iz	/rénda/ "grate"	/ízdrenda/
izna	/ígra/ "play"	/iznáigra/ "play one's fill"
izpo	/déli/ "divide"	/ispódeli/ "divide totally"
na	/mnóži/ "multiply"	/námnoži/
nat	/snoj/ "warp"	/nátsnoj/
o	/striži/ "cut, clip"	/óstriži/
od	/sej/ "sift"	/ótsej/
po	/svéti/ "shine (moon)"	/pósveti/
pod	/vfni/ "rain"	/pódvrni/ "rain a little bit"
pre	/zdrej/ "ripen"	/prézdrej/ "become overripe"
pret	/stávi/ "put"	/prétstavi/ "present"
pri	/blíži/ "approach"	/príbliži/
pro	/kápi/ "drip"	/prókapi/
raz	/plátši/ "cry"	/rásplatši/ "burst into tears"
s	/gfmi/ "thunder"	/zgfmi/
so	/šie/ "sew"	/sóšie/
u	/strámi/ "be ashamed"	/ústrami/
v	/jáva/ "ride (horseback)"	/vjáni/
za	/lépi/ "glue"	/zálepi/
zo)	/vríe/ "boil"	/zóvri/

The verb /nátsnoj/ is the only example in our material with the prefix /nat/; /prétstavi/ is the only example with the prefix /pret/; /zóvri/ is the only verb with the prefix /zo/.

The verb /vjani/, together with prefixation, also changes the imperfective suffix (v) into perfective (n) (cf. 2.9.2.2.6.).

We found other examples with prefix (v) only in bound stems such as /vléigva/ "enter" ipf. /vléisi/ pf. In other words, the prefix (v) is not used as a means of aspect formation but of verb derivation in general. Likewise there exist: a prefix (ob) only in bound stems: /óblétši/ "dress" pf. /óblékva/ ipf. or /óbdeni/ "dawn" pf. /óbdenva/ ipf.

2.9.2.2. In the remaining types of aspect formation the formal relationship is formed by means of suffixation and/or through change of flexion-class. Verbs with imperfective formans (v) always belong to flexion-class 1, the occurrence of perfective formans (n) automatically entails a change in flexion-class (although there are a few exceptions, cf. 2.9.2.2.6.). In all these types prefixed as well as unprefixed pairs occur equally. The presence or absence of a prefix is therefore no basis for further typification of aspectual pairs.

2.9.2.2.1. Type 2

imperfective: (v)

perfective: (∅), and change in flexion-class: when the derivational basic alternant (cf. chapter on derivation 3.5.) ends in (u), (a), (o) or (e): C6, C8, C9, C10 respectively; when the alternant ends in (i): C6 or C7; when the alternant ends in a consonant, (U) or (A): C2 to C5. Examples:

(obu	/óbuva/	"put on shoes"	/óbu/ C6
zabora	/zabórava/	"forget"	/zabóraj/ C8
podko	/pótkova/	"shoe (a horse)"	/pótkoj/ C9
ugre	/úgreva/	"shine (sun)"	/úgrej/ C10
razvi	/rázviva/	"develop"	/rázvie/ C6
zaspi	/záspiva/	"put to sleep"	/záspie/ C7
tor	/tórva/	"load"	/tóri/ C2
oblek,	/óblékva/	"dress"	/óblétši/ C4
sednU)	/sédnuva/	"sit down"	/sédni/ C3

2.9.2.2.2. Type 3

imperfective: (v)

perfective: (∅), both of the same flexion-class (C1):

(bendis	/béndisva/	"like"	/béndisa/
potrebU)	/potrėbuva/	"need"	/pótreba/

2.9.2.2.3. Type 4

imperfective: (v)

perfective: (n), with accompanying change to flexion-class C3:

(kre)	/krėva/	"raise"	/krėni/
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2.9.2.2.4. Type 5

imperfective: ⟨∅⟩, flexion-class C1

perfective: ⟨n⟩, with change to flexion-class C3

⟨kəs /kása/ "bite, sting" /kásni/
napaJ₁) /nápaJa/ "attack" /nápadni/

2.9.2.2.5. Type 6

imperfective: ⟨∅⟩, flexion-class C1

perfective: ⟨∅⟩, change to flexion-class C2, C3 or C5

⟨fatJ /fákja/ "grasp" /fáti/ C2
umIr /úmira/ "die" /úmri/ C5
otInat /otínata/ "unstop, uncork" /ótnati/ C2
skorIn) /skórina/ "waken" /skórni/ C3

2.9.2.2.6. Irregularities

In a number of instances the formal relationship between aspect members must be regarded as irregular.

1. in some cases prefixation is accompanied by a change of suffix and/or flexion-class:

/gládva/ "starve" /ógladni/
/já(n)va/ "ride (on horseback)" /vjáni/
/klánja/ "pray (in a mosque)" /pókloni/
/stárej/ "grow old" /óstari/
/zdrávej/ "recover" /ózdravi/ (sec. ipf. /ozdrávuva/)
/žívej/ "live" /óživi/ "revive"
/vríe/ "boil" /zóvri/ (with irregular flexion, cf. 2.9.5.12.)

2. two verbs have a perfective marker ⟨n⟩ and nevertheless belong to flexion-class C1:

/kíva/ "sneeze" /kívna/
/ždríga/ "belch" /ždrígna/

3. In a few cases prefixation is accompanied by an irregular alternation or irregular change of flexion-class:

/vádi/ "take out" /zvaj/
cf., however, /vádi/ "irrigate" /návadi/
/ídi/ "come" /doj/
/préjdi/ "cross" /préj dva/ sec. ipf.
/ótidi/ "go away"

Note: The form of the prefix /ot/ is irregular in the verb

/ótidi/. One would have expected, in a synchronic sense, */ódid/, which, however does not occur.

/nósi/ "carry" /dójsi/ "bring", /zájsi/ "carry away"
cf. /dónosi/ "bring, carry to the end", which is a regular derivation.

/jaj/ "eat" /ízej/ "eat up"

cf. /nájaj se/ "eat one's fill" /nájadva/ sec. ipf.

/préjaj/ "eat too much", which are regular formations.

4. Finally there are a few cases of suppletion, i.e. the members of an aspectual pair are formed from different roots:

/púli/ "see" /vídi/
/véli/ "say" /rétši/
/slúša/ "hear" /tšúe/

2.9.2.2.7. Doublet forms (cf. Derivation 3.6.7.1.)

In a few cases there are doublet imperfective forms constituting an aspectual pair with one perfective verb. A few examples are presented here. The perfective verb is given first:

/létni/ "to fly" /létnuva/ type 2
/léta/ type 5
/préfrli/ "throw over" /preffluva/ type 2
/préfrla/ type 6
/zěmi/ "take" /zěmva/ type 2
/zěma/ type 6

2.9.3. Alternations in aspect formation

Verbs of type 1 (prefixation) do not undergo regular alternations.

2.9.3.1. ⟨U⟩: /u/ ~ # || /u/ or /a/ before the imperfective suffix

⟨A⟩: /a/ ~ # || /v/ alternate with # in the perfective.

This alternation is predictable and affects all relevant cases of type 2 and 3:

⟨teknU /těknuva/ "understand" /těkni/
krstJA) /křskjava/ "baptize" /křsti/ (cf. 2.9.3.7.)

A special case of this alternation is the verb /podlávnuva/ "bark a little" which has pf. /pódlaj/.

2.9.3.2. ⟨I⟩ : /i/ ~ # || /i/ in the imperfective alternates with # in the perfective. This alternation is predictable and affects all relevant cases of type 6:

⟨nadzIr⟩ /nádžira/ "look at" /nádždri/

2.9.3.3. ⟨JD⟩ : /jd/ ~ # || /jd/ or /d/ before imperfective

⟨D⟩ : /d/ ~ # || formans /v/ alternate with # in the perfective. This alternation affects only three verbs of type 2

(cf. inflexional alternation 2.9.6.6.):

⟨naJD⟩ /nájdvá/ "find" /naj/

/zájdvá/ "set (of sun)" /zaj/

⟨najaD⟩ /nájadvá/ "eat one's fill" /nájaj/

2.9.3.4. ⟨J₁⟩ : /j/ ~ /d/ || /j/ in the imperfective alternates with /d/ in the perfective. Only one stem (of type 5):

⟨paJ₁⟩ /pájá/ "fall" /pádni/

2.9.3.5. ⟨K₂⟩ : /k/ ~ /tš/ || /k/ and /g/ before the imperfective

⟨G₄⟩ : /g/ ~ /z/ || suffix /v/ alternate with /tš/ and /z/ respectively in the perfective. This alternation is predictable and affects all relevant verbs of type 2:

⟨sIeK₂⟩ /slékva/ "undress" /slétši/

⟨sIeG₄⟩ /slégva/ "come down" /slézi/

2.9.3.6. ⟨G₃⟩ : /ž/ ~ /g/ || /ž/ alternates with /g/ in only one example (of type 4):

⟨pomoG₃⟩ /pómožva/ "help" /pómogni/

Note: there exists a doublet perfective form of type 2: /pómoži/

2.9.3.7. ⟨J⟩ : /j/ ~ # || /j/ in the imperfective alternates with # in the perfective. This alternation is predictable and affects type 6,

one verb of type 2 and one verb which is irregular in aspect formation:

⟨platJ⟩	/plákJa/	"pay"	/pláti/
rodJ	/rógja/	"bring forth"	/ródi/
krstJ	/kfskjava/	"baptize"	/kfsti/ (type 2)
klanJ	/klánja/	"pray (in a mosque)"	/pókloni/

2.9.4. Inflexion

A verb form always consists of at least three parts: a prefixed or unprefix stem, a thematic morph and a desinence.

2.9.4.1. The stem

As we did in the nominal flexion and in the aspect derivation we shall use in the verbal inflexion too a basic alternant in morphonemic terms. It is worth repeating that the inflexional and derivational basic alternants of the same word are not necessarily the same. They always differ when there are different alternations or alternations in one part of the grammar and no alternations in the other. For instance, the derivational alternant of /óvue/ "put on shoes" is ⟨obu⟩, the inflexional alternant, however, is ⟨obuJ⟩ (cf. the chapter on derivation 3.5.).

The procedure followed to describe the nominal word classes is absolutely parallel to that applied here. We shall first examine the rules for inflexion and then present the set of morphonemic alternations required. Before the thematic morphs and inflexional desinences can be attached to the stem, one must apply both the set of morphonemic alternations mentioned above and the set of phonemic alternations given in the chapter on phonology.

The treatment of the verbs differs from that of the nominal word classes in that the total set of verbal stems, in their basic alternants, will be subdivided into a number of flexion-classes based on the final phoneme of the verbal stem and on the selection of the thematic morphs. Why do we need a classification of this kind? Classification aims at predicting a maximum of facts with a minimum of data. We feel that one of the disadvantages of Isačenko's treatment of the Slovak

verb⁵ is the complete lack of classification. This means that in order to generate any verb form one has to plough through, often several times, a long series of rules, only a fraction of which may appear to be applicable, before the form in question can be generated. Classification, provided it is based on explicit and clear criteria, allows us to reduce the number of rules and enables us to select those which are applicable.

The verbal stems of the dialect of Dihovo are divided into ten flexion-classes. The verbal stems of C1 up to C5 end in a consonant; C6 contains stems ending in ⟨i⟩ or ⟨j⟩, C7 to C10 are classes with stems ending in ⟨I⟩, ⟨a⟩, ⟨o⟩ or ⟨e⟩ respectively. A small number of irregular verbs are not classified into one of those ten classes, but will be listed separately.

2.9.4.2. The thematic morph

The second criterion for the classification of verbs into flexion-classes will be the selection of the thematic morphs.

In every verb form there occurs a thematic morph (in relatively few cases realized as zero). In order to classify all verbs it is necessary and sufficient to know the thematic morphs of the 1st and 2nd singular present tense and the 1st singular aorist. Irrelevant for the classification into flexion-classes are aspect and the occurrence (or non-occurrence) of alternations.

The thematic morph seems to have no clear semantic function⁶. It has a limited formal function in aspect formation (especially in type 6, 2.9.2.2.5.). Otherwise the thematic morph is a grammatically formal element only. It makes it possible to attach desinences, which are almost the same for all flexion-classes. In those cases where the desinence is zero, the function of this desinence as a formal expression of the grammatical categories is taken over by the thematic morph. For instance the 3rd singular present tense of "to bake" is /pétši/, the 3rd singular aorist is /pétše/. The difference in tense category can be seen here from

⁵Isačenko 1966:183-201. Cf. also Horecký 1972:259-271, who classifies the verbs according to the occurrence of thematic morphs.

⁶Cf. Isačenko 1966:186.

the different thematic morphs. But this is a very unstable function of the thematic morphs. E.g., the 3rd singular present tense of "to dine" is /rútša/, but this form is also the form of the 3rd singular aorist.

The thematic morphs of the present tense, 1st and 2nd singular, and of the 1st singular aorist are as follows:

	Class									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
present 1st sg.	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	o	e
present 2nd sg.	a	i	i	i	i	e	e	j	j	j
aorist 1st sg.	a	i	a	o	e	∅	a	j	j	j

Except in the 3rd person plural the thematic morph in the rest of the present tense is the same as that in the 2nd singular. The thematic morph of the aorist plural is the same as that of the 1st singular aorist, except C10, where the 3rd plural aorist has the thematic morph ⟨∅⟩.

A table of the thematic morphs occurring in other verb forms is given below:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
present 3rd pl.	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
aorist 2nd, 3rd sg.	a	e	a	e	e	∅	a	j	j	e
aorist part.	a	i	a	o/∅	e	∅	a	j	j	e
imperfect + impf.part.	a	e	e	e	e	e	e	e	e	e
past pass.part.	a	e	a	e	e	e	a	j	j	a
imperative	a	i/e	i/e	i/e	i/e	∅/e	∅/e	∅	∅	∅
noun	a	e	e	e	e	e	a	j	j	j

The thematic morph in the aorist participle of C4 verbs is distributed as follows: ⟨o⟩ for masculine, ⟨∅⟩ in other cases. The two morphs in the imperative of C2 to C7 are for singular and plural respectively. See the following sections for a few minor details about the selection of the thematic morphs.

Although the thematic morphs of the 1st and 2nd singular present tense and of the 1st singular aorist are a sufficient basis for the classification, a more convenient reference set,

more in line with the traditional pattern, is formed by the thematic morphs of the present tense, of the aorist and of the imperfect. These thematic morphs are restated here. Where necessary, the 1st singular of the present tense and the 2nd and 3rd singular of the aorist are also given:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
present	a	i	i	i	i	e	e	j/a	j/o	j/e
aorist	a	i/e	a	o/e	e	∅	a	j	j	j/e
imperfect	a	e	e	e	e	e	e	e	e	e

2.9.4.3. Classification

The flexion-classes C1 and C2 are highly productive classes⁷. Their members will not be listed. The members of all other classes are listed below. They are presented in morphonemic transcription together with the thematic morph of the 3rd singular present tense. Only the simplex verb will be given; if there is no simplex, (one of) the prefixed form(s) will be listed. This is sufficient, because prefixed and unprefixed verbs formed with the same root, except for the large group of aspectual pairs, where the imperfective belongs to C1, but the perfective does not, have the same inflexional pattern and consequently belong to the same flexion-class. A few exceptions to this rule will be mentioned separately.

Class 3: ⟨i, a, e⟩

1. simple imperfectives:

⟨bEri	"gather"	⟨laG ₃ i /lāži/	"lie"
bliZ ₁ i /blíži/	"approach"	množi	"multiply"
briS ₁ i /bríši/	"wipe"	mrzni	"freeze"
buni	"confuse"	niZ ₁ i /níži/	"string"
dEri	"skin"	pEri	"wash"
diS ₁ i /díši/	"breathe"	piS ₁ i /píši/	"write"
drži)	"hold"	plaK ₂ i) /plátši/	"cry"

⁷Imperfectives derived from verbs always belong to C1.

⟨gini	"perish"	⟨polni	"fill"
greši	"make errors"	prazni	"empty"
grizi	"nibble"	rini	"dig"
kini	"tear, rip"	struG ₃ i /strúži/	"plane"
kisni	"sour"	suK ₂ i /sútši/	"roll"
kOL ₁ i /kóli/	"slaughter"	vezi	"embroider"
kolni)	"swear"	vrni)	"rain"

2. simple perfectives:

⟨digni	"raise"	⟨primni	"receive"
duni	"blow"	pukni	"burst"
gotni	"swallow"	rasipi	"deprave"
ikni	"hiccough"	ripni	"jump"
kaZ ₁ i /káži/	"say"	sedni	"sit down"
kreni	"lift, raise"	skorni	"waken"
kəsni	"bite"	slušni	"listen"
legni	"lie down"	spomeni	"mention"
letni	"fly"	spremi	"prepare"
mani	"beat"	stani	"get up"
meni	"change"	stigni	"reach, arrive"
nabobni	"swell up"	svetni	"flash"
nikni	"sprout"	šini	"sprain"
ofni	"scream, moan"	tekni	"understand"
padni	"fall"	trgni	"start out"
pikni	"put in, slip in"	tšukni	"beat"
pokloni	"present"	ukni	"blow"
pomogni	"help"	vdeni	"put in, thread"
postEL ₁ i /pósteli/	"spread"	vikni	"call"
potšini	"rest"	vrzi)	"tie"
potšni)	"begin"		

3. prefixed perfectives:

⟨izdi(v)ni	"sigh, breathe out"	⟨otpregni	"unyoke"
izposni /ísposni/	"fast"	pobegni	"run away"
namoti	"wind"	pomini	"pass by"
nastini	"catch cold"	posini	"adopt a son"
obdeni	"dawn"	spotni	"sweat"
opaS ₁ i) /ópaši/	"gird"	vjani)	"ride (on horseback)"

(osini osuni)	"bruise" "dawn"	(zaripni)	"get hoarse"
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Class 4: (i, o/e, e)

imperfectives		simple perfectives	
(briK ₂ i /brítši/ idi	"shave" "come"	(reK ₂ i /rétši/ vidi	"say, tell" "see"
peK ₂ i /pétši/ sedi	"bake" "sit"	zemi)	"take"
seK ₂ i /sétši/ striG ₃ i /stríži/ teK ₂ i) /tétši/	"cut" "cut hair" "flow"	prefixed perfectives (dojsi izleG ₄ i /ízlezi/ iznenadi obleK ₂ i) /óbletši/	"bring" "go out" "surprise" "dress"

Class 5: (i, e, e)

imperfectives		perfectives	
(gasni "quench" gori "burn" leži "lie" mEli "grind, mill" žali) "complain"		(lupni "jump" nadzdri "look at" ogladni "become hungry" ogluvi "become deaf" or (ogluvni) onemi "become numb" oslepi "become blind" ostari "grow old" ozdravi "regain health" oživi "revive" stemni "get dark" umri "die" zapri) "stop, halt"	

Class 6: (e, Ø, e)

imperfectives		perfectives	
(bie "hit" duJe /dúe/ "blow" gnie "rot" krie "cover" lie "cast" mie) "wash"		(obuJe /óbue/ "put on (shoes)" razvie "develop" tšuJe) /tšúe/ "hear"	

(pie šie trie truJe /trúe/ vie vrie)	"drink" "sew" "rub" "poison" "howl" "boil"
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Class 7: (e, a, e)

Only two stems:

(spIe žnIe)	"sleep" "harvest"
----------------	----------------------

Class 8: (j/a, j, e)

imperfectives		perfectives	
(baj laj praj tkaj traj znaj)	"quack" "bark" "make, do" "weave" "last" "know"	(izvaj naklaj ostaj prodaj udaj zaboraj)	"take out" "bottle (vegetables)" "leave" "sell" "drown" "forget"

Class 9: (j/o, j, e)

imperfectives			
(broj doj koj kroj)	"count" "breast-feed" "forge" "tailor"	(roj snoj stoj)	"swarm" "warp" "stand"

Class 10: (j/e, j/e, e)

imperfectives			perfective
(belej "become white" blej "bleat" gordej "be proud" grej "shine, warm" grej "go, come" grmej "thunder" lej "pour" pej) "sing"	(sej "sow" smej "laugh" smej "dare" starej "grow old" tlej "glow" tšmej "smolder" zdravej "recover" zdrej) "ripen"	(izej) "eat up"	

(potnej) "sweat" (Živej) "live"

Because of the occurrence of doublet forms in a number of cases verbs might be classified in more than one class. We refer to section 2.9.5.11., where a list of occurring doublets is presented.

A small group of verbs which must be considered irregular in more than one of their forms are listed here. We shall deal with them separately after we have given a detailed treatment of the inflexion of the ten classes (cf. 2.9.5.12.):

imperfective	perfective
/jaj/ "eat"	/daj/ "give"
/e/ "be"	/klaj/ "put"
/oj/ "go"	/naj/ "find"
	/namoši/ "be all goose-flesh"
	/zaj/ "set (of sun)"
	/zóvri/ "boil"

Verbs formed with the same root but not belonging to the same flexion-class are:

C2 /vádi/ "take out" ipf.	C8 /ízvaj/ pf.
irr. /daj/ "give" pf.	C8 /próđaj/ "sell" pf.
irr. /jaj/ "eat" ipf.	C10 /ízej/ "eat up" pf.
C6 /vríe/ "boil" ipf.	irr. /zóvri/ pf.
C10 /stárej/ "grow old" ipf.	C5 /óstari/ pf.
C10 /zdrávej/ "recover" ipf.	C5 /ózdravi/ pf.
C10 /živej/ "live" ipf.	C5 /óživi/ "revive" pf.

2.9.4.4. The desinences

The desinences which represent the verbal categories are very regular.

There are final and non-final desinences. Non-final are the desinences of the non-finite forms: ⟨l⟩, and ⟨n⟩ or ⟨t⟩ of the participles, ⟨j⟩ or ⟨∅⟩ of the imperative, ⟨nje⟩ of the verbal noun. These desinences must be followed by endings indicating number/gender; the ending of the verbal noun may be followed by the article.

There is a striking difference in the phonemic structure of

the nominal and the verbal desinences. Most nominal desinences are of the form /V/, /Vj/ or /jV/; most verbal desinences are /C/ or /CV/. In a semantic respect they differ in that the nominal desinences in most cases represent only one grammatical category, whereas the verbal desinences, besides cases of homonymy, represent bundles of grammatical categories. So ⟨-m⟩ is the formal correlate of present + 1st person + singular, ⟨-f⟩ means aorist or imperfect + 1st person + singular, etc. The table below showing the desinences of the finite forms illustrates the relations between form and meaning, including homonymy:

	Tense			Person			Number	
	pres.	aor.	impf.	1st	2nd	3rd	sg.	pl.
-m	+			+			+	
-f		+	+	+			+	
-š	+				+		+	
-še			+		+	+	+	
-∅		+			+	+	+	
-∅	+					+	+	
-me	+	+	+	+				+
-te	+	+	+		+			+
-a	+	+	+			+		+
-t	+					+		+

In the following sections we shall give a survey of the distribution of the thematic morphs and desinences of the ten flexion-classes for every verb form.

2.9.4.4.1. Present tense

Person Number	1st singular		2nd, 3rd sg. and 1st, 2nd pl.		3rd plural	
	Class	morph ending	morph ending	morph ending	morph ending	morph ending
1	a		a			-a
2-5	a		i	-š		-t
6-7	a	-m	e	-∅	a	-t
8	a		j	-me		-t
9	o		j	-te		-t
10	e		j			-t

In rare cases the desinences of the 3rd singular present tense is (-t) instead of (-∅).

Examples:

- C1 ⟨ora "plough" /ɔram, ɔraš, ɔra, ɔrame, ɔrate, ɔraɔ/
- C2 lazi "crawl" /lázam, láziš, ... lázat/
- C5 rini "dig" /rínam, ríniš, ... rínat/
- C4 briki "shave" /brítšam, brítšiš, ... brítšat/
- C5 leži "lie" /lěžam, lěžiš, ... lěžat/
- C6 mie "wash" /míam, míeš, ... míat/
- C7 spie "sleep" /spíam, spíeš, ... spíat/
- C8 tkaj "weave" /tkáam, tkajš, ... tkáat/
- C9 snoj "warp" /snóom, snojš, ... snóat/
- C10 lej "pour" /lěem, lejš, ... lěat/

2.9.4.4.2. Aorist

	1st singular		2nd, 3rd sg.		1st, 2nd pl.		3rd plural	
	morph	ending	morph	ending	morph	ending	morph	ending
1, 3, 7	a		a		a		a	
2	i		e		i		i	
4	o		e		o		o	
5	e	-f	e	-∅	e	-me	e	-a
6	∅		∅		∅	-te	∅	
8, 9	j		j		j		j	
10	j		e		j		∅	

Examples:

- C1 ⟨izora /ízoraf, ízora, ízora, izórame, izórate, izóraɔ/
- C2 polazi /pólazif, pólaže, polázime, polázia/
- C3 izrini /ízdrinaf, ízdrina, ... izdrínaɔ/
- C4 izbriki /ízbrikof, ízbritše, izbríkome, izbríkoɔ/
- C5 poleži /póležef, póleže, ... polěžeɔ/
- C6 izmie /ízmif, ízmi, ízmime, izmia/
- C7 pospie /póspaf, póspa, póspame, póspaɔ/
- C8 iztkaj /ískajf, ískaj, iskájme, iskája/
- C9 natsnoj /nátsnojf, nátsnoj, natsnójme, natsnója/
- C10 nalej /nálejf, náleɔ, nalějme, nalěɔ/

2.9.4.4.3. Aorist participle

The desinences (-l) for singular masculine, (-la) for singular feminine, (-lo) for singular neuter or (-le) for plural are attached to the stem, which has the same thematic morph as the stem of the 1st singular aorist.

In C4 the thematic morph ⟨o⟩ alternates with zero when the desinence is syllabic; it alternates with ⟨e⟩ throughout the participle when the stem of the verb ends in ⟨d⟩.

In C10 the thematic morph is ⟨e⟩ instead of ⟨j⟩.

Examples:

- C1 /ízoral, izórala, izóralo, izórale/
- C2 /pólazil/
- C3 /ízdrinal/
- C4 /ízbrikol, ízbrikla, ízbrikle/; ⟨vidi⟩ "see" /videl, vídele/
- C5 /póležel/
- C6 /ízmil/
- C7 /póspal/
- C8 /ískajl/
- C9 /nátsnoj1/
- C10 /náleɔl/

2.9.4.4.4. Imperfect and imperfect participle

The thematic morph of C1 is ⟨a⟩, and of all other classes ⟨e⟩, except for the 3rd plural imperfect of C10, which has ⟨∅⟩.

The desinences are the same in all classes:

imperfect: 1st singular ⟨-f⟩, 2nd, 3rd singular ⟨-še⟩, 1st plural

(-me), 2nd plural (-te), 3rd plural (-a). The desinences of the participle are the same as those of the aorist participle.

Examples:

C1 /óraf, óraše, óraše, órame, órate, óraa; óral, órala, órafe/

C2 /lázeř, lázel/

C3 /ríneř, rínel/

C4 /brítšeř, brítšel/

C5 /léžeř, léžel/

C6 /míeř, míel/

C7 /spíeř, spíel/

C8 /tkáeř, tkáel/

C9 /snóeř, snóel/

C10 /léeř, léeše, léeme, léa; léel, léele/

2.9.4.4.5. Past passive participle

The thematic morph of C1, 3, 7 and 10 is ⟨a⟩, of C2, 4, 5 and 6 it is ⟨e⟩, of C8 and 9 it is ⟨j⟩.

The non-final desinence is ⟨-t⟩ when the stem of the verb ends in ⟨n⟩, otherwise the desinence is ⟨-n⟩. Desinences for number/gender are: masculine ⟨-∅⟩, feminine ⟨-a⟩, neuter ⟨-o⟩ and plural ⟨-i⟩.

Examples:

C1 /ízoran, izórana, izórano, izórani/

C2 /póľazen/

C3 /izdrinat/

C4 /izbrítšen/

C5 /póľežen/

C6 /izmien/

C7 /póspan/

C8 /ískajn/

C9 /nátsnojn/

C10 /naléan/

2.9.4.4.6. Imperative

	singular		plural	
	morph	ending	morph	ending
1	a	-j	a	-jte
2-5	i	-∅	e	-te
6-7	∅	-∅	e	-te
8-10	∅	-j	∅	-jte

Examples:

C1 /óraj, órajte/

C6 /mi, miete/

C2 /lázi, lázete/

C7 /spi, spíete/

C3 /ríni, rínete/

C8 /tkaj, tkájte/

C4 /brítši, brítšete/

C9 /snoj, snójte/

C5 /léži, léžete/

C10 /lej, léjte/

2.9.4.4.7. Verbal noun

The thematic morph of C1 and C7 is ⟨a⟩, of C2 to C6 it is ⟨e⟩, and of C8 to C10 it is ⟨j⟩.

The desinence is always ⟨-nje⟩. The verbal noun is formed from imperfective verbs only.

Examples:

C1 /óranje/

C6 /míenje/

C2 /lázenje/

C7 /spánje/

C3 /rínenje/

C8 /tkájnje/

C4 /brítšenje/

C9 /snójnje/

C5 /léženje/

C10 /léjnje/

2.9.5. Paradigms

In the following sections the total set of forms is presented for every flexion-class. Thereafter the occurring peculiarities will be given.

2.9.5.1. Class 1 (a, a, a)
(rutša) "dine"

	present tense	aorist	imperfect
1st sg.	rútšam	rútšaf	rútšaf
2nd sg.	rútšaš	rútša	rútšaše
3rd pl.	rútšaa	rútšaa	rútšaa
		aor.part.	impf.part.
masc.		rútšal	rútšal
pl.		rútšale	rútšale
	p.p.p.		
masc.	rútšan		
pl.	rútšani		
	imperative		noun
sg.	rútšaj		rútšanje
pl.	rútšajte		

Peculiarities:

(klava) "put" ipf., 1st sg. present tense also /klam/. Also /náklava/ "bottle, preserve", ipf.: /náklam/.

The imperfective verbs (ostava) "leave, allow", (prodava) "sell" (but not (dava) "give") and (zaborava) "forget" have doublet stems without (v): (ostaa), (prodaa) and (zaboraa).

The prefixed derivations of (rabota) "work" have doublet aorist forms: /podrabotaf, podrabotef/ "work a little bit".

The imperfective (podkova) "shoe a horse" has imperfect forms without (v): /potkoaf, potkoše/.

The verbal noun of the imperfective (ventšava) "marry" is /ventšanje/.

2.9.5.2. Class 2 (i, i/e, e)
(soli) "salt" ipf.

	present tense	aorist	imperfect
1st sg.	sólam	sólif	sólef
2nd sg.	sóliš	sóle	sóleše
3rd pl.	sólat	sólia	sóle <u>a</u>
		aor.part.	impf.part.
masc.		sóli <u>l</u>	sóle <u>l</u>
pl.		sóli <u>le</u>	sóle <u>le</u>
	p.p.p.		
masc.	sólen		
pl.	sóleni		
	imperative		noun
sg.	sóli		sólenje
pl.	sólete		

Peculiarities:

The aorist participle forms of (úkradi) "steal" pf. are both regularly /úkradil/ and irregularly /úkral/. The 1st sg. present tense of /neki/ "not want to" is /nekjam/ or /nekjum/.

2.9.5.3. Class 3 (i, a, e)

(bEri) "gather" ipf., (piSi) "write" ipf.

	present tense	aorist	imperfect
1st sg.	béram, píšam	braf, písaf	béref, píšef
2nd sg.	bériš, píšiš	bra, písa	béreše, píšeše
3rd pl.	bérat, píšat	br <u>a</u> a, písa <u>a</u>	bére <u>a</u> píše <u>a</u>
		aor.part.	impf.part.
masc.		bral, písaf	bérel, píšel
pl.		br <u>a</u> le, písale	bérele, píšele
	p.p.p.		
masc.	bran, písan		
pl.	bráni, písani		
	imperative		noun
sg.	béri, píši		bérenje, píšenje
pl.	bérete, píšete		

Peculiarities:

The imperative of ⟨drži⟩ "hold" ipf. is /drš, drške/ (cf. Phonology 6.1.5.). The past passive participle of ⟨posini⟩ "adopt a son" pf. is /pósinet/. The verbal noun of ⟨pEri⟩ "wash" ipf. is /pérenje/ or /pránje/.

2.9.5.4. Class 4 ⟨i, o/e, e⟩

⟨peKi⟩ "bake" ipf., ⟨dojsi⟩ "bring" pf.

	present tense	aorist	imperfect
1st sg.	pétšam, dójšam	péko ^f , dójso ^f	pétšef, dójsef
2nd sg.	pétšiš, dójšiš	pétše, dójse	pétšeše, dójseše
3rd pl.	pétšat, dójšat	péko ^a , dójso ^a	pétšea ^a , dójsea ^a
		aor.part.	impf.part.
masc.		pékol, dójšol	pétšel, dójšel
pl.		pék ^{le} , dójš ^{le}	pétše ^{le} , dójse ^{le}
	p.p.p.		
masc.	pétšen, dójšen		
pl.	pétšeni, dójšeni		
	imperative		noun
sg.	pétši, dójši		pétšenje
pl.	pétšete, dójšete		

Peculiarities:

The thematic morph in the aorist participle is ⟨e⟩, instead of ⟨o⟩ or ⟨ø⟩ when the stem ends in ⟨d⟩: ⟨vidi⟩ "see" pf. /víd^el, víde^{le}/. Idem ⟨posedi⟩ "sit, stay" pf.

The aorist of ⟨zemi⟩ "take" pf. is /zédof, zéde, zédo^a/, the aorist participle is /zel, zé^{le}/.

The imperfective verb ⟨idi⟩ "come" has no imperative of its own; the suppletive forms in use are /éla, élate/. The aorist and aorist participle of ⟨prejdi⟩ "cross" pf. is /préjdof, préjde, préjdo^a; préšol, préš^{le}/.

2.9.5.5. Class 5 ⟨i, e, e⟩

⟨gori⟩ "burn" ipf., ⟨somEli⟩ "grind" pf.

	present tense	aorist	imperfect
1st sg.	góram, sómelam	góref, sóml ^e f	góref, sóme ^{le} f
2nd sg.	góriš, sómeliš	góre, sóml ^e	góreše, sóme ^{le} še
3rd pl.	górat, sómelat	górea ^a , sóml ^e a ^a	górea ^a , sóme ^{le} a ^a
		aor.part.	impf.part.
masc.		górel, sóml ^e l	górel, sóme ^{le} l
pl.		góre ^{le} , sóml ^e le	góre ^{le} , sóme ^{le} le
	p.p.p.		
masc.	góren, sóml ^e n		
pl.	góreni, sóml ^e ni		
	imperative		noun
sg.	góri, sómeli		górenje, mélenje
pl.	górete, somé ^{le} te		

Peculiarities:

A group of semantically coherent perfective verbs, derived from adjectives, belonging to this flexion-class, have doublet aorist forms of C2. This concerns the following verbs:

⟨ogluvi⟩ "become deaf" /óglu^ef, óglu^vi^f/

⟨onemi⟩ "become numb"

⟨oslepi⟩ "become blind"

⟨ostari⟩ "grow old"

⟨ozdravi⟩ "regain health"

The pf. verb ⟨ogladni⟩ "become hungry" has as many as three aorist forms: C5 /óglad^en^ef/, C2 /ógladⁿi^f/ and C3 /ógladⁿa^f/.

The verb ⟨ogluvi⟩ has a synonym ⟨oglu^vni⟩, belonging to the same class; ⟨oglu^vni⟩ also has doublet aorist forms:

C5 /óglu^vn^ef/ and C3 /óglu^vn^af/.

2.9.5.6. Class 6 (e, Ø, e)

(pie) "drink" ipf., (obuJe) "put on shoes" pf.

	present tense	aorist	imperfect
1st sg.	píam, óbujam	pif, óbuf	píef, óbuef
2nd sg.	píeš, óbueš	pi, óbu	píeše, óbueše
3rd pl.	píat, óbujat	pía, óbuja	píeā, óbueā
		aor.part.	impf.part.
masc. pl.		pil, óbui píle, óbuele	píel, óbuel píele, óbuele
	P.P.P.		
masc. pl.	píen, óbuen píeni, óbúeni		
	imperative		noun
sg. pl.	pi, óbuj píete, óbúete		píenje

2.9.5.7. Class 7 (e, a, e)

(žnie) "harvest" ipf.

	present tense	aorist	imperfect
1st sg.	žníam	žnaf	žníef
2nd sg.	žnieš	žna	žnieše
3rd pl.	žníat	žnáā	žnieā
		aorist part.	impf.part.
masc. pl.		žnal žnále	žníel žniele
	P.P.P.		
masc. pl.	žnat žnáti		
	imperative		noun
sg. pl.	žni žníete		žnánje

Peculiarities:

The verbal noun of (spie) "sleep" is /spánje/ or /spíenje/.

The p.p.p. of (žnie) is also /žníen/.

2.9.5.8. Class 8 (j/a, j, e)

(praj, napravaj) "make, do"

	present tense	aorist	imperfect
1st sg.	práam, nápraam	náprajf	práef
2nd sg.	prajš	nápraj	práeše
3rd pl.	práat	naprája	práeā
		aor.part.	impf.part.
masc. pl.		náprajl naprájle	práel práele
	P.P.P.		
masc. pl.	prajn prájni		
	imperative		noun
sg. pl.	praj prájte		prájnje

Peculiarities:

Some verbs of this class have doublet forms in aorist and aorist participle with a thematic morph realized as (Ø): (poznaj) "be acquainted" pf. /póznajf/ or /póznaf/, /póznajl/ or /póznal/. The same doublet forms show (iztkaj) "weave" pf, (prodaj) "sell" pf.

In rare cases the aorist forms of (izvaj) are also realized as /ízvadf, ízvade, ízvádome/.

2.9.5.9. Class 9 (j/o, j, e)
(koj, podkoj) "shoe a horse"

	present tense	aorist	imperfect
1st sg.	kōm, pōtko ^o m	pōtkojf	kōef
2nd sg.	kojš	pōtkoj	kōeše
3rd pl.	kōāt	potkōja	kōeā
		aor.part.	impf.part.
masc. pl.		pōtkojl potkōjle	kōel kōele
	P.P.P.		
masc. pl.	pōtkojn potkōjni		
	imperative		noun
sg. pl.	koj kōjte		kōjnje

Peculiarities:

Here too, as in class 8, there are a few verbs with doublet forms in the aorist and/or aorist participle: (natsnoj) "warp" pf. /nātsnojf, nātsnof; natsnōjla, nātsnola/; (podkoj) also /pōtkol, pōtkole/.

2.9.5.10. Class 10 (j/e, j/e, e)
(grej, nagrej) "warm, shine"

	present tense	aorist	imperfect
1st sg.	grēem, nāgreem	nāgrejf	grēef
2nd sg.	grejš	nāgree	grēeše
3rd pl.	grēāt	nagrēa	grēa
		aor.part.	impf.part.
masc. pl.		nāgreel nagrēele	grēel grēele
	P.P.P.		
masc. pl.	nagrēan nagrēani		
	imperative		noun
sg. pl.	grej grējte		grējnje

Peculiarities:

The past passive participle of (izej) "eat up" pf. is /izeden/, the 3rd plural aorist form is /izēdoā/ as well as the regular C10 form /izēā/.

2.9.5.11. Doublet forms

During our fieldwork we noticed in a number of cases the use of different forms for one and the same complex of grammatical and lexical meaning. The occurrence of coexisting forms is especially frequent in the aorist and aorist participle. A number of doublet forms have already been mentioned in the various sections of the separate classes. Doublet forms occurring in the aorist and aorist participle are given in the sections of C1, C5, C8 and C9. We shall here complete the list of verbs which have doublet (or even triplet) forms in aorist and aorist participle, and past passive participle. The verbs listed are classified as members of the class which is mentioned first in the list. This implies that they all have relevant forms according to that class. Listed here are only the "regular" aorist forms (for comparison) and the doublet forms which we found during our fieldwork and which are formed according to the rules for another class.

In some cases the presence of doublet forms makes one assume that there are two basic alternants, because in one form of the aorist a certain alternation takes place which is absent in the other aorist form. In those cases we present both alternants:

- C3/C2 ⟨přibliž₁i, přibliži^o⟩ "approach" /přiblizaf, přibližif/
 ⟨sgrěši⟩ "sin" /zgrěšaf, zgrěšif/
 ⟨izgrizi⟩ "nibble" /izgrizaf, izgrizif/
 ⟨izstruG₁i, izstruži⟩ "plane" /ístrugaf, ístružif; ístružen/
 ⟨izsuK₁i, izsutši⟩ "roll" /ísukaf, ísutšif/
 ⟨izbriS₁i, izbriši⟩ "wipe" /izbrisaf, izbrišif; izbrišen/
 ⟨izlaG₁i, izlaži⟩ "lie" /izlagaf, izlažif/
 ⟨opaS₁i, opaši⟩ "gird" /ópasaf, ópašif; ópašen/
 ⟨spremi⟩ "prepare" /sprémaf, sprémif; sprémen/
 C4/C2 ⟨izbriK₂i, izbritši⟩ "shave" /izbrikof, izbritšif/
 ⟨opeK₂i, opetši⟩ "bake" /ópekof, ópetšif/
 ⟨izstriG₁i, izstriži⟩ "cut hair" /ístrigof, ístrižif/
 ⟨izteK₂i, iztetši⟩ "flow" /ístekof, ítetšif/
 ⟨izseK₂i, izsetši⟩ "cut" /ísekof, ísetšif/
 ⟨iznenadi⟩ "surprise" /izněnadof, izněnadif/
 C5/C2 ⟨požali⟩ "sorrow" /póžalef, požalif/
 C5/C3 ⟨zagasni⟩ "quench" /zágasne, zágasna/
 C5/C3/C2 ⟨poležī⟩ "lie" /póležef, póležaf, póležif/
 C6/C7 ⟨sognie, sognie⟩ "rot" /sógnif, sógnaf/

2.9.5.12. Irregular verbs

The relatively small number of verbs which have such deviating forms that they do not fit into the above classification will be treated here. Their irregularity is in the distribution of the thematic morphs and/or the kind of alternations which the stemfinal phoneme undergoes. The desinences are always regular, apart from the present tense of the verb "to be".

Those verbs which have completely irregular alternations will not be presented in terms of morphonemes.

^oAs a rule the doublet forms mentioned exist for all prefixed derivations of the verbs with the same root.

1. The forms of the verb "to be" are as follows:

present tense /sum, si, e, sne, ste, se/. The 3rd singular has variant forms /je, et, jet/; 1st plural /sme/ also occurs.

imperfect /bef, běše, běše, béme, béte, béa/

impf. participle /bil, bíla, bílo, bíle/

past passive part. /bíden, bídena, bídeno, bídeni/

imperative /bídi, bídete/.

There are no aorist forms. The forms /bídam, bídiš, bídi, bídime, bídite, bídat/ also occur; they are only used with what is called the future participle /ke/ as variant forms of the forms of the present tense.

2. The pf. verb ⟨namoši⟩ "be all goose-flesh" has the present tense of C2, but the aorist and p.p.p. forms of C8:

/namóšajf, namóšaj, namóšája; namóšajn, namóšájna/.

3. The defective pf. verb ⟨zovri⟩ "boil" has the following forms: present tense /zovri/, aorist /zovre/, imperfect /zovrieše/.

4. A small group of verbs with a stem ending in ⟨a⟩ belong partly to C8, but are partly irregular due to deviating alternations. Only the irregular forms will be listed here:

/daj/ "give" pf. (cf. ⟨prodaj⟩ C8).

aorist /dáof, dáde, dáde, dáome, dádo_a/, doublet forms

/dádo_f, dádo_m/

aor. part. /dal, dála, dále/

⟨zaJD⟩ /zaj/ "set (of sun)" pf.

aorist and aor. part. /zájde, zájlo/

p.p.p. /zājdeno/

⟨naJD⟩ /naj/ "find" pf.

present also /nájdam, nájdiš, ... nájdat/

aorist /nájdo_f, nájde, nájdo_m, nájdo_a/

p.p.p. /nājden, nājdeni/

⟨jaD⟩ /jaj/ "eat" ipf.

aorist /jāof, jáde, jáome, jádo_a/

aor. part. /jal, jále/

p.p.p. /jāden, jādeni/

noun /jādenje/

{najaD} /nájaj/ "eat one's fill" pf. (and other prefixed verbs with the same stem)

aurist also /nájaoť, nájade, najáome, najádoq̄/

aur. part. /nájal, nájale/

p.p.p. /nájaden, najádeni/

/klaj/ "put" pf.

aurist /kláof, klaj, kláome, klája/

aur. part. /klal, klále/.

5. The imperfective verb /oj/ "go" and prefixed perfectives with the same stem are irregular in many respects. The forms are listed here.

present /oqm, ojš, oj, ojme, ojte, oqt̄/; one may also hear, but less frequently: /ódam, ódiš, ódi, ódime, ódite, ódat/

aurist /ójdof, ójde, ójdome, ójdoq̄/

aur. part. /óšol, óšle/

imperfect /óef, óeše, óeme, ódeq̄/; less frequently /ójše, ójme, ójte/ or /ódef, ódeše/ etc.

impf. part. /ódel, ódele/

p.p.p. /ójden, ójdeni/

imperative /ódi, ódete/

noun /ójnje/

The forms of /doj/ "come" pf. are the same apart from the forms of the p.p.p.: /óben, óbeni/, but /ójden/ also occurs.

imperative /ójdi, ójdete/

present tense also /ójdam/ etc.

2.9.6. Verbal morphonemic alternations

The number of morphonemic alternations in the inflexion of the verb is very limited and affects mainly four out of the ten verb classes. The productive classes 1 and 2, and the classes 8, 9 and 10 have no alternations at all, in C5 only one verb undergoes an alternation.

- 2.9.6.1. {E} : /e/ ~ # || /e/, /o/ or /i/ alternate with #, when,
{O} : /o/ ~ # || except in the present tense, a thematic
{I} : /i/ ~ # || morph {a} occurs in a verb form. The alternation affects the aurist, aurist participle and the past passive participle of a number of C3 and C7 verbs, and the verbal noun of the same C7 verbs.

An accompanying alternation is:

{L₁} : /l/ ~ /l/ || /l/ alternates with /l/ when preceded by {e} or {o} realized as zero.

Both alternations affect all C3 verbs with a stem ending in /r/ or /l/ in the 3rd singular present:

{bEri "gather" /beram; braf, bral, bran/

dEri "skin"

pEri "wash"

kOL₁i "slaughter" /kólam; klať, klal, klan/

postEL₁i "spread" /póstelam; póslaf/ (cf. Phonology 6.2.5.)

The relevant C7 verbs are

{spIe "sleep" /spám; spaf, spal, span, spánje/

žnIe) "harvest"

The verb {sognie} "rot" C6 has a doublet aurist form according to C7; it then undergoes the same alternation: {sognIe} /sógnaf/.

The irregular verb {zovrI} "boil" also undergoes this alternation in the aurist form: /zóvre/.

- 2.9.6.2. {S₁} : /š/ ~ /s/ || /š/ etc. alternate with /s/ etc.,
{G₃} : /ž/ ~ /g/ || when, with the exception of the
{Z₁} : /ž/ ~ /z/ || present tense, the thematic morph
{K₂} : /tš/ ~ /k/ || {a} is attached to the stem. These alternations affect C3 verbs in the aurist, aurist participle and past passive participle. They are non-predictable.

{briS₁i} "wipe" /bríšam; bríšaf, brísal, brísan/

cf. {greši} "make errors" /gréšam, gréšaf, gréšal, gréšan/

The other C3 verbs which undergo this alternation are:

<diS ₁ i	"breathe"	<kaZ ₁ i	"say"
piS ₁ i	"write"	niZ ₁ i	"string"
opaS ₁ i)	"gird"	bliZ ₁ i)	"approach"
<suK ₂ i	"roll"	<struG ₃ i	"plane"
plaK ₂ i)	"cry"	laG ₃ i)	"lie"

2.9.6.3. <K₂> : /tš/ ~ /k/ || /tš/ etc. alternate with /k/ etc.,
 <G₃> : /ž/ ~ /g/ || when a thematic morph <o> or
 <G₄> : /z/ ~ /g/ || alternative <∅> follows. These
 alternations affect C4 verbs in
 the aorist, except 2nd and 3rd
 singular, and the aorist participle.
 They are predictable.

<reK₂i> "tell, say" /rétšam; rékof, rétše, rékol, rékla/
 <podstriG₃i> "cut hair" /pótstrižam; pótstrigof/
 <vleG₄i> "enter" /vléžam; vléžgof/

2.9.6.4. <E> : /e/ ~ # || /e/ alternates with # in the aorist,
 aorist participle and past passive
 participle. Only one C5 verb:

<mEli> "grind" /mélam; mlef, mlel, mlen/

2.9.6.5. <J> : # ~ /j/ || # alternates with /j/ in the 1st
 singular and 3rd plural present tense,
 the 3rd plural aorist and the singular
 imperative. This alternation is
 predictable and affects all C6 verbs
 with a stem ending in <uJ>.

<obuJe> "put on shoes" /óbujam, óbujat/
 /óbujaja; óbujaf/
 /óbuj/

Note that in forms like /óbueš/ or /óbúete/ the phoneme /j/ is
 absent for phonemic reasons (cf. Phonology 4.3.1.).

2.9.6.6. <JD> : /jd/ ~ # || /jd/ in aorist and past passive
 participle, # in all other forms.
 Only two irregular verbs:

<naJD "find" /nájdof, nájden/, alternatively also /nájdam/
 zaJD) "set (of sun)"

<D> : /d/ ~ # || /d/ in the 2nd, 3rd singular and 3rd plural
 aorist, past passive participle and noun, #
 in all other forms. Only one irregular stem:
 <jaD> "eat" /jáde, jádož, jáden, jádenje/

Although the character of the two alternations mentioned here is
 quite irregular, we decided to insert them in the list in order
 to show that the same type of alternation affects the same verbs
 in aspect formation (2.9.3.3.).

3. DERIVATION

3.0. Introduction

In this part of the chapter on morphology we try to give a description of the formal means of word formation. Word formation must be described in terms of relations between words¹. As Stankiewicz put it: "Word formation is the lexion in its structured, semantically and formally organized aspect"². Derivation concerns only a part of the total lexicon of a language/dialect, viz. the part which has derivational relations. This is an important difference between inflexion and derivation. Inflexion affects all members of certain word classes without exception. The grammatical categories of these word classes, whose formal means are described in the inflexional part of the morphology, are constant characteristics. Every noun expresses the grammatical category of number, even a plurale tantum, which at least formally expresses plural. But a derivational relation is only present when there is a derivant and a derivative. The noun /bráda/ "beard", for instance, does not express anything about size, but once there is a derived diminutive form /bráde/, which expresses smallness "markedly", the derivant /bráda/ becomes the unmarked member of a size opposition between the two words³.

Another important distinction is that the inflexional paradigm of a certain word expresses the grammatical categories which are characteristic for the word class to which the word in question belongs. Derivation, however, concerns lexical

¹The concept of a word as a linguistic unit is taken for granted, as in the chapters on phonology and inflexional morphology.

²Stankiewicz 1962b:3

³Stankiewicz ibidem:6f.

categories: the relation between two (or more) words (lexemes), which may belong to different word classes and always have their own inflexional paradigm.

We are well aware of the fact that the boundary between inflexion and derivation is not always very clear⁴. Should, for instance, the verbal noun and the past passive participle be considered as derived nouns and adjectives respectively or as inflexional forms of the verb? Our argument for classifying them among the inflexional forms is a formal one. The derivational relation always shows a difference in the lexical content of the two members (cf. 3.2.), or they belong to different grammatical classes (cf. 3.3.3.). The verbal noun and the past passive participle have exactly the same lexical meaning as the other forms of the verb; the differences are exclusively categorial. But the forms in question are derived from verbs in a completely systematic way: the verbal noun can be formed from every imperfective verb, and the past passive participle from every verb.

According to the same criteria the collective plurals and the vocative forms of the noun must be considered to be derivations. We treated them in the inflexional morphology because this is more in line with tradition in Macedonian linguistics.

3.1. Our grammar of the dialect we are describing is a synchronic one. Consequently the derivational part is meant to give a synchronic description of the relevant facts. In other words we do not describe historically related forms like /mléko/ "milk" and /mózi/ "to milk".

The description will not be exhaustive. It should be borne in mind that the material at our disposal is rather limited. We shall restrict ourselves mainly to what may be considered as more or less productive types of word formation, although a few examples of what we think are unproductive derivations will

⁴cf. DeArmond 1969:334 and Stankiewicz ibidem:20.

also be given now and then.

3.2. The derivational relation is semantic and formal. Semantically the derivant and the derivative have part of their lexical meaning in common. The semantic differences have very often a systematic character: diminution /véter/ "wind" /vétertše/, sex /gótvatš/ "cook" /gótvatška/, pejorativeness /žéna/ "woman" /žéniške/, agency /lof/ "hunt" /lóvdžia/ "hunter". But there are also many cases which, from a semantic point of view, are less regular, for instance /mráva/ "ant" /mrávjalnik/ "ant-hill".

3.3. The formal means of derivation

Formally there is a greater or lesser degree of similarity between the derivant and the derivative. The formal means of word formation in the dialect are:

1. affixes,
2. composition,
3. zero.

Suppletion is excluded from our treatment of derivation because "suppletives" have no formal relations (unless a negative one), which in our concept of derivation is as much a condition for a derivational relation as the semantic one⁵.

Derivations of a more or less speculative character, like /pójas/ "belt" and /ópaši/ "to gird" will be excluded as well.

3.3.1. Affixes

There is a remarkable difference in the use of affixes between the verbal and nominal word classes. Apart from aspect formation, where the suffixes ⟨v⟩ and ⟨n⟩ play an important role, prefixation is the most productive means of forming verbs from verbs, whereas in the nominal classes prefixation is not productive but suffixation is a highly productive means of word

⁵cf. Stankiewicz *ibidem*:9.

formation.

Prefixation is always derivational, apart from the prefixes /po/ and /naj/ when they are prefixed to adjectives and adjectival adverbs (cf. *Inflexion* 2.4.6. and 2.5.4.).

Derivational suffixes are never final, but they are always followed by inflexional desinences (including zero).

Verbs derived from other verbs by means of prefixes will not be discussed further here. We refer to the sections on aspect formation (2.9.1. and 2.9.2.).

The occurrence of a certain suffix very often implies a certain inflexional paradigm. For instance, the suffix ⟨ar⟩ when not followed by another derivational suffix is only found in masculine nouns. When the derivant is not a masculine noun, the addition of the suffix ⟨ar⟩ involves a change of inflexional paradigm when the words are of the same word class: /vóda/ "water" /vódar/ "water-carrier", or transposition⁶ when the words belong to different word classes: /látši/ "to card (wool)" /látšar/ "carder". The suffix ⟨ar⟩ may be followed by another derivational suffix ⟨k⟩ which in its turn implies a change of inflexional paradigm: /vódarka/ "woman who is a water-carrier".

In a very few cases the stem of the derivant is truncated when a derivational suffix is attached. Apart from a few hypocoristic forms from masculine proper names we found only one example in our material: /rístos/ "Christ" /rísjanets/ "Christian".

The hypocoristics derived from proper names, which we found in our material, are listed here:

/dúšan, dúško/
/átanas, átse/
/jóšif, jóse/
/míal, míle/
/stójan, stójko, stójtše/, but also /stójantše/
/vásil, vásko/

There are no examples of stem truncation in feminine names.

⁶Stankiewicz uses the term "interclass-derivation" for this kind of derivation, cf. *ibidem*:5, fn.12.

3.3.2. In addition to derivation, composition is very often considered to be a separate kind of word formation. Our reason for treating composition in the chapter on derivation is purely a practical one. The number of compound words in our material is so small that we are not able to devote a special chapter to composition. We must limit ourselves to a few remarks and some examples.

Compound words are words containing more than one free form⁷. We found compositions with the following structure:

1. two nouns: /bráttset/ "cousin" /brat/ "brother"
/tšédo/ "child"
2. verb + noun: /pustíkukja/ "squanderer" /púški/ "to let go"
/kúkjá/ "house"
3. noun + verbal noun: /grózzjebránje/ "vintage" /grózzje/ "grapes"
/bránje/ from /béri/ "harvest"
4. adverb + noun: /dómazet/ "son-in-law, living in his parents-in-law's house"
/dóma/ "at home"
/zet/ "son-in-law"
5. adjective + noun (+ suffix): /góloglaf/ "bareheaded"
/gol/ "bare"
/gláa/ "head"
6. proper name + noun: /pétrovden/ "St. Peter's Day"
/pétre/ "Peter"
/den/ "day"
7. numeral + noun (+ suffix): /stonógalka/ "centipede"
/sto/ "hundred"
/nóga/ "foot, leg"
8. adjective + verb (+ suffix): /kúsogléden/ "short-sighted"
/kus/ "short"
/gléda/ "to look"
9. two adjectives: /glufném/ "deaf and dumb" /gluf/ "deaf"
/nem/ "dumb"

3.3.3. Zero

The formal means of derivation is called zero when there is

⁷Bloomfield: 1933:209f.

no exclusively derivational suffix. In such cases the bundles of grammatical categories present in the derivant and the derivative are always different. Formally there are two possibilities:

1. the derivant and the derivative belong to the same word class but to different inflexional paradigms (in Hockett's terminology this is called a difference in specific grammatical categories⁸), e.g. /fnuk/ "grandson" /fnúka/ "granddaughter", or /spánko/ "sleepy-head" masc. /spánka/ fem.
2. the derivant and the derivative belong to different word classes (implying that they represent a difference in the bundle of generic categories). For this we used already the term transposition. This type of derivation is extremely frequent between nouns and verbs: /mfzi/ "to be lazy" /mfza/ "laziness", or, accompanied by an alternation: /níži/ "to string" /níza/ "(a) string".

In these cases it is very often extremely difficult, if not impossible, to find out what is derived from what. In some cases the semantic relationship might help. For example, one might say that the noun /stáva/ "a stack of sheaves" is derived from the verb /stávi/ "to put sheaves together" because of the fact that one has to carry out the action before achieving the result. The opposite relation can be established between the noun /sol/ "salt" and /sóli/ "to salt". But in a considerable number of cases this argumentation is inadequate. How is one to decide between, e.g. /rábota/ "work" and /rábota/ "to work"?⁹

In order to avoid making completely arbitrary decisions in the cases of transposition when there is no formal mark, we shall not attempt to distinguish between the derivant and the derivative and to say which of the two is transposed. We shall simply make statements about the relations that occur (see below).

3.4. With the exception of the above mentioned cases, the

⁸Hockett 1958:231.

⁹Cf. de Groot 1961:131f.

determination of derivant and derivative will be based on the following criteria:

1. formal: the morphological structure of the two words will be compared. The simpler one will be the derivant:
/prílep/ "town in Macedonia" /prílepsi/ adj.
2. semantic: the word with a simpler semantic structure is the derivant: /bráda/ "beard" /bráde/ dim.
3. by analogy: if /prílepsi/ is an adjective derived from the noun /prílep/, then we must also consider /makedónski/ "Macedonian" to be derived from /makedónia/ "Macedonia" and not from /makedónets/ "(a) Macedonian". If a feminine noun /gjáolka/ is derived by means of the suffix <k> from /gjáol/ "devil", then /búgarka/ has been derived from /búgarin/ "(a) Bulgarian". Since there are hundreds of feminine nouns derived from masculines by means of a suffix, we suppose that e.g. /zábla/ "a woman with large teeth" is also derived from the masculine counterpart /záblo/, although there is neither formal nor semantic evidence for this.
The same criteria hold for nouns and adjectives: there are many adjectives derived from nouns, but, apart from abstract nouns, very few nouns are derived from adjectives. Therefore we consider the adjective /kózi/ to be derived from /kóza/ "goat".
4. a description of a derivational relation within one and the same word class will be preferred to a description in terms of transposition. For example, we suppose the masculine noun /lážgo/ "liar" to be derived from /laš/ idem, although it could also be derived from the verb /láži/ "to lie".

3.5. The function of morphonemic alternations

Word formation is often accompanied by morphonemic alternations. Analogous to our treatment of the inflexion, the starting-point is again a basic alternant presented in morphonemes. We shall make use of the same system of symbols as we did when dealing with inflexion.

In a number of cases the derivational basic alternant will differ from the inflexional one. It appears to be very

"impractical, if not impossible, to set up morphonemic alternants, which would simultaneously apply to the paradigmatic and derivational levels"¹⁰. For example, the inflexional basic alternant of the noun for "rain" is <dožgj>; its singular form is /doš/, its plural /dóžgjoj/. There are no morphonemic alternations to be accounted for; only two automatic alternations must be applied in order to arrive at the singular form /doš/ (see Phonology 6.1.1. and 6.2.2.).

The derivational basic alternant appears to be more complicated: <dož₂dj>. To generate the derivant /doš/ the same two automatic alternations mentioned above are applicable. Then one must look at the derivation of /dóžgjalnik/ "salamander". To achieve this derivation one must apply another automatic rule (Phonology 6.1.5.) and add a derivational suffix. At this stage the situation is exactly like the one on the inflexional level. But then there appears to be a derived adjective /dóždliven/ "rainy". An automatic rule (6.2.4.) accounts again for the alternation of /j/ with #. Finally we have the diminutive noun /dóftše/, where four automatic alternations (6.1.5., 6.2.4., 6.1.2. and 6.2.12.) and a morphonemic alternation /š/ ~ /f/, indicated by the capital symbol <ž₂>, must be applied in order to arrive at the correct phonemic form¹¹.

If we were to use the latter alternant for inflexion as well, this would obscure the fact that only automatic alternations have to be applied on this level in order to arrive at the related inflexional forms. On the other hand it is clear that the inflexional basic alternant is not sufficient to describe the derivational relations.

Another example of diverging basic alternants is /búkoets/ "native of Bukovo". The inflexional morphonemic representation is <bukoE₁ts>, where <E₁> accounts for an alternation /e/ ~ /f/: /búkoftsi/. The derivational alternant, however, is <bukoETS>, because of the occurrence of the feminine form /búkofka/ where <ETS> symbolizes an alternation /ets/ ~ #.

¹⁰ Stankiewicz *ibidem*:11.

¹¹ The order in which the alternations are applied does not play any role.

Exceptional alternations like those occurring in the given examples of stem truncation (3.3.1.) and unusual sound changes occurring only in one stem will not be given in morphonemes.

3.5.1. The criteria mentioned above (3.4.) for determining the derivant and its derivative(s) may influence the form of certain morphonemic alternations. E.g. we suppose the noun /gftsia/ "Greece" to be the derivant of /gftški/ adj., which shows on the surface an alternation /s/ ~ /š/, and of /grk/ "a Greek" with an alternation /ts/ ~ /k/. Now it is also possible to consider that the adjective /gftški/ is derived from /grk/. This would result in a different alternation: /k/ ~ /tš/. Either of the solutions is arbitrary. We derive /gftški/ from /gftsia/ purely by analogy.

As a matter of fact this kind of arbitrariness must be rendered ineffective by the choice of the basic alternant. The derivational basic alternant in question here is <grK₁₂I>, where <K₁₂> accounts for the alternation chain /k/ ~ /ts/ ~ /tš/; <I> symbolizes an alternation /i/ ~ #. In the following survey we shall treat the derivations and alternations concerned separately. After the alternations of all binary derivational relations have been listed, cases like the example given above will then be combined and chains of alternations occurring in derivations with the same stem will be established¹². This will give us a picture of the real formal relations and will remove an undesirable implication of the criterion of analogy.

3.6. Survey of derivational relations

The derivations are classified as to word class and in the case of nouns they are classified as to gender of the derivatives. Sub-classification is done on the basis of the formal means of the derivations. The derivant is presented first in its basic alternant form, followed by the derivative. The words will be given in their "dictionary" form, i.e. nouns in the singular,

¹² In fact it concerns very few cases.

adjectives in the masculine form, verbs in the 3rd singular of the present tense.

3.6.1. Masculine nouns are derived from nouns and verbs, only a few from adjectives. The following suffixes are considered productive: <ets, ar, atš, džī, in, nik, li>.

3.6.1.1. Suffixes <ETS ets>: from nouns and a few from adjectives.

<buko>	"Bukovo"	/bŭkoets/	<ETS>	"native of Bukovo"
<dio>	"Dihovo"			
<makedonI-a>	"Macedonia"	/makedónets/	<ETS>	"a Macedonian"
<pat>	"road"	/patets/	<ets>	"parting (in hair)"
<kisel>	"sour"	/kíselets/	<ets>	"sorrel"
<prav>	/praf/ "true, right"	/právets/	<ets>	"direction"
Irregular are:	/smrt/ "death"	/mftoets/		"deceased"
	/trgŏvia/ "trade"	/třgoets/		"tradesman"
	/ŏrit/ "Ohrid"	/oríanets/	<ETS>	"native of Ohrid"

There are two expanded versions of the same suffix: <janETS> and <tšanETS>: formed from nouns denoting towns, the derivative generally has the meaning "inhabitant of" or "native of".

Examples with suffix <janETS> are:

<grad>	/grat/ "town"	/grágjanets/	"citizen"
<sel-o>	"village"	/séljanets/	
<skopj-e, veles>			

Another example is again /rístos/ "Christ" /rísjanets/ "a Christian"

With suffix <tšanETS>:

<bitoL ₁ -a>	/bítola/ "Bitola"	/bitóltšanets/	
<kratov-o, kumanov-o, prilep, tetov-o>			

3.6.1.2. A highly productive suffix is <ar>: from nouns (e.g. some denoting cattle) and a few verbs. The derivatives denote male professions. Examples:

<goE ₂ d-o>	/gŏjdo/ "cow, bull, ox"	/gŏjdar/	"a herd of cows..."
<vodejntS ₁ -a>	"water-mill"	/vodějntšar/	"miller"
<latši>	"to card"	/látšar/	"carder"
<baj>	"to quack"	/bájar/	"quack"

One noun with the same suffix is derived from an adjective:
(drug) /druk/ "other" /drúgar/ "friend"

3.6.1.3. Suffix ⟨atš⟩: from verbs. The derivatives denote male professions. Examples:

(beri) "to harvest" /bératš/ "harvester"
(tkaj) "to weave" /tkáatš/ "weaver"

3.6.1.4. Suffix ⟨dži⟩: sometimes preceded by a vowel: from nouns, one adjective, and one verb. The derivatives again denote male professions or occupations or male persons with a certain quality of character. Examples:

(furn-a) "oven" /furnádžia/ "baker"
(lov) /lof/ "hunt" /lôvdžia/ "hunter"
(golém) "big" /golémđžia/ "swank"
(pľatška) "to rob" /pľatškádžia/ "robber"

3.6.1.5. Suffixes ⟨in IN⟩: from nouns denoting countries. The derivatives have the meaning "native of". Examples:

(bugarI-a) "Bulgaria" /búgarin/⟨IN⟩
(turtS₁I-a) "Turkey" /turtšin/⟨in⟩

To this group belongs: /dom/ "home" with an unproductive expanded version of the suffix: /dómakin/ "head of a family, host"

3.6.1.6. Suffixes ⟨nik niK₁ niK₂⟩: mainly from nouns, a few from verbs and adjectives (or from the past passive participle).

Examples:

(greF₀₁) "sin" /grešnik/⟨niK₁⟩ "sinner" (cf. 3.6.2.8.)
(rabot-a) "work" /rábotnik/⟨niK₂⟩ "worker" (cf. 3.6.2.1.)
(skita) "to wander" /skítnik/ "wanderer"
(ranen) "fed" /ránenik/ "stepson"
(prazEn) "empty" /práznik/ "holiday"
(leS₁k-a) "hazel-tree" /lěšnik/ "hazelnut"

Irregular are:

/mráva/ "ant" /mravjalnik/ "ant-hill"
/doš/ "rain" /dôžgjalnik/ "salamander"
/kókoška/ "hen" /kokôšarnik/ "hen-house"

/soľ/ "salt" /sólarnik/ "salt-barrel"

3.6.1.7. The suffix ⟨li⟩ is not very productive. We found a few examples, all formed from nouns (cf. Adjectives 3.6.5.3.):

/mérak/ "passion" /merákliá/ "passionate person"
/óro/ "a dance" /oráoľia/ "oro-dancer"
/strékja/ "luck, happiness" /strekjáóľia/ "a lucky person"

3.6.1.8. A few examples of word formation by means of unproductive suffixes are:

(prst) /prs/ "finger" /přsten/ "ring"
(rti) "to germinate" /řten/ "germ"
(vrF₁) "top" /vfšak/ "upper leaf of tobacco-plant"
(praF₁) "dust" /prášak/ "powder"
(rutša) "to dine" /rútšek/ "dinner"
(troši) "to spend" /tróšok/ "expense"
(laž) /laš/ "liar" /lážgo/ idem
(zab) /zap/ "tooth" /záblo/ "someone with big teeth"
(mrzi) "to be lazy" /mfzlo/ "lazybones"
(platši) "to cry" /plátško/ "cry-baby"
(spIe) "to sleep" /spánko/ "sleepy-head"
(služi) "to serve" /slúžitel/ "server"
/živej/ "to live" /žítel/ "inhabitant"
(pasi) "to graze" /pástir/ "herdsman"

A special case of derivation without any affix is ⟨grK₁₂I-a⟩
/gřtsia/ "Greece" /grk/ "a Greek".

3.6.1.9. Prefixation is considered to be an unproductive means in the formation of nominal classes. A few examples are listed here:

(paľETS) "thumb" /dópaľets/ "forefinger"
(rutšek) "dinner" /pórutšek/ "breakfast"
(bel) "white" /pódbel/ "coltsfoot"

Prefixed and suffixed are:

(prst) /prs/ "finger" /náprstok/ "thimble"
(dar) "gift" /pódarok/ "present"
(til) "back of the head" /zátílok/ "collar"
(sin) "son" /pásinok/ or /pósinok/ "stepson"

<brat> "brother" /póbratim/ "adopted brother"
<krie> "to cover" /pókrivatš/ "blanket"

3.6.2. Feminine nouns are formed from nouns, adjectives and verbs. There are a few suffixes which are highly productive in the formation of feminine nouns: <k, its, nits, ink, in>.

3.6.2.1. The most productive suffix is <k>: from (most masculine) nouns, verbs and a few adjectives. When the derivatives are formed from masculine nouns, they mostly denote the female counterpart of the male. This is especially true when the derivant has one of the following masculine derivational suffixes: <in IN>, <atš>, <ETS>, <ar> or <niK₂>. After these suffixes the suffix <k> is generally used for female. After vowels the suffix has the form /fk/, after /t/ preceded by /V(l)/ the suffix is /šk/. Examples:

<rusin> "a Russian" /rúsinka/
<bugarIN> "a Bulgarian" /búgarka/
<beratš> "harvester" /bératška/
<dioETS> "a native of Dihovo" /díofka/
<gradjanETS> "citizen" /grágjanka/
<svinjar> "swineherd" /svínjarka/
<rabotniK₂> "worker" /rabótništka/
<jabandži-a> "stranger" /jabándžifka/
<prat> "rod, stick" /prátška/ dim.
<život> "life" /žívatška/ dim.
<žo(l)t> "yellow" /zótška/ "egg-yolk, gall bladder"

Other examples are:

<greF₀₁> "sin" /gréška/ "mistake"
<an-a> "woman, mother" /ánka/ "woman, wife"
<beleG₃₄> "mark" /béleška/ "note"
<raK₂-a> "hand" /rátška/ "handle"
<kutš-e> "dog" /kútška/ "bitch"
<dupi> "to bore" /dúпка/ "hole"
<dremi> "to doze" /drémka/ "doze, slumber"

A few irregular derivations with the same suffix are:

/mátšor/ "tom-cat" /mátška/ fem.
/kjúran/ "turkey-cock" /kjúrka/ "turkey-hen"

/sto/ "hundred" /stótka/ "one dinar coin"

3.6.2.2. Suffixes <its>, in a few cases <ts>, and <nits>: from nouns, adjectives and verbs. Examples:

<biol> "buffalo" /biólitsa/
<nož> /noš/ "knife" /nóžitsa/ "scissors"
<koğtš> "blacksmith" /koğtšnitsa/ "forge"
<vetšer> "evening" /vetšérnitsa/ "evening-star"
<jaboK₃-o> "apple" /jabóšnitsa/ "apple-tree"
<temEn> "dark" /témnitsa/ "darkness"
<pian> "drunk" /piánitsa/ "drunkard" m./f.
<žo(l)t> "yellow" /žótnitsa/ "jaundice"
<sol> "salt" /sóltsa/ "a pinch of salt"
<maS₂> "butter" /máftsa/ "a bit of butter"
<kašla> "to cough" /kášlitsa/ "cough"
<mozi> "to milk" /móznitsa/ "milch ewe"

This suffix sometimes has the form /Vjts/:

<kiva> "to sneeze" /kivájtsa/ "cold (sneeze)"
<sliv-a> "plum" /slivójttsa/ "plum-brandy"
<vala> "to full" /valájtsa/ "fulling-mill"
<pie> "to drink" /piájtsa/ "blood-sucker"

3.6.2.3. Suffix <ink>: from masculine nouns. There are very few examples:

<gazd-a> "host" /gázdinka/ "hostess"
<grK₁₂I> /grk/ "a Greek" /gřkinka/ "a Greek woman"

The noun /nos/ "nose" inserts an /r/ before this suffix: /nózdinka/ "nostril". The female counterpart of /vla/ "an Arumanian" is /vlájinka/.

3.6.2.4. Suffix <in>: from nouns and adjectives. Examples:

<krt> "mole" /křtina/ "mole-hill"
<mesetS₁> "month" /mesétšina/ "moon"
<utr-o> "morning" /útrina/ "early morning"
<dlaboK₂> "deep" /dlabótšina/ "depth"
<prav> /praf/ "true" /právina/ "truth"
<praF₁> "dust" /prášina/ idem, coll. meaning
<kisel> "sour" /kisélina/ "vinegar"

Here also: ⟨mnoG_{1,3u}⟩ "much, many" /mnōdzina/ "many". From ⟨rodEn⟩, past passive participle of /rōdi/ "to bring forth", is derived /rōdnina/ "relatives". An expanded version of this suffix is found in the derivation /gorēškina/ "heat" from /gōri/ "to burn".

3.6.2.5. A number of suffixes are considered to be less productive. For each suffix we found only a few examples. These less productive suffixes are ⟨os⟩, ⟨ejnts⟩, ⟨uĭk⟩, ⟨(id)b⟩, ⟨i⟩ and ⟨ot⟩.

The examples we found are:

- ⟨os⟩: ⟨žaL₁⟩ /žaĭ/ "pity" /žālos/ "sorrow"
 ⟨star⟩ "old" /stāros/ "old age"
 ⟨gordeliv⟩ "proud" /gordelivos/ "pride"
- ⟨ejnts⟩: ⟨rž⟩ /rš/ "rye" /ržējntsa/ "rye-straw"
 ⟨vod-a⟩ "water" /vodējntsa/ "water-mill"
- ⟨uĭk⟩: ⟨sneg⟩ /snek/ "snow" /snēgulka/ "snow-flake"
 ⟨svet⟩ "light" /svētulka/ "fire-fly"
 ⟨smrek-a⟩ "juniper" /smrékulka/ "juniper-berry"
- ⟨(id)b⟩: ⟨vrši⟩ "to thresh" /vfšidba/ "threshing-season"
 ⟨kosi⟩ "to mow" /kōsidba/ "hay-making season"
 ⟨kradi⟩ "to steal" /krād̄ba/ "theft"
 ⟨moli⟩ /mōĭi/ "beg" /mōlba/ "request"
 ⟨služi⟩ "to serve" /slūžba/ "service"
- ⟨i⟩: ⟨eftin⟩ "cheap" /eftīnia/ "cheapness"
 ⟨skap⟩ "expensive" /skāpia/ "expensiveness"
 ⟨nosi⟩ "to carry" /nōsia/ "costume, dress"
- ⟨ot⟩: ⟨greF_{0,1}⟩ "sin" /grēota/ "It's a pity!"
 ⟨nem⟩ "dumb" /nēmota/ "dumbness"
 ⟨stram⟩ "shame" /strāmota/ "a shame"
 ⟨živ⟩ /žif/ "alive" /život/ "life"

3.6.2.6. A few examples of unproductive suffixes are:

- ⟨raK₂-a⟩ "hand" /rākatka/ "handful of wheat"
 svekOr "father of husband" /svēkrva/ "mother of husband"
 meti "to sweep" /mētla/ "besom, broom"
 smrdi) "to stink" /smfdeā/ "stench"

3.6.2.7. Prefixation occurs marginally:

- ⟨bab-a⟩ "grandmother" /prābaba/ "great-grandmother"
 duš-a "soul" /zāduša/ "commemoration of the death of someone"
 godin-a "year" /vizgōdina/ "leap year"
 snoj "to make a warp" /ōsnoā/ "warp"
 treba) "need, must" /pōtreba/ "need"

Prefixed and suffixed are:

- ⟨raK₂-a⟩ "hand" /narākvitsa/ "glove"
 kukj-a "house" /pokūkjnina/ "household, furnishings"
 opašk-a "tail" /potopāšnitsa/ "breeching (of a horse)" (cf. Phonology 6.2.6.)
 jaj) "to eat" /né + jatka/ "fasting-day before a church festival"

3.6.2.8. Finally the formal means may be zero, especially when formed from masculine nouns. Examples:

- ⟨greF_{0,1}niK₁⟩ /grēšnik/ "sinner" /grēšnitsa/ fem.
 vdoE₂ts "widower" /vdōjt̄sa/ "widow"
 fnuK₂ "grandson" /fnūka/ "granddaughter"
 svatJ /svat/ "guest at a wedding" /svākja/ fem.
 gāS₂AK₂ "gander" /gāska/ "goose"
 lažg-o) "liar" /lāžga/ fem.

We found the same derivation in the nouns: ⟨zabl-o, mrzl-o, platšk-o, spank-o⟩.

One feminine derivative is formed from a verb:

- ⟨podkoj⟩ "to shoe a horse" /pōtkoā/ "horseshoe".

3.6.3. Neuter nouns. Productive suffixes are ⟨tš, ts, ents⟩ which add the meaning of diminution to the lexical meaning of the derivant; ⟨l⟩ is used to derive neuter nouns from verbs; ⟨išk⟩ is a suffix which indicates augmentation and pejorativeness.

3.6.3.1. The suffix ⟨tš⟩ is extremely productive. It is used in the overwhelming majority of cases to form diminutives from nouns. The suffix has the form /ftš/ after vowels. Examples:

- ⟨braf "ram" /brāftše/
 dož₂dj /doš/ "rain" /dōftše/
 paLETs /pālets/ "thumb" /pāltše/
 frb-a "willow" /ffrptše/
 gla-a) "head" /glāftše/

⟨kuti-a "box" /kutiftše/
tendžer-e) "pan" /téndžertše/

Included also is the adjective /síroma/ "poor" /sirómaftše/
"poor child". An indication of the productivity of this
derivational suffix is the neologism /nájlón/ "plastic"
/nájlontše/ "plastic bag".

A few nouns have the suffix ⟨(n)itš⟩:

⟨tserepn-a "earthenware dish" /tserépnitše/
vrat-a "inner door" /vrátnitše/
grl-o) "throat" /gřlītše/ "necklace"

From the noun ⟨godin-a) "year" is formed /godínatše/ "yearling".

3.6.3.2. Suffix ⟨ts⟩ is used to form diminutives from neuter
nouns in ⟨-o⟩. Examples:

⟨kolen-o "knee" /kóľentse/
piv-o "beer" /píftse/
kriL₁-o) "wing" /kríľtse/

see too /síto/ "sieve" /sítse/.

An expanded version of this suffix is the suffix ⟨ents⟩, also
used to derive diminutives from nouns. Examples:

⟨brat "brother" /brátense/ (cf. 3.6.3.6.)
ram-o "shoulder" /rámentse/
šiš-e "bottle" /šíšentse/
kutš-e "dog" /kútšentse/ (cf. 3.6.3.5.)
volK₂) "wolf" /vóľtšentse/ (cf. 3.6.3.6.)

From ⟨det-e) "child" are formed /détentse/ and /detóľentse/.

3.6.3.3. The suffix ⟨išk⟩ usually adds the meaning of
augmentation with a pejorative connotation to the lexical meaning
of the derivant. These words are formed from nouns, a few from
adjectives and verbs. Examples:

⟨maž /maš/ "man" /mážiške/
volK₂ "wolf" /vóľtšiške/
boj "battle" /bójiške/
žen-a "woman" /žéniške/
raK₂-a "hand" /rátšiške/
star "old" /stáriške/ "very old man"
nov) /nof/ "new" /nóviške/ "newly ploughed virgin soil"

⟨pasi "to graze" /pásiške/ "pasture"
ogAn) "fire" /ógniške/ "hearth"

3.6.3.4. A small number of neuter nouns are derived by means of
the suffix ⟨l⟩ from verbs. The suffix sometimes has the form
/Vl/. Examples:

⟨sedi "to sit" /sédlo/ "saddle"
/sédelo/ "nest"

griba "to rake" /gríblo/ "rake"

mota "to wind" /móťalo/ "reel"

suK₂i) /sútši/ "to roll" /súťalo/ "rolling pin"

Here also ⟨ogAn) "fire" /ógnilo/ "flint and steel".

3.6.3.5. A few examples of unproductive suffixation are:

/rop/ "slave" /rópsvo/ "slavery"

/tsar/ "Czar" /tsársvo/ "Czardom"

/strána/ "side, country" /stránsvo/ "abroad, foreign land"

/násľedi/ "to inherit" /násľetsvo/ "inheritance"

/kútše/ "dog" /kútale/ dim. (cf. 3.6.3.2.)

/píši/ "to write" /písmo/ "letter"

/zdrať/ "healthy" /zdráťve/ "health"

From /íma/ "to have" is formed /ímanje/ "property, estate, cattle"
which is homonymous with the verbal noun of the same verb.

Prefixed and suffixed is /zglávne/ "pillow" derived from /gláa/
"head".

3.6.3.6. Formal means: zero. Many diminutives are derived from
masculine, feminine and a few neuter nouns without any
exclusively derivational suffix. Examples:

⟨brat "brother" /bráte/ (cf. 3.6.3.2.)

ež /eš/ "hedgehog" /éže/

kos-a "hair" /kóse/

tšup-a "girl" /tšúpe/

uV₁-o) "ear" /úše/

Nouns with a stem ending in /k/, /g/ or /ts/ (not /ets/) undergo
an alternation in this kind of derivation. Examples:

⟨jaziK₂ "tongue" /jázitše/

volK₂) "wolf" /vóľtše/ (cf. 3.6.3.2.)

(gəS₂AK₂ /gəsak, gəska/ "gander, goose" /gəftše/
 koftšeG₂ /kóftšek/ "trunk, chest" /kóftšedže/
 sneG₂ /snek/ "snow" /snédže/
 puFK₂-a "maize-grain" /púftše/
 noG₂-a "foot" /nódže/
 pernitS₁-a "pillow" /pérnitše/
 oK₂-o "eye" /ótše/

The noun <liK₁> "personal appearance" undergoes a different alternation: /lítse/ "face".

3.6.4. Pluralia tantum

Some of the pluralia tantum, listed in section 2.3.3.5. of the inflexional morphology, have comparable morphological structure (and comparable meaning):

/dabójtši/ "oak fire-wood"
 /bukójtši/ "beech fire-wood"
 /leskójtši/ "hazel fire-wood". We consider them to be derived from the plural form of the respective adjectives /dáboj, búkoj, léskoje/ by means of a suffix <ts>. The same suffix might be supposed in /vóditši/ "Baptism of Christ", derived from /vóda/ "water".

3.6.5. Adjectives are formed by means of the suffixes <sk, tsk, šk; of, af; liv, En, en>. They are all more or less productive. The first three suffixes appear to be used especially to form adjectives from nouns denoting living creatures and from geographical names. The last three suffixes are used to derive adjectives from nouns as well as from verbs.

3.6.5.1. Suffixes <sk, tsk, šk>: from nouns. Examples with <sk>:

(vákaf "parish" /vákaski/
 velígdén "Easter" /velígdenski/
 žen-a "woman" /žénski/
 bugarI-a "Bulgaria" /búgarski/
 dio) "Dihovo" /díoski/

From /ága/ "aga" is formed /áginski/; from /skópje/ the adjective /skópski/; from the adverb <lanI> "last year" /lánski/.

With <tsk>:

(biol "buffalo" /bíoltski/
 krav-a "cow" /kráftski/
 makedonI-a) "Macedonia" /makedóntski/

With <šk>, from neuter nouns <ešk>:

(maž /maš/ "man, husband" /máški/
 fnuK₂ "grandson" /fnútški/
 vla "Arumanian" /vláški/
 grK_{1,2}I-a /gftsia/ "Greece" /gftški/
 pil-e) "chicken" /píleški/

From the adjective /síroma/ "poor" is derived /sirómaški/ which has the same meaning.

3.6.5.2. Suffixes <of, af>: from nouns. Examples:

(volK₂ "wolf" /vóltšof/
 kašlitS₁-a) "cough" /kášlitšaf/
 In two cases the suffix is /laf/:
 (zab /zap/ "tooth" /záblaf/
 mrz-a) "laziness" /mfzlaf/

From the noun /kóza/ "goat" is formed /kózinaf/ "of goat's wool", from (oreF_{0,1}) "walnut" /óreškof/ and /óreof/.

3.6.5.3. By means of the suffix <liv> adjectives are formed from nouns and verbs. Examples:

(dož₂dj /doš/ "rain" /dóždľif/, also /dóždľiven/
 kamEn "stone" /kámenľif/
 zaduv /zaduf/ "asthma" /zádúvľif/
 moltši "to be silent" /móltšľif/
 gordej) "to be proud" /gordelíf/

In a few cases, especially words derived from Turkish loanwords, the derivatives have an alternative suffix without <v> (cf.

Inflexion 2.4.3.):

/bortš/ "debt" /bórtšľif, bórtšľia/ "in debt"
 (kabaet "guilt" /kabáetľif, kabaetľia/ "guilty"
 namuz) /námus/ "honesty" /námuzľif, námúzľia/ "honest"

From /íma/ "to have" is formed /ímašľif/ "rich", from /vřni/ "to rain" /vřnežľif/ "rainy".

3.6.5.4. The suffixes {En, en} are very productive. They are used for derivations from nouns, verbs, a few adverbs and prepositions.

Examples:

{dol	"valley" /dólĕn/ "lower"
kalaj	"tin" /kálajen/
praF ₁	"dust" /prášen/
kras-a	"beauty" /krášen/
stud /stut/	"cold" /stúden/
nokj	"night" /nóken/
drv-o	"wood" /dřven/
boĭi	"to hurt" /bóĭen/ "ill"
meĭi	"to grind" /méĭen/; compare this adjective with the past passive participle /mĕn/ or more frequently /sómĕn/ (cf. Syntax 5.2.)
popamEti /pópamti/	"to remember" /popámĕten/ "intelligent"
gore	"on top, above" /góren/ "upper"
zad	"behind" /záden/ "back, rear"
pred)	"before" /práden/ "fore-, front"

Words with stemfinal vowel may take the suffix /šen/:

{stra	"fear" /strášen/
skrie	"to hide" /skríšen/
smej	"to laugh" /sméšen/
tšera)	"yesterday" /tšérašĕn/
/tamu/	"there" /támošen/

The adverb /nátre/ "inside" takes /žen/: /nátrežen/ "inner"

Words with stemfinal {ž} and a few others take /an/:

{rž /rš/	"rye" /řžan/
oruž-e	"weapon" /óružĕan/ "armed"
beĭeG _{3,4} /bĕĭek/	"mark" /bĕĭezan/
pie)	"to drink" /pĭan/

A few irregular derivations are:

/múĭia/	"mould" /múĭosan/ "mouldy"
/škóĭa/	"school" /škóĭovan/ "learned"
/tšĕnka/	"maize" /tšĕnkaren/
/sébe/	"self" /sébitšĕn/ "selfish"

/žĭto/	"corn" /žĭtni/
/vetšer/	"evening" /vétšĕrni/

3.6.5.5. Our material contains only two examples of adjectives derived from other adjectives by means of a prefix:

{mal	"small" /dómal/ (only in /dómalió prs/ "the ringfinger")
gladen)	"hungry" /nágladen/ "on an empty stomach"

3.6.5.6. Finally a few examples of unproductive adjective formation:

{brad-a	"beard" /brádes/
meF ₁	"belly" /mĕšĭes/ "potbellied"
koz-a	"goat" /kózi/
ĭek	"medicine" /ĭékoĭt/
vetEr	"wind" /vétroĭt/
bliZ ₁ i)	/bližĭi/ "to approach" /bližok/

From the preposition /nis/ "down, through, along" is formed /nísoĭk/ "low".

Prefixed and suffixed derivations are:

{smrt	"death" /pósmrtski/ "life-giving"
tšue)	"to hear" /prótšĕuen/ "famous"

3.6.6. Adverbs

Adverbs derived from adjectives (the most productive means of adverb derivation) and from other adverbs have already been dealt with in the chapter on inflexion (2.5.1.-2.5.3.). The remaining derivations are unproductive. A number of them are presented below.

1. nouns denoting the seasons of the year + suffix /osk/:

/ĭéto/ "summer" /ĭétoški/ "last summer" etc.

2. nouns denoting part of the year + the suffix /va/:

/nédeĭa/ "week" /nedĕĭáva/ "this week". This form must not be confused with the almost homonymous form /nedĕĭáva/, differing only in the position of the stress. The latter is a construction of a noun + article and cannot be used as an adverb at all, but may function for instance as the subject of a sentence. Other examples are: /godináva/ "this year"; /zimáva/ "this winter" etc.

3. suffix /je/ in /denje/ "by day", /nóke/ "by night".
4. suffix /eska/ in /déneska/ "to-day" (also /dénes/), /nókeska/ "to-night", /pré + eska/ "a while ago".
5. suffix /um/ in /mókum/ "silently", /próstum/ "erect", and also prefixed /kvétšerum/ "towards evening".
6. the following are derived with various means:
 - /útro/ "morning" /útre/ "to-morrow"
 - /dom/ "home" /dóma/ "at home"
 - /sam/ "self" /sámo/ "only"
 - /éden/ "one" /édnaš/ "once" /védnaš, náednaš/ "at once"
7. formations with prefixes are:
 - /pred/ "before" /nápret/ "forward" /pónapret/
 - /zad/ "behind" /názat/ "backward" /pónazat/
 - /nokj/ "night" /pólnokj/ "midnight" /sánokj/ "the whole night"
 - /snóški/ "last night"
 - /zemja/ "land, earth, ground" /vzěmi/ "in the ground"
 - /pózemi, názemi/ "on the ground"
 - /ódzemi/ "from the ground"
 - /nádzemi/ "above the ground"
 - /pódzemi/ "under the ground"
 - /dvor/ "yard, court" /nádvor/ "outside"
 - /kraj/ "end, edge" /skrája/ in /skrája od/ "far from"
 - and in the preposition: /nákraj/ or /nájkráj/
 - "at the edge of"
8. adverb formations consisting of a prefix + pronoun or adverb:
 - /ótkaj/ "from where"
 - /kontaki/ "thither" /kónvaki/ "hither" /pótaki/ "further"
 - /óttuva/ "from here"
 - /póškjo/ or /záškjo/ "why"

The same kind of derivation is found in the preposition /dóka/ "until approximately" and the conjunction /ótko/ "since".

3.6.7. Verbs are derived in the first place from verbs. A detailed survey of prefixation and aspect formation by means of the suffixes ⟨v⟩ and ⟨n⟩ has already been given in the chapter on inflexion (2.9.1. and 2.9.2.). A few further remarks

will be made below.

Another way in which verbs are derived is the derivation from nouns by means of suffixes such as ⟨v⟩, which is no aspect marker in this case, or ⟨os⟩, or the prefixes ⟨o⟩, ⟨ob⟩ and a few others.

3.6.7.1. In the derivation of verbs one might establish chains of derivation. Starting from a simplex (unaffixed) mostly imperfective verb, the first step in the derivation is to add a prefix to the simplex. The result is then a perfective verb with a more or less changed lexical meaning. As a second step, a secondary imperfective may then be formed by means of the suffix ⟨v⟩ (aspect marker) and/or change to flexion-class C1. This secondary imperfective verb must be regarded as the aspectual counterpart of, and has exactly the same lexical meaning as, the prefixed perfective verb from which it is formed (cf. Inflexion 2.9.1.1.).

Examples:

⟨redi⟩ "put in order" /náredi, narěduva/ "arrange"

⟨treba⟩ "it is necessary" /pótrega, potrebuva/ "need"

In a few cases there are two possible derivations of the secondary imperfective (cf. 2.9.2.2.7.):

⟨padni⟩ "fall" pf. /nápadni/ "attack" pf. /napáduva/ or /nápa/

⟨frla⟩ "throw" ipf.

⟨frli⟩ idem pf. /préfrli/ "throw over" pf. /preffluva/ or /préfrla/ ipf.

3.6.7.2. Verbs derived from nouns by means of suffixes are not numerous in our material.

Suffix ⟨os⟩:

⟨boj-a⟩ "colour" /bójosa/ "to dye" pf. (ipf. /bójosva/)

vár "lime" /városa/ "to whitewash"

laf) "word" /láfosa/ "to talk"

From the noun /kálaj/ "tin" is formed /kalájlisa, kalájlisva/ "to coat with tin", from /ášlama/ "graft" /ašládisa, ašládisva/ "to graft".

Suffix ⟨(V)v⟩:

⟨nokj⟩ "night" /nókeva/ "to stay the night" ipf. (pf. /prenókeva/)

pat) "road" /pátuva/ "to travel"

{pazar} "market" /pázarva/ "to trade, bargain"

3.6.7.3. Verbs derived from nouns and adjectives by means of prefixes are as follows:

Prefix {o(b)}:

{den	"day" /{bdeni/ "to dawn" pf. (ipf. /{bdenva/)
zor-a	"dawn" /{bzori/ idem
plod /plot/	"fruit" /{plodi/ "to fructify"
sin	"blue" /{sini/ "to bruise"
tel-e	"calf" /{teli/ "to calve"
siromaS /síroma/	"poor" /osir{masi/ "to become poor"
star	"old" /{stari/ "to grow old" pf. (ipf. /stárej/)
živ /živ/	"alive" /{živi/ "to revive"
zdrav) /zdraf/	"healthy" /{zdрави/ "to recover"

From /s{ntse/ "sun" is derived /{suni/ "to dawn" pf.

Formed with other prefixes:

{mraK ₂	"darkness" /zámratši/ "to get dark" pf.
temEn)	"dark" /stémni/ idem

3.6.7.4. There are two verbs which are formed by means of prefixation of the negative particle /ne/ to the unprefixed verb:

/íma/ "have" /néma/ "have not"
/ídi/ "come" /néidi/ "come not"

A third example of a verb formed with the particle /ne/ is /néki/ "want not", where the second constituent part /ki/ historically is derived from the same root as the future particle /ke/.

3.6.8. Derivation of nominal classes and verbs

Finally there remains the large group of verbs and nouns or adjectives which have derivational relations without the formal derivational marks which would make it possible to decide which member is derived and which is the derivant. Apart from inflexional suffixes and morphonemic alternations they are formally the same. Examples:

Verbs and masculine nouns:

{grOm) /gfmi/ "to thunder" /grom/ "thunder"

{red	/rédi/ "to put in order" /ret/ "order"
dzid)	/dzída/ "to build" /dzit/ "wall"

See too: /b{rdži/ "to borrow" /bortš/ "debt"; /b{ie/ "to beat" /boj/ "battle"; /gn{ie/ "to rot" /gnoj/ "manure, pus".

Verbs and feminine nouns:

{mrz	/mfzi/ "to be lazy" /mfza/ "laziness"
post	/p{osti/ "to fast" /pos/ "fast"
niZ ₁)	/níži/ "to string" /níza/ "string"

See too: /v{ádi/ "to irrigate" /v{óda/ "water"

Verbs and neuter nouns:

{ždreb	/ždrébi/ "to foal" /ždrébe/ "foal"
tšud)	/tšúdi/ "to surprise" /tšúdo/ "miracle"

Verbs and plural nouns (only one example):

{platšk) /plátška/ "to rob" /plátški/ "things"

Verbs and adjectives:

{lut	/lúti/ "to be hot, spicy" /lut/ "hot, spicy"
suF	/súši/ "to dry" /suf/ "dry"
žežOk	/žéški/ "to boil" /žéžok/ "hot"
ramEn)	/rámni/ "to level" /rámen/ "level"

Verbs and adverbs (only one example):

{mnoG₁₃) /mn{óži/ "to multiply" /mn{ógu/ "much, many"

3.7. Derivational morphonemic alternations

3.7.1. {O} : /o/ ~ # || /o/ alternates with # when a derivational suffix, including zero, is added.
Non-predictable.

The cases found in our material are:

{svekOr	"husband's father", /svékrva/ "husband's mother"
momOK ₂	"servant" /m{ómtše/ "boy"
topOl	"warm" /t{ópli/ "to warm"
žežOk	"hot" /žéški/ "to boil"
grOm)	"thunder" /gfmi/ "to thunder"

3.7.2. {I} : /i/ ~ # || Stemfinal /i/ alternates with # when a derivational suffix is added. This alternation is predictable when the

derivant is a noun (geographical name), but uncertain (because of the small number of examples) when it is a verb or adverb.

Examples:

{makedonI-a	"Macedonia" /makedónets, makedónka, makedónski/
bugarI-a	"Bulgaria" /búgarin, búgarka, búgarski/
grK ₁₂ I-a /gftsia/	"Greece" /grk, gftški/
lanI	"last year" /lánski/ adj.
spIe	"to sleep" /spánko/ "sleepy-head"
vrIe)	"to boil" /vrel/ "hot"

3.7.3. {E} : /e/ ~ # || /e/ alternates with # when a derivational suffix, including zero, is added. This alternation affects a number of derivants with stemfinal /n/ or /l/; there is one example ending in /r/. This alternation is non-predictable.

Our material contains the following examples:

{tšenkarEn	"maize" adj. /tšenkárnitsa/ "maize bread"
kamEn	"stone" /kámtše/ dim.
temEn	"dark" /témnitsa/ "darkness" /stémni/ "to get dark"
bolEn	"ill" /bólñitsa/ "hospital"
ramEn	"level" /rámnina/ "plain" /rámni/ "to level"
prazEn	"empty" /práznik/ "holiday" /prázni/ "to empty"
rodEn)	"related" /ródnina/ "relative"

Cf. {den) "day" /dénitsa/ "morningstar"

{kobEl	"milking-pail" /kóble/ dim.
kotEl	"kettle" /kótle/ dim.
petEl	"rooster" /pétle/ dim.
svredEl)	"drill" /svfdle/ dim.

Cf. {tšel) "shoe" /tšéle/ dim.

{tšešEL)	"comb" /tšésŕa/ "to comb"
vetEr)	"wind" /vétroit/ adj., but /vétertše/ dim.

In two derivations the same alternation occurs, but in the reverse direction: the derivants have #, the derivatives /e/:

{brašEn /brášno/ "flour" /brášentse/ dim.
popamEt) /pópamti/ "to remember" /popámeten/ "intelligent".

3.7.4. {E₂} : /e/ ~ /j/ || Only two derivations (in different directions):

{vdoE₂ts /vdóets/ "widower" /vdójtša/ "widow"
goE₂d) /gójdó/ "cattle" /góetski/ adj.

3.7.5. {A} : /a/ ~ # || Only two derivations:

{ogAn "fire" /ógniške/ "hearth" /ógnilo/ "flint and steel"
but /ógantše/ dim.

gəS₂AK₂) "gander" /gáska, góftše/ fem., dim.

3.7.6. {J} : /j/ ~ # || Only one derivation:

{svatJ) /svat/ "guest at a wedding" /svákja/ fem.

3.7.7. {F} : /f/ ~ # || Only three derivations:

{greF₀₁ "sin" /gréota/ "It's a pity"

oreF₀₁ "walnut" /óreof/ adj.

vakaF) "parish" /vákaski/ adj.

3.7.8. {F₁} : /f/ ~ /š/ || Most masculine nouns which have stemfinal /f/ alternate this /f/ with /š/ in derivations. Non-predictable.

{greF₀₁ "sin" /gréšnik, gréšñitsa, gréška, gréši/ "sinner" m., f., "mistake", "to make mistakes"

vrF₁ "top" /vfšak/ "upper leaf of tobacco plant"

praF₁) "dust" /prášak, prášina, prášen/ "powder", "dust", adj.

Cf. {prav) /praf/ "true" /právina/ "truth"

{meF₁ "belly" /méše, méšles/ dim., adj.

oreF₀₁) "walnut" /óreškof/ adj.

See too: {suF₁) "dry" /súši/ "to dry"

cf. {gluv) /gluf/ "deaf" /ógluvi/ "to become deaf"

3.7.9. {S} : # ~ /s/ || Only one derivation:

{siromaS) /síroma/ "poor" /osirómasi/ "to become poor"

3.7.10. ⟨S₁⟩ : /s/ ~ /š/ || /s/ in the derivant immediately following /t/ alternates with /š/ in derivatives. This derivation is predictable when the /s/ in question is stemfinal and the derivative denotes a male person, a diminutive or an adjective.

Examples:

⟨valajt_S, -a⟩ "fulling-mill" /valájtšar/ "fuller"
 tupajnt_S, -a "fist" /tupájntše/ dim.
 jažit_S, -a "straw binding" /jážitška/ dim.
 oft_S, -a "sheep" /óftšar/ "shepherd" /óftški/ "sheep-"
 sipajnt_S, -a) "smallpox" /sipájntšaf/ "pock-marked"

The following undergo the same alternation:

⟨turt_S, I-a⟩ "Turkey" /túrtšin/ "a Turk", but /túrtski/ Turkish
 meset_S, "month" /mesétšina/ "moon"
 le_S, k-a) "hazeltree" /léšnik/ "hazelnut"

3.7.11. ⟨Z₁⟩ : /z/ ~ /ž/ || Only two derivations:

⟨niž₁ /níza/ "string" /níži/ "to string"
 bliž₁) /blízok, blízu/ "close" adj.; adv. /blíži/ "to approach"

3.7.12. ⟨S₂⟩ : /s/ ~ /f/ || Diminutive derivatives with stemfinal

⟨š₂⟩ : /š/ ~ /f/ || (but not necessarily suffixal) /tš/ alternate /s/ or /š/ of the derivant with /f/ in derivatives. This alternation is predictable.

Examples:

⟨gluš₂, ETS⟩ "mouse" /glúftše/
 troš₂, K₂-a "crumb" /tróftše/
 koba_S, "sausage" /kóbaftše/
 mo_S, "bridge" /móftše/
 neve_S, t-a "bride" /néveftše/
 ko_S, K₂-a "bone" /kóftše/
 gə_S, AK₂) "gander" /gəftše/

The following undergo the same alternation:

⟨ma_S, "butter" /máftsa/ "a bit of butter"
 me_S, -o "meat" /méftse/ "a piece of meat"
 dož₂, dj) /doš/ "rain" /dóftše/ dim.

3.7.13. ⟨V₁⟩ : /v/ ~ /š/ || Only one derivation:

⟨uV₁, -o⟩ "ear" /úše/ dim.

3.7.14. ⟨K₁⟩ : /k/ ~ /ts/ || In the following derivations:

⟨greF₀, niK₁ /gréšnik/ "sinner" /gréšnitsa/ fem.
 magesniK₁ "magician"
 svršeniK₁ "fiancé"
 vrsniK₁ "person of the same age"
 razpuškenniK₁ /raspúškenik/ "unfaithful man"
 liK₁) "personal appearance" /lítse/ "face"

In the reverse direction:

⟨grK₁, I-a) /gřtsia/ "Greece" /grk/ "a Greek"

3.7.15. ⟨K₂⟩ : /k/ ~ /tš/ || Stemfinal /k/ changes into /tš/.

This alternation is predictable when this /k/ is followed (mostly in the derivative) by a front vowel or a derivational suffix ⟨k⟩. It affects mainly diminutives, augmentatives with the suffix ⟨išk⟩, feminine nouns with suffix ⟨k⟩, adjectives and a few verbs not belonging to flexion-class C1.

Examples:

⟨volK₂ "wolf" /vóltšitsa/ fem. /vóltše, vóltšentse/ both dim.
 /vóltšiške/ augm. /vóltški/ adj.
 raK₂, -a "hand" /rátška/ "handle" /rátše/ "hand" dim.
 /rátšiške/ augm. /rátšen/ adj.
 oK₂, -o "eye" /ótše/ dim.
 momOK₂ "servant" /mómtše/ "boy"
 ko_S, K₂-a "bone" /kóftše/ dim.
 rabotniK₂ "worker" /rabótnitška/ fem.
 gə_S, AK₂ "gander" /gəftše/ dim.
 dlaboK₂) "deep" /dlabótsina/ "depth"

<pesoK₂ "sand" /pesótšina/ "sandy plain" /pésotšen/ adj.
 oblaK₂ "cloud" /se oblatši/ "become cloudy"
 suK₂ /súkalo/ "rolling pin" /sútši/ "to roll"
 maK₂-a) "torture" /mátšen/ "painful" /mátši/ "to torture"

Non-predictable cases of this alternation are:

<volK₂ "wolf" /vóltšof/ adj.
 grK_{1,2}I-a) "Greece" /gftški/ adj.

3.7.16. <K₃> : /k/ ~ /š/ || Only one derivation:
 <jaboK₃-o) "apple" /jabóšnitsa/ "apple-tree"

3.7.17. <G₁> : /g/ ~ /dz/ || Only two derivations:
 <kniG₁-a "book, paper" /knídze/ dim.
 mnoG_{1,3}u) "much, many" /mnódzina/ "a large number"

3.7.18. <G₂> : /g/ ~ /dž/ || Apart from one exception, already mentioned in the preceding alternation, this alternation is predictable when front vowel /e/ follows (mainly in derived diminutives).

Examples:

<noG₂-a "foot, leg" /nódže/
 roG₂) /rok/ "horn" /ródže/

3.7.19. <G₃> : /g/ ~ /ž/ || Apart from one exception (cf. 3.7.17.) this alternation is predictable when the front vowel /i/ or derivational suffix <k> follows.

Examples:

<pajaG₃ /pájak/ "spider" /pajážina/ "cobweb"
 struG₃ /struk/ "plane (tool)" /strúži/ "to plane"
 laG₃a "lie" /láži/ "to lie"
 mnoG_{1,3}u "much, many" /mnóži/ "to multiply"
 beleG_{3,u}) /bélek/ "mark" /béleška/ "note"

3.7.20. <G₄> : /g/ ~ /z/ || Only one derivation:
 <beleG_{3,u}) /bélek/ "mark" /bélezan/ "marked"

3.7.21. <L₁> : /l/ ~ /l'/ || In the following derivations:
 <bitoL₁-a /bitola/ "Bitola" /bitóltšanets/ "native of Bitola"
 /bitoltski/ adj.
 žaL₁ /žal/ "pity" /žálos/ "sorrow"
 tšešEL₁ /tšéšla/ "to comb" /tšéšel/ "a comb"
 kriL₁-o) /kríltse/ "wing" dim. /krílo/

3.7.22. <L₂> : /l/ or # ~ /ž/ || Only one derivation:
 <doL₂g) /do(l)k/ "long" /dóžgina/ "length"

3.7.23. <IN> : /in/ ~ # || /in/ in masculine nouns alternate with # in feminine nouns before the derivational suffix <k>. Non-predictable.

Examples:

<gjuptIN "Gipsy" /gjúpka/ (cf. Phonology 6.2.8.)
 tetIN) "husband of father's sister" /tétka/ "father's sister"
 Cf. <dómakin) "head of a family" /domákinka/ fem.

3.7.24. <ETS> : /ets/ ~ # || /ets/ in masculine nouns, mostly denoting "native of...", alternates with # in feminine nouns, denoting the female counterpart, before the suffix <k>. This is a predictable alternation.

Examples:

<gradjanETS /grágjanets/ "citizen" /grágjanka/
 seljanETS /séljanets/ "villager" /séljanka/
 skopjanETS "inhabitant of Skopje" /skópjanka/
 anadoltšanETS) "Turk" /anadóltšanka/

The following undergo the same alternation:

<gluš₂ETS "mouse" /glúftše/ dim.
 klajnETS "well" /klájntše/ dim.
 paETS) /pálets/ "thumb" /páltše/ dim.

3.8. There are a few chains of alternations, i.e. different alternations affecting the same stem; these are listed below:

<grK₁₂I : /k/ ~ /ts/ ~ /tš/: /grk/ ~ /gřtsia/ ~ /gřtški/
beleG₃₄ : /g/ ~ /ž/ ~ /z/ : /bélek/ ~ /béleška/ ~ /bélezan/
mnoG₁₃ : /g/ ~ /dz/ ~ /ž/ : /mnōgu/ ~ /mnōdzina/ ~ /mnōži/
oreF₀₁ /f/ ~ # ~ /š/ : /ōref/ ~ /ōreof/ ~ /ōreškof/
greF₀₁) /gřef/ ~ /gřēota/ ~ /gřēška, gřēšnik/

4. ACCENT

4.0. Introduction

In the dialect of Dihovo accent is a complex phenomenon, consisting of fundamental frequency, loudness and duration. Accent is treated in the chapter on morphology, because it characterizes morphemes or groups of morphemes. Morphological data are needed for the formulation of the rules that govern the place of the accent (cf. 4.4.).

Accent contrasts a syllable with one or more other syllables in the same utterance. Thus the presence of a stressed syllable presupposes the presence of one or more unstressed syllables. Consequently monosyllabic utterances cannot be regarded as being stressed.

Accent may have a distinctive function in our dialect, i.e. in two phonemically identical strings stress may fall on different syllables, thus distinguishing meanings. For instance, the noun /ōbitšaj/ "custom" is singular, but /obítšaj/ indicates the plural form of the same noun; /ōdvaj/ is a verb form meaning "(he) takes away", but /odvāj/ "in the nick of time" is an adverb. Word forms in which optional phonemes occur are, of course, phonemically different, but may be phonetically identical. Stress may then also have a distinctive function. For example, the verb form /pórutša/ "to breakfast" is the form of the 3rd singular present or aorist, but /porútšaa/, which may be realized as [porútša], represents the 3rd plural of the same tenses.

4.1. Framework for the description

For our description of the stress system of the dialect of Dihovo we shall adopt the theory of Garde, described in his book *L'Accent*¹.

¹Garde 1968a, cf. also by the same author 1967 and 1968b.

Garde classifies the words of a language into "stress-generating"² words and clitics. Stress-generating words are defined as words whose occurrence in an utterance can cause a stress. This definition does not specify the place of the stress: for different occurrences of the same stress-generating word the stress may fall on different syllables, even outside the word itself, e.g. /mi se jáj/ "I am hungry" where /jaj/ is the only stress-generating word in the utterance, and /ne mi sé jaj/ "I am not hungry", where the stress falls on the clitic /se/.

Clitics are defined negatively as words which never can be held responsible for an occurrence of stress. The clitics form a closed class which varies from language to language. They are, as a rule, very restricted in number, so they can be listed. All the words of the language not listed are then by definition stress-generating words. In the view presented here all clitics are monosyllabic, because any plurisyllabic word may carry an accent of its own. For instance the preposition /préku/ "across" sometimes shares the stress with the following word: /prekú reka/ "across (the) river", but elsewhere it has a separate stress: /préku páto/ "across the road". Cases like this demonstrate that the definition of a clitic given above does not apply to /préku/. If we considered the preposition /préku/ in the former type of constructions /prekú reka/ to be a clitic, then we would have to speak of a clitic in combinations such as /s'lepótó oko/ "the temple" as well (see further 4.3.1.).

4.2. The elements of a stress system

The elements which must be distinguished in a stress system are: a "stressable" unit, a stress unit and the position of the stress.

4.2.1. A "stressable" unit

By a "stressable" unit we mean a unit able to receive stress. In most languages and in our dialect this is the syllable. A syllable

² This term is a translation (from Hendriks 1976:81) of Garde's notion "accentogène".

in Dihovo always contains at least one and no more than one vowel phoneme or a syllabic /r/. A vowel or syllabic /r/ always constitutes a syllable (cf. Phonology 1.7.).

The vowel is phonetically the bearer of the accent. There is no phonemic length in our dialect; therefore we need not distinguish a smaller unit than the syllable in our description of the accentual system. The stressable units are defined by means of phonological data only, viz. the division of a morpheme or a group of morphemes into syllabic and non-syllabic phonemes.

4.2.2. A stress unit

Stress units provide the framework within which accent performs its contrastive function. Between the boundaries of a stress unit one and no more than one stressed syllable occurs.

The boundaries of stress units will be indicated in this chapter by means of vertical bars: ||. The notation enclosed in these bars is phonemic.

Every plurisyllabic utterance contains one or more stress units³. Compared with each other, stress units belonging to one utterance have different degrees of prominence. A plurisyllabic utterance may contain one or more monosyllabic words which do not belong to a stress unit. Such a monosyllabic word, although it does not carry contrastive accent, may nevertheless be more or less prominent in comparison with the remaining part of the utterance. If a monosyllabic word not belonging to a stress unit is less prominent than any other part of the same utterance, it can easily be confused with a clitic, e.g. /toj/ in |toj|né bil| kasmétlia| "he was not lucky".

³ From this definition we must exclude the rare but possible occurrence of a plurisyllabic utterance consisting of only two or more monosyllabic words which do not belong to a stress unit (see further). Example: |bef|grat| "I was in town".

⁴ In order to distinguish such monosyllabic words from clitics, which always belong to a stress unit, they stand on their own between vertical bars, but they are, of course, not marked by an accent sign; this distinguishes them from stress units (see the preceding note).

Grammatical (morphological and syntactical) data are necessary to determine the boundaries of a stress unit. The stress unit consists of at least one stress-generating word with or without one or more clitics. According to the constituents of the stress units we distinguish three types consisting of:

1. a single stress-generating word;
2. a single stress-generating word and one or more clitics;
3. two stress-generating words (with or without clitics).

Examples:

- ad 1. |tšenkárnitsa| "maize-bread"
ad 2. |legnéte si| "have a lie-down"
 |go vidǒf| "(I) saw him"
 |dajtě mi go| "give it to me"
 |sinǒj mi| "my sons"
ad 3. |jagneškǒ meso| "lamb's meat"

In this latter instance there are two stress-generating words, but there is only one stress. In such cases Garde speaks of a "virtual" stress unit⁵, without saying which of the two is virtual. We prefer to speak only of a virtual stress, not unit. The two stress-generating words in question together form the unit. We believe that the unit |jagneškǒ meso| derives the accent from the stress-generating capacity of the adjective, because, as we shall show in greater detail below, the accent never retracts, but always shifts forwards. One may also hear |jǎgneško|měso|, i.e. two stress units both with their own stress. We believe the difference can be described as follows: in the case of |jagneškǒ meso| the speaker uses a combination which is fixed in his vocabulary, whereas in the case of |jǎgneško|měso| he forms a combinations of two lexemes.

A detailed treatment of occurring sub-types of stress units will be given further on in this chapter (4.5.).

4.2.3. The position of the stress

Stress is always placed on one of the last five syllables of a stress unit. For determining the placing of the stress in different

⁵ Garde 1968a:93f

forms of the same paradigm it is expedient to distinguish between absolutely fixed and relatively fixed stress. The difference can best be shown by means of an illustration. Compare on the one hand the noun /aftomobil/ "motor-car", which has absolutely fixed stress, i.e. in the whole paradigm stress always falls on the syllable /bíl/, regardless of how many syllables follow: |aftomobilo|, |aftomobíli|, |aftomobílite|. On the other hand a word such as /pǒdarok/ "present" where the place of the stress in all forms of the paradigm depends solely on the phonemic make-up of the stress unit; in the given noun the stress always falls on the antepenultimate: |podároko|, |podárotsi|, |podarǒtsite|.

There are cases which fulfil the requirements of both absolute and relative fixation of the stress. In that case we shall give precedence to the rules of relative fixation, because these cover by far the most stress units. For instance, for /polǒjna/ "half" the rules of relatively fixed stress point to the place of the stress as follows: |polǒjna| and |polǒjnata| (4.4.4.1. and 4.4.5.); therefore we shall not consider this to be a stress unit with absolutely fixed stress, although this would also be possible.

Garde⁶ remarks that the traditional distinction between languages with what is known as free stress and others with fixed stress lies in the data necessary to determine the place of the stress. A language with fixed stress is a language where stress-placement (within the boundaries of a stress unit) is completely definable by means of phonemic data only. Languages with free stress are languages where one needs grammatical information for determining the place of the stress. The Macedonian literary language is called by Garde a language with "quasi fixed" stress, because marginally, grammatical data are necessary for determining the place of the stress: 1. proclitics cannot receive the accent⁷:

⁶ 1968a:97f

⁷ Possibly Garde overlooks the very frequently occurring stress units of the type *kǎj mene* "with me", *ǒd drvo* "from a tree" (Lunt 1952:22, 24), or he does not consider prepositions as clitics, as one generally does. Cf. Garde 1968a: 102, 1968b:35 (cf. the present study 4.3.3.).

Ke se vėnėa "(he) will get married"; 2. many loanwords have stress placement which deviates from the general rule which states that the accent should fall on the antepenultimate.

If we were to classify the dialect in question as a dialect with fixed or free stress, we should be inclined to call it a dialect with free stress, although the same general stress rule, which is effective in the literary language, is applicable in this dialect. But the number of exceptions is so large that it can hardly be called marginal. Furthermore the rules determining those exceptions must be stated in morphological terms. In our opinion the stress system of this dialect is an illustration of the fact that the binary division of stress systems into systems with free and systems with fixed accent is an inadmissible and unnecessary simplification of the facts about stress in different languages and dialects.

4.3. Clitics

The class of clitics is a very small one, characterized by a negative property already formulated above (4.1.).

In contradistinction to Garde⁸ we do not call the verb form *ėekaš* in the stress unit *|štó ěekaš|* "what are you waiting for?" (literary Macedonian) a clitic; it remains a stress-generating word, but the stress unit contains a virtual stress. Garde's decision to call it a clitic is in our opinion confusing, because it does not sufficiently distinguish Garde's own notions "stress-generating" and "clitic" from the general notions "stressed" and "unstressed". The property of stress-generation is considered to be a constant characteristic of a word, and the absence of this property (in clitics) is constant as well. This latter fact enables us to list the clitics which occur in our dialect.

The terms proclitic and enclitic will be used in a traditional sense, viz. as a positional property: they precede or follow, respectively, a stress-generating word. When a clitic stands

⁸ Garde 1968b:36

between two stress-generating words with which it forms a single stress unit, its position is always considered to be enclitical (for reasons which will follow 4.4.2.), e.g. in *|kako sé vikaš|* "what's your name?" the clitic /se/ derives the accent from /káko/, whereas the stress of the stress-generating word /víkaš/ is virtual (see for more examples 4.5.2.).

4.3.1. The clitics in the dialect are the following:

1. the short forms of the personal pronouns. These are:
direct: /me te go je ne ve i/
indirect: /mi ti mu ni vi/
2. the short forms of the reflexive pronoun: /se si/
3. the reduced variant of the objective long form of the 3rd singular feminine personal pronoun: /ne/
4. the present tense forms of the verb "to be": /sum si e sne ste se/
5. monosyllabic conjunctions: /da, a, i, em...em, de...de, li...li/
6. the particle /ke/, used to indicate future tense
7. the negative particle /ni/.

Like all inflexional and derivational affixes the forms used for the article compose a unit with the word to which they are attached. The article is therefore not a clitic.

4.3.2. We do not consider the negation /ne/ to be a clitic⁹. Our view is based on the following reasoning. Firstly, if /ne/ were a clitic, there would be stress units without a stress-generating word, e.g. /da né se/ in an utterance like *|i smėstif|dřvata| pót suo|da né se|nā dvor|* "(I) have put the fire-wood in a dry place in order that it is not outside". Secondly, /ne/ attracts the accent from a verb; a clitic never does this. Compare: *|toj|me láži|*¹⁰ "he lies to me", with *|toj|né laži|* "he does not

⁹ For a different solution of this problem, see Hendriks 1976:88f.

¹⁰ The clitic /me/ is considered to belong to the stress unit of /láži/, because of the occurrence of utterances (stress units) like *|me lážiš|* "you are lying to me".

lie" and |toj|ne mé laži| "he does not lie to me".

A consequence of this approach is that stress units consisting of the negation /ne/ and a verb form almost always contain a virtual stress.¹¹

4.3.3. Prepositions are not considered to be clitics. There are (rare) cases of stress units where only a preposition can be held responsible for the occurrence of the stress: |sǒ ne| "with her", not possible is: *|so|né|, but compare |sǒ neze| or |so|néze|; |béz da|znájme| "without that we know".

Although this may not seem very forceful reasoning, the cases in question being marginal, we think nevertheless that these cases are sufficient for the prepositions not to be regarded as clitics. As a matter of fact our starting point is to consider a word to be stress-generating unless facts point to the contrary. In the case of the (especially monosyllabic) prepositions it is tradition to consider them as clitics. But when we do not consider them to be so, this does not violate the facts, but it enables us to make more generalizing statements about the relative place stress occupies within the stress unit. A consequence is again (as with the negation /ne/) that stress units consisting of a monosyllabic preposition and another stress-generating word always contain a virtual stress: /rúga/ in |ná ruga| "in kind", but this fact is not contrary to the theory we adopted from Garde.

4.4. The rules for stress placement

We shall now formulate the rules that govern the placing of the stress. The rules are ordered, i.e. the last rule, which is called the general stress rule, and which puts the stress on the antepenultimate syllable of the stress unit, covers all instances not covered by the former rules.

¹¹ Garde has an indirect argument (for literary Macedonian) to consider /ne/ a stress-generating word: interrogatives and following verb forms, eventually separated by one or more clitics, always form one stress unit. But when /ne/ stands between them, there are two stress units (cf. Garde 1968b:35f).

4.4.1. Stress units which have absolutely fixed stress (many of them are loans, a few are compounds) are as follows:

aftomobíl	"motor-car"	komunís	"communist"
akjutánt	"adjutant"	kuriér	"courier"
alamín	"aluminium"	magazín	"warehouse"
dokumént	"document"	margarín	"margarine"
eroplán	"aeroplane"	materiál	"material"
filán	"a certain"	odváj	"in the nick of time"
glufném or	"deaf and dumb"	partizán	"partisan"
glúoném	idem	radión	"radio"
se gorděj	"to be proud"	tamám	"exactly"
gordeíf	"proud"	televizór	"television"
ko'le(k)tíf	"collective"		

apsána	"jail"	kontróla	"control"
atfrisa	"to save"	kusogléden	"short-sighted"
belogláets	"person with grey hair"	limuzína	"motor-car"
belokósets	"a blond"	makedónets	"a Macedonian"
biskóti	"biscuits"	makedónka	idem, fem.
gitára	"guitar"	makedóntski	idem, adj.
grněta	"clarinet"	napalóni	"gold coins"
ikóna	"icon"	oblánda	"wafer"
iľjadárka	"ten dinars"	pantóni	"trousers"
kabadája	"ruffian"	parkíra	"to park"
kafána	"café"	ploštáva	"square"
kakáo	"cocoa"	religiózen	"religious"
kamenárka	"sand viper"	tšikoláto	"chocolate"
kománda	"team"	vizíta	"visit"
komúna	"community"	zadátša	"task"

All the remaining stress units are considered to have relatively fixed stress.

4.4.2. Before stating the rules governing the relative fixation of the accent we must first formulate two general restrictions to these rules.

1. The first restriction is that proclitics cannot receive the stress. Examples:

|se sůšef| "(I)dried myself"
 |da zémam| "that (I) take"
 |si go ódbraf|óva| "(I) chose [myself] this"
 |důri|si mlát| "as long as (you) are young"
 |go znám| "(I) know him"
 |da ój| in: |krávata|ne|móži|da ój|so|sópka|itš|
 "with a hobble the cow cannot walk at all"
 |mi se jáj| "I'm hungry"
 |mi e strám| "I'm ashamed"
 |da mi je páziš| "that (you) herd me her (a sheep)"
 |káko|gra|si prósta| "(you) are as simple as beans", i.e.
 simple-minded
 |e tó| in: |édno|kílo|pómaltse|ot|óka|e tó|
 "a kilogram is less than an 'oka'"
 |da né se| "that (they) are not"
 |dvájset|i éden| "twenty one"

2. The second restriction implies that enclitics do not influence the place of the stress when the stress-generating word which they follow is the predicate, but not the predicate in an imperative form. Examples:

|skůkaŕen sum| "I am stiff with cold"
 |záprani mi se|a|fškjata| "my clothes are washed"
 |dáleko je?| "Is it far?"

4.4.3. The accent falls on the fourth syllable from behind in the singular and plural forms, without article, of the following words:

|oráolia|, |oráoli| "oro-dancer"
 |strekjáolia|, |strekjáoli| "lucky person"

The forms containing the article are subject to the general stress rule (4.4.5.): |orao|fiata| and |orao|fite|.

4.4.4. The stress falls on the penultimate syllable of the stress unit in the following cases:

4.4.4.1. if postvocalic /j/ immediately followed by at least one consonant occurs in the second syllable from the end; that is in

phonemic symbolization: $[-\check{V}jC(C)(C)V(C)]$. Examples:
 |bludójte| "the platters" |slivójtša| "plum-brandy"
 |bogorójtša| "Virgin Mary" |polójna| "half"
 |gologlájte| "the bareheaded" |ržéjntša| "rye-straw"
 |edinájse| "eleven" |sabájle| "early in the morning"

|zaborájme| "to forget"; this rule affects the 1st and 2nd plural
 |zaborájte| present and aorist, the aorist participle and the past passive participle
 |zaborájla| when they have a non-zero desinence
 |zaborájna| for number/gender, and the imperative plural form of all C8, C9 and C10 verbs.

|izěj go| "eat it up"
 |ováj tšas| "at once"

Exceptions, which follow the general stress rule are:

1. the imperative form of C1 verbs:

|dávajte| "give"
 |odběrvaj si| "choose (yourself)"

2. the forms of the adjective /kálajen/ "tin" |kálajno|;

3. the noun |děvojka| "girl";

4. the stress unit |ná majtap| "for fun"

4.4.4.2. if postvocalic /j/ occurs in the last syllable; that is in phonemic symbols: $[-\check{V}(C)(C)Vj(C)]$. Examples:

|gológlaj| "bareheaded" pl.
 |oréoj| "walnut" adj.pl.
 |kozínaj| "of goat's wool" pl.

|zabórajš| "to forget"; this rule is relevant for the 2nd and 3rd
 |zabóraj| singular present, the singular aorist, the
 |zabórajf| masculine form of the aorist participle
 |zabórajl| and of the past passive participle, and
 |zabórajn| the imperative singular of all C8, C9 and
 C10 verbs.

Exceptions subject to the general stress rule are:

1. the imperative form of C1 verbs:

|bójosvaj| "to dye"
 |ne mů davaj| "don't give (it) to him"

2. the singular form of the noun denoting "custom":
|óbitšaj|; the plural form is |obítšaj|.

4.4.4.3. if intervocalic /j/ is the last consonant of the stress unit and the stress-generating word is the masculine form with article of an adjective or pronoun:

|beloglájo| "the greyhaired" v. |Iíšajo| "the lichen"
|siromájo| "the poor" |nóvio| "the new"
|negójo| "his"

4.4.4.4. if the stress unit consists of a singular imperative form of C8, C9 or C10 verbs followed by a clitic:

|izbrój i|párite| "count the money".

This rule is an extension of the rule formulated in 4.4.4.1. The rule then reads as follows: if postvocalic /j/ occurs in the second syllable from the end, the stress falls on the penultimate of the stress unit when the stress unit contains an imperative form of singular as well as plural of verbs of C8, C9 and C10.

Compare:

|vádi je|nívata| "irrigate the field", imperative sg.
|vadéte je|nívata| idem, pl.

4.4.4.5. if the stress unit consists of a 3rd plural form of the aorist of C8 and C9 verbs (see also 4.4.4.6.):

|iskája| "(they) wove"
|izdrója| "(they) swarmed"

Compare:

|se óbuja| "(they) put on shoes", aorist form of a C6 verb

4.4.4.6. if the stress unit consists of the 3rd plural form of the imperfect or aorist, or of the singular masculine form of the past passive participle of C10 verbs. Examples:

|živéa| "to live"
|izéa| "to eat up"
|iznapéa| "to sing one's fill"
|prezdréan| "to become overripe"

4.4.4.7. in isolated cases:

|ventšánje| "to marry" verbal noun
|se namóši| "to be all goose-flesh"
|kordonáke| "curtain"
|godináva| "this year"; this form is an adverb, in contrast to
|godínava|, which is the noun containing the article. So also:
|letóvo| "this summer" versus |létovo|, etc.

4.4.4.8. when in a stress unit consisting of two stress-generating words, with or without clitics, i.e. type 3, the second stress-generating word is monosyllabic. Examples:

|pomalió brat| "the smaller brother"
|tšetirí dni| "four days"
|edná vrs| "one generation"
|ne gó znam| "(I) don't know him"
|koku mi sé jaj| "I am as hungry as a hunter"
|ne sé oj|támu| "one cannot go there"
|ne mi sé jaj| "I have no appetite"
|den pó den| "day after day"
|kubik í pol| "a cube and a half"

4.4.5. General stress rule

The stress falls on the antepenultimate syllable of the stress unit, or on the first syllable in bisyllabic stress units.

Note: when in a stress unit an optional vowel occurs, this vowel is counted for the determination of the right position of the stress. Examples:

|arámi_i| "thieves"
|aramí_ite| "the thieves"
|ósno_a| "warp"
|osnó_atata| "the warp"
|prodá_aše| "to sell" 2nd and 3rd sg. impf.
|živé_eme| "to live" 1st pl. present

4.4.6. In a number of cases there are two possibilities for placing the stress in one and the same stress unit. Examples:

|nakól_na| and |nákol_na| "anvil"
|školová_na| and |školó_vana| "learned"

|petmína| and |pétmina| "five"
|zadúša| and |záduša| "memorial service for a deceased person"

4.5. Survey of occurring stress units

A limited survey of frequently occurring stress units will now be presented. Based upon the already mentioned three types of stress units (4.2.2.), a division is made into a number of subtypes. The first type, consisting of a single stress-generating word, will not be discussed further. The survey is not exhaustive.

4.5.1. Type 2: a stress-generating word and one or more clitics.

4.5.1.1. Clitic(s) + predicate

|stram|da ti bídi| "you ought to be ashamed of yourself"
|ke mu klájme|na|kvátškata|jájtsa| "we put eggs for the laying-hen"
|ke rútsaš li|ke rábotaš li| "then you will dine, then you will work"

4.5.1.2. Clitic(s) + noun or adjective

|de véter|de stút|de snék| "now there is wind, then cold, then again snow"
|em glúf|em ném jet| "(he) is (and) deaf and dumb"

4.5.1.3. Imperative + clitic(s)

|legnéte si| "have a lie-down"
|pomóži mi| "help me"
|vdení mi je|íglata| "thread the needle for me"
|obéri i|jabókata| "pick the apples"

4.5.1.4. Interrogative/negation + clitic(s)

|tšúmú ti je|ógan?| "what use is fire to you?"
|Téle,|kompírite|kokáj se|porásteni| "my goodness, how the potatoes have grown"
|otkáj si?| "where are (you) from?"
|šó da e| "whatever it may be"
|né mi e|ásli|tátko,|óťšuf mi e| "it is not my own father, it is my stepfather"

|né e|toj|zbor|naš| "that's not a word of ours"

4.5.1.5. Noun + clitic (pronoun)

|sinóĵ mi| "my sons"
|svekfva mi| "my mother-in-law"
|ženáta mi| "my wife"

4.5.1.6. Long pronoun + clitic (pronoun)

|méne mi|ne sé puĵi| "I cannot see well"

4.5.2. Type 3: two stress-generating words (with or without clitics)

4.5.2.1. Interrogative/negation + (clitic(s)) + predicate

|otkáj idiš?| "where do (you) come from?"
|káj beše,|móri?| "where have you been?"
|koku sí prosta!| "how simple-minded (you) are"
|šo dá prajš?| "what (can you) do?" i.e. there is nothing we can do about it
|kaj ké ojš?| "where will (you) go?"
|šo bróĵ se?| "what size are (they)?"
|kokú kupe?| "how many did (you) buy?"
|kako da tí retšam?| "how shall (I) say to you?"
|toj|némal|kšsmet| "he was not lucky"
|ne gó vidof| "(I) did not see him"
|ne se óĵše|od|vétro| "one could not walk because of the wind"
|vrémeto|itš|ne úboo et| "the weather is not fine at all"
|ónegvaf|da zémam|áma|né zedof| "(I) was meant to take (it), but (I) did not take (it)"

4.5.2.2. Adjective or past passive participle + noun

|otvorenatá vrata| "the opened door"
|veĵigdenskí posti| "Lent"
|gornotó nemtse| "the upper palate"
|starió svat| "the oldest guest at a wedding"
|dóĵsi je|malatá koĵ| "bring the small bucket"

4.5.2.3. Adverb/pronoun/numeral + noun

|utrě vetšer| "to-morrow night"
|kokú pari| "how much money"
|nego^otó tšupe| "his daughter"
|nezinitě detsa| "her children"
|ninitě pari| "their money"
|nego^o kukja| "his house"; a possible realization is [negó kuťa],
cf. Phonology 4.2.
|nego^otá kukja| "his house"
|kakvá žena| "what kind of a woman"
|šó dete| "what child"
|kokáf tšoek| "what man" i.e. how large
|dvá dni| "two days", but also |dva|děna|
|dvetě nodze| "both legs"
|pettě brakja| "the five brothers"

4.5.2.4. Noun + clitic /i/ + /pol/"half"

|mesets í pol| "a month and a half"
|edinajset í pol| "eleven and a half"

4.5.2.5. Prepositions + nouns/adverbs/pronouns

|běz vreme|óstare| "(he) grew old before his time"
|pó ska^li|se kátšif| "(I) went up the stairs"
|se prigódvaše|za ná gosti| "(he) was preparing to go on a visit"
|réšen|ójme|pó džade| "(we) went to Resen via the big road"
|okolú reka| "near (the) river"
|prokráj niva| "at the edge of (the) field"
|prekú lozje| "across (the) vineyard"
|den pó den| "day after day"
|dó sega| "up to now"
|ná gore| "upstairs"
|káj nas| "with us"
|só neze|béme|prětor| "(we) were in Pretor with her"
|máni,|bre,|ná nego| "beat him"
|só šo|běše|ti|ná pazar?| "how (with what) were you at the market?"

Prepositions do not form stress units with nouns which have the article, with adjectives, numerals or proper names:

|po|nóso| "on the nose"
|so|máli|pília| "with small hens"
|za|bólni|lúge| "for sick people"
|od|édna|májka| "from one mother"
|so|jósif| "with Joseph"

For the same reason also:

|na|brát mu| "of his brother", where the clitic /mu/ functions as an indicator of definiteness.

Prepositions do not constitute stress units with the non-objective forms of the personal pronoun either:

|so|toj| "with him", cf. |só nego| or |so|négo|
|bes|tája| "without her"

Prepositions with nouns (without article) and pronouns have, as a rule, two accentual possibilities. A few examples may illustrate this:

|ná ruga| or |na|rúga| "in kind"
|zá zima| or |za|zíma| "for the winter"
|káj mene| or |kaj|méne| "with me"
|prokráj mene| or |prókraj|méne| "at my side"

4.5.3. Finally an interesting example for comparison is:

|koj ke mú daj|kúkja?| "who will give him a house?", and
|kó^o|ke mu dáj|kúkja| "when (he) will give him a house".

Both sentences may have phonetically similar realizations, but they remain different with regard to the position of the stress:

[koj ^{te} mú daj kúťa?] and
[kó^o ^{te} mu dáj kúťa]

(Cf. chapter 2, section 2.9.4. and chapter 5, section 2.1.).

CHAPTER 4

NOTES ON SYNTAX

0. Introduction

This chapter on syntax claims to present no more than a very limited survey of the syntactic word classes and of the formal and semantic aspects of the complex tenses of the verb. The chapter contains sections dealing with:

1. prepositions,
2. conjunctions,
3. particles,
4. interjections,
5. form and use of the complex tenses of the verb.

Prepositions, conjunctions, particles and interjections have a feature in common; they are considered to be synsemantic words (in contradistinction to autosemantic word classes, such as the inflexional word classes treated in the chapter on morphology), i.e. words which have no independent substantial or deictic meaning, but whose meaning becomes clear only when they are combined with an autosemantic word. Moreover the members of these word classes can be determined syntactically only, because they lack common formal properties. The meanings of interjections are the most difficult to determine because they vary so much according to the context and situation.

1. Prepositions

The function of prepositions is to express a certain relation between two phrases. One of these two phrases is the phrase which

is governed by the preposition. In this phrase, the prepositional phrase, the preposition occupies the first place. The second phrase is a verbal phrase or a nominal phrase. The kind of syntactic function which is expressed by the prepositions may be classified as follows:

1. adverbial, when the prepositional phrase functions as an adverb in a verb phrase: /sédeme do ezéroto/ "we sat by the lake";
2. objective, when the prepositional phrase functions as an object of a verb phrase: /zbórvame za tébe/ "we talk about you";
3. attributive, when the prepositional phrase may be regarded as the attribute of a nominal phrase: /nívata bés kraj/ "the field without end", i.e. a very large field, /šíše ot pívo/ "beer-bottle".

The semantic relations expressed by the prepositions are manifold. Most prepositions are polysemantic. We have given a few general semantic distinctions such as "temporal", "spatial", but we have not attempted to present a detailed semantic description of the prepositions. We have tried to show the multifarious use of the prepositions by means of the given examples.

The prepositions are listed alphabetically. Compound prepositions are included in the list according to their second constituent. A few prepositions may also be used adverbially. This is stated in the list.

The prepositions are presented in morphemes. In the examples, which are in phonemic transcription, we give the phonemic form which corresponds to the phonetic realization which occurs when there is no pause in the pronunciation between the preposition and the following word. (See chapter 5, sections 1.5. and 1.6. on external sandhi phenomena).

- | | |
|---------------------|----------------------------|
| 1.1 (bez) "without" | |
| /toj oj bész mene/ | "he goes without me" |
| /bez gájle žívej/ | "he lives without worries" |
| /nívata bés kraj/ | "the field without end" |
| /bez fíje rábotam/ | "I work without cunning" |

1.2 (do)

1.2.1 temporal "before, up to, until"

/do většer ke dōj/ "He will come before the evening"

/spieše tsel den dō vetšer/ "He slept the whole day until the evening"

/tēbe ti e dō sega/ "It's time for you to go now"

/pak ke dōjme do gōdina/ "We shall come again in a year's time"

1.2.2 spatial "next to, near, up to"

/sēdeme do ezēroto/ "We sat by the lake"

/sēdef dō tebe/ "I sat near you"

/přibliži mältse dō mene/ "Come a bit nearer to me"

/do nā niva/ "to (to be in) the field"

/do nā reka/ "to (to be at) the river"

/do krājo na ezēroto/ "to the edge of the lake"

/do kōlena bēme vō voda/ "We were in water up to our knees"

/tšōek dō tšōek sēdeme/ "We sat shoulder to shoulder"

/fārmata e blīzu do dīo/ "The farm is near Dihovo"

/ke ojš do tsēba/ "You will go to Tseba" (also /kaj/)

/so kāmen ke fflam dō tebe/ "I'll throw (with) a stone at you"

1.2.3 measure

/go ispif šišeto do kāpka/ "He drank the bottle to the last drop"

1.3 (kaj)

1.3.1 temporal "by"

/dōjde kaj rūtšek/ "He came by dinner-time"

/kaj dva sāto/ "by two o'clock" (also /kon/)

1.3.2 spatial "near, next to"

/sēdam kaj škōlīata/ "I live next to the school" (also /do/ or /kraj/)

/ke oom kāj nego/ "I'll go to him" (also /do/)

/bēme kaj nīmi/ "We were with them"

1.4 compound (dokaj)

/dōkaj pet sāto/ "until about five o'clock"

1.5 compound (odkaj)

/dāleko je otkāj vas?/ "Is it far from you?"

/nīe otkaj nižōpole itš dřva "We do not buy firewood in the village of N."

ne zēmvaime/
/ōtkaj/ is also used adverbially:
/otkāj znajš ti?/ "How do you know that?"

1.6 (karšia) "opposite"

/toj ima kūkja kāršia mēne/ "He has a house opposite mine"

/kāršia kūkja/ or /karši kukja/ "opposite the house" (also /sprōti/)

1.7 (kon)

1.7.1 temporal "at about"

/ke se vrātam kon nēdela/ "I will be back by Sunday"

/ke ojme kon pet sāto/ "We shall go at about five" (also /kaj/)

1.7.2 spatial "against"

/ōjme kon vētro/ "We walk against the wind"

/kōga ke ojš kon magāro, o(d) "As you go towards Magarevo, there are horse-chestnut-trees on the right"

desná strana ima dřvi kōstenje/

1.8 (kraj) "at the edge of, beside"

/toj stōše kraj pāto/ "He stood beside the road"

/kraj ezēroto sēdeme/ "We sat by the lake" (also /do/)

/pōminaf kraj skōpjē/ "I passed near Skopje"

1.9 (na(j)kraj) "at the edge of"

/toj sēdi nā(j)kraj sēlo/ "He lives right next to the village"

/nā(j)kraj ezēroto/ "at the edge of the lake"

This preposition is also used adverbially:
/lēle, kōga ke ojme do nā(j)kraj/ "Oh, when shall we come to the end!"
/nāšata kūkja nākraj jet, dip/ "Our house is at the very end"

1.10 compound ⟨prokraj⟩ "at the edge of, next to"
 /sědi prokráj mene/ "Sit down beside me" (also /do/)
 /prokráj niva/ "at the edge of the field"
 /prokráj mene pomínaa, ne mi progórea/ "They passed close to me, but they did not utter a word to me"

1.11 ⟨megju⟩ "between"
 /sědef megjú nim(i)/ "I sat between them"
 /toj rábota mėgju májstori/ "He works among craftsmen"
 /pómína mėgju měne/ "He walked past me"
 The compound preposition /pómegju/ is also used; it has the same meaning as /mėgju/.

1.12 ⟨na⟩
 1.12.1 The preposition ⟨na⟩ has an important grammatical function. A nominal phrase which is governed by ⟨na⟩ functions in the utterance as an indirect object:

/na kój ke mu dájš ?/ "Who will you give it to?"
 /mu go dáof na brát mi/ "I gave it to my brother"
 /da mu kúpiš na děteto tšélia/ "You must buy the child little shoes"

1.12.2 A second important function of ⟨na⟩ is to indicate "possession":
 /kúkjata na tátko mi/ "the house of my father" (also /od/)
 /lózjeto se na májka mi/ "The vineyards belong to my mother"

1.12.3 temporal:
 /na děsetti jánuar/ "on the tenth of January"
 /ná leto/ "during the summer"
 /ke ódam ná zima/ "I'll come to spend the winter"
 /na vréme dójde/ "He came in time"
 /na sľegvánjeto go víknaf/ "I called him while going down"
 /den ná den tšékam/ "Day after day I'm waiting" (also /po/ and /za/)
 /pak na óva vréme/ "again at this time"

1.12.4 spatial "on, onto"
 /ímam p̄fsten na p̄fsto/ "I wear a ring on my finger"
 /ná masa/ "on the table"
 /ná niva/ "in the field"
 /ná pazar/ "at the market"
 /toj íma kápa na gláata/ "He has a cap on his head"
 /toj sědi ná more/ "He lives by the sea"
 /pádnaf na kámen/ "I fell over (on) a stone"
 /tše ójdoǵ na sěver/ "They went to the North"
 /ke ójme na ridójne/ "We shall go up those hills"
 /káj beše? ná poškja/ "Where have you been? At the post office"
 /ná žnanje/ "at the harvest"
 1.12.5 various meanings:
 /mi svíri muzíkata na gláata/ "The music is going through my head"
 /to mi lěži ná srtse/ "This is lying on my heart"
 /sědime ná selo/ "We live in the country" (also in a more concrete spatial sense)
 /ke ígame ná oro/ "We shall dance the oro"
 /mírisa na luk/ "It smells of garlic"
 /ímame gósti ná rutšek/ "We have guests for dinner"
 /ke měni vrémeto na věter/ "The weather will change to wind", i.e. a wind will blow up
 /kokú pari na kílo?/ "How much is it the kilo?"
 /na větro se ísušif/ "I dried myself in the wind"
 1.12.6 The following prepositional phrases are worth noting:
 /toj sědi na krájo skópje/ "He lives right next to Skopje"
 /toj zástana na stréde páto/ "He stopped in the middle of the road"

The phrases /na krájo/ and /na stréde/ function as secondary prepositions for the nouns /skópje/ and /páto/ respectively (cf. 1.30, the compound preposition ⟨nastred⟩).

1.13 ⟨nad⟩ "above"
 /mósto je nád voda/ "The bridge is over the water"
 /nat kúkjata tvója pómína tšóek/ "A man passed above your house"

1.14 ⟨niz⟩ "down, through, along"
 /slégof nizd rído/ "I went down the hill"
 /póminaf ní(s) selo/ "I passed through the village"
 /ízleze niz vrátata/ "He went out through the door"
 /púlam nis pendžéreto/ "I look through the window"
 /ke ójme nis kória/ "We'll go by way of the forest"
 /toj šétaše niz odáite/ "He walked through the rooms"
 /toj oj nis kúkite/ "He walks along beside the houses"
 /nízd reka ódam/ "I walk along the river"
 /ní(s) strede/ functions as a secondary preposition in:
 /ní(s) strede nívata pomíname/ "We passed along the middle of the field"

1.15 ⟨od⟩

1.15.1 The preposition ⟨od⟩ may also be used to express "possession", but it is used in this function much less frequently than ⟨na⟩:

/kúkjata o(t) tátka mi/ "the house of my father"
 /ot koj e to? ód nego/ "Whose is this? It's his"

1.15.2 temporal "from, since"

/ot pórutšek spíeše/ "He has been asleep since breakfast"
 /ke pótšnime ot pětok/ "We shall start as from Friday"
 /ot pětoko pótšname/ "We started as from Friday"
 (cf. ⟨v⟩)

/od bóžikj/ "since Christmas"
 /od nédela do nédela/ "from week to week"
 /ot sabájle do mrak na rábota/ "at work from dawn till dusk"

1.15.3 spatial "from, down from"

/dójdof ot skópje/ "I came from Skopje"
 /ídam od rábota/ "I come from (my) work"
 /se vráte ód žnanje/ "He returned from the harvest"
 /ízlegof ód voda/ "I came out of the water"
 /sléze ót konj/ "He got off the horse"
 /pádnaf ó(d) drvo/ "I fell from the tree"
 /o(d) désna strána/ "from the right side"
 /sum tšul ód nego/ "I heard it from him"
 /résen je skrája od bítoła/ "Resen is far from Bitola"

/skrája mnógu béše ód mene/ "It was very far from me"
 /óđ grop ná grop/ "from grave to grave"
 1.15.4 causal:
 /úmre od bóles/ "He died of an illness"
 /ot kráva mléko/ "cows' milk"
 /ízgoref od žéško/ "I'm burning 'with the heat'"
 /jas sum kósnat od zmía/ "I have been bitten by a snake"
 /alíškjata se isúšia od vétro/ "The clothes have been dried by the wind"
 /mnógu jáboka nájdome izgrízani od glúftsita/ "We found many apples nibbled by the mice"

1.15.5 various meanings:

/ke dój od vójnik/ "He will be leaving the army"
 /nie sme ót selo/ "We are from the country" (also /na/)

/sírak jet od májka/ "He is an orphan 'on the mother's side'"
 /toj e póstar ód mene/ "He is older than I am"
 /mása ó(d) drvo/ "a wooden table"
 /tšórbá od ríbi/ "fish-soup"
 /šiše ot pívo/ "a beer-bottle"
 /o(d) děte do kútše/ "from child to dog" i.e. everyone, everything
 /glúf je od úšite/ "He is deaf in both ears"

1.16 ⟨okolu⟩

1.16.1 temporal "about (before or after)"

/béše ókolu véligden/ "It was around Easter"
 /dójde ókolu rúťšek/ "He came about dinner-time"

1.16.2 spatial "around"

/sédna okolú mene/ "He sat down near me"
 /okolú kukja ígrađ dětsata/ "The children are playing around the house"

This preposition is also used adverbially:

/ókolu póminaf/ "I passed by"
 /ókolu na ókolu/ "all around"

1.17 (osem) "besides, except"
 /ose(m) méne druk néma níkoj/ "There is nobody except me"
 /sékoj den dúkjano ótvoren je, "The shop is open every day,
 ósem nédeľa/ except on Sunday"
 /ósem tébe i drúgi go znáat to/ "Besides you there are others
 who know that"

1.18 (po)
 1.18.1 temporal "after"
 /dójdof po véligden/ "I came after Easter"
 /se vrátif po nékoj den/ "I returned after a few days"
 /den pó den/ "day after day" (also /na/ and
 /za/)
 /dójdof pó nego/ "I came after him"
 /na dve nédeľi po bžikj/ "two weeks after Christmas"
 1.18.2 spatial:
 /rabótame po sélata/ "We work in the villages"
 /tíe vřvat po grobíškjata, "They walk around in the
 church-yard"
 /toj oj pó reka/ "He is walking along the river"
 (also (niz))
 /jas go údrif po nóso/ "I hit him on his nose"
 1.18.3 final:
 /dójdof po méso/ "I came to buy meat"
 /zabórajf, pó škjo ójdof/ "I have forgotten what I was
 going for"

The meaning of /po/ in the following sentence is ambiguous:
 /dójdof pó nego/, with final meaning: "I came for him" (also /za/)
 with temporal meaning: "I came after him"

1.18.4 distributive:
 /lubéjntsite béa po křlo téški/ "The watermelons weighed a kilo
 each"
 /kónji po dva móžea da dřžea/ "They could afford to keep two
 horses each"

1.18.5 various meanings:
 /sáka da šéta po džgjo/ "He likes to walk in the rain"
 /toj oj pó gaški/ "He walks in his underpants"

/mi je strá po vózo/ "I'm afraid of the train"
 /se kátšif pó skali/ "I went upstairs"

1.19 (pod)
 1.19.1 spatial "under"
 /dfo e pot plánina/ "Dihovo lies at the foot of the
 mountains"
 /póđ voda/ "under water"
 /pót selo pómına/ "He passed below (lower down)
 the village"

1.19.2 metaphorical:
 /kúkja pot kíria/ "a rented house"

1.20 (pre) "before"
 /pre máltse vréme/ "a moment ago"

1.21 (pred)
 1.21.1 temporal "before"
 /nóva gódına e pred bžikj/ "New Year is before (orthodox) Xmas"
 /préd vreme dójdof/ "I came before time"
 1.21.2 spatial "before"
 /toj stóeše přéd mene/ "He stood in front of me"
 /pred vráta stóeše/ "He stood at the door"

1.22 compound (odpred) "from before"
 /nře ótpred véligden do bžikj "We begin to fast from before
 'da zapóstime/ Easter until Christmas"

1.23 (preku) "across, over"
 1.23.1 spatial:
 /préku plánina/ "over the mountains"
 1.23.2 temporal:
 /nře sádeme překu tsel den, ot "We planted (seeds) [during] the
 sabájle do vétšer/ whole day, from early in the

- morning till the evening"
- 1.24 ⟨pri⟩ "at"
/sédam pri bába/
"I live with grandma" (also /kaj/ and /so/)
- 1.25 ⟨so⟩ "with"
/toj běše sō mene/
/so ráka go údrif/
/toj oj so dzftsala/
/ke jájme jógur so zélniko/
/toj se bíeše sō nego/
/éden so éden se bíeŕe/
/sédi so zdrávje/
/toj dával píenje so život/
"He was with me"
"I hit him with my hand"
"He goes with specs" i.e. he wears specs
"We shall eat yoghurt with the pie"
"He was fighting against him"
"They were fighting with each other"
"Live with health", a wish when leaving someone's house
"He gave (him) drinks (to be paid for) with (his) life"
- 1.26 ⟨sprema⟩
/toj mnógu e dōbar spréma méne/
"He is very good to me" (also /sprōti/)
- 1.27 ⟨sproti⟩
1.27.1 temporal:
/sprōti sáбота ke dōjdam/
"I'll come on Friday night"
1.27.2 spatial "opposite" (also /káršia/)
/ninatá kukja e sprōti nášata/
/sprotí mene/
"Their house is opposite ours"
"opposite me"
1.27.3 modal:
/sprotí mene/
"in my opinion"
/toj e mnógu dōbar sprōti méne/
"He is very good to me (also /spréma/)

- 1.28 compound ⟨nasproti⟩ "according to"
/násproti méne toj itš ne ráбота/
"According to me he does not work at all"
- 1.29 ⟨stred⟩ "in the middle of"
1.29.1 temporal:
/stréd leto/
"in midsummer"
1.29.2 spatial:
/strét selo sédi/
/zástanal strét pat/
"He lives in the centre of the village"
"He stopped in the middle of the road"
- 1.30 compound ⟨nastred⟩ has the same meaning as ⟨stred⟩, but it is used only in the spatial sense:
/toj stōeše nástret páto/
"He stood in the middle of the road"
- 1.31 ⟨v⟩ or ⟨vo⟩
The form ⟨vo⟩ is used: 1. with nouns beginning with /v/ or /f/;
2. as a rule with nouns which have the article suffix;
3. in a few other cases.
- It is surprising that in the spatial meaning this preposition is very often omitted. For instance, instead of /ōjme v bítoŕa/ "we are going to Bitola" one hears even more frequently /ōjme bítoŕa/; instead of /f plánina ima kōliba/ "there is a hut on the mountain" /plánina ima kōliba/. In the examples given below we shall put the preposition in parentheses in those cases where it may be omitted.
- 1.31.1 temporal:
There is an interesting difference in the use of the two forms of this preposition when it denotes "time":
/vo/ + noun with article means past: /vo nedēŕata/ "last Sunday"
/v/ + noun without article means future: /v nēdeŕa/ "next Sunday"
/vo/ + noun without article denotes a certain recurrent point in

time in general: /vo nēdeĽa/ "on Sundays".
 /toj dōjde vo zōrata/ "He came at dawn"
 /ke ōdam v zōra/ "I shall go at dawn"
 /dōjdof vo strēdata/ "I came last Wednesday"
 /dōjdof vo zīmata/ "I came last winter"
 /dōjdof vo godīnava/ "I came this year"
 /ke dōjdam pak f strēda/ "I'll come again next Wednesday"
 /ke dōjdam pak v zīma/ "I'll come again next winter"
 /ke dōjdam pak v gōdina nā zīma/ "I'll come again next year for the winter"
 /dva pāti vo gōdina īdeše/ "He came twice a year"
 /na vētšerta vo pētoko/ "last Friday night"

1.31.2 spatial:
 /(f) plānina īma kōĽiba/ "There is a hut on the mountain"
 /vo planīnata īma kōĽiba/ idem
 /ke ōjme (f) kōria/ "We shall go to the forest"
 /ōdam (v) grat/ "I go to town"
 /bef vo grādo/ "I was in town"
 /sēdime (f) sēlo/ "We live in the country" (more frequently /nā selo/)
 /ōdam (f) sēlo/ "I go to the village" (idem)
 /bef (f) sēlo/ "I was in the village" (idem)
 /bef vo filān selo/ "I was in a certain village"
 /se kāpef v rēka/ or /vo rēkata/ "I took a swim in the river"
 /vō strede dīo sēdi/ "He lives in the middle of D."
 /sēga (f) tsfkva rētko ōdat/ "Nowadays people seldom go to church"
 /na vētšerta ōeme vo tsfkvata/ "In the evening we ought to go to church"
 /lēbo ke go fflam vō furna/ "I'll put the bread in the oven"
 /lēbo e vō furna/ or /vo fūrната/ "The bread is in the oven"
 /ne se ōjše od vētro, v ōtši me bīeše/ "It was impossible to walk because of the wind, it beat against my eyes"
 /džādeto (v) rēsen/ "the main road to Resen"

1.32 vrs
 /ke go zēmam vfs mene/ "I'll take this upon myself"

1.33 za
 1.33.1 temporal:
 /za kolkū dni ke si ōjš?/ "How many days will it take you to get home?"
 /za ōsum sāti/ "within eight hours"
 /gōdina za gōdina, si ōdat godīnjeto/ "Year after year, the years pass by" (also /na/ and /po/)

1.33.2 final:
 /pīsmo za někoj/ "a letter for someone"
 /za v gōdina/ "for next year"
 /za v nēdeĽa/ "for next Sunday"
 /da mi kūpiš, mōri, ūbaq šāmia za nā glaq/ "You will buy me a nice shawl for [on] my head"
 /lēbo e gōtof za razmēsvanje/ "The bread (dough) is ready for kneading (the second time)"
 /dōjdof zā nego/ "I came for him" (cf./po/)

1.33.3 various meanings:
 /toj e za ēdna pēda pōvisok od mēne/ "He is a span taller than I am"
 /ōko za ōko, krf za krf/ "an eye for an eye, blood for blood"
 /ke se pōžali za ōva/ "He'll complain of this"
 /toj žāĽa za mājka mu/ "He is worried about his mother"
 /se dŕžat za rātse/ "They hold each other by the hand"
 /mājka go dŕži dēteto zā glaq/ "Mother is holding the child's head"
 /vrēmeto e dēnes za doš/ "It looks like rain to-day" (cf. /na/)
 /mi tēknuva za pīvo/ "I have a desire for beer"
 /sftse me bōĽi zā ne/ "My heart breaks because of her"
 /zbōrame za sēlskata žīvot/ "We talk about life in the country"
 /ēden zā eden/ "one after another"

/pázi za kútšeto, mókum fákja/ "Beware of the dog, he bites
without warning"
/vólko, toj ima mérak za "The wolf, he has 'strong
magaríata/ feelings' about the donkeys"

1.34 (zad)

1.34.1 temporal "after"

/zad bōžikj/ "after Christmas" (also /po/)

1.34.2 spatial "behind"

/zád mene/ "behind me"

/zát kukja/ "behind the house"

/zad ridójte/ "behind the hills"

1.35 (zari) "because of"

/zári tébe dōjdof/ "I came because of you"

/zári dōžgjo ostáname dōma/ "We stayed at home because of
the rain"

2. Conjunctions

The syntactic function of conjunctions is to form compound and complex sentences. Compound sentences are formed by means of the co-ordinating conjunctions, complex sentences are formed by means of subordinating conjunctions.

The semantic functions of the conjunctions are manifold. We have attempted to classify the conjunctions of the present dialect semantically by means of generally known distinctions like "copulative", "adversative", "conditional", "causal" etc.

2.1 Co-ordinating conjunctions

2.1.1 /a/ adversative

/jas né sum f sélo, a séstra mi "I don't live in the country,
v búko sédi/ but my sister lives in Bukovo"

200

2.1.2 /áli/ disjunctive

/ke se vrátam áli f sáбота, áli "I'll return either next
v néděla/ Saturday or next Sunday"
/áli go vézam, áli go plétam/ "I knit it or embroider it"
/hájde, da rūtšame, bre, áli "Let us have dinner, or don't
rūtšako ne go bēndisvaš?/ you like the food?"

2.1.3 /áma/ adversative

/jas néma da dōjdam, áma brat mi "I shall not come, but my
ke dōj/ brother will"

2.1.4 /ámi/ adversative

/ne móžeme da se izmíeme od "We had not even time to wash
ráбота, áma séga ráбота, níškjo/ ourselves, there was so much
work, but now work is easy"

2.1.5 /de... de.../ disjunctive

/fátif de vámu, de támu/ "I began (to walk) this way and
that"

2.1.6 /em... em.../ copulative

/em glúf, em ném jet/ "He is both deaf and dumb"

2.1.7 /i/ copulative

/ódam úgare i plátšam/ "I go upstairs and cry"

2.1.8 /íli/

/ke ójš búko, íli jas ke óom?/ "Will you go to Bukovo or shall
I go?"
/íli ódi, íli sédi/ "Either go or sit down"

201

2.1.9 /...li ...li/ disjunctive
 /ke rútsáš li, ke spješ li, ke rábotaš li/ "now you are eating, then you are asleep, then you are at work again"

2.1.10 /ni... ni.../ copulative
 /itš ne ójdome, ni órit ójdome, ni strúga ójdome, níškjo/ "We didn't go anywhere, we didn't go either to Ohrid, or to Struga, (we did) nothing"

2.1.11 /níti... níti/ copulative
 (see chapter 5, text no. 1, page 221)

2.1.12 /no/ adversative
 /ke go dovézeše, no ne dóveza/ "(she) intended to finish the knitting, but she did not finish it"

2.1.13 /pa/ adversative
 /po dva kfmatsi džžeme, pa někoj, šo béše poimášlia, ke džžeā póke/ "We kept two pigs, but some people, who were richer, usually kept more"

2.1.14 /túku/ adversative
 /ně e téška rábota, túku me bóli gláata/ "It's not hard work, but I have a headache"

2.2 Subordinating conjunctions

2.2.1 /áko/ conditional
 /ásli brákja se, áko se dvájtsa "They are full brothers, when

od édna májka i éden tátko/ both have the same mother and father"
 /áko se róde tšúpe, i stréj da plátšat/ "When a girl is born, even the eaves will sigh"

temporal

/áko ómri tátko mu, ke ój támu tája/ "When her father dies, she will go there"

concessive

/áko se glúiněmi, áma mnógu ítri se/ "Although they are deaf and dumb, [but] they are very clever"
 /ke óeme, i áko béše ládno/ "We used to go even if it was cold"

2.2.2 /da/ conditional

/da ímaše kíselo mléko na zélniko, dóbro e/ "If we had yoghurt on the pie, that would be nice"
 /poóboq da ně spješ dēnje/ "It's better not to sleep in the day-time"

final

/vízba ódef,lep da nósam/ "I went to the store-room to get bread"
 /ká ojš? Kfmako da go náranam/ "Where are you going? I'm going to feed the pig"
 /jas mu rékof na žénata da ój/ "I told my wife that she should go"
 /něma koj, da .../ "There is no-one to ..."

consecutive

/godináva zíma, da ne móžime da izlézime/ "This year it is such a bad winter that we cannot go out"
 In the construction /da/ + present tense /da/ may merely indicate subordination; the action to which this subordination is related may or may not be expressed¹:

/ne móžam da dójdam/ "I can't come"
 /ne móžef da dójdam/ "I couldn't come"
 /někjam ti da me pójlaš/ "I don't want you to order me about"

¹cf. Lunt 1952:84; see also 5.4.4 of this chapter.

/da znájš, ōti sme doma/ "I want you to know that we are at home"
 /kako da ti retšam?/ "How can I tell you?"
 /te mfzi da rábotaš/ "You are too lazy to work"
 /ně znam, da si ōdam/ "I don't know (how) to get home"
 In main clauses /da/ may function as a dubitative-adhortative particle:

/da nĕmam jas sin, da zĕmam "If I had no son, I could adopt
 ědno i da go pŕosinam/ one and bring him up as my son"
 The first /da/ in this sentence is a conjunction with a conditional meaning. The second and third /da/ indicate possibility.
 Compare:

/vŕoden si, da ti dĕm áliškja, "You are wet. If I give you
 da se prĕsletšiš/ clothes, then you can change"
 The second /da/ in this sentence is a conjunction with final meaning. The first /da/ has again the status of a particle which expresses a possibility and a wish to fulfil a certain action. The phrase /da ti dam/ might be replaced by /ke ti dam/, but this expresses merely future.

The conjunction /da/ is frequently used to introduce wishes, exhortations and curses:

/da ti nápredni rábota/ "May your work prosper"
 /da ti dĕj gŕospo život mnŕgu/ "May God grant you a long life"
 /stram da ti bídi/ "Shame on you"
 /da ti se súši rákata/ "May your hand wither"
 /hájde, da pospieme máltse/ "Let's have a nap"

Complex conjunctions formed with /da/ are:

2.2.3 /do da/ temporal
 /do da tĕe prošĕtaĕ kŕzo, mu "Even before they have walked down
 e dáleko/ the main street, it is already late (far)"

2.2.4 /dŕi da/ temporal
 /ke porábotam, dŕi da dŕjdat "I'll work until they come home"
 tĕe/

/dŕi da se zamrátšĕše, sĕdeme "We used to be in the field, until
 pŕ nivje/ it was getting dark"

2.2.5 /pred da/ temporal
 /pred da vlĕzime koletif, "Before we joined the collective,
 nĕmame vŕloj nie/ we had no bulls of our own"

2.2.6 /za da/ final
 /ne víkaĕ drŕgari, za da ōjme "Friends asked us to go (with
 na mŕre/ them) to the seaside"

2.2.7 /dŕi/ temporal
 /dŕi sum žif, ne kĕžvam/ "As long as I live, I won't tell"

2.2.8 <od> comparative
 /ŕva kŕkja e pogŕlema ōd ōna/ "This house is bigger than that one"
 /dĕnes e pŕladno o(t) tšĕra/ "To-day is colder than yesterday"

2.2.9 /ŕti/ declarative and causal
 /pa nie tšĕnime, ŕti drŕgio "And we thought that you were
 mĕsets ke ōjš/ leaving next month"
 /tšuf, ŕti si dŕšol/ "I heard that you had arrived"
 /mi se tšĕni, ŕti někoj me "I feel as if I've been beaten
 mánel/ by somebody"
 /něidam kĕj vas, ŕti víe "I don't come to you, because
 nĕmate dŕjdeno kĕj nas/ you didn't come to us"
 /mŕži da me bóli glĕata, ŕti "Perhaps I have a headache for
 ne mi sé puli/ I can hardly see"
 /ŕti/ is also used as an interrogative adverb:
 /ŕti ne posĕdite?/ "Why don't you sit down for a while?"

2.2.10 /ŕtko/ temporal
 /ŕtko ímame kŕla, nĕmame pári/ "Since we have had a car, we

have no money"

2.2.11 /*ótšo*/ comparative

/pó+arno ti da dójš *ótšo* jas/ "It's much nicer if you come
instead of me"

2.2.12 /póškjo/ causal

/tíe mi se bórtš, póškjo me "I owe them a lot because they
porástile/ brought me up"

2.2.13 /škjom, šom, tšim/ temporal

/škjom ke dójdiš ti, i níe ke "The moment you arrive, we shall
izlézime/ go out"

2.3 The interrogative adverbs (see Morphology 5.2.2.) and the relative pronouns, according to their meaning, are also used to introduce a relative clause. Examples:

/méstoto, kájšo go nájdomo "The place where we found the
késeto, e podáleko/ purse is further away"
/toj ne rábota káko níe/² "He does not work like us"
/mu ójde vo úmo, kákošo mu "What his mother had said to him
káza májka mu/ passed through his mind"
/kóšo i téra_a kónjite, drémka "As soon as they rode the horses,
go fáti/ he got sleepy"
/ná vetšer, kó_a ke se zástemni, "In the evening when it is getting
itš ne mi sé puli/ dark, I can't see anything"
/kó_a ke si ódvaš, sam ke si "When you go away, will you go
ódvaš, áli ke zémiš někoy za alone, or will you take somebody
kolándia?/ (with you) to Holland?"
/kóku se sédime, tóku bólni sme/ "The more we sit, the iller we are"
/kóliku lézna da spíe váka, i "As soon as he lay down to sleep,

² or /káko nas/, where /káko/ might be labelled a preposition.

mu dójde vo sóno .../
/zémaj si, šo ímaš/

he dreamt ..."
"Take with you what is yours"

3. Particles

Particles are non-inflected words which lack independent meaning and syntactic function. Their function is to modify the meaning of a word, a phrase or a sentence. Most particles are derived from (or are homonymous with) other words, such as conjunctions, adverbs and pronouns. We found the following particles in our material:

3.1 /*áli, dáli*/ non-obligatory interrogative particle

/áli dójde dēteto?/ or "Did the child come?"
/dáli dójde dēteto?/ or "Did you enjoy the rakia?"
/dójde dēteto?/
/dáli je béndisa rakíata?/

3.2 /*da*/ (see also 2.2.2.)

/da./ "Yes."
/da ne?/ "Isn't it?"

3.3 /*dúri*/

/náblizaf dúri do svéti náum/ "I even came near the church of
Sveti Naum"

3.4 /*éve, éne, éte*/

This particle is interesting because it expresses the semantic distinctions of proximity and distance. The formal means to express these distinctions are the same as those found in the article, in some of the pronouns and a few adverbs (see Morphology 2.2.2.)

/éve méstoto, kájšo móžime da "Here is the place where we can
se odmórimo/ have a rest" (relatively close)
/éne go tšóeko/ "There is the man" (relatively
far away)

- /éte tólkaf ímaše mras/ "There was that much snow!" (The informant indicated with her hand how much snow there was)
- /éte i/ "Here they are"
- 3.5 /i/ "too"
/i nfe béme órit/ "We too were in Ohrid"
- 3.6 /isto/ "too"
/jas isto ódam/ "I am going too"
- 3.7 /itš/ intensifies the negation
/itš ne mi sé sluša/ "He does not listen to me at all"
- 3.8 /ka/ only in postposition in words like /jáska/ "I", /óvdeka/ "here", /déneska/ "to-day"
- 3.9 /ke/ future particle, see section 5.
- 3.10 /na/
/ná tebe vódata/ "Here is the water you asked for"
- 3.11 /ne/ negative particle
/ne./ "No."
/toj ne e dójden/ "He didn't come"
The negative particle functions also as a constituent part of a few pronouns (see Morphology 2.6.10) and a few verbs (3.6.7.4).
- 3.12 /něka/
/něka spie/ "Let him sleep"
/něka zóvri vódata, ke slézam/ "Let the water boil, I'll come down"
/něka dójat/ "Let them come"
/otvoréte je vrátata, něka se "Open the door, let (the room) izladi trótška/ cool down a bit"
- 3.13 /ni/ intensifies the negation. It may be used together with /ne/, but in the present dialect /ni/, especially the repeated

- /ni... ni.../, is very frequently used independently to negate (more intensively) a sentence:
/ni tšera snóški vétšeraf, ni "I didn't eat a thing last night, séga, sámo édno káfe se sum and I'm still not eating, I only napfena, ni sákam níškjo/ took a cup of coffee, I don't want anything"
- /go zaprájme rútsheko, ke "We began to make dinner, (and úgasni strújata, i sétne šo then) there was a power cut, and da prájme, ka da ójme? ni na then what can we do, where can plin ímame, ni na níškjo. we go? We have no gas, nothing. mátsno/ It's hard."
- 3.14 /pa/
/a pa toj béše kftšmar/ "But he was an inn-keeper"
/ne móžam túka da dójdam, pa "I can't come here (to you), but éla si si dólú/ will you come down (to me)?"
/go iséko_g pa négo sétne/ "But finally they cut him to pieces"
- 3.15 /sámo/ "only"
/sámo toj znaj/ "Only he knows"

4. Interjections

A few of the interjections occurring in our material are listed below:

- 4.1 /bre/ mainly used with appeals or commands
/e, svínjare, bre, éla vámu/ "hey swineherd, come here"
/káko, bre, e táka?!/ "How (on earth) is it possible?!"
- 4.2. /haj, hájde, hájdeme/ a very frequently used exhortative interjection
/hájdeme f tsfkva/ "Let us go to church"

4.3 /lěle/ in exhortations, very often, though not always, used as a sigh:

/lěle, májko, těško mi e/	"Oh, mother, how hard it is for me"
/lěle, ónaj je rázgašken, mi e strám da se púlam/	"Oh, that (man) is only in his underpants, I am ashamed to look"
/lěle, zlátno těědo/	"Oh, what a sweet child"
/mámo, le, zóvre vódata/	"Oh, Mummy, the water is boiling"

4.4 /móre/ and /móri/ are especially used in interrogative sentences. This interjection distinguishes sex: /móre/ is used to a man, /móri/ to a woman:

/kokú mere, móre, ti?/	"What is your weight?"
/káj beše, móri?/	"Where have you been?"
/ěla vámu. Zóšo, móri? Ti trébam něškjo?/	"Come here. Why? Do you need me?"

4.5

/i áko/	"What does it matter?"
/gréota/	"It's a pity"
/strámota/	"It's a shame"
/na zdrávje/	"To your good health"
/spolájti/ or /fála/	"Thank you"
/zbógum/	"So long" or "Good-bye"
/zdrávo žívo/	"Hello"
/nósi mu zdrávo žívo/	"Give him my compliments"
/bújrum/ or /pójli/	invitation to eat and drink
/móži/	"perhaps"
/děmek/ or /znátši/	"so" expletives
/airlia/	"Good luck" or "Greetings"

5. Forms and use of the complex tenses of the verb

In the present dialect the following sets of complex verb forms exist:

1. the l-participles + a finite form of the auxiliary verb "to be"
2. the past passive participle + a finite form of the auxiliary

verb "to be"

3. the past passive participle + a finite or non-finite form of the auxiliary verb "to have"
4. the future particle /ke/ + a finite or non-finite form of a verb.

5.1 The l-participle + "to be"

These forms consist of a present or imperfect tense form of the verb "to be" and an l-participle. In the 3rd person singular and plural the auxiliary "to be" is omitted.

In principle there are four different l-participles: aorist- and imperfect-participles of both the imperfective and perfective aspects. The imperfect participle of the perfective aspect is used only after certain conjunctions and particles (see below 5.4.2.). The use of the aorist participle of the imperfective aspect is limited to very few verbs (see examples below). The other two participles (the aorist participle of the perfective aspect and the imperfect participle of the imperfective aspect) are more freely used although not very frequently.

The meaning of the forms containing an l-participle is described by Lunt by the term "distancing"³: "an action viewed as distanced in time or reality. This may be realized in two ways. The speaker may be disclaiming responsibility for the accuracy of the statement by specifying that he was not a witness to the event, or he may be stating an action which started or took place in the past, but which is still relevant at the moment of utterance." In our dialect it is the latter of the two realizations formulated by Lunt which is present in most of the examples in our material:

aorist participle of the imperfective aspect:

/nie sne jále/	"We have (already) eaten"
/si óšol skópje?/	"Have you (ever) gone to Skopje?"
/óšla táā támu?/	"Has she (ever) gone there?"

³ Lunt 1952:91; cf. also Hendriks 1976:223

aorist participle of the perfective aspect:

/sme pádnaľe ód drvo/	"We have fallen from a tree"
/jas sum go pródal/	"I have sold it"
/toj mi úkradil pári ód mene/	"He has stolen money from me"
/móre, se zapálila korfana/	"The forest (far away) is on fire"
/édna ríba béše ízlegla ná suo/	"A fish had come out of the water on to the dry land"

imperfect participle of the imperfective aspect:

/sum jáel mnógu úboǔ/	"I have eaten very well"
/toj némal kásmet/	"He was not very lucky"
/toj né bil kasmétlia/	"He was not a lucky person"
/éden drúgar šo je znáel, óti si ímala šváľer ánkata négoǔ/	"A friend of his, who seemed to know that his wife had a lover"
/dáli si bíľ vo skópje?/	"Have you (ever) been to Skopje?"

5.2 The past passive participle + "to be"

The past passive participle is mainly formed from perfective verbs, but this participle formed from imperfective verbs also occurs. The p.p.p. agrees in number and gender with the subject of the sentence; it is accompanied by the auxiliary "to be" in the present or imperfect tense (and in rare cases in the future tense).

The p.p.p., in combinations with the auxiliary "to be", may be formed from transitive as well as intransitive verbs. When the p.p.p. is formed from transitive verbs, the meaning of the forms is passive or reflexive. Examples of this construction formed from transitive verbs are:

/dřvoto dójseno e/	"The fire-wood has been brought"
/ne móžam da dóǔm, ne mi e dosnójno/	"I can't come, because I have not finished making the warp"
/tšášata je íspíena/	"The glass has been emptied"
/óftsíte se ízmózeni/	"The sheep have been milked"
/alıškjeto obéšeno e/	"The clothes have been hung up"
/rétšeno béše, da bídi/	"It has been said, that it will be"
/tája mnógu béše sakaldísana, mi se víde/	"She was very nervous, it seemed to me"

/páto béše zápren/	"The road was closed"
/údren sum/	"I have bumped myself"

The meaning of a past passive participle, especially when formed from imperfective verbs, is very close to the meaning of an adjective, but there is a slight difference. Compare:

/káfeto mléno e/	"The coffee has been ground",
where the form /mléno/ is a p.p.p. (of the imperfective aspect); we are informed about the fact that the coffee in question no longer needs the action of grinding, because it has already undergone this action;	
/káfeto e méľeno/	"The coffee is ground",
where the form /méľeno/ is an adjective; it expresses a constant quality of this coffee: the coffee is ground coffee.	

Other examples of the p.p.p. of imperfective verbs are:

/veléntseto je tkájno/	"The rug has been woven"
/mándžata várena e/	"The food has been cooked"

The past passive participle is also formed from intransitive verbs. The meaning of the participles remains active⁴. Examples:

/toj né beše dójden od rábota/	"He had not (yet) come back from work"
/ízľezen je/	"He has gone out"
/násedén sum/	"I am sitting"
/náspan sum/	"I have had a long sleep"
/tséľa nokj né sum span/	"I have not slept the whole night"
/ostájna sum bész maš/	"I was left behind without a husband"
/namóšajn béše/	"You were all goose-flesh"
/ti ke bídiš si ójden/	"You will have gone"
/rútšan sum/	"I have (already) dined"
/se narútšani sme/	"We have eaten our fill"
Compare also:	
/si ódat ne rúťšani/	"They go home without having eaten"

⁴ Cf. Lunt 1952:98 and Hendriks 1976:226

We found a few examples of a past passive participle formed from a transitive verb, its meaning being active. The form may take a direct object:

/nĕ sne jādĕni/	"We have eaten"
/ĕdno káfe se sum napĭena/	"I have drunk one cup of coffee"
/sĭte bĕā pĭeni/	"Everybody had drunk (too much)"

Compare:

/sĭte bĕā pĭani/	"Everybody was drunk",
------------------	------------------------

where the form /pĭani/ is an adjective.

5.3 The past passive participle + "to have"

The form of the past passive participle in this construction is always the form of the singular/neuter. The auxiliary /ĭma/ may be of the present or imperfect tense or the 1-participle. The negative counterpart /nĕma/ is also used in these constructions.

This complex form is formed from transitive as well as intransitive verbs, from the imperfective as well as the perfective aspect. Examples:

/ĭmaš bĭdĕno skōpje?/	"Have you been in Skopje?"
/nĕmaf bĭdĕno skōpje/	"I had not been in Skopje"
/ĭma fátĕno lōšo vrĕme/	"The weather has become bad"
/sámo dvá pati ĭmame ōjĕno vo prĕtor/	"We have only been twice to Pretor"
/ĭmam tšĕno, ōti .../	"I have heard that ..."
/toj mu ĭmal narĕĕno, ōti .../	"He had arranged that ..."
/ĭmeto go ĭmaš pĭsano?/	"Have you written the name?"

Note a sentence like:

/jas ĭmam brat ōmreno/	lit.: "I have a brother died"
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A sentence like this may be formed by analogy with sentences such as the last one.

5.4 /ke/ + indicative

5.4.1 /ke/ + a present tense form (perfective or imperfective) denotes future tense, i.e. an action which is expected to take place at a moment after the moment of speech. Examples:

/ke ōdam ná niva/	"I shall go to the field"
/ke se pōpraj vrĕmeto/	"The weather will grow better"
/ke ti i ĭzvaam katnĭtsite/	"I'll knock your teeth out"
/áko ke jāj rákata, ĭzdrpaj/	"When your hand itches, scratch"
/so vēštātško gĭbre ke se ĭsposni zĕmjata/	"With artificial fertilizers the soil will become poor"

5.4.2 /ke/ + an imperfect tense form (both of the perfective and and the imperfective aspects) may denote:

1. a habitual action in the past:

/ke ōeme tsfkva, ke pĕše pōpo, ... , i pōpo ke go ffleše kfsto vo vĭro, .../	"We would go to church, the pope would sing, ..., and the pope would throw the cross into the pool, ..." (See ch.5, text no.1)
--	--

2. an action in the past whose fulfilment depends on a past condition, which need not be expressed:

/toj ke posĕdeše áko ĭmaše vrĕme/	"He used to sit down for a while if he had time"
/ke ni bĕše mnōgu pōlesno/	"It would be much easier for us"

5.4.3 /ke/ + an aorist form

There is one example in our material of the particle /kĕ/ followed by an aorist form. This construction indicates a habitual action that is past with regard to another action which only takes place on fulfilment of the first action:

/kōā ke ōdri trí pati kambánata, tšōek ke ōmre, za da znaj tsĕlo sĕlo/	"When the bell rings (present tense) three times, somebody has died (/ke/+aorist), so the whole village knows"
--	--

5.4.4 /ke/ + an 1-participle

We found one case of the particle /ke/ combined with an 1-participle. The form expresses a possible action (situation) in the future, whereas the speaker disclaims responsibility for the accuracy of the statement (see 5.1):

/ŭtre vāka ke bĭlo vrĕmeto, televizōr kāza, ŭtre vāka/	"To-morrow the weather would be the same, the TV said, to-morrow the same"
--	--

5.4.5 The functions of /ke/ in sentences like those given above may be taken over by the conjunction /da/, when in addition to those functions, subordination is to be expressed:

/sákaf da dǒef, áma ne dǒjdof/ "I wanted to come, but I didn't come",

which may be compared to:

/ke dǒef, áma ne dǒjdof/ "I would have come, but I didn't"

and:

/sákaf da dǒjdam/ "I wanted to come"

In the latter sentence it is not stated whether the action of coming is fulfilled or not.

CHAPTER 5

T E X T S

0. Introduction

The texts reproduced here are from several informants, all natives of the village of Dihovo. The texts 9 - 12 are by Stojče Ilievski. These texts were recorded during a session arranged especially for this purpose. All the other texts were recorded during normal conversations. This explains why some of the texts have a rather abrupt beginning.

The texts are written in phonemic transcription. Phonemes, which are omitted in the pronunciation (see below the notes on external sandhi) are put in brackets (), additions for the sake of clarity are put in square brackets [].

1. Notes on external sandhi

We have tried to describe here a few neutralizations and alternations which may take place when certain sounds are in direct contact across a word boundary. Some of those neutralizations and alternations do not differ from those which occur in internal sandhi position, i.e. within the boundaries of a word but across a morpheme boundary. An important difference, however, between the internal and external sandhi position is that the neutralizations and alternations in the former position are obligatory, whereas they are optional in the latter.

Vowels

1.1 When two identical vowels are in direct contact, as a rule only one is realized (cf. Phonology 4.1.1.):

/s(i) idi/ "(he) comes home"
/zém(i) i orějte/ "take the walnuts"
/jas (i) izlagaf/ "I deceived them"
/g(o) ópekof zělniko/ "(I) baked the pie"

1.2 When /e/ is the first of two vowels in direct contact, it is often not realized:

/s(e) ópasaf/ "(I) put on (my apron)"
/da t(e) ístera/ "to throw you out"

The same may also happen with other vowels, but less frequently:
/m(u) ójde v(o) úmo/ "it passed through his mind"

1.3 When /i/ is one of two vowels in direct contact, it may be realized as [j] (cf. Phonology 3.2.3, 3.2.4 and 3.3.2):

/ná ime/ "by name"
/izějte i/ "eat them up"
/si ójdeno/ "go home"

When /e/ follows /k/ (or /g/; see Phonology 2.9.3) and is followed by a vowel, then it may also be realized as [j]:
/ke ójme/ "we shall go"

1.4 The sequence /oa/ may be not realized before a following vowel:

/k(oa) úmre májka/ "when mother died"

Consonants

1.5 When two identical consonants are in direct contact across a word boundary only one may be realized (cf. Phonology 4.4):

/si ópasa(f) fútata/ "(I) put on (my) apron"
/ja(s) s(e) izlagaf/ "I was mistaken"
/ja(s) spíam/ "I sleep"
/o(d) dāmno vréme/ "for a long time" (see below 1.6)

/děse(t) dni/ "ten days"
/o(t) tšělik/ "of steel"
/ostá(j) je tšášata/ "leave the glass (alone)"
/ne se úba(j) jabókata/ "the apples are not good"

When /t d/ are followed by a palatalized /k g/ they may not be realized (cf. Phonology 2.9.3 and 4.4):

/děse(t) kíla/ "ten kilo"

1.6 The rules for neutralization and alternation as formulated in the chapter on Phonology, sections 6.1.2, 6.1.3 and 6.2.10, also apply to consonants in external sandhi position provided, of course, there is no pause between the two words concerned. The corresponding archiphonemes will be written in the texts only when prepositions are involved. Prepositions form a close unit with the following word(s). For this reason these neutralizations occur very frequently in prepositions:

/beš tšórap*i*/ "without stockings"
/ot kúkjata/ "from the house"
/od glúftsite/ "from the mice"
/pred bóžikj/ "before Christmas"
/pred véligden/ "before Easter"
/pret pójdělnik/ "before Monday"

See for more examples also Syntax, section 1.

2.1 There is a remarkable difference in the possible realizations of:

/koj ke/ → [koj t*e*] "who" + future particle, and
/kóa ke/ → [koj t*e*], [ko t*e*], [kóo t*e*] or [koa t*e*] "when" + future particle (cf. Phonology 2.9.4.)

The following may have homonymous realizations:

/jas (i) izlagaf/ "I deceived them" and
/ja(s) s(e) izlagaf/ "I was mistaken";
and
/jas píam/ "I drink" and
/ja(s) spíam/ "I sleep"

Strétselo, znajš šó et? Vó strede séloto káko óndeka kaj komúnata¹ ni béše strétselo. Gólemo váka², i ko(á) ke dóeše Vélígden, tógaj trí dni, ko(á) né beá dójdeni partizánite, i níe trí dni, ótko ke rútsame, ke svírat svírki, ke ígrame. Tam(u) ígrame, e, sóbor fáten³, i to go véleme strétselo. "Kaj ke ójte?" "Na strétselo ke ójme." Ígraá. To go véleme strétselo. To e na Vélígden, na Bóžikj, na Vóditsi, síte práznitsi, tógaj kog(a) i džžeme, kóga ne béme komunísti. Ísto na Bóžikj, áko béše ládno⁴: trí dni ke óme tsrkva ránoto⁵ na Bóžikj. Ke si dóeme dóma, ke rútsame, ke stóreme⁶, i po rútskek, áko ne vrneše nógu⁷, ke fátea mláдите strétselo i ke ójme, ke púleme. Tríte dni, sétne Vóditsi, ko(á) frleme křsto vo víro. Póbrgu kópame váka vir váka, gólem vir kópa(á), ke je púškja(á) vódata i káko déneska⁸ béše né+jatka véleme, a útre⁹ Vóditsi, i ke óeme tsrkva, pópo ke péeše, ke kúpame ónie ikónite, ke i pazárvaá kólku pári i ke dávame pári, i so ikónite ke óeme kaj víro i ke zastáneme ókolu na ókolu, pópo ke péeše, i nékoj od mláдите, i pópo ke go frleše křsto vnátre vo víro, i ke se lúpnea, da go bára(á), koj ke go náeše křsto. I ke go nájde křsto, i ke ízleze, ke ónegva¹⁰, pópo ke prřska vóda, ke stóřva¹¹, ke mu bátsa(á) na pópo ráka i sétne ke se si óde(á) i tíe ke se preslétše(á) i ní(s) selo ke šétaá so křsto i pári ke dávame. Vóditsi ní(e) i vélime. To e po Bóžikj, na dve nédeli po Bóžikj, svéti Jon go vélime níe to, a níe vélime Vóditsi, ti kážvam. Dvá dni džžime. Po Bóžikj na nedélata, áli e nóva gódina nášata, né e óva šo je prájme na óva gódina, nášata nóva gódina Vasíľitsa je vélime níe. Tógaj práeme¹² zéľnitsi níe síte i klávame pára vo zéľnitsite. Ke kláeme stótka, dve stótki, i ke go napráeme zéľniko, i ke je píknime váka párata, i ko(á) ke rútsame síte i ke je zémime teptsíata, pe(t) dúši sme níe, pe(t) déloj váka ke sétšime, i éden za kúkjata. I ke je klájme ná masa, ke je zavřtime trí pati teptsíata. I sékoj délo ke si go zémi i vo koj ke bídi délo párata, i síte ke go bárame i na toj, koj ke bídi párata, domákino ke stáni, ke mu bátsi ráka, ke mu dájme pári. Toj ke vélime strekjáolia et. Párata je nájde. I sétne po nóva gódina, táka po Vasíľitsa, sétne na nédeľa ni se Vóditsi nam, na dve nédeli po Bóžikj. Áma séga zapústime Vóditsi i se, sega né

znaat, séga ódat na rábota. Tógaj dvá dni džžeme, trí dni na Vélígden ígrame; trí dni Bóžikj, dvá dni Vóditsi, sétne ke dóeše trí dni Vélígden, sétne Gjurgjóf den, e séga na šésti, Gjurgjóf den na šésti ke bídi. Ódat Trno¹³, íma tsrkva.

Trifun Piánitsa sjétško¹⁴ et. I zaréžvame lóžjata. Tógaj ke zéme(á) éden krs, ód drvo ke go napráeme so ržéjntsa, so púftšia sétio. I ke mu dáeme, ke opétséme méso, ke mu dáeme víno, édno šíše rákia i ke púškeme v lóžje, i ke zaréže(á), Trifun Piánitsa. I ke i zaréže(á) lóžjata. I támu ke píe(á) síte, ke storva(á), i si dójdo(á) píani tógaj.

Séga f tsrkva rétko ódat. Íde(á) édno vréme, ti kážvam, ko(á) né be(á), ko(á) né beme komunísti. Tógaj na sékoj práznik, séko nédeľa ímaše pop. Séko nédeľa ímame slúžba, d(a) ódime tsrkva. Áma séga na godínata édnaš, áli ójme, áli ne. Níe, ótko ójdome Bítoľa¹⁵, nam pop néidi dóma da ni křskja vóda, i ójme níe; koá béme túka¹⁶, Vláde níkako pop ne pribéřeše; májka ko(á) je zakópame, k(oa) úmre májka, Vláde né beše túka. Zá to zédomo pop. Áko béše Vláde túka, pop nékeše, nékeše pop Vláde. I Dánitsa ne je púškeše tsrkva da ój. I níti Mísa, níti Spáše, níkako. Nam Mísa i Spáše ni se skříšem, bész da znaj Vláde, křsteni, sámó Dánitsa i jas. Ke ójme¹⁷ ná mesto Bítoľa so máľoto, ke rétséme: bóľno e máľoto. I ke óeme, i ke je víkneme núnkata. Ke mu kážeme vétšerta, útre da doj Bítoľa, i ke ójme skříšem Bítoľa, ke go křsteme i bész da znaj Vláde. I káko, ko(á) znáeše Vláde, ke ne tépaše. Áma jas mu rékof: "Túrtsi jas dóma né džžam ne křsteni!" I křsteni se, séga znáat, óti se křsteni. E, Vláde ne prášvaše édnaš, véli: "Křsteni se détsata áli ne?" "Ne!" "Móri," véli, "víe ímate skříšem skřsteno." "Šo," mu véľam, "ímame skříšem; túrtsi dóma ke džžime!", mu véľam, "ti né si křsten?" "Křsten sum." "E, ko(á) si křsten, šo zbóraš? E, i křstif. Móžiš da me zákoliš? Ne móžiš." I séga otk(o) ójme Bítoľa, dva páti ni křskja¹⁸ vóda pópo, dóma néidi, za Vélígden i za Bóžikj, néidi. Dóma¹⁹ ke ni káži na vétšerta, óti služítelo ke pómini, útre pópo ke křskja vóda. Níe ke si klajm(e) édna pájntsa vóda i s(i) ímame váka, káko kadéľnitsi, si klájme žar, témjan, i ke doj pópo, pómini váka, ke mu dájme, ke ni křsti vóda. A óvde²⁰ ko(á) bef, níkako né smeef, óti ke go vídeá komší(i)te. Séga Bítoľa néma²¹. Grát jet. Óvde e sélo.

¹community building ²the informant indicates with her hands how large the place is where the /strétselo/ was held ³"the feast having begun" ⁴"even if it were cold" ⁵cf. Morphology 2.2.3. ⁶"to make, do"; imperfect of the perfective aspect. The verb here, and in other places, is used as an expletive ⁷a doublet form of /mnógu/ ⁸this story was told to us on a /né+jatka/ "a fasting-day before a church festival" ⁹the day after, adv. ¹⁰an expletive verb ¹¹"to make, do" imperfective aspect, see note ⁶; ¹²this part of the story was told in the imperfect tense (of the perfective as well as imperfective aspect); a few lines further on the story-teller changes to the future tense ¹³the village of Trnovo ¹⁴February ¹⁵the story-teller has been living in Bitola for a couple of years now ¹⁶the village of Dihovo is meant here ¹⁷imperfect tense ¹⁸aorist form of an imperfective verb ¹⁹in Dihovo ²⁰in Bitola ²¹this no longer exists.

Text no. 2

Ko(ǎ) béme na Světi Náum, ne ..., ke t(e) izlažef, ne na Světi Náum, ójdome vo, ónavo¹, Prétor. I k(oǎ) óeme kóntaki, rétše váka Vlåde: "Ímame za bėnzín," rétše, "da ójme i da se vrátíme." I ne túrime, k(oǎ) ójdome. Ko(ǎ) vat(e) éden grat támu, éden doš mnógu, i síte s(e) ispúškia, óti ...; ko(ǎ) kę e úboǒ vrėmeto, někoj pónapret ke si ój, někoj pónazat, a níe tšékame, da s(e) otinátaǎ kólite, i sétne da se si² ójme. I ko(ǎ) s(e) údre toj grádo, toj dóžgjo, i síte náednaš, ot Prétor, ot Otěševo, o(t) Tsárina, síte, kóga dójdome túka kaj Réšen, kóga dójdome na toj páto, znajš, kaj se děli páto, kako se věli tíe, mátasi, túka, kájšo se patíškjata za kon Réšen, údulu se ój Réšen, vámu se ódi za Prétor i za Otěševo, óttuva sétne ko(ǎ) fátíme, le le le le le, kóli, éte, váka béǎ kólite, ja³, éte tólku íma město ot kólite. Níkako da ne móžime, ódi, ódi, zástani. "Haj," rétše Vlåde, "šo prájme?" rétše. Znajš, táka, ko(ǎ) ke ně teraš, góri bėnzino. "Šo prájme?" rétše, kę ostánime ná pat, bėnzín némame," rétše, "kę izgori. Šo prájme sétne níe?" Se trǎname ná strana, se parkírame. Někoj dva sáti, áli tri sáti béme parkírani, dúri da pómínat tsěli kóli, da pómínat da s(e) otnáteše trótška, da se, da onėgvame⁴.

I éden drúgar drúgi na Vlåde, níe go tšínime⁵, óti si ójde drúgaro, i toj parkíran. I sédome, sédome, sédome na édno město,

dva sáti sédome. "Haj, trǎname!" Trǎname, k(oǎ) ójdome váka máltse, ko(ǎ) go púlíme drúgaro na Vlåde, i toj parkíran. I pak sétne i níe, túva nínata kóla, pótaki pa i níe se parkírame, i sédome, sédome, sédome, dúri do většerta sédome, i sétne si dójme kónvaki. Óti ko(ǎ) kę óeme póleka, ódi-zástani, ódi-zástani, ke n(i) izgóreše bėnzino, ke ne móžeše, da si dóeme. I táka.

¹expletive ²Both short forms of the reflexive pronoun /se/ and /si/ are frequently used as expletives (see Morphology 2.6.3.) ³interjection ⁴an expletive verb ⁵we thought [him] that

Text no. 3

Sétne patíškjata mǎznat mnógu, sétne e stúdeno, óvde kaj Pélister¹. Óvde, znajš, dřva trėba da izgoriš, da go zátopliš óva². Sétne kóla, áko vǎti da zámzrni kóla, ne móžiš da j(e) izvajš níkako. Znajš, óti tsěla zíma níe kólata ne izvádome itš, itš. Éden mras, éte tólkaf d(a) ímaše³. Níkako ne móžeme da j(e) izvájme kólata. Édni mrázoj, túva kaj ta džamíata, váka, níkako da ne móžime da [je izvájme] kólata.

Úmre n(a) óvoj na Átse tátko mu. A éden mras šo ímaše, éte, tólku. A jas móram da dójdam. Túka níe sme ródnina, stríko mi e. Pěški ne móžam da dójdam, a kólata náša ne móžeme da j(e) izvájme. Éden drúgar na Tóme, ózdola, dójde, ne zéde i ne dójse do Dómo⁴. Do Dómo so tšúžgja kóla dójdome. So náša kóla ne. I sétne je páleše [kólata] do někó vrėme Tóme táka, na městoto je páleše. Ot někó vrėme sétne úgasna, s(e) ísprazna toj⁵, so šo se páli kólata, s(e) ísprazna. Sétne ne móžeme, póftor go izvádome da vídiš⁶; tsěla zíma kóla ne izvádome níe. Óvde kaj Pélister, Pélister je óvdeka. Da ně retši góspo tákva zíma⁷. Mnógu lóšo béše láni. Édni zími máltse snek ke zavrneše, vo Bítola édna gódina ke popřskaše, déneska ke popřskaše, útre ke stáneše⁸, némaše tákvi zími. Godínava zíma, da ne móžime d(a) izlėzime, so tšělta s(e) otėpame, óti tólku, éte tólku mrázoj, šo béǎ.

¹this is the name of the mountains round about ²the living-room of the house where we were sitting ³This is how much (snow) there was (she indicates with

her hand) ⁴community building in the village ⁵the story teller meant the battery, but didn't know the word ⁶"in order to see what is wrong with the car" ⁷a set expression to emphasize one's words ⁸anacolouthon; here is meant: one day it will rain/snow just a little bit, the next day it will stop again.

Text no. 4

Mítrovden¹ ko(ā) ke bérime kómpir, Mítrovden, to e ko(ā) ke zapostúvame za Bóžikj. Znajš, kóku íma [nédeli] od Mítrovden: od Ílinden, od nékni², od Ílinden, ko(ā) béše, ko(ā) si ójše Trno³, e, to e: od Ílinden do Křstovden šes nédeli, ot Křstovden do Mítrovden šes nédeli, se⁴ tri mésetsi, pak šes nédeli. Úše ímame, réťšisi, úše dva mésetsa, réťšisi, ímame, i pol, póke do Mítrovden.

Za Bóžikj pósteme šes nédeli. Áma ne póstime, séga ne póstime. Mřsime. Za Véliġden pósteme i tógaj sédum nédeli, tšetriése déna pósteme; ko(ā) ke zapósteme⁵, póstime za Véliġden, sétne póstime za Bóžikj, a séga póstime za Bogorójtša, séga tórník ke zapóstime za Bogorójtša. Bogorójtša e na dvájset i ósmi, áma ti ke bídiš si ójden, dvájset i ósmi. Ámi póstime do Bogorójtša dve nédeli; tóku se pósti, áma pak ne póstat, mláďite né postat. Ne za níškjo⁶ ne zapostúvame, i káj vas ísto e táka. Ne se póst(i) itš.

Nie, ótko e dóen Stójtše⁷, ótko go ímame zémemo Stójtše, kaj nas póstenje ne sé posti⁸. Jas po édna nédeľa za Véliġden póstat, ko(ā) ke zapóstime édna nédeľa, prvata nédeľa, édna nédeľa pred Véliġden. Táka, áma sámó jáska, i Dánitsa néškjo ne mřsime. Ko(ā) mřsat, ko(ā) ke ja(ā)t sírenje, ko(ā) ke ja(ā)t mléko, ko(ā) ke ja(ā)t drúgi ráboti, móžiš ti vo édna kúġja na dvé mesta da gótviš?

Édno vréme, kóku pósteme, édno vréme, kákva rábota rábotame, so mášina níškjo ne rábotame, se žníeše so ráka, se kópaše kómpir so ráka, se prášeše, se ġrleše, lóġja, ámi vo lóġja, Véliġden, síte pósti, i kópame lóġjata so díkli. Tsélo vréme da⁹ kópaš sabájle, ko(ā) ke ójme da porúťšame so píper, nápraj¹⁰, túri vo édna pájntša tro máslo, píper, klaj tro vóda, máka, i háġde [ke rábotaš] do rúťšek; na rúťšek ke ni dójse(ā) gra. Póсно, áli gra, áli néškjo drúgo, néškjo ke napráe(ā), áli kómpir so máslo, to

ke napráeā. Tsel den káko¹¹ kópame. Ámi séga šo? Kompírite so kónġite i prášat, so kónġite i ġrlat, so mášini žniat, níškjo séga. Áma nie mnógu béme máťšni. Nie sékoġ den, némaše váka sednúvanje¹². Kaj móġeme da sédneme nie? Kóku¹³ ke dožníeme¹⁴, kóku ke doprášeme, ke pótšnime da ġrleme. Kóā ke doġrľime, ke pótšnime da žníeme, da žníeme, koā ke dožníeše, ódma ke váteme da vřšeme¹⁵ so kónġo, óno káko Tóde. So kónġi, nékoġ déset vráoġ, nékoġ petnáġse, kóku kak(o) ímaše, ke vřšeme. Slámġeto ke i klávame, i sétne ke pótšneme po níġġeto da vádeme kómpiri, da stórvame¹⁶, ġráoġ ke béreme, ke tšúkame, ke stórvame, tséla góġina nie ótpred Véliġden, ko(ā) ke izľéġeme¹⁷, do Bóžikj da zapóstime, nie vo kúġja ne móġeme da se sobéreme, ne móġeme da sméteme. I ne móġeme da s(e) izmíeme nie od ráboti, ámi séga rábota¹⁸? Rábota véter séga. Káko se rábotame, táka i ímame, né ímame pa néškjo, se¹⁹ kúpame, né ímame, ni grá ni se práġ²⁰, éden kómpir šo se práġ, ni grá ni se práġ, ni píperki ni se práat, ni krómit, se kúpame. Se²¹ sme na párata. Ízlezi²² déneska, ná pazar ódi, déset íľġadi²³ zémi ja²⁴, né vrati dóma. Níšġjo. Lep si zéla, mléko si zéla, níškjo za rúťšek si zéla²⁵, níškjo, déset íľġadi, níškjo. Góľema skáġia, ne móġime d(a) izľéġime, zóškjo! Šo ké prajš! Móraš. A sme so détsa góľemi, tíe báraā. Mísa ováj mesets, móġi, dvéste íľġadárki ne própaste²⁶. Sándalki kúpe, fústan sóši, súkna sóši, drúgi fústan íma da se šíe, a séga fárměrki ónegva. Tšéera édna kóšula, Spáse né žnaj, ke ne ótepa, áko žnaj, édna kóšula je nóseše édna žéna o(t) Túrtšia, háġde, i na déset íľġadi je kúpime. Tšúpe sáka da nósi. Móda. Táka. Détsata, ko(ā) béā máli, nie i móġeme pári d(a) atirísame. Nie rábotame túka, i Dánitsa rábotaše vo koľetívo, i détsata máli, máľetško²⁷ beā, móġeme i pári d(a) atirísame, séga éden dínar ne móġime. Véli²⁸: "Za Kolándia nékiš, Stójtše, nékiš da dójdiš?" Áma ni(e) ne móġime d(a) atirísame. Ne víkaā drúgari na Stójtše vo Bugária za da ódat na móre, áli vo ġřtsia. "Káj možam," véli Stójtše, "jas sope(t) dúši, kaj móġam da atirísam?" véli. "Dvéste, trístá íľġadi tréba, trístá íľġadárki tréba tšetvóritša. E, kaj móġam?" véli. "Sétne tíe mésetsi, ko(ā) ke dójme dóma, da drémime²⁹. Ne móġime." Mu se ľúteše drúgar mu, ámi drúgar mu mu se máli détsata. Sétne toġ si rábota prívatno dogramáďġia. Praġ váka krédentsi, zémva mnógu, skápo se tíe. I mu se ľúteše, óti néġdi.

"Káj³⁰ možam," mu véli, "jas da dójdam? Káj možam? Ědno, bába tréba da j(e) ostájme, stára e, dóma. Šo znájme," véli, "vo éden mésets, šo mu se slútšva?" véli, "áli se póbolva, áli se stórva, to ne móžime," véli. "I sětne," véli, "jas káj imam trístá íljadi, tšetrístótin(i) íljadi," véli, "úkupno da dám," ámi drva šo zédome³¹. Dvéste íljadárki ni fátia drvata³². Dvéste íljadárki, za sětšenje báška, po dve í pol íljadi, sédum kúbitsi po dve í pol íljadi; ámi tríseset i pet kíla sírenje zédome, i támu dádomo sto i šé+ese, sto i sedúmdese íljadi, ámi tíe pári se od édna pláta³³; Dánitsa ne e plátenu mnógu. Na Dánitsa sto i dvájs(e) íljadi. I lóša rábota. Áma šo da prájme, tri sme dóma, šo da prájme! Lóša rábota, mnógu e lóša rábota. Níe, jas i dénje i nóke plátšam, áma šo da prájme, kóga tšúpeto ne móžime da go zapóslime³⁴. Tri na édna pláta móžime da držime? Pet dúši? I káj da je púškime Mísa³⁵? Skópje da je púškime? Tréba támu da je píšime žítel na Skópje³⁶, óttuva tréba da s(e) ótpiši. Váka da je púškime, támu ne móži. Sámo da bídi támu vo trúdo, káko támošna da je píšime³⁷. Rékome, za da je púškime Skópje kaj vújko mu, kaj vnuk. Rékome, da je púškime támu, móži da i se náj rábota, áma tréba óttuka da je od+jávime. Támu da se príavi káko žítel támu da bídi na Skópje. E, gréota, da je izvájme, ni máženo, níškjo, da go odvájme tšúpeto³⁸. I níe toj vek, séga táka da go púškime³⁹. Káko ke go púškime tšúpeto, níkako, káko, kontróla ke néma níkako. Né e táka? Ženski⁴⁰ e. Né e káko víe, vo óna Kolándia, káko, níškjo. I záto(á) majka mu e púškenu na rabótata. Májka mu né beše púškenu na rábota. I táka. Ne móžime tšúpeto da je⁴¹ zapóslime. Áma gólemi mástravi. Níe sětne mnógu tšejs mu dávame. Ko(á) ke se máži, stvári mnógu mu dávame. Dvéte pernítšia, šo i púškite, dvéte i náveza, i dvéte, véli, se zá mene.

Téško. Tšúpeto da béše⁴², áli da go mážime, áli da se zapósléše. Ke ni béše mnógu pólesno. Áma nam ni e téško. Sáka mnógu⁴³. Ne móžime da je zapóslime. Gólem tróšok ímame. Túku zdrávje. Ke se pómini. Sámo lúgeto da se zdrávi.

¹2nd of November, according to the new calendar ²It was two days after the republican (and church-) festival of Ilinden, the 2nd of August, that this story was recorded ³(Ilinden)"this was when you went to (the village of) Trnovo "all together" ⁵"when (every time) we began to fast (imperfect

tense of a perfective verb), we fast (present tense) for Easter, ..." ⁶not for a single feast-day ⁷son-in-law of the story teller. They live together in the house ⁸"there is no fasting" ⁹in a conditional sense ¹⁰the imperative forms are sometimes used as here to denote a habitual situation: "You used to" ¹¹and how! ¹²there was no time to sit down as we are doing here now ¹³as soon as ¹⁴imperfect tense of a perfective verb (twice), followed by a future tense and, in subordination, an imperfect tense of an imperfective verb ¹⁵imperfect tense of a perfective verb, followed by another imperfect tense of a perfective verb and, in subordination, an imperfect tense of an imperfective verb ¹⁶an expletive ¹⁷"when we used to leave (the houses after the long winter)" ¹⁸"what does work mean nowadays?" ¹⁹"everything" ²⁰these sentences are negated by the particle /ni/ only (cf. note ²⁵) ²¹"we all" ²²"if you go out nowadays..." (cf. note ¹⁰) ²³old dinars ²⁴interjection (?) ²⁵this sentence is negated by the indefinite pronoun /níškjo/ only ²⁶"M. ruined us this month 200,000 (old dinars)" The verb is transitive and governs two direct objects; compare text no. 5, note ⁶ ²⁷this form must be regarded a slip of the tongue, it should be /máletški/ (?) ²⁸"someone asked Stojtše" ²⁹literally "slumber", i.e. be without money ³⁰"how" ³¹"the firewood which we bought" ³²lit."the firewood took (= cost) us two hundred thousand" ³³"but all that money must be paid from one person's earnings" ³⁴"to find her a job" ³⁵"and where can we send her (to find work)" ³⁶"she must then be registered as a citizen of Skopje" ³⁷"she must have a job there, if she wants to get registered there" ³⁸"it's not right to send her (an unmarried girl) away"and "it's not correct to send the(little) girl away"; the form /máženo/ apparently corresponds with /tšúpe/ ³⁹"and we in our time...", but now it is so, that we shall send her away" ⁴⁰to be expected was a fem. or ntr. form; cf. note ²⁷ ⁴¹on the one hand the story teller uses the neuter noun /tšúpe/ "little girl", on the other a feminine form of the personal pronoun, because it concerns a girl who is already grown up ⁴²/da/ in a conditional sense: "given the fact that it is a girl, she must either get married or find herself a job" ⁴³"she wants/needs a lot"

Text no. 5

Mrtva sábotá¹ šó e? Níe pred Mítrovden édna mrtva sábotá prájme, i pret Pókladi², ko(á) zapostúvame za Vélígdén. Pret Pókladi je prájme mrtva sábotá. E, zadúšnitsa³, na gróbiškja ójme. I ke si

sprémime dóma, tšéjntsa ke si svárimo, ke sprémimo, lep, sírenje, šo ímaš, se. Ke naprájme néškjo i si ójme na gróbiškja. I pópo ke dójdi, ke ni spěj za mřtvite, i sětne ke si razdávame⁴. To e mřtva sábotá. Na vétšerta ójme vo tsřkvata, so blut, sámó so tšéjntsa, i litúrgia. Ójme f tsřkva, na vétšerta vo pétoko, na vétšerta, ójme f tsřkva i spévame. A na útrotó ...⁵, sětne tšéjntsa nősime, nősime pupália, litúrgii, lep ke sětšime, sírenje, ke naprájme néškjo, áli tórti, néškjo ke naprájme, ke i napólnime košnítsite, ke si ójme právo na gróbiškja(a), áko né vrni. I ke zapálime svěški, pópo ke si dój sětne, ód grop ná grop, s(i) ímame knídzia mřtvite písano⁶, znajš? Knídzia s(i) ímame mřtvite písano se, tátko, májka, kájšo se úmreni, mážo mi káko se víka. I [pópo] ke ni spěj, ke mu túrimo víntse nad gróbo i ke si ój na síte gróbiškja táka i sětne ke pótšnime da si razdávame so žénite, ke ti dám tébe, ke mu dám na drúgo, táka nádvor, zadúša za édno, za drúgo; zadúša vélime. Na zadúša za májka, na zadúša za mážot mi, za tátko, za, šo s(i) ímame úmreno. Jas ímam brat úmreno. I táka. To e mřtva sábotá. Dve íma mřtvi sáboti, i éden Dúovden, ko(á) prájme. Na Dúovden nősime tšínii(i), ónie tšíníite. Prví⁷ nősime stómni, na stáro vréme si nősime stómni níe. Po pet, po šes, po sédum, kóku s(i) ímaše úmreno. A séga, káko nóva móda, šo dójde, táka nóva móda dójde, séga tšínii kúpvame, i si dávame.

Dve mřtvi sáboti se i Dúovden, tri. Éden íma pred Mítrovden, áko e f sábotá Mítrovden, óva e sábotá, je prájme mřtva sábotá. I pred Vélígdén da zapóštíme. Édnata nédeľa jet Pókladi, Prósteni-Pókladi⁸, šo vélime. I pret Pókladi, ta sábotá, i tógaj. Dve sáboti prájme. A tógaj, pret Prósteni-Pókladi édna nédeľa je prájme mřtva sábotá, dve mřtvi sáboti prájme i éden Dúovden.

Koj íma úmreni, támu síte úmreni koj íma séga, znajš, šo íma úmreno séga présni⁹, ko¹⁰ sé veli, břgu séga úmreni, i séga déno e táka¹¹, ódat támu na gróbiškja. I séko nédeľa ódat. Séko nédeľa mu pálime svěškja níe. Jas né sum f sélo, a na séstra mi ke mu kúpvam svěški, i ke mu dám, i séko nédeľa oj séstra mi, páli na grobíškjata svěškja. I séga tíe, koj s(i) íma, koj keks, koj oblándi, ke zémi, koj néškjo, i ke si zástani na gróbo i ke pómínat sirómási váka i ke si dáva, ke mu dá(á)t na zadúša na siromásite, na koj sákaš. Séga jas, da¹² ímam úmreno káko brat mi,

móžam da mu¹³ dám, i na sékoj éden móžiš¹⁴. Áma tíe, siromásite, vřvat po grobíškjata. Táka, stári, sirómási, i ke mu dáat sětne. Tó e. To né e za tsřkvata, né e, támu na grobíškjata. Koj sáka, f tsřkva móži, da si zájasi, da si spěj, ke si zájasi tšéjntsa, i ke si péj támu, móži da i spómen(i) umřénite. Móži na gróbo da víkni pop: "Éla, da mi spómeniš, da mi, da mu spějš." Ke mu spěj, ke rétši nékoku láfoj, ke go rétši ná ime¹⁵, toj ke mu zémi íljadárka. Ke rétši nékoj laf pópo, ke si rétši nékoj laf i ke mu, ónegva, táka.

(...)¹⁶ Koj néma prájno [grop], koj né se prájni, šo se úmreni zimáva, présni gróbiškja, šo né možat da i nápraat zímata ..., - nékoj síroma né móži da i nápraj. Znajš, éden grop óvdeka da go náprajš éden grop úbaf? Osumstótini íljadi do míljon dínari éden grop da náprajš jet, éte tólku jet. Ko(á) ke úmram jáska, néka si tókmát osumstótini íljadi da mi go nápraat gróbo. - Séga létoto ke práat, létoto. Tíe vo zíma ne sé praj grop. Stúdeno e, tréba da rábotaš, májstor, édno-drúgo, i záto(á). Séga pred létoto, ko(á) ke pótšni, séga létoto da bídi Petróvdeno, i séga ke pótšnat, koj íma pári, ke si práj gróbiškja. Áma koj néma pári, ótkaj ke nápraj? Táka e.

N(a) óvoj den níe, ko(á) béme mládi, ko(á) béme tšúpia, ke go móleme stríko, strína, nékoj za da ne zájasi, óti, káko séga, šo i púškjame tšupíata, tógaj né se púškjaše tšúpe. Bítóla, ta níe ne známe káj beše, itš, i ke go móleme ot tšéra¹⁷: "Stríko, ke ójme, stríko, ke ójme Světa Nédeľa¹⁸?" Ke ójme na Světi Nédeľa, káko bábarki, vo séltski, ke s(e) oblěšeme vo séltski so dárkmi, so se, i ke ójme támu, i ke, óva vréme, ke si zastáneme támu po grobíškjata, ke zastáneme, ke sédneme négde. Tápani ke ímaše, e, óvdeka óro ke ímaše, pótaki óro, pótaki óro, váka i ke, koj sáka, móžeme d(a) ígrame, ke sédeme, sédeme dókaj rútsěkvréme. Áko si nősime ód doma za jádenje, váka néškjo, ke sédneme, ke si kásneme támu i ke si dóeme úgare. E, táka ódeme, tógaj s(e) ódeše, ódeme sětne Bogorójtša Trño¹⁹, Trño na Bogorójtša, gólema Bogorójtša ód vetšer ódem(e) i tógaj. I tógaj, áko ímaše ód doma nékoj ke móleše, óti sámi ne ke púškjaš tšúpia tógaj. Ke óeme i tam(u) ód vetšer tséla nokj ke sédeme, ke ígraš, ke stórvaa. Ímaše tógaj póke manástiri ímaše, sětne i Búko na Prvo Brážgjanje²⁰ létoto, Prvo Brážgjanje. I támu tsřkva ódeme,

manástiro toj šo et, góle(m) mánastir vo ..., ne go ímate vídeno Búko vo koriata, vo planínata táka šo et? Tam(u) ódeme, ód vetšer tséla nokj támu ke sédeme, nad Búko úgare, ke ódeme tógaj, ko(ā) béme na stári gódinje na našeto vréme, ke si go zéme(ā) kónjo, némaše kóli, ke go zéme(ā) kónjo, ke natóre(ā), vélentse ke zémeme, jádenje, pógatša ke méseme, ríbi, édno-drúgo, i ke si ódeme támu. Ke si fáteme mésto, ke váteme mésto, váka, na kájšo íma, ke si postéleme óva, tséla nokj stárite ke si séde(ā) na óva, na postélite, níe mláдите ke si nájdime, só mene, só tebe, nékoj bráttšet, nékoj, édno-drúgo, i ke si šétame tséla nokj, ke ígrame tséla nokj.

I sétne útroto, ko(ā) se sosúneše, ke porútšame, ke izlézeše tsřkvata i ódeme ná gosti Búko, kaj séstra mi, kaj šo s(i) ímame ródnini, i ke ójme ná gosti Búko.

Káko na vétšerta ójdome, káko snóški ójdome, káko vétšerva ke sédime, útrę déno²¹ mu e na búkoftsi, tsel den ke sédeme, ke šétame po vizítii, po édno-drúgo, ke rútsšame, ke ódeā na strétselo, ke ígraā, i na vétšerta sékoj ke si dóeme dóma. I táka béše, áma séga néma.

¹memorial day for the deceased; there are two of those days ²Carnival ³the same as /mftva sábot/ ⁴"and after that we shall hand out the food we brought with us" ⁵the sentence remains unfinished ⁶small pieces of paper on which are written the names of the dead. The pieces of paper are handed to the pope. The construction used consists of /íma/ + a p.p.p. of a transitive verb and two direct objects. Compare text no. 4, note ²⁵ and text no. 11, note ²; ⁷"firstly" ⁸On Sunday night the first day of Carnival people asked each other for forgiveness for what they had done wrong during the year. The Saturday before is a /mftva sábot/; ⁹"people who have died recently" ¹⁰/káko/ ¹¹"to-day is such a day that ..." ¹²"if" ¹³"to the poor" ¹⁴"you can give (it) anyone you want" ¹⁵"the dead will be mentioned by name in a prayer" ¹⁶After a short interruption the informant continues by explaining that during the winter no graves are dug. This must wait until spring ¹⁷"we began to ask the day before" ¹⁸a church dedicated to St. Nedela ¹⁹the church dedicated to the Holy Virgin of Trnovo ²⁰corruption of Preobraženie: another church festival, on 19th of August ²¹Saint day of the patron saint of Bukovo.

Text no. 6

Jáska, ko(ā) zágubif, zágubif. Kakó beše? Ójdof Bítóla vo ..., ímaše édno snédže, zavřnato máltse, ímaše, onégvano¹, zavřnato. I béše Prétšista, práznik béše, Prétšista, šo slúžime dni, práznik, Prétšista go vélime. I ódeme ná gosti vo Dío, kájšo s(i) ímame svóji, ke nakáneā, ódeme².

Ímame záklano křmak, ímame záklano křmak, i séga ke ójme; se sósuna sabájleto, jas rékof: "Ke ódam Bítóla, ke zémam," rékof, "méleno méso od óna fudínata za d(a) i pólnime kobásite. Ke zémam," rékof, "méleno méso," rékof, "i ke si dójdam. Ódma ke si dójdam," pak ke ódef ná gosti káj nim, móji lúge.

Ójdof, séstra mi je prášaf, rékof: "Ke ójte Bítóla?" "Ne," rétsše, "ná gosti ke ójme, néjdime." Stánaf jáska údulu sáma. Dójdof, ójdof óndeka kaj mážite, šo vélime, kájšo se prodáva méso, ójdof támu, mu vélam: "Ímate méso-fúdina?" "Ímame." "Ke mi dájte trí kila, tšétiri." "Ke ti dájme."

Árno, áma jáska stanaf, "Hájde," rékof, "ke ódam do tšáršia," rékof, "dókaj óva, móži, ke nájdám áli séstra mi, áli vnuk mi od Búko." Ódvam támu, i nájdvam tíe, i nájdvam i mu vélam, se pozdrávime: "Šo prájte?" "Si ódvame," rétsše, "za ná gosti," óti tíe támu³. "Móri, jas," rékof, "dójdof po méso," rékof, "áma," rékof, "ke zémam," rékof, "méso, i si ódvam," rékof, "séga." I zbógum, zbógum, si ódvame. Ídime úgare, vámu, kaj óna ploštáva šo et; i tuk(a) ímaše, níe go vélime mážite tógaj, kásapi, vlégome, áma séga néma⁴, rasípáno, se se rásipa. Vlégof(v) vnátre, ódvam kaj toj prodávátšo. Mu vélam: "Dáj mi tšétiri kila méso." I stána toj, mi go dáde. Mi go dáde, mi go závitka f tórba i izlegvam. Íma édna pórtá ódzgora gólema, séga ta e zatvórena. Jas né nis pórtata d(a) izlezam, íma édno málo vrátnitše ózdola i izlegof. I kúznaj káko⁵ se zbúnaf, i né da fátam úgare séga, túku fátif údulu. Ódam, ódam, údulu ódam kaj, šo vélime ónaj glávnió pat séga, tógaj táka némaše, sámo zgrádi tógaj. Ódam údulu, i sámeta s(o) úmo si vélam⁶: "Áma níe, ko(ā) ke si ódvaf Dío, níe néname vákvi kúki gólemi úgare vo grádof i néma bútki váka za prodávánje néškjo. Óti káj sum jas váka?" I pak si záfatif údulu. Pa ódam údulu. Áma káko zbúnata, zémemo svésta, ódvam, ódvam, dójdof dúri údulu, náblizaf dúri do Svéta Nédela.

"A," rékof, "né sum túka," rékof, "šo ne se vrátam?" Póftor se vrátif. Se vrátif úgare, dójdof stáριο žítņi pázar, ímaše éden [pródatavš], trítņi kájšo prodávaa. I se dójdof túka, pa ne mi téknuva, kaj dá odam⁷. Lěle, šo náprajf? I stánaf, ti kážvam, se vrátif. Ko(a) púlam toj trítņi kájšo prodava, óti nie, túka od Knidžópol(e)⁸ ke sédeaa, túka stáľno kúpvame trítņi. I váka véľam: "D(a) ódam, da prášam," rékof, "knížópolka, káj sum. Káj sum séga? Né znam, káj sum." I véľam, pa sáma s(o) úmo si véľam: "Móri, bégaj, strámota, jas tólku mláda žéna da záginam." I pa fáťif údulu. Fáťif niz édni sókatsi. Fáťif de vámu, de támu, né možam, d(a) ízľezam. Díoski en⁹, šo go véľime, díoski en kaj Drajgóro¹⁰, d(a) ízľezam támu, si véľam, d(a) ízľezam díoski en, jas ódma ke se sétam, káj sum. Ódvam, pa údulu fáťif. Íde édna žéna od Brúsnik¹¹, i táa me víde. "Ká ojš, móri, váka," véľi, "ti?" Mu véľam: "Si ódvam Dío." "Káj si, se, Dío si?" rétše, "áli káj si, údulu ojš?" I jas dúri se rásplakaf. Mu véľam: "Znajš, móri, žéno," mu véľam, "ot(i) íma dva sáti," mu véľam, "šo se vřtam, ne mi téknuva, da si ódam. Né znam, káj sum, dúri údulu." "Éľa si vámu pó mene," mi véľi. Hájde, dvéte dójdome, dójdome dókaj Sáto¹², na óndeķa, dókaj Sáto. "Zémi, séga," rétše, "právets úgare. Právets ke si zémiš úgare," rétše, "i séga ke si ójš." I mu véľam: "Fála. Da si žíva," mu véľam. Áma i do den dénes jáska, káķo séstra j(e) ímam tája. Ko(a) ke se vídime, ke se báťsvame, ke stórvame. I kínisaf séga úgare, áma to snédžeto váka máľtse, ti kážvam, zavřnato, i úgare ídam, úgare sáma. Ódam úgare i pláťšam. I véľam: "S(e) ízbúdalif séga. Móži, búdala sum, né znam, da si ódam." Dójdof dóma, Dánitsa béše dóma, Vláde né beše dójden od rábota. I sédnuvam váka: "Dóbar den, dóbar den." Mu véľam: "Znajš, Dánitsa, óti s(e) ízbúdalif," mu véľam. "Móri, káķo s(e) ízbúdále?" rétše. Mu rékof: "Záginaf. Záginaf," mu véľam, "Bítóľa." "Móri, káķo záqina?" Mu kážvam váka ísto, káķošo náprajf, káķošo stóřif. Mu véľam: "Édna Brúsnitška," mu véľam, "me dójse." Tséľa zíma vo Bítóľa sáma ne dójdof.

¹expletive verb, corresponding as to grammatical categories with the following /zavřnato/. ²"We went then on a visit in Dihovo where we have 'our people', who used to invite us, there we went to ..." ³"because they (her sister and nephew) go to Bukovo to visit relatives" ⁴the butcher's shop about which she

is talking, no longer exists ⁵"anyhow", /kúzňaj/ is perhaps a corruption of /koj znaj/ "who knows" or /koj úznaj/ ⁶"I said to myself" ⁷"I can't find out where to go" ⁸(K)nižópole is the name of a village further up the mountains than Dihovo ⁹a certain place in Bitola which is called /dfoski en/ "the width of Dihovo" ¹⁰name of the river (Dragor) coming from the Pelister mountains through Dihovo to Bitola ¹¹another village to the west of Bitola ¹²a tower in the centre of Bitola

Text no. 7

Ko(a) né beme vlézeni vo koľetívo, držeme óftņi, držeme séķo édna kúkja, kóķa po édna kráva, kóķa po dve ímaše krávi. Sétne koj, šo s(i) íma[še] máži, kónji po dva móže(a) da drže(a), vóľoj š(o) óraa, šo i óraa nívjeto, né se káķo so tráķtori, vóľoj držeaa. Nie, ko(a) ímaše ..., séstra mi, kájšo je mážime, óva Stréba, koa je mážime, nie ímame bíóľitņi. Držeme mnógu křmatsi, séķo édna kúkja po dva křmatsi držeme, pa néķoj, šo béše poimášľia, póbogat šo béše, ke držeaa póķe. Si kóľeme, ko(a) ke dóeše Mítrovden, ke si zakóľeaa křmatsi, téľia, áķo ni s(e) otéľeaa krávite, móre, máški, ke si zakóľeme, ke stóřeme; ódma go kóľeme křmako góľem, máľoto ke go zémeme za v góđina¹. Kóķoški držeme, káķo néname!² Ošľákani, třťšaj³ po krávi, třťšaj po néšķjo, séķoj den po néķo rábota. Édna kráva nie šo ímame, itš ne n(i) ídeše dóma, ni se náutšņi káķo, sámo krávi da ni bégaa, krávata⁴. I séķo vétšer, koa ke se nabľížeše za ídenje, i móřame da ójme da je tšékame⁵.

Mnógu ímaše séľoto óftņi, ímaše tri búľutņi, áľi tšéťiri bea, prívatņi búľutņi. Znajš káķo? Jas ímam dvájse [óftņi], ti ímaš déset, néķoj íma drúgi, e, se sóbrále, stó glaj óftņi, áľi sto í pėdese. Haj, ke soběřeme síte, túka [ímaa] máľata⁶ da znajš koj. Nie, túka vo komšříte na óvie Dímoftņi, šo í véľime. Ke soběřeme éden búľuk, dvájse, áma móře, stó glaj, sto í pėdese, ke si klávame éden óftšar. Oftšarite i kláđvame ot Knížópole⁷. I ke si dójde [óftšaro] ná utro, na pet óftņi éden den go ráňeme. Znajš káķo? Áķo ímam jáska petňájse óftņi, ke go ráňeme, kóķú idi pet i pět, tri dni ke go ráňef da, ke dóeše káj nas dóma, ke mu dáňeme da póřutša, ke mu napóľňeme tóřbata, ľep, za úgare na

pásenje ke óeše, na vétšerta ke si dóeše, ke si zatvóreme óftsitate, ke i izmózeme, dúri né beše, znajš, létoto, vo létoto i klávame ná trlo. Po Véliqden váka trlo práeā. I ke s(i) i zatvóreme i ke mu dáeme vetšérata [na óftšaro] i ke si si óeā. Sétne ná trlo káko béše so ret mlékoto⁹. Séga jas ímam petnájše óftsi, móznitsi šo i mózime, po dvě kila áli po tri ke klaj édna óftsa. I ke mi rétšeše⁹: "Útre tébe ti, ke dójš ód vétšer, útre ti e rédo tébe, ráno da dójdiš, e, ráno stáni, níe ráno, móre, kákví máki ímame trgano, níkako da sédime da rútsame, da spíeme. Stáni¹⁰ úše ráno, úše vo ..., ne óbzoren [den] tógaj, návri édna fánela i trtšaj úgare, zémi go kóbelo i tenéketo áli kófa za mlékoto, ódi támu, skórni óftsitate, hájde, óftšaro i ízmozil, ni go méril mlékoto, šo sne go dósle túka¹¹. Dójsi go mlékoto, ístsédi go, napráj go sírenje, édno-drúgo.

I jágne ímaše, i ófts(i) ímame. Séga níškjo némame. Séga sédime, kóku se sédime, tóku bólni sme. Táka.

¹"As soon as we slaughtered the large pig, we used to take (buy) a small one for the next year" ²"we kept hens, how could we do without (them)?" ³imperative, to express a general situation, cf. text no. 4 note ¹⁰, i.e. "dirty, you had to run after the cows" ⁴"you never came home, you didn't learn anything, you had only to look after the cows and see that they didn't run away" ⁵"and every night, when it was nearly time for the cow(s) to come home, we were obliged to go and wait for her" ⁶"easemark" ⁷a village a few kilometres further up the mountains ⁸"as it was, in turn the milk (=to milk the sheep)" ⁹"and you would say to me:" ¹⁰see note ³ ¹¹i.e. home

Text no. 8

Ke zémiš édno kílo biskóti. Ke i túriš vo édna téptsia gólema, áli vo téndžere gólemo. Ke i túriš tíe biskótite, ke mu klájš órej, ke i ískršiš váka, né da i méliš váka¹, da i ískršiš oréjte, ti téknuva?, po pótreba, kókušo sákaš, váka, éden grs. Ke i túriš vo biskótite tíe [oréjte]. Ke mu skršiš dve jájtša, ke mu klájš éden margarín, i ke zémiš, ke i méšaš, ke i kršiš tíe biskvítite, pred da i kláj biskvítite, váka ískrš(i) i váka, i ke i zémiš, ke i méšiš, áko né ti se zamésva(ā) úbo(ō), ke mu

234

klájš dve lájtši, tri, mléko, áko ne, vóda ke mu klájš. I sétne váka, ke prájš, ke búritškaš, ke méšiš, ke méšiš, ke méšiš, i šéker, ke mu kláj(š) šéker, pól kilo šéker ke klájš, i ke i méšiš. I tsímet ke mu klájš, i vanílja ke mu klájš, réndan límon ke mu klájš, i od óva, tsímet, máltse ke mu klájš, i ke mu klájš sétne tri lájtši kakáo. I ke méšiš, méšiš, méšiš, i ke náprajš káko tésto. Sétne ke klájme túka nájlon², ke go nakísname, ke klájme nájlon, i sétne ke go naprájme váka, rámno, úbo(ō), úbo(ō), úbo(ō). I vo édna téptsia áli vo plek ke go svrtíme váka. Táka ke go naprájme, ke go prájme táka. I sétne ke zémiš édno tšikoláto za gótvenje, za kúvanje, tšikoláto ke zémiš, ke klájš polójna margarín, ke se stópi vo édna pájntsa, ke mu klájš tšikolátoto, ke se stópi, i ódma ke si go kláva(š) so lájtša i váka ke go mátskaš, ke go náprajš táka, i ke go klájš vo fórmata. Áko sákaš sétne, áko nékiš tšikoláto, síten šéker, i ke mu klájš, váka, so édno sítse [šéker], ke klájš dve jájtša, prvo ke klájš éden margarín vo édno téndžere, i toj margarín ke go pótšniš so ráka váka, i ke klájš šéker máltse, šéker máltse ke klájš, i ke go prájš margarínó váka, ke go prítškaš, ke stáviš, ke túriš, ke skršiš dve jájtša, dve jájtša ke skršiš, i tíe ke i búritškaš. Sétne, "káži mu kokósovo brášno, šo e"³, ke túriš édno támu, vnátre ke túriš édno ot stó grama. I pak ke go búritškaš, i sétne brášno ke klájš, kókušo sáka, po pótreba, kókušo sáka, káko za zélnik. Ke go ízmésiš, ízmésiš. Sétne ke si go klájš ná masa, i ke si sétšiš so kálapi i ke i klájš da se pétšat, i ótko, máltse ke s(e) ópetšat, tíe máltse sáka(ā)⁴, i ódma vo síten šéker tíe ónegvaš.

¹"you must not crunch them" ²"plastic" ³the informant asks her granddaughter to show us the coco-flour ⁴"they don't need to be baked long"

Text no. 9

Stána, béše éden tsar. Zéde je púškata, ódi po lof. E, túva-támu, túva-támu, ko(ā) se stémne vo édno sélo. A vo to séloto se róde máško¹, kájšo óvaj tsáro da nókeva vo kúkjata, se róde máško. "E," mu véli [tsáro] na tátko mu négoť na deténtseto,

235

"mu ostavam dokumenti, mu ostavam i pári," mu véli, "óva déte," réťše, "ke go glédaš," mu véli, "ke go rániš, ke g(o) óblekaš," réťše, "i ke go ízutšiš, škóla; ko(a) ke dój na dvájse gódi, ke mi go púškiš méne," réťše, "vo tsársvoto. Znáťši, toj da me zámeni méne, da me nasléduva na tsársvoto." E, dóbro.

Stána toj² da go útši, go rásti, dójde vréme, dvájse gódi, se stóre détetu. Árno. Áma óva détetu ímaše drúgar véren na škólia, ka³ se útšea vo édna klúpa. "E," mu véli, "jas," réťše, "séga záminvam," réťše, "kaj tsáro." Óvaj mu véli drúgaro: "I jas ke dójdam só tebe. Kláj me néškjo támu káko akjutánt, néškjo, áli kuriér, néškjo," mu véli. "Dóbro, hájde, ke te zémam," mu véli. E, zéma i dokumentite, túva-támu, éden den patúvaa. E, séga na óva, šo (i) ímaše dokumentite o(t) tsáro, mu se prípi vóda⁴. I nájd(a) éden búnar, go nájd(a) toj búnaro. "E," mu véli séga, "vrzi méne," réťše, "so rémenot, so reménjeto, púški me dólu, da se nápiam vóda," mu véli. A dokumentite toj i óstaj zgóra nádzemi. E, dóbro. Go vrza toj so rémenje, i go púške búnaro dólu. E, se nápi vóda toj. "E, séga," mu véli óva, ódzgora drúgaro, "séga," réťše, "ja⁵" réťše, "m(i) i dávaš dokumentite méne. Jas," réťše, "da zástupam káko tsar, znáťši, na méstoto tvóje vo naslétsvoto. Íli séga te púškif," réťše, "búnar, t(e) ótepaf so kámenje."⁶ I to⁷ mu véli: "Ke t(i) i dam," réťše, "dokumentite, aj, bídi ti nástavi támu [na méstoto móje], jas ke bídam káko kuriér." "Zakólni se," mu véli, "dúri sum žíf, ne kážvam. Áma áko úmram, ke kážam, óti sákaš, da m(e) ótepaš, i sákaš da m(i) i zémiš dokumentite i tsársvoto." Dóbro. Se zákolna toj, i vístina mu dáde.

I ódat, ódat. Séga, ójdo(a) kaj tsáro, i mu i dáva dokumentite óvaj drúgaro. Mu i dáva dokumentite i tsáro go príma. E séga, óva drúgotu óstanva káko kuriér. E dóbro. I séga tsáro sáka da go žéni détevo. E, béše protšúena édna dévojka, se víkaše Dunájggjuzel⁸, znáťši, pŕva krásata dévojka, najubá(a)ta, najkrásnata. "E," mu kážva [tsáro], "támu o(t) toj grat je támu tája dévojka, ke je zémite." E, dóbro.

Ójdo(a), vjanaa kónjite dvájtsata, drugárite. Ódat pó pat, ódat, nájdva(a) édna mŕša. I órlite jaat méso o(t) ta mŕšata, áma sámó se tépaa órlite. I mu véli óvoj drúgaro: "Ke slézam," réťše, "da mu je pódelam." A toj drúgaro s(i) ímaše zémeno drúgi drúgar

só nego. "Slézi," mu véli, "óna mŕšata podelí mu je na órlite, da ne se tépaa, gréota." E, dóbro. Sléze toj, i j(e) ísetše ta mŕšata so sábjata. Mu ispódele na órlite, i si vjana(a) kónjite i si patúva(a). Áma éden órel mu zástana na skúto, i mu véli: "Skíni séga," réťše, "édno kríltse ód mene. Ke dój édno vréme," réťše, "i ke ti pótrebam jas⁹." I toj skína édno pértse i si kláj vo kápata.

E, patúvaa, patúvaa. Nájdva mrávi, váka, znajš, ónie, mrávi tíe, šo lázat, táka, i mu véli na toj drúgaro: "Zástani ti túka, da póminat mrávite." I pomínaa mrávite. Édna mráva ód ónie so kríljja létnuva, mu véli: "Skíni édno kríltse ód mene!" I toj skína édno kríltse od mrávata i si go kláj vo kápata. Dóbro.

Patúva(a), patúva(a) táka. Nájdva édno ézero, o(t) to ezérotu édna ríba béše ízlegla ná suo, i sámó se préfrla, ne móži da oj vó voda. Dóbro. Mu véli na drúgaro: "Slézi," réťše, "gréota na ríбата, fŕli je," réťše vó voda, vo ezérotu, da ne sé matši ónaka." Je zéde toj, i je fŕle, i ód voda mu véli ríбата: "Zémi," réťše, "éden skráluš ód mene, séga," mu véli, "óva e dóbro, šo mi go nápraj ti." E, mu skína éden skráluš od ríбата, édno pértse, i si go kláj vo kápata. Ójdo(a) kaj tšúpeto, kaj devójkata, kaj Dunájggjuzel. "Dóbar den, dóbar den." "Šó je óva rábota?" "Dójdome," réťše, "da te vršime za tsárskoto déte." Áma na Dunájggjuzel séto mu óše v(o) úmo, šo ke bídit¹⁰. "E, dobro," mu véli, "jas ke ídam," réťše, "áma ke vi dám tri zadátši." "Dóbro," réťše, "dávaj." "E," mu véli, "pŕva zadátša," réťše, "vo ónie planínjeto, e, dve pláninje, váka se stavúva(a), se fŕla(a), támu íma," mu véli, "pósmrtska vóda. Da mi napólnite édno šíše, da mi napólnite, i jas ke dójdam."

E, dóbro. Šó praj óvaj séga? Da ój, mu e strá:se lépat planínjeto, ke s(e) ótepa. Ámi od órelot úkna váka na pértseto. I dójde órelo: "Šó ti e mákata?" "Sákam vóda o(t) tŕe planínjeto, da mi je dójsiš." Óvoj mu go vrza šíšeto ná guša na toj órelo, i ójde órelo, se píkna támu, zále(e) vóda i mu dójde: "Na," réťše, "vódata." I mu go dáva na devójkata, na Dunájggjuzel.

Dóbro. "Séga," mu véli, "drúga zadátša íma." Sóbra ot séko žíto sème, tšéjntsa, rš, jáťšmen, tšénka, próso, se. Ízmeša, po édna kánta ot séko sème ízmeša, da réťšime, tšétiri sémia, tšétiri kánti. "Ízmešaf táka," mu véli, "do náútrina séko sème

báška, báška da mi s(e) ódeli." E, óvoj séga se dúma, šó praj? I mu tékna¹, aj, mrávite. G(o) úkna to kríltseto od mrávata. Mu dójde édna mráva i mu véli: "Šó ti e mákata?" "Ímam," rétshe, "máka. Ja, óvde se tšétiri kánti žíto méšano. Do nautrina da je séto, zrno po zrno, odéleno." I ta mrávata dójde támu, mu kážva na mřavjálniko. Dójdo(a) síte, po édno zrno, kója vámu, kója támu, séto go podéliea. Žítoto báška, báška. "E," mu véli, "i to se stóre," rétshe, "dve zadátši."

"I séga," mu véli, "ušk(e) édna zadátša." Go zéma přsteno ot rákata, go fřla vó voda vo ezérotu. "I séga," mu véli, "do nautrina přsteno ná raka da mi se dójši." Šó praj óvoj séga, se dúma, káko da práj, šo da práj? Mu tékna: Tšékaj, móre. Ríbata, óna šo go zédof pértseto! G(o) úkna to pértseto i mu dójde édna ríba nakrájo túka. "Šó ti e mákata?", rétshe. "Éden přsten," rétshe, "fřfle devójkata Dunájgjuzel." I tája ríbata oj, mu kážva na drúgite ríbi, kója vámu, kója támu. Go nájdo(a) přsteno. I mu go dójso(a) přsteno i mu kláj ná raka.

"E, séga," mu véli, "gótovo." Jánva(a) kónjite, ójdo(a) kaj tsáro. Tsáro i přétšeka i svádba pra(a)t, tšínat. Áma óvaj drúgaro négof, šo mu i zéde dokuméntite, nárede seízite, ónie kuriérite, da go zákoľat négo. Go isékoã na pártšia, go zákla(a) i klája vo édno gjúbre, táka vo édno búniške.

"E," mu véli devójkava na tsáro, "káde e toj, šo me dójse méne?" E, go láži², mu véli: "vámu-támu." "Ne móži drúgo da se dójši přéd mene." E, séga, óvaj, kako dá káži, óti nárede, da go zákoľat³. "E," mu véli tsáro, "právo šo je právo; šo né kril góspo, né kriami jas." "Go záklame," mu véli. "Kad(e) e záklan?" "Támu," mu véli, "vo gjúbreto." G(o) izvája od gjúbreto, mu i stávia rátshe, nódze, se od óvie, i mu dádo(a) pósmrtska vóda, i óžive.

"E, séga," mu véli na tsáro, na stáριο tsar mu véli: "Jáska sum," rétshe, "ko(a) dójde ti, ko(a) béše po lof, ko(a) se ródif jas. Áma ídeme so óvaj drúgaro záedno. I mi se přípi vóda i se vřzaf so reménjeto. Me držeše toj ódzgora da ne s(e) údam. Se nápi(f) vóda i mi véli [drúgaro]: 'Ja, i ke mi dájš dokuméntite méne, jas da zástupam tsar, da bídam na naslétsvoto, jas ke te tépam so kámenje i t(e) ótepam.' I táka se zákolnaf, dúri sum žíf, né kažvam, áko úmram i da óživam ke kážam. Évo⁴ séga óživef

i kážvam, óti táka toj mi nápraj, sákaše da m(e) ótepa."

I nárede tsáro seízite, go isékoã pa négo sétne. Tákva rábota. Tóku béše prikázata.

¹"a boy was born" ²i.e. the father of the boy ³variant form of /kaj/ "where" ⁴"he got thirsty" ⁵interjection ⁶"or I leave you in the well, and I'll kill you with stones." Note that the verbs are in the aorist form. ⁷the other ⁸a Turkish name composed of /gjúzel/ "beautiful" and /dúnja/ "world" ⁹and you will need me" ¹⁰/bídit/ is a rare case of a 3rd singular present tense form ending in /t/ ¹¹"he got the idea" ¹²"(he) deceives him (the czar) by saying" ¹³"But now, how can he tell that he arranged for him to be killed?" ¹⁴usually /éve/.

Text no. 10

Stána édno vréme, béše éden bek. Mu véli ánkata négo(a): "Bégu," mu véli, "ja(s) sákam," rétshe, "na konátsite váka ókolu se ávľi(i) da náprajš vísoki, da né me púli méne maš," mu véli ánkata na bégo, na túrtšino. I toj zéma rabádži(i) i kóli, da nósat kámen i kláva májstori, i dígna avľi(i)te tóku šo¹ konátsite. Dóbro.

Stána édno vréme, éden den bégo i víka kokóškite: "píle, píle, píle," da i ráni táka, ko(a) éte go i pételo² 'kíkiri, kíkiri', i hop, ánkata se zábuľe, si go kláj ferédžeto na lítseto. Mu véli bégo: "Óti, ánko, táka se zábuľvaš?" "Áma pételo e maš! Né sakam, da mi go púli lítseto méne." E, dóbro.

Édno útro e táka, dve, pet útrinje, i ráni kokóškite i ánkata se zábuľva ot pételo.

Stánva³, óvie, bégo i begójte, se sobérva(a) da pra(a)t éden médželis. E, séga, se fálat begójte: jas váka, jas táka. Mu véli óvaj bégo: "Od ženata mója popóškena nema," mu véli, "vo dúnjata." A éden drúgar négof na bégo, šo je znáel, óti s(i) ímala šváler ánkata négoã, mu véli: "Od ánkata tvója porasípána nema." "Otkáj znajš ti?", rétshe, "od ánkata mója popóškena nema, ot pételo se kríe!" "Sákaš, móre, da vídiš s(o) ótšite?" "Sákam." "Ke mu rétšiš táka: 'Áno, ópets(i) édna kókoška, da mésiš édna pógatša, da nápolniš édna kárta víno, i da mi dájš dva áliškja,

dva kóstumi-áliškja da mi dájš. Ke zamínime, da rétšime, od Bítóla za Sólun, na konferéntsia.'

Ánkava íspekla kókoška, mési pógatša, édna kárta víno, mu dáva dva kóstumi-áliškja, éden kúfer i go ísprakja, a óvoj né oj Sólun, oj kaj drúgaro, da vídi tšúdoto od ženata. E, se skríf toj kaj drúgaro, ko(á) ánkata préku páto, niz édno vrátnitše, m(u) ójde kaj šválero. "E," mu véli na bégo toj drúgaro: "Bégu, víde so ótšite tvóji, šo praj ánkata tvója?" "Jas," rétše, "se kólef za ánkata mója, da bídi na óvaj ret"! Tólku da bídi puškénitsa⁵!"

E, dóbro. Séde támu éden den, dva. J(e) izédo(á) kokóškata kaj drúgaro, pogátšata. I si dójde po dvá dena dóma. I séga ne mú véli níškjo na ánkata.

Ko(á) édno vréme, s(e) óplatška Bítóla, dukjánite, se. Š(o) ímalo materiáli po dukjánite, se s(e) úkrade. E, naréduva valíata na suaríte da se prétresi Bítóla, da se nájdat aramí(i)te, koj se. E, né možat da i nájdat. Óvaj bégo mu véli na valíata: "Móre, vália, dáj mi méne pet-, šésmina suári(i), jas ke i fátam aramí(i)te."

Mu dáva pet, še(s) suári(i), káko milítsia. Mu dáva. Bára túa Bítóla, né moži da váti aramí(i), zámínva za Órit, za Réšen. E, bára i támu, Réšen i Órit da fátí. Aramí(i) néma. S(i) ídi údulu od Órit. A pášata túrtski so áskero ízlegol od Bítóla. Víkame édno mésto 'Bimbíl-kamen'. A óvoj bégo pak so suarí(i)te ódzgora. I kóšo ídeše óvoj pášata túrtski so áskero, [pášata] púli mrávi, váka, préku džádeto. I mu véli na áskero: "Zástani túka, da pomína(á) mrávíte. A pa óvoj bégo so suarí(i)te ídi od Réšen. I mu véli pášata: "Zástani," rétše, "támu da pomína(á) mrávíte. Támu sédna mrávjalnik." I ko(á) púli óvoj drúgio: vístina. I mu naréduva na suarí(i)te da se vřzi pášata. E, go vřzva pášata, go nósi Bítóla. Ko(á) prétrese vo konátsite négoj, o(t) tséla Bítóla, šo se ukrádilo, s(e) e kaj pášata žájseno.

Mu véli valíata: "Móre, bégu," rétše, "jas na óvoj pášata sum dóveril država. Po káko nátsin ti go dófate négo, da toj e aramíata?" "E," mu kážva, "go fátif aramíata po ženata." "E, káko po ženata?" Mu véli: "Mi nárede méne ženata, da nápra(á)m ávli(i), váka, ókolu na ókolu, povísoki ot konátsite. 'Óti, móri, žéno, táka mi naréduvaš?' 'Da ne mé puli maš méne, da ne mé vídi.' "Jas," rétše, "klávam májstori, náprajf ávli(i),

se, i édno útro ke zémam da i ránam kokóškite. I ránam kokóškite, éte go pételo. I tája, hop, se zábuje so ferédžeto. I mu vélam: 'Óti, žéno, táka?' 'Pételo e maš, nékjam lítseto da mi go vídi.' Árno, áma éden drúgar moj, ko(á) mi káza, od ženata tvója néma poraspuškénitsa! I táka ženata jas je dófatif, se práeše mnógu ádzia⁶, ónaka, póškena préma⁷ pételo, a ta(á) s(i) ímaše šváler. I óvoj pášata tvoj," mu véli na valíata, "si si dóveril vójska-ásker, magazíni, i toj nékeše da gázi na mrávíte, a toj bil najaramíata!"

I je završe prikáznata Stójtše Sotírofski.

¹"as high as" ²"when all at once the cock comes" ³"it happens" ⁴"I would have killed myself for my wife, (I never thought) she was that kind of woman" ⁵"That she is so perfidious!" ⁶"she did her utmost" ⁷usually /spréna/.

Text no. 11

Ja(s) sum Stójtše, šo i prikazvam prikáznive.

Béše éden tsar, zéma akjutáto, go zéma tsáro akjutáto, niz grádo šéta(á) po dukjánite da púlat, koj káko rábota, koj káko pétšali. Dóbro.

Ódi kaj éden májstor, žélezar so tšétiri kálfia, so tšekantšíata tóku várat, táka, táka, táka, rabóta(á). I tsáro mu zástana na vrátata, i sámó si gléda; mu e mílo, šo šlúša, káko so tšekantšíata várat, táka, táka, táka. I mu véli óvoj májstoro: "Šo se tšúdiš, tšéstiti tsáre?" "Se tšúdam, i mi e mílo, šo ve slúšam so óvie tšekantšíata, šo várat, táka, táka, táka. Ke te prášam," mu véli na májstoro, "ke mi kážiš, šo zaráduvaš vo déno." Mu véli májstoro: "Ja(s) zaráduvam po tri dínari na den." "E," mu véli, "šo ti potrebuvaš?" "Tře tri dínari. Édnio dínar," mu véli, "plákjam bortš, éden dínar klávam na bánkata, a édnio dínar, šo žíve(é)m déneska." E dóbro. I mu véli tsáro na akjutáto: "Klávaj na úmo!'"

Óttuva toj bástuno v rátse, tsáro so akjutáto ójdo(á) kaj éden térdzia. "Aírlia, bre, májstore! Káj beše na mládo vréme? Ne rabótaše, túku séga na osúmdese góдини šíeš," mu véli. Mu

véli: "I na mládo vréme rábotaf, áma tri arámi(i) me pléne(a), i záto(a)," réťše, "séga rábotam, za da žíve(e)m." I mu véli tsáro na akjutáto: "Klávaj go v glá(a)ta!¹" Dóbro.

E, óťtuka si ójdo(a) ná konak. Mu véli tsáro na akjutáto: "Da mi dókažiš séga, šo tře znáťši tře zbóroj, šo i káza želézaro, i terdziata." I [akjutáto] né moži da túmatši. Šó praj, napólnuva džepójte pári² akjutáto. Áma mu nárede tsáro na májstoro, mu véli: "Dúri ne gó vidiš lítseto móje, to zbóroj na drúgi né ke i kážiš." A isto mu naréduva i na toj terdziata, na stáριο: "Dúri ne gó vidiš lítseto móje, da né kažiš, šó znatši tře aramí(i)te, šo te pléne(a)." Dóbro.

Zémva akjutáto pári, go napólnuva džépo, i mu ój kaj májstoro: "Dóbar den, bre, májstore. Ke mi kážiš, šo tře znáťši, tře tri dínari ná den šo zaráduvaš?" "Ke ti kážam," réťše, "áko mi dájš trista napalóni." "Ke ti dám," réťše. Vádi o(d) džépo, ténka, ténka³, mu brój trista napalóni. "E," mu véli, "ke ti kážam séga. Prvío dínar, šo go plákjam bórdžo, tře mi se tátko i májka. Tře mi se bórtš méne, šo me porástile. Jas tréba ními da i dógledam, záto(a) tře mi se bórtš." Dóbro. "Drúgio dínar, na bánkata šo klávam, tře mi se détsata, ke i rástam, za da mi se nájdát za stári gódinje. Trétio dínar za séga šo žíve(e)m." E, zbógum, zbógum.

Ódi séga kaj stáριο, kaj šnájdero. "Dóbar den, bre, májstore. Ke mi kážiš, šo znáťši tře arámi(i), šo te pléne(a)." Mu véli: "Jas isto rábotaf na mládi gódinje, áli pětšalef. Áma ímam tri kérki. I kérkíte i ómažif," réťše, "so tšéjzi, i so pári, so lándoni, óva, óna," réťše, "záto(a) párite i pótrošif, i záto(a) séga tréba da rábotam, pa da žíve(e)m." I mu véli: "Da mi dájš trista napalóni!" I ténka, ténka, i mu dáva trista napalóni.

I je závršif prikázna.

¹"keep it in mind" ²another case of a transitive verb with two direct objects. Compare text no. 4 note ²⁶ and text no. 5 note ⁶; ³onomatopoeia

Text no. 12

Kraľ Márko béše róden vo grat Prílep. A toj s(i) ímaše brát

242

pógolem. I dójde édna vréme, a né se stóre bériket, žíto, lep nígde némaše. E, dójdoja¹ od Ánadol, túka, káko trgoftsi. E, májka mu na krále², na krále Márko, némaše da dáj pári, óti tře mu báraa: édna kánta žíto, znáťši, da zémi tšóek káko rop, íli pak édna kánta pári. Áma májka mu na kraľ Márko némaše pári da dáj, mu go dáde détetó, pogolémoto, znáťši, ot kraľ Márko pogolémio. Némaše [pári], zéde žíto so détetó³ za da go ízdrani Márko. I tře, anadóltšani, go nósia, da réťšime, káko Ánadol, ónamu Túrka. Dóbro.

E, krále Márko póraste gólem, hej, júnak. E, dójde vréme, kralójte si se sóbraa, si pra(a)t konferéntsia, da pretstávime káko vo Sólun, íli⁴ pak káko vo Tsárigrat vo Túrka. Si pra(a)t médzelis, ónaka konferéntsia, i sékoj kážva po néškjo. "E, jas ímam sínoj, jas ímam kérki, jas ímam óvoj, jas ..." E, krále Márko némaše šo da se pófali⁵. I se pófale ot kónjo. "Káko kónjo moj," víka, "šarkánoga, níkoj néma pósilen konj." I óvie mu vélat, drugárite: "Ne," réťše, "so konj," réťše, "ne sé fali, túku da ímaš," réťše, "néškjo poróditša⁶: sínoj, kérki, brákja." I óvoj [Márko] s(e) úvrede, i kraľ Márko kónjo pód nego ótide Prílep, kaj májka mu. I mu véli na májka mu: "Májko, dáli sam sum jáska, sin róden ti tvoje, dal(i) ímaf i drúgi brát?" I mu kážva májka mu: "Sínko," réťše, "vo tře gódinje," réťše, "tri gódinie áli sédum gódinie, táka néškjo, ne se ródilo žíto níkade. I národo gladúvaše," víka, "nósia žíto od Ánadol trgoftsi. E, tře dáva⁷ kánta žíto, kánta pári. Áma jas pári némaf," mu véli, "i go dáof brát ti."

"E, dóbro," mu véli, "brát mi, šo znákoj ímaše?" mu véli. "Ímaše," réťše, "bélek túka na tšéloto, i na désnata nóga déset, eh, šes prsti, na désnata nóga šes prsti, znáťši, pet, uš éden, šes." Dóbro. "To je znáko," mu véli. "E, ko(a) go púške?, kaj go púške?, šo go púške na Ánadol?⁸" mu véli. Dóbro.

Kónjo toj pód nego, vámu-támu, vámu-támu, ójde. A pa toj béše krtšmar, brát mu na krále Márko, vo Ánadol. E, ójde támu, go nájde, go nájde, áma ne go póznava séga, [ne znáeše] kaj ke se pógodi⁹, vo krtšmata nego(a). Áma toj pa dával píenje, víno i rákia, so život; áko go íspíanit¹⁰, da mu je zémi glá(a)ta. Áko ne go íspíanit, pa toj da mu je zémi glá(a)ta. E, dóbro. E, ójde toj támu, i Márko píet víno, rákia, i toj, krtšmaro, píe

243

víno, rákia. A tíe ne se poznáva(a) séga, óti se brákja. I toj píe, i toj píe, árho, óvoj křtšmaro s(e) ispíane, pádna. E, pádna, i krále Márko m(u) ójde v(o) úmo, kákošo mu káza májka mu, óti na tšélotó béleška i šes přsti na nógata. I toj mu trga tšízmata. Ko(a) púli na nógata: šes přsti; ko(a) [púli] túva [na tšélotó], znáko ísto. A ísto je lítseto, se gléda(a) káko édno líko i dvájtsata.

E, dóbro, óvoj křtšmaro se svéste, i se trési, se pláši, óti túka s(e) opkládia, znátši, óti da se kólat. I óvoj mu véli krále Márko: "Ne sé plaši," mu véli, "jas ti sum brát," rétše, "tébe." "Káko, bre, e táka?" "Ja(s) sum ot Přílep sum," rétše, "pomálio brat, a tébe," rétše, "šo te dála májka za žíto, za édna kánta žíto te dála," rétše, "za óvde." I toj mu véli: "Jas," rétše, "vístina dúmam, óti májka me dáde," rétše, "za édna kánta žíto."

"E, táka," mu véli, "hájde," rétše, "zémaj si, š(o) ímaš, stvári, plátški, zémi si," rétše, "i pári, š(o) ímaš." Sóbraq párite i kónjite, napólna(a) ónie tórbite, i ódat, ódat, ódat.

E, séga na óvoj, na brát mu mu se prípi vóda, za tšúdo ízgore za vóda. A pa na krále Márko, kóšo i téra(a) kónjite, za tšúdo ke pádni ot kónjo, drémka go fáti, mu se spíe. "Ej," mu véli, "slúšaj," rétše, "bráte, jas ímam," rétše, "poséstrima, na filán mesto e křtšmáritsa." Mu káza méstoto. "Támu ímam," rétše, édna křtšmáritsa, poséstrima, ke ójš, "rétše, "támu ke ti dáj vóda." Áma pa toj mu ímal narédeno, óti káko f júnak da dójdi na ta posestrímata, da né go púški žif, da g(o) ótrue¹¹. A óvoj [kral Márko] ne mú kaza na brát mu, óti da mu se přetstavi, óti sum jas na krále Márko brat¹².

E, toj zámína, da řetšime, vóda da bára kaj křtšmata. Krále Márko sléze ót konj, lézna pod édni dábjje, pod édni sénki da spíe. Kólkú lézna da spíe váka, i mu dójde vo sóno, hop, édna zmía go kásna túka i toj rípna. "A," rétše, "brát mi," rétše, "go íma otrúeno ta posestrímata." Óttuva toj kónjo, túva-támu, túva-támu, ójde támu i go přetšekva tája posestrímata. "Aírlia," rétše, "krále Márko," rétše, "móre, bráte, krále Márko, "devése devet júnatsi," rétše, "i ótruf," rétše, "áma káko óvoj," rétše, "stótio!" I mu véli [krále Márko]: "Da ti se súši rákata," rétše, "šo go ótru," rétše, "toj béše brat mi,"

rétše.

A ne bílo kásmet za da íma i krále Márko brat. Tája e ta príkazna e.

¹the expected form would be /dójdjo/; ²the forms /kral/ and /krále/ are used indifferently in this story; ³she bartered the child in exchange for corn" ⁴"let's say, such as (they have) in Salonika, or ..." ⁵"Kral Marko had nothing to boast of" ⁶"But the others, the friends, said to him: No, they said, you can't boast about your horse, but you must, they said, have relatives (to boast about)" ⁷instead of /dáva/ which is the "regular" form; ⁸"When did you send him away (with the Turks), where did you send him, what (= how) did you send him to Turkey?" ⁹"but he (= Marko) did not yet recognize him (= his brother); (he did not yet know) where he was (viz. in his brother's inn)" Note that the form of the last verb is in the future tense. ¹⁰one of the rare occurrences of a desinenoe /t/ in the 3rd singular present tense. ¹¹"But he (Marko) had arranged with the lady-innkeeper that she would not let any young man who came to the inn go away alive, she would poison him" ¹²"that he ought to have introduced himself as Marko's brother.

CHAPTER 6

LEXICON

The lexicon contains, with a few exceptions, all the words collected during our field work. We have omitted from the glossary a small number of newly borrowed technical words, pronouns, numerals and prepositions. Verbs with the particle /se/ have been omitted when they are merely passive, reflexive or reciprocal forms of active verbs.

Verbs composed with one of the following prefixes are not listed separately if an unprefixated verb also exists. Verbs with one or more of those prefixes are given under the heading of the verb without the prefix(es).

The prefixes are as follows:

- <do- when it has the additional meaning of "up to a certain point"
- iz- /is iz iš iž izd i/
- na-
- o-
- po- with additional "diminutive" meaning
- pod- /pod pot/ idem
- pro-
- s- /s z/
- so-
- za-) with additional "inchoative" meaning.

Except for the above mentioned prefixes which are given in their morphonemic form, the words in the lexicon are written in their phonemic shape. They are listed alphabetically, but we have ignored the difference between /l/ and /l̥/ in the alphabetical

arrangement.

Stress is only indicated if it does not follow the general stress rule (see Morphology 4.4.5.).

When doublet forms occur, both are given; if possible they are presented in a shortened form: /s'leg(v)a/ is a short way of writing /s'legva/ and /s'lega/.

A
 a conj. but, and
 adet custom
 adžia trouble, pain
 aftomobíl motor-car
 aga m. aga
 aginski adj. of aga
 airlia good luck, greetings
 akjutánt adjutant
 ako conj. if; i áko so what
 alabaš black radish
 alamín aluminium
 ali part. introduces a question
 conj. either...or
 ališke pl.-kja article of dress
 ama conj. but
 ana see anka
 anadol Turkey
 anadoltšanets pl.-ani Turk
 anka voc.anko woman,wife
 ap pl.apoj medicine, pill
 dim.apťše
 april April
 apsána jail
 aramia m./f. thief
 fem.also aramifka
 aramilok theft
 ardži I C2 spend, buy
 aren f.arna good, fine
 argatin pl.-ti day-labourer
 fem.argatinka
 argaven lilac
 arnautin pl.-ti Albanian
 fem.arnautka
 aršin large reel for spun wool
 dim.aršintše
 asker soldier, army

asli adj. genuine
 ašladisa P C1 graft
 ašladisva I C1 graft
 ašlama graft
 atirísa P C1 save
 autš carrot
 ava climate
 avan mortar
 avgus August
 avlia f. pl.-ij wall around yard

B
 baba voc.babo grandmother,
 old woman, wife's mother
 babarka traditionally dressed
 countrywoman
 babátško m. big, strong person
 babunjosan puffy, swollen
 badem almond
 badžanak pl.-atsi husband of
 wife's sister
 baftša kitchen garden
 bagrem acacia
 baj I C8 quack
 bajar quack, fortune-teller
 fem.bajarka
 bajat adj. stale
 bajrak pl.-atsi banner
 bajsik pl.-itsi bicycle
 bakal grocery shop
 bakar copper
 bakaren f.-arna copper
 bakrdanik maize porridge
 banja bath-house
 banjar bathhouse-keeper
 bara I C1 seek, demand
 barde pl.-dia small water-jug

basamak pl.-atsi step of staircase
 basmar quack fem.basmarka
 bastun stick
 baška separately
 batania f. pl.-ij bed-spread
 batsi P C2 kiss
 bats(v)a I C1 kiss
 bega I C1 flee, run P: iz-
 bek voc.begu pl.begoj bey
 bekjar bachelor
 bel white
 belej I C10 look, be white
 belek pl.-edzi mark
 beleška note
 belezan marked
 belitš a person with a white face
 belka white of eye/egg
 belogláets a person with grey hair
 fem.beloglájtsa
 beloglaf f.-glaa pl.-glaj grey
 belokósets pl.-stsi a blond
 belutrak quartz
 bendisa P C1 like v se please
 bendisva I C1 like v se please
 benzin gas
 beratš harvester fem.beratška
 beri I C3 gather, harvest
 beriket harvest
 besi I C2 hang
 beskesmet without luck
 bie I C6 hit, fight
 bigorlif n.-vo pl.-ij calcarious
 bik pl.bikoj bull
 bilka herb, medicine
 bimbil nightingale
 binlok pl.-otsi wicker bottle
 biol buffalo fem.biolitsa
 adj.bioltski

biskóti biscuits
 bitoltski adj. of Bitola
 bitoltšanets pl.-ani native of
 Bitola fem.bitoltšanka
 bitškia f. pl.-ij large saw
 blagoets Annunciation Day
 blak f.blaga sweet, good
 blato swamp
 blaže proper name
 blej I C10 bleat
 bliznak pl.-atsi twin
 blizok f.-iska close
 blizu adv. nearby
 bliži se I C3 approach P: na-
 blostur mullein
 blut a.-do pl.-doj large platter
 bluva I C1 vomit P: iz- po-
 boa pl.boj flea
 bodeš stabbing pain v me dupi
 I have a pain in my side
 boftša woollen garment worn by
 women; wedding-gift
 bogat rich
 bogorójtsa the Virgin Mary
 goľema v Assumption
 mala v Nativity of the V.M.
 boj pl.boj battle augm.boiške
 boja pl.boj colour
 bojadžia dyer
 bojosa P C1 dye
 bojosva I C1 dye
 boľen f.bolna ill, sick
 boľes a.-sta pl.-sti illness
 šekerna v diabetes
 boľi I C2 hurt
 boľivatš camomile
 boľme pl.boľmia inner wall
 bolnitsa hospital

bolnitšaf f.-tšaa sickly
 bor pl.borje pine-tree
 bordži I C2 borrow, be in debt
 bortš a.bordžo debt
 bortšlia adj. pl.-ij in debt
 also bortšlif
 bos¹ a.bozdo pl.bozje elder
 bos² barefoot, unshod
 bosilok basil
 botšva barrel dim.botšve
 botšvar barrel-maker
 božikj Christmas adj.božikjni
 božirok pl.-otsi rainbow
 brada beard dim.brade
 brades f.-esta bearded
 braf a.brao pl.braoj ram
 dim.braftše
 branva harrow, drag P: iz-
 branva I C1 harrow
 brašno flour dim.brašentse
 brat voc.bratu pl.brakja brother
 dim.braštše, brate, bratentse
 form of address also: bratko
 brattšet pl.-edi cousin
 brazda furrow
 brdila pl.t. part of a loom
 brdo reed of a loom
 bre interj.
 brek pl.bregoj hill
 bres a.brezdo pl.brezje elm
 brgu adv. quickly, immediately
 briši I C3 wipe P: iz- o-
 britš razor
 britši I C4 shave P: iz- o-
 brka I C1 drive cattle P: iz-
 broj I C9 count P: iz-
 brs f.brza quick, fast
 bršlen ivy

brtši I C2 buzz
 brusnik small village in
 southern Macedonia
 brusnitška woman from Br.
 brut pl.bruke nail
 bubarka beetle
 bubrek pl.-edzi kidney
 budala m./f. fool
 budali se I C2 play the fool P: iz-
 buf pl.buoj owl
 bugarin pl.-ari Bulgarian
 fem.bugarka adj.bugarski
 bujat adj. dense
 bujrum please, help yourself
 buka beech, beech-gully in the
 fulling-mill
 bukla wooden bowl
 bukof adj. pl.bukoj beech-
 buko Bukovo, small village
 bukoets pl.-oftsi native of
 B. fem.bukofka ntr.bukoftše
 adj.bukoski
 buľjan bush
 buluk pl.-utsi herd of cattle
 bumba bomb
 bumbar bumble-bee dim.-artše
 bunar well
 buni I C3 confuse P:s-
 buniške pl.-iškja garbage heap,
 dung hill
 bura storm
 bure pl.buria small barrel
 buritška I C1 stir P: iz-
 burnut snuff (tobacco)
 butka kiosk
 butsa I C1 butt
 butšalo waterfall
 butši I C2 howl

D

da part. yes; conj. that
 dabof adj. pl.daboj oak
 dabójtši pl.t. oak fire-wood
 daj P irr. give
 daľeko adv. far
 dalga wave
 damka spot
 dap a.dabo pl.dabje oak
 dar pl.daroj gift
 darkma ornament
 daskal voc.daskaľe teacher
 dava I C1 give
 de...de part. now...now
 debel fat
 dedo pl.dedoj grandfather, old
 man, wife's father
 del pl.deloj part
 delanka chip (of wood)
 deli I C2 divide
 delka I C1 plane P: iz-
 deľva I C1 divide
 demek interj. I mean, thus
 den pl.denøj, dni day
 deneska to-day
 denje by day
 denitsa morning-star
 denski adj. by day
 deri I C3 skin
 desen f.desna right
 dete pl.detsa, detšia child
 dim.detentse, detuľentse
 detelina pl.-inje clover
 detsembar December
 dever voc.devere pl.deveri
 husband's brother star ~
 person who accompanies the

bride to the wedding ceremony
 dévojka girl
 diftik pl.-itsi heavy woollen
 blanket with fringe
 digni P C3 lift, raise
 dikel pl.dikli two-pronged hoe
 dinja pl.dinji melon
 dio Dihovo
 dioets a.dioetso pl.dioftsi
 native of Dih.; fem.diofka
 adj.dioski
 dip¹ a.dibo lowest leaf of
 tobacco-plant
 dip² adv. very, extremely
 direk pl.-etsi pole
 diši I C3 breathe
 dif pl.divi wild
 dlabok deep
 dlabotšina depth
 dlanka palm of hand dim.
 dlantše
 (do) verbal prefix; if this
 prefix, in addition to perfec-
 tivizing a verb, also indicates
 that the action is carried to
 a certain point, then it is not
 listed separately (see the
 unprefix verb)
 doba time, period
 dobar see dober
 dober f.dobra good, fine
 dobitok pl.dobitštsi cattle
 dofati P C2 seize, grasp
 dogramadžia cabinetmaker,
 carpenter
 doi I C9 breast-feed P: na-
 doiľka woman feeding a child
 doj P irr. come

dojsi P C4 bring, carry (home) drmon sieve
 dokaži P C3 prove drobi I C2 crumble, make into
 dol pl.dolaj valley, bed (river) small pieces P: na-
 dim.doltše drpa se I C1 scratch P: iz-
 dolen f.dolna lower drtša drizzle
 dolu below, down drugar voc.drugare friend
 do(l)k f.do(l)ga long adj.drugarski
 doma at home druk f.druga other
 domalio prs the ringfinger drven wooden
 dim.domaloto prste drvo¹ pl.drva fire-wood
 domakin voc.-ine host drvo² pl.drvoja tree
 domakinka voc.-inko housewife dim. to drvo²: drftse
 domazet son-in-law living in his država state
 parents-in-law's house drži I C3 hold P: po-
 dopalets a.-etso pl.-ltsi due I C6 blow P: po-
 forefinger dukjan shop
 doš a.dožgjo pl.dožgjoj rain duma¹ I C1 remember P: po-
 dim.doftše дума se think
 dotekva I C1 see tetši duma² word
 dotera P C1 drive (cattle) duni P C3 blow
 se ~ dress up dunja¹ quince
 doterva I C1 drive (cattle) dunja² world
 se ~ dress up duovden Whitsuntide
 dotsna late dupi I C2 pierce, prick P: iz-
 doveri P C2 entrust dupka hole
 dovezva I C1 see vezi duri adv. even, conj. until
 doždli f.-iva rainy duria f. spade
 doždli ven f.-ivna rainy dušeme pl.-mia floor
 dožgina length dušman enemy
 dožgjalnik pl.-itsi salamander duva I C1 blow
 dra(j)gor name of river in Dio duzina dozen, ten
 drak pl.dragoj long stick dvor pl.dvoraj yard, court
 dremi I C2 doze ná dvor outside
 dremka slumber dzevgar team (of oxen)
 dren pl.drenoj, drenje cornel- dzida I C1 build P: do-, iz-,
 tree so-, za-
 drenka cornel-berry dzit a.dzido pl.dzidoj wall
 drftse pl.-drftsa bit of wood dzrtsalo spectacles

dzver pl.dzveroj beast
 dzvezda star
 dzvoni I C2 ring
 džabe in vain, for nothing
 džade pl.-dia big road
 glamno ~ main road
 džak pl.džatsi part of a loom
 dim.džatše
 džam pl.džamaj glass
 džamia f. mosque
 dželat pl.-ati executioner
 džep pl.džepoj pocket
 džiger: tsrn ~ liver, bel ~
 lungs
 džmirinki pl.t. crackling
 džumbus carousal
 džvaka I C1 chew P: iz-

E

e interj.
 e I irr. to be
 eden f.edna one, a
 edinak pl.-atsi only child
 ednaš adv. once, vednaš,
 naednaš at once
 eftin cheap
 eftinia cheapness
 ekim doctor
 ela¹ voc. come
 ela² pl.eli alder
 elemia f. windlass
 elen deer
 elka fir
 em...em conj. and...and
 emiš¹ part of plough
 emiš² fruit
 en width

ene part. over there is
 endek pl.-etsi ditch
 esen f. autumn esenoski last
 autumn, ná esen next autumn
 eš pl.ešoj hedgehog dim.eže
 ete part. here is, there is
 eve part. here is, see here
 ezero lake

F

fakja I C1 grasp, grab
 faši se I C2 boast
 familia f. family
 fanela singlet
 farmerki pl.t. blue jeans
 fati P C2 grasp, grab; start
 favrika factory
 feredže veil
 fes pl.fesoj fez dim.feftše
 fetof f.fetva worn-out
 februar February
 filán indecl.pron. a certain
 fem.also filánka
 findžal small cup for coffee
 finka bilberry
 fnuk pl.fnutsi grandson, nephew
 dim.fnutše
 fnuka voc.fnuko granddaughter,
 niece dim.fnutše
 fortoma hemp rope
 fosok wax
 frba willow dim.frptše
 frbjak place with many willows
 frengil latch
 frla I C1 throw
 frli P C2 throw
 front pl.frontoj struggle

ftruna (snow)storm
fudina meat without bones
furna oven
furnadžia m. baker
fustan woman's dress
dim.fustantše
futa apron

G

gaber hornbeam
gajda bag-pipes
gajdadžia m. person who plays
the gajda
galep a.-ebo pl.-ebi gull
garvan raven
gasájntsa caterpillar
gasni I C5 quench P: za-
gaški pl.t. underpants
gašnik trouser-strap
gazda m. host fem.gazdinka
gazer bottom (of a barrel)
gazi I C2 step on
gazia kerosene
geramida roof tile
gerdan necklace
geti pl.t. stockings without
foot
gezve pl.gezvia small can for
boiling coffee
gini I C3 perish
gitára guitar
gjaol devil fem.gjaolka adj.
gjaoltski
gjorgi proper name
gjubre refuse; manure
gjubriške pl.-iškja place for
refuse

gjum pl.gjumoj waterjug
dim.gjuntše
gjuptin pl.gjupti, gjuptsi fem.
gjupka adj.gjuptski Gypsy
gjuruntia f. racket, noise,
quarrel
glaa pl.glaj head dim.glaftše
me boľi glaata I have a head-
ache, golema glaа authority,
arrogant person
gladen f.gladna hungry
glad(u)va I C1 be hungry
glajtsa clove of garlic
glamna ember
glamnitsa mut (disease in corn)
glavina pl.-inje nave, hub
gľeda I C1 look P: do-
gľetaf f.gľetaa pl.gľetaj sodden
gľeto chisel
gľina clay
gľis a.gľisto pl.gľisje intestinal
worm
gnie I C6 rot P: so-
gloginka haw
glok pl.glogoj hawthorn
gluf f.glua pl.gluj deaf
glufnem or glüoném f.gľuanéma
pl.gľüjnémi deaf and dumb
gluš a.gľužgjo pl.gľužgjoj ankle;
knot (in wood)
glušets pl.gľuftsi mouse dim.
gľuftše
gnida louse-egg
gnoj a.gnojo pl.gnojaj manure, pus
godina pl.godini, godinje year
godináva this year vizgodina
leap year
godinatše one-year-old child,calf

goetskó meso beef
gojdar voc.gojdare cattle-
herder fem.gojdarka
gojdo cattle; cow, bull, ox
golem big, large
golemđzia m./f. swank
golina pl.golinje glade
gologlaf a.-ájo f.-aa pl.-aj
bareheaded
gorděj se I C10 be proud
gordelíf f.-íva proud
gordelívos a.-osta pride
gore on top, above, upstairs
goren f.gorna upper
goreškina heat
gori I C5 burn P: do-, iz-
gortši I C2 be bitter P: iz-
gortšlif f.-iva bitter
gospo voc.gospodi God
gospoža Mrs., madame
gostin pl.gosti guest
gota I C1 swallow
gotni P C3 swallow
gotof f.gotova ready
gotvatš cook fem.gotvatška
gotvi I C2 prepare, cook P: s-
gra a.grao pl.graoj bean(s)
grada breast dim.grade
gragjanets pl.-ani citizen
fem.gragjanka
granitsa border
granka branch dim.grantše
graor vetch, chick-peas
grat¹ a.grado pl.gradoj town
dim.grattše
grat² a.grado hail
gratši I C2 croak
grbaf f.grbaa pl.grbaj hunch-

backed
grebni pl.t. card
greda beam
gredel pl.gredeli shaft joining
the yoke and the plough
gref a.greo pl.greoj sin
greota interj. It's a pity
grej¹ I C10 shine, warm
grej² I C10 come, go
greši I C3 sin, make errors
P: s-
greška mistake
grešnik pl.-itsi sinner fem.
grešnitsa
greš(v)a I C1 sin, make errors
grga I C1 pour (rain)
griba I C1 rake P: iz-
griblo rake dim.griblentse
grizi I C3 nibble P: iz-
grk pl.grtsi Greek fem.grkinka
adj.grtški
grtsia Greece
grklen throat
grli I C2 earth up P: s-
grlitše necklace
grlo throat
grmada pl.grmage heap
grmej I C10 thunder
grmi I C2 thunder P: s-, za-
grnéta clarinet
grnets pl.grntsi clay jug dim.
grntše
grobiškja church-yard, see grop
grofti I C2 grunt
grom thunder
grop a.grobo pl.groboj coll.pl.
grobiškja grave
gros a.grozdo pl.grozdoj coll.pl.

grozje grape
 grózjebránje vintage
 grs a.grsto pl.grsti, grstoj
 handful dim.grftše
 grt f.grda ugly
 grtši I C2 snore
 gulabar pigeon-fancier
 gulabarnik pigeon-house
 gulap a.-abo pl.-abi pigeon
 gumno pl.gumna, gumnia threshing-
 floor
 guna long peasant coat
 gus f.gusta dense
 guša throat dim.guše
 gušker lizard
 guskeritsa lizard
 gušnik pl.-itsi necklace
 gužva crowd, mess up
 gəsak pl.gəsatsi gander
 gəska goose dim.gəftše

 H
 haj, hajde, hajdeme interj.

 I
 i conj. and, also
 i...i both...and
 idi I C4 come
 igla needle
 iglitsa knitting-needle
 igra I C1 play, dance P: iz-,
 izna- se, po-
 ika I C1 have the hiccups
 ikni P C3 hiccup
 ikóna icon
 ikra spawn

ilatš medicine
 iljada thousand
 iljadárka ten-dinar note
 iljadžia m./f. trickster
 ilje trick
 ima I C1 have, there is
 imanje property, estate, cattle
 imašlia adj. pl.-lii rich
 imašlif f.-liva pl.-lii rich
 ime pl.imia name
 imot property, goods
 inaku otherwise
 is- see (iz-)
 is a.istio f.ista same
 iskrši P C2 break (much, many)
 ispadni P C3 fall (all)
 ispiani P C2 get a person drunk
 ispie P C6 empty
 isplati P C2 pay off
 isplatva I C1 pay off
 ispodeli P C2 divide (all, totally)
 isposni se P C3 fast
 isprakja I C1 send
 isprati P C2 send
 ispuški P C2 release, let go
 istekva I C1 flow out
 istera P C1 drive out
 isterva I C1 drive out
 istetši P C4 flow out
 istok east
 isturi P C2 pour out, spill
 isturva I C1 pour out, spill
 iter f.itra clever, cunning
 itš part. not at all
 (iz-) iz- is- iš- iż- izd- i-:
 verbal prefix; if this prefix
 only perfectivizes the (unpre-
 fixed) verb to which it is

attached, then it is not
 listed separately (see the
 unprefixed verb)
 izbie P C6 thrash
 izdinva I C1 sigh
 izdiši P C3 breathe out
 izdišva I C1 breathe out
 izdi(v)ni P C3 sigh
 izej P C10 eat up
 izgini P C3 perish
 izginva I C1 perish
 izgubi P C2 be lost
 izgubva I C1 be lost
 izladi P C2 cool (down)
 izladva I C1 cool (down)
 izleg(v)a I C1 go outside
 izlezi P C4 go outside
 izmeša P C1 mix (much)
 izmisli P C2 think out
 iznaigra se P C1 dance, play
 one's fill
 iznápej se P C10 sing one's
 fill
 iznenaden f.-nadna unexpected
 iznenadi P C4 be surprised
 izvaj P C8 take out
 izvarka curdled milk
 izvor source
 izvrni P C3 rain (much)

 J
 ja interj. see here
 jabandžia stranger fem.
 jabandžifka
 jaboko apple
 jaboktse cheek-bone
 jabošnitsa apple-tree
 jader f.jadra strong, big
 jaditsa¹ buckle, clasp
 jaditsa² fishing-rod
 jaglen pl.jaglenje charcoal
 jagne lamb
 jagneškó meso lamb (meat)
 jagotka pl.-tki strawberry
 jagoda sg.t. strawberry
 jagula eel
 jagurida green grapes
 jaj I irr. eat P: do-
 me jaj rakata my hand is itching
 mi se jaj I'm hungry
 jajtse egg
 jak strong
 jama pit
 januar January
 jaor maple
 jare kid
 jarebitsa partridge
 jarem yoke
 jaritška young hen
 jas pl.jazoj gutter
 jasen¹ ash-tree
 jasen² f.jasna clear, obvious
 jasika asp-tree
 jasli pl.t. manger
 jatka pl.jatki nucleus
 jatok pl.-otsi weft
 jator cover, top
 jatrva husband's brother's wife
 jatši I C2 groan
 jatšmen barley
 jatšmenof f.-nog adj. barley-
 ja(n)va I C1 ride on horseback
 javi P C2 show up, let hear from
 jazik pl.-itsi tongue, language
 dim.jazitše

jazoets pl.jazoftsi badger
jazolets pl.jazoltsi knot
jaže pl.jažia rope, rein
jažitsa straw binding for
sheaves dim.jažitška
jorgan blanket, quilt adj.
jorganski
josif vok.josive proper name
juk a.jugo south
juli July
junak pl.junatsi hero adj.
junatški
juni June
juntše pl.juntšia young ox,
cow, bull fem.junitška

K

kaba indecl.adj. worthless
kabadája ruffian
kabaet guilt
kabaetlia adj. guilty
kabaetlif f.-iva pl.-ii guilty
ka(de) adv. where
kadeľa tow (combed flax ready
for spinning)
kadelnitsa censor
kafána café, bar
kafe pl.kafia coffee
kafeaf f.kafeaa brown
kafen brown
kaftik pl.-itsi outer covering
of a walnut
kajmak cream
kajsia f. apricot
kajšo adv. where
kakáo cocoa
kaklitsa corn-cockle

kako adv.,conj. how, as, like
kal f. a.kalta pl.kaloj mud
kalabalok a lot, many
ná pazar mnogo ~ imaše the
market was very crowded
kalaj tin adj.kalajen f.-ajno
kalajdžia tinner
kalajliša P C1 tin
kalajlišva I C1 tin
kalap pl.kalapi mould
kalem graft
kalemi I C2 graft P: iz-
kaleš adj. swarthy
kalfa m. pl.kalfi apprentice
dim.kalfe
kaluger monk fem.kalugerka
kambur adj. hunch-backed
kamen pl.kamenje stone
dim.kamtše
kamenárka sand viper
kamenlif f.-iva pl.-ii stony
kandža large iron door-hook
kanta can, pail
kantarka kind of pear
kapa cap
kapak pl.kapatsi lid, cover
dim.kapatše
kapela hat (with brim)
kapi¹ I C2 drip P: pro-
kapi² I C2 swim P: iz-
kapina pl.kapinje bramble
kapinka bramble-berry
kapitsa small pile of hay
kapka drip
kara I C1 scold, curse (of men)
~ se quarrel P: s-
karadutka mulberry
karpa cliff, rock

karta small carafe for wine
kasap butcher
kaša batter
kašla I C1 cough P: po-
kašlitsa cough
kašlitšaf f.-tšaa pl.-tšaj
suffering from coughing
kat pl.katoj room
katanets pl.-ntsi padlock
katiĭ villain
katnik pl.-itsi tooth
katsa keg, barrel dim.katše
katšamak maize porridge
katši se P C2 climb
katšunka snowdrop (flower)
katšva se I C1 climb
kaval shepherd's pipe dim.
kavaltše
kazan kettle, still dim.
kazantše
kazandžia kettle-maker
kazma pick
kaži P C3 say, tell
kažva I C1 say, tell
ke part. used to denote future
tense
kebe blanket
kef fun
kelaf f.kelaa pl.kelaj bald
kelepur adv. gratuitously
kemane fiddle
kenef toilet
keral pantry, larder
kerka voc.kerko daughter
kese purse
kikiriga comb, crest
kilim carpet, rug
kilo kilogram, litre

kini I C3 rip, tear P: s-
kinisa P C1 go, set off
kiria rent
kisel sour kiseló mleko yoghourt
kiselets sorrel
kiselina vinegar
kisni¹ I C3 ferment, make sour,
rise (of dough) P: s-, po-
kisni² I C3 get wet P: na- po-
ki(v)a I C1 sneeze
ki(v)ájtša cold (sneeze)
kivna P C1 sneeze
kjoftje minced meat
kjur blind
kjos adj. beardless
kjoš pl.kjošoj corner dim.kjoše
kjotek pl.-etsi beating
kjumur charcoal
kjunk pl.kjundzi stove-pipe
kjurán turkey fem.kjurka
kjutuk log, block
kla(d)va I C1 put, lay; appoint
klaj P irr. put, lay; appoint
klajnets pl.klajntsi spring
dim.klajntše
klanja I C1 pray (in a mosque)
klapa wooden clasp around a cow's
leg to prevent it from escaping
klas a.klasto pl.klasje ear of corn
klasi I C2 form ears P: iz-
klašna heavy homespun cloth
klépa I C1 whet P: do- iz-
klépkja eye-lid
kléškja pincers
kletška match
klinets pl.-intsi horseshoe nail
kloptše pl.-tšia ball of yarn
klukodrvets pl.-ftsi woodpecker

klun beak
 klupa school-desk
 klutš pl.klutšoj key
 kniga book, paper dim.knidze
 knižopoľe a village above Dio
 knižopolka a woman from Kn.
 knotšok f.knotška thin, lean
 koa¹ pl.koj bucket
 koa² adv. when
 koatš (black)smith
 koatšnitsa forge
 kobas sausage dim.kobaftše
 kobel pl.kobli wooden milk pail
 dim.koble
 kobila mare
 kodoš slanderer fem.kodoška
 kodoši I C2 slander
 kofa¹ I C1 peck
 kofa² see koa¹
 koftšek a.-ego pl.-edzi trunk,
 chest dim.koftšedže
 koga see koa²
 koj I C9 forge
 kok pl.kokoj hip
 kokalo wooden bung dim.
 kokaltše
 koklitsa stool
 kokosovo brašno coconut-flour
 kokošarnik pl.-itsi hen-house
 kokoška hen
 kol pl.koloj, kolje pole dim.
 koltše
 kola car, cart
 kolak pl.-atsi kind of fancy
 bread
 kolan belt
 kolandia Holland
 kolede eve of Christmas

koľe(k)tíf collective
 koľeno pl.koľena knee dim.
 koľentse
 koľi I C3 slaughter
 koľiba shack, cabin
 ko(1)ku adv. how much, how many
 conj. as soon as
 ko(1)ku...to(1)ku according as
 kolni I C3 curse (women)
 kolo mill-wheel dim.koltse
 kolovos pl.-vozi cart-track
 koltse wheel
 koltuk pl.-utsi bend, curve
 kománda team
 komarets pl.-artsi mosquito
 komina skins (of plums, grapes)
 kominújtša brandy made from
 grapes
 komisia f. committee
 komova see kominújtša
 kompir potato
 komšia m. pl.-ii neighbour
 fem.komšifka
 komúna community
 komunís pl.-ísti communist
 konak pl.-atsi palace
 konets pl.kontsi thread
 konj horse
 konjar herdsman for horses
 konjska kola horse-cart
 konop m./f. hemp adj. konopen
 kooperatsia co-operative shop
 in the village
 kopa¹ I C1 dig P:iz-
 kopa² I C1 nose (of pigs)
 kopan bat used in the fulling-
 mill
 kopanka zinc trough for washing

clothes dim.kopantše
 kopile child born out of
 wedlock
 kopito hoof
 kopje lance
 kopriva stinging nettle
 kora crust
 kordonáke pl.-kia curtain
 koren pl.korenje root
 koria f. pl.-ii forest
 koris a.korista benefit,
 advantage, use
 koristi I C2 use P:iz-
 korito trough
 korupka shell
 kosa¹ hair dim.kose
 kosa² scythe
 kosi I C2 mow
 kosidba hay-making season
 kosilo wooden handle of a
 scythe
 koska¹ bone dim.koftše
 koska² stone, pip
 kosten pl.-eni, -enje chestnut
 kostenlif f.-iva chestnut-
 coloured
 kostum costume
 košare bee-hive
 košnitsa basket
 košuľa shirt, blouse dim.
 košultše
 kotar pigsty
 kotel pl.kotli kettle
 dim.kotľe
 kotšan corn-cob
 kotšiškjja pl.t. hemp remainders
 koza goat ot ~ mleko goat's
 milk

kozi f.kozja pl.kozi goat's
 kozinaf f.-aa pl.kozínaj made of
 goat's wool
 koža skin
 kožuf pl.kožuj a.kožuo leather
 coat dim.kožuftše
 kradi I C2 steal
 kraftski adj. cow's
 kraj a.krajo pl.krajoj, kraiškja
 end, extremity
 krakara I C1 cluck (of hens)
 kral pl.kraloj king ~ Marko or
 kraľe Marko hero in many legends
 krap pl.krapoj crab dim.kraptše
 krasa beauty
 krasen f.krasna beautiful
 krasta scab
 krastaf f.-aa pl.-aj scabby
 krastájtsa cucumber
 kratoftšanets pl.-ani native of
 Kratovo fem.kratoftšanka
 krava cow dim.kraftše
 kražba or kradba theft
 kredenets pl.-entsi cupboard
 kreešnik pl.-itsi heel (of loaf)
 kremen flint
 kreni P C3 raise, lift P: pod-
 sec.ipf.potkrenva
 kreok f.krefka frail
 krevia I C1 raise, lift
 krevet bed
 krf f. a.krfta pl.krvoj blood
 krie I C6 cover, hide P: s-
 krif f.kriva guilty, untrue,
 dishonest; lame mi e krivo
 I'm angry
 krilo pl.krila, krilja wing
 dim.kriltse

krivi I C2 limp free o.s. of
krivina untruth kurva whore
krleš pl.krleži tick (insect) kus short
krmak pl.krmatsi swine kusogléden f.-édna short-
kroj I C9 tailor P: s- sighted
kromit onion dim.kromittše kusovidelen f.-elna squinting
krosno weaving beam kutel pl.kutli unit of weight
krošna cradle for corn, about 12 kg.
krpa cloth, rag dim.krptše kutia f. pl.kutii box dim.
krs a.krsto pl.krstoj cross kutiftše
krskja(va) I C1 baptize kuts limp
krsti¹ P C2 baptize P: s- kutsa I C1 limp P: po-
krsti² I C2 bless v se kutše pl.kutšia, kutšiškja dog
cross o.s. fem.kutška dim.kutšentse, kutale
krstovden Holy Cross Day kutšeški a.-eškio pl.-eški eye-
krši I C2 break P: s- tooth
krt pl.krtoj mole kuznaj-kako anyhow
krtina mole-hill kvas leaven dim.kvaftše
krtšma inn, tavern kvasets yeast
krtšmar inn-keeper fem. kvatši I C2 brood P: iz-
krtšmaritsa kvatška brood-hen
kruša pear dim.kruftše kvetšerum adv. towards evening
kržul' new-born child dim. kesa I C1 bite, sting
kržultše kəsni P C3 bite, sting
kubik pl.kubitsi cube kəsmet luck, good fortune
kukájtsa cuckoo kəsmetlia adj. lucky, fortunate
kukja house kəsmetlif adj. lucky, fortunate
kumanoftšanets pl.-ani native
of Kumanovo fem.kumanoftšanka L
kumatka marten
kupařilo bath laden f.ladna cold
kupi P C2 buy ladi I C2 cool (down)
kupva I C1 buy laf¹ a.lafo pl.lafoj word
kurbet: vo v abroad laf² a.lao pl.laoj lion
kuriér courier lafosa P C1 have a talk
kurtuľi se P C2 get rid of, lafosva I C1 talk
free o.s. of laga (a) lie
kurtuľva se I C1 get rid of, laj I C8 bark

lajtsa spoon dim.lajtše dim.leptše
lako pl.lakti elbow lepats a.lepajtso pl.-ajtši
lakom greedy burdock
laľe tulip lepi I C2 stick, paste, glue
lamarina tin-coated iron lesen f.lesna light (not heavy)
lamba lamp leska hazel-tree
lamja dragon leskójtsi pl.t. hazel fire-wood
landon landau leškja lentil
lani adv. last year adj.lanski lešnik pl.-itsi hazelnut
lapájtsa wet snow mixed with let(nuv)a I C1 fly
rain leten f.letna adj. summer-
lastójtsa swallow letni P C3 fly
lastunka cutting from a leto summer na v for the summer
cucumber v v next summer vo vto past s.
laš pl.lažoj liar letóvo adv. this summer
latšar carder (wool) letoski adv. last summer
latši I C2 card P: iz- leži I C5 lie P: po-
lazi I C2 crawl lie I C6 cast (metal) P: na-
lažga f. liar lik countenance, appearance
lažgo m. pl.lažgoftsi liar kako je na v? how does he look?
laži I C3 lie, tell lies P: liko see lik
iz- liljak pl.liljatsi bat
lea pl.lej flower-bed limon lemon
ledina pl.ledinje virgin soil limuzína car, limousine
lef f.leva left lis a.listo pl.lisje leaf dim.
legen washbasin liftše
legni P C3 lie down P: pod- lisitsa fox
legnuva I C1 lie down lisjopat autumn
lej I C10 pour P: na- lišaj lichen
lek pl.lekoj medicine litse pl.litsa face; front
leka adv. slowly liturgia liturgy
lekoit adj. f.lekóita healing livada pl.livage meadow
lele interj. lof hunt, hunting
len a.leno flax loj tallow
lenski flaxen lopata shovel, spade dim.lopatše
leonka woman with newly-born los pl.lostoj handle, lever
child loš bad
lep a.lebo pl.leboj bread lotka pl.lotki small boat

lovdžia pl.-ij hunter
lozje pl.lozja vineyard
ložnik pl.-itsi heavy woollen
blanket
lubéjntsa water-melon
lubitšitsa violet
luge pl.t. people, men
luk garlic dim.lutše
lumpuva I C1 carouse P: iz-
luna thunderstorm
lup pl.luboj wooden ring
around the sieve
lupi I C2 peel P: iz-
lupni se P C5 jump
lušpa peel, shell
lut hot, spicy; angry
luti I C2 'grow angry P: na-
²be spicy (food) P: o-
luzna scar

M

mafka I C1 wave, hit
magare pl.-ria donkey fem.
magaritsa
magáro the village of Magarevo
magatsin warehouse, shop
magazín warehouse
magdonos parsley
magesnik magician fem.
magesnitsa
magla mist, fog
maglif f.-iva foggy
maj May
majka voc.majko mother dim.
majtše
majstor voc.majstore skilled
labourer, bricklayer

majtap joke ná ~ for fun
majtapi se I C2 joke P: po-
maka pain, torture, sorrow
makalo batter
makedónets pl.óntsi Macedonian
fem.makedónka adj.makedóntski
mal small
malio prs the little finger
dim.malotó prste
maletško adj. f.maletška tiny
malinka raspberry
mal(k)u, maltse a little bit
mamets bait
manastir monastery; fair; old
name of Bitola dim.manastirtše
mandža meal, dish
mane interlude in folk songs
mangal brazier
mangup loafer, idler; rowdy,
hoodlum
mani P C3 beat
margarín margarine
mart March
mas f. a.masta butter dim.maftsa
masa table dim.mase
maslo oil
masolnik oil-jar
mastraf pl.-avi expense
maš voc.mažu man, husband
dim.maže augm.mažiške
maša pincers
mašinka tin box with a jagged
edge to gather bilberries
maškeǎ pl.maškej stepmother
maškéjntsa butter-milk
maški adj. male
matasi pl.t. crossing
maten f.matna unclear, troubled

materiál merchandise
materka thyme
mati I C2 muddy; churn P: s-
matitsa queen-bee
matoritsa sow
matšen f.matšna hard, difficult
matši I C2 torture; work hard
matška¹ I C1 smear
matška² cat
matšor tom-cat
mava I C1 hit
maznik type of pie made from
thin layers of dough and a
filling
maži I C2 marry (of a woman)
P: o-
meǎna café, tavern dim.mentše
medželis meeting
mef¹ a.meo pl.meoj belly dim.
meše
mef² a.meo pl.meoj bellows
melem balm, ointment
meli I C5 grind, mill P: so-
meni P C3 change
menva I C1 change
merak passion
meri I C2 measure, weigh
P: iz-
mesets pl.-etsi month
mesetšina moon ta se jaj the
moon wanes
mesi I C2 P: iz- knead
meso pl.mesa meat augm.
mesiške dim.meftse
mestatš a person who sets
fractures, bone-setter
mesti I C2 place; clear away
set (fractures) P: na-

meša I C1 stir
mešles f.mešlesta potbellied
mešumka pulse
meti I C2 sweep P: iz- s-
metil liver fluke
metka broom
metla broom
metro metre
metška bear
meze snack, bite
mežgja border-strip (between two
fields)
mie I C6 wash P: iz-
mil nice
miljon million
mir peace
miris smell, fragrance
mirisa I C1 smell
misli I C2 think P: po-
misur bowl
miška armpit
mladoženets pl.-ntsi newly
married man
mlaka swamp, marsh
mlat f.mlada young
mlekar milkman fem.mlekarka
mleko milk dim.mlektse
(m)nogu much, many
mnozina a large number
množi I C3 multiply P: na-
mof f. a.mofta moss
mokum silently
molba request
molets pl.moltsi moth
moli I C2 ask, beg
molivo pencil
moltši I C2 be silent P: po- za-
moltšlif f.-iva silent

momok pl.momtsi servant
momtše pl.-momtšia boy
monja lightning
mora I C1 have to, must
more¹ sea
more², mori interj.
morkof a.morkoog pl.morkoj
carrot
mos a.mosto pl.mostoj bridge
dim.moftše
mota I C1 wind up P: na- s-
motalo reel dim.motaltše
motika hoe dim.motitše
motšuriške swamp
mozi I C2 milk P: iz-
moznitsa milch ewe
mozok m./f. pl.mozotsi brain
mozolka pimple
mozolki pl.t. itching
moži¹ I C2 can, be able
moži² perhaps
mrak darkness
mras pl.mrazoj ice, snow
mrava ant
mravjalnik ant-hill
mrazi I C2 hate
mrazulets pl.-ltsi icicle
mrežgja net
mrsen f.mrsna containing fats
mrsi I C2 eat foods containing
fats, i.e. not keep the fast
P: o-
mrsul mucus, snivel
mrša carrion
mrtoets a.-oetso pl.-oftsi
deceased person
mrtof f.mrtva dead, deceased
mrtva sabota All Souls' Day

mrza laziness
mrzen f.mrzna frosty
mrzi I C2 be (too) lazy (to)
mrzlaf f.-laa pl.-laj lazy
mrzlif f.-iva pl.-ii lazy
mrzlo lazybones pl.mrzloftsi
fem.mrzla
mrzni I C3 freeze P: pod- s-
muabet conversation praj ~
converse
mudbak pl.-atsi outhouse used
for cooking and the like
mukaet care, caution
mukaetlia adj.indecl. who cares
much about something
mulia mould
mulosan mouldy
muskul muscle
mustaki pl.t. moustache
mutska lip
muva pl.muj fly
məska mule dim.məftše

N

na interj.
(na-) verbal prefix; if this prefix
only perfectivizes the (unpre-
fixed) verb to which it is
attached, then it is not listed
separately (see the unprefixated
verb)
nabobni P C3 swell up
nabobnuva I C1 swell up
nadue P C6 puff up (much)
nadvor outside
nadvorešna porta gate to court-
yard

nadzdrī P C5 look at
nadzira I C1 look at
nagjorlif f.-iva pl.-ii having
a cast in the eye
nagladen f.-adna not having
breakfasted
nagrej se P C10 warm o.s.
enough
nagrada se P C1 play, dance
one's fill
naj P irr. find
najadva se I C1 eat one's
fill
najaj se P irr. eat one's
fill
najazmo mint
najdva I C1 find
najlon plastic
najlontše plastic bag
nakani P C2 invite
naklaj P C8 bottle (vegetables)
naklava I C1 bottle "
nakodoši P C2 slander
nakolna anvil also nakolna
nalbat blacksmith
namet heap of snow
namoši se P irr. be all
gooseflesh
namoti P C3 wind up
namozi P C2 milk (much, many)
namurten gloomy
namus honesty
namuzlia honest, decent; shy
namuzlif f.-iva see namuzlia
napadni P C3 attack
napadnuva I C1 attack
napaja I C1 attack
napalóni pl.t. gold coins

napie se P C6 drink one's fill
napolnuva I C1 see polni
napredi P C2 spin (much, many)
napredni P C2 progress, advance
napret adv. forward
naprstok pl.-otsi thimble
napuli se P C2 gaze one's fill at
narakvitsa glove
naredi P C2 arrange, command
nareduva I C1 arrange, command
narutša se P C1 eat (dine) one's
fill
nasadi P C2 plant
nasadva I C1 plant
nasedi se P C2 sit one's fill
nasetši P C4 cut (much, many)
nasledi P C2 inherit
nasleduva I C1 inherit
nasletsvo inheritance
nasmej se P C10 laugh one's fill
nasmeva se I C1 laugh one's fill
naspie se P C7 sleep one's fill
nastavi adv. further
nastin (a) cold
nastini P C3 catch cold
nastinva I C1 catch cold
nasviri se P C2 play one's fill
of music
našeta se P C1 walk, wander one's
fill
natera P C1 drive
naterva I C1 drive
natetši se P C4 swell up
natkaj P C8 weave (much, many)
natopli se P C2 warm o.s. enough
natori P C2 load, freight
natre see vnatre
natrtša se P C1 run one's fill

natrtšva se I C1 race each other nestreken f.-kjna unfortunate
 natšepi P C2 split, chop (much, nevesta voc.nevesto young married
 many) woman, bride dim.neveftše
 natsnoj P C9 warp neženets unmarried man
 natšin manner, way nikni P C3 sprout
 natšinat conceited niknuva I C1 sprout
 natšinva se I C1 be conceited nikájtsa field with newly sown
 naveli P C2 say (much, every- corn
 thing) nikogaš adv. never
 navrie P C6 put on, slip on nisok f.niska low
 nazat adv. late, backward niški pl.t. part of a loom
 nazbora se P C1 talk one's niti...niti neither...nor
 fill niva pl.nivje cultivated field
 nazemi adv. on the ground dim.niftše
 nebo pl.neba heaven niza string
 do nebesi up to heaven niži I C3 string P: na-
 nedela Sunday, week v v next nof f.nova new
 Sunday vo v on Sundays noga pl.nodze foot, leg dim.
vo vta last Sunday nodže
 nedeláva adv. this week nogara sleigh runner
 neidi I C2 not to come noken f.nokjna night-
 ne+jatka fasting-day before a nokeva I C1 spend night
 church festival nokj f. a.nokjta night noke at
 neka part. let, may night nokeska to-night
 neki I C2 not to want nokt nail dim.nokte
 nekni adv. the other day nos pl.nosoj nose dim.nose
 nem dumb nosi I C2 carry, be pregnant
 nema I C1 not to have P: do-
 nemota dumbness vta vleze nosia dress, costume
 the dumbness entered, i.e. noš a.nožo pl.nožoj' knife
 they have quarrels, and don't dim.nože
 speak to each other no(v)embar November
 nemtse palate novina waxing moon
 nepoznat adj. unknown (person) noviške newly ploughed field
 nepriatel' enemy nozdrinka nozdril
 neres pl.nerezi boar nožitsa scissors
 nesi I C2 lay (eggs) P:do- s- nunka voc.nunke godmother,
 nesit pelican marriage witness

nunko m. pl.nunkoj marriage
 witness, godfather
 O
 (o-) verbal prefix; if this
 prefix only perfectivizes
 the (unprefixed) verb to
 which it is attached, then
 it is not listed separately
 (see the unprefixed verb)
 obdeni se P C3 dawn
 obdenva se I C1 dawn
 oberi P C3 gather, choose
 oberva I C1 gather, choose
 obesi P C2 hang
 obesva I C1 hang
 obetka pl.obetki ear-ring
 obiska P C1 taste
 obiskva I C1 taste
 obitšaj pl.obitšaj custom
 oblak¹ pl.-atsi cloud dim.
 oblatše
 oblak² pl.-atsi pommel (on a
 saddle)
 oblánda wafer
 oblatšen f.oblatšna cloudy
 oblatši se I C2 become cloudy
 P: za-
 oblek(v)a I C1 dress
 obletši P C4 dress
 obras a.obrazo pl.-azi cheek
 dim.obraftše
 obratš hoop
 obue P C6 put on shoes
 obuva I C1 put on shoes
 obuvatška foot-wear
 obzori P C2 dawn

odaja pl.odai room dim.odajtše
 odamna adv. long ago
 odberi P C3 choose, select
 odberva I C1 choose, select
 odeli P C2 divide
 odelva I C1 divide
 oderi P C3 skin, strip
 oderva I C1 skin, strip
 od+javi P C2 report somebody's
 departure (to the police)
 odma adv. at once
 odmori se P C2 rest
 odmorva se I C1 rest
 odnesi P C2 carry away, take away
 odnesva I C1 carry away, take away
 oduie P C6 shrink
 odva I C1 go, leave
 odvaj P C8 take out, away
 odváj adv. in the nick of time
 odža m. moslem priest
 odžak pl.odžatsi chimney
 ofinka bilberry
 ofka I C1 scream, moan
 ofni P C3 scream, moan
 oftika tuberculosis
 oftsa sheep od v mleko sheep'
 milk
 oftšar voc.oftšare shepherd
 fem.oftšarka adj.oftški
 ogan a.ogno pl.ognoj fire, fever
 dim.ogantše
 ogladen f.ogladna starving
 ogladni P C5 become hungry
 oglamnik pl-itsi rope halter
 ogledalo mirror
 ogluvi P C5 become deaf
 ogluvni P C5 become deaf
 ognilo flint and steel

ogniške pl.-iškja hearth	oráolia pl.-ij m./f. oro-dancer
ogortši P C2 be embittered	oref a.oreo pl.orej walnut dim.
ogortšuva I C1 be embittered	oreftše
ograda pl.ograge enclosure	orel pl.orli eagle
ograden f.ogradena enclosed	oreof f.oreoꝯ pl.oreóꝯ walnut-
oj I irr. go	oreškof pl.oreškoꝯ walnut-
oka oke, unit of weight equal	orianets pl.-ani native of Ohrid
to 1282 grs.	fem.orianka
okapi se P C2 get a wetting	oris a.orizo rice
okjori P C2 become blind	ornitsa virgin soil
oko pl.otši eye dim.otše	oro dance
oktombar October	ortoma hemp rope dim.ortomtše
olomlani the year before last	oruže weapons adj.oružan,
olovo lead	naoružan
oluk pl.olutsi gutter	osa wasp, bee
onaka adv. like that, that	osina bruise
way	osini P C3 bruise
onamu adv. over there	osinva I C1 bruise
onde(ka) adv. over there	osiromasi (se) P C2 become poor
onegva I C1 this verb has no	osiromašva (se) I C1 become poor
clear meaning, it functions	oska axle
as an expletive, and is used	oslepi P C5 become blind
by some people very	osmak pl.osmatsi measure of
frequently	weight, equals about 50 kg.
onemi P C5 become numb	osnoꝯ warp
onoku adv. that much	ostaj P C8 leave, allow
opaši P C3 gird	ostani P C3 remain, stay
opaška tail	ostanva I C1 remain, stay
opašva I C1 gird	ostari P C5 grow old
opatšina back-side, reverse	osta(v)a I C1 leave, allow
opinok pl.-intsi kind of	osten long stick
sandal	ostini P C3 cool down
opkladi se P C2 bet	ostinva I C1 cool down
oplatška P C1 rob	ostrof a.ostroꝯ pl.ostroꝯ island
oplodi P C2 fructify	osuni se P C3 dawn
oplodva I C1 fructify	osunva se I C1 dawn
optegatš lever on a loom	ošketi P C2 cause damage
ora I C1 plough P: iz-	ošlakan dirty

oteli P C2 calve	pajažina cobweb
oti conj. that, because adv.	pajka duck
why, why not	pajntsá plate
otidi P C4 go away	pak again
otinata I C1 uncork, unstop	palaria f. hat
otko conj. since	palets pl.paltsi thumb dim.
otnati P C2 uncork, unstop	paltše
otpiši P C3 write off	pali I C2 burn, light
otprega I C1 unyoke, take out	pališnik plough-share
(oxen)	palto overcoat
otpregni P C3 unyoke, take out	pambuk cotton adj.pambutšen f.
(oxen)	pambutšna
otruf a.otruo pl.otruj poison	pametva I C1 remember
otsej P C10 sift	pampur steamship
otsek vinegar	pamti I C2 remember P: po-
otšuf pl.otšuj stepfather	panagir fair
ottuka, ottuva adv. from here	pántóni pl.t. trousers
otvora I C1 open	papra fern pl.papriškja
otvori P C2 open	papunets pl.-ntsi bud
ovarda m./f. dude	papuntsi I C2 break out (blossom)
ovde(ka) adv. here	P: iz-
oves a.ovezo oats	para ¹ coin, a hundredth of a
ovezoꝯ slama oats straw	dinar
ozdravi P C5 regain health	para ² I C1 unravel, rip P: iz-
ozdravuva I C1 regain health	pareꝯ steam
oždrebi P C2 foal	pari pl.t. money
oživi P C5 revive	parkira I C1 park
	parmatsi pl.t. banisters
	partizán partisan
	partše piece
	pasi I C2 graze P: na-
pa interj.	pasinok pl.pasintsi step-son
padájtsa epilepsy	pasiške pasture
padlišan tomato	pastir herdsman fem.pastirka
padni P C3 fall	pastrmka trout
pagka I C1 flap	pastur stallion, stud-horse
paja I C1 fall, fall to a	patuva I C1 travel
person's share	paša m. pasha
pajak pl.pajatsi spider	

pat¹ pl.patoj, patiškja road
 dim.pattše

pat² time: dvá pati twice

patets pl.patetsi parting in
 hair

patnik pl.patnitsi traveller

pator drake

paun peacock

pazar market ná ~ at the
 market dim.pazartše adj.
 pazaren

pazarva I C1 trade, bargain

peatš singer fem.peatška

peda span: the distance
 between the tip of the thumb
 and the tip of the little
 finger

pegla¹ iron-heater

pegla² I C1 iron P: iz-

pej I C10 sing P: iz- izna-
 po- za-

pekol hell

pelena napkin

pelivan fighter, hero

pemben violet, purple

pena foam

pendžere window

penjuška stump, log

pepel f. a.pepelta ash

peperuga butterfly

perde curtain

perduf a.perduo pl.perduj
 feather dim. pertse

peri I C3 wash P: iz- za-

pernitsa pillow dim.pernitše

pertse dim. to perduf

pesna song

pesok f. a.pesokta pl.pesotsi

sand adj.pesotšen

pesotšina sandy terrain

pesotšlif f.-iva sandy

peški adv. on foot

pešnik big flat loaf of bread

peškera cave

petel pl.petli rooster dim.petle

petitsa heel dim.petitše

petle¹ see petel

petle² Adam's apple

petlitsa button

petok pl.petotsi Friday

petopras primrose

petrovden a.petrovdeno Day of
 St.Peter and Paul

petšali I C2 earn money, save

petši I C4 bake, roast P: do-
 iz- o-

petšurka mushroom

piájtsa leech

pian adj. drunk

pianitsa m./f. drunkard, soak

pie I C6 drink

pikni P C3 put in, slip in

pila saw

pile chick, bird

pileškó meso chicken meat

piper m./f. a.pipero, piperta
 paprika, pepper

piperka paprika dim.pipertše
stamboltski piperki big round
 paprikas

pirolka implement for beating the
 washing

pirostia andiron

piska shin-bone

pismo letter

piši I C3 write P: na-

pišva I C1 write

pita pie made from thin layers
 of dough and a filling

pitom cultivated

pitulitsa pancake

pivo beer dim.piftse

pizmi I C2 hate

pjata plate

pladne noon pó ~ in the after-
 noon

plakja I C1 pay

plamen a.plameno pl.plamni,
 plameni, plamnoj, plamniškja
 flame

planina pl.planinje mountain

plaši se I C2 be frightened

plata pay, salary

plati P C2 pay

platši I C3 cry

plátška I C1 rob

plátškadžia m./f. robber

plátški pl.t. things

plátško m. pl.plátškoftsi cry-
 baby fem.plátška

plek mould for baking

plemna feed-barn

pleni I C2 rob, steal

pleška shoulder-blade

plet pl.pletoj hedge of
 hazel

pleti I C2 knit P: s-
 pleva chaff

plin gas

plitar brick

plitok f.plitka shallow

plodno drvo fruit tree

ploštáva square

plot a.plodo pl.plodoj fruit

plotša horseshoe

pluk pl.plugoj plough

pluska I C1 blister

(po-) verbal prefix; if this prefix,
 in addition to perfectivizing a
 verb, also carries a "diminutive"
 meaning, then it is not listed
 separately (see the unprefixd
 verb)

po+ardži P C2 spend, buy

pobara P C1 seek, demand

pobegni P C3 flee, run away

poboli se I C2 become ill

pobolva se I C1 become ill

pobratim adopted brother

(pod-) /pod pot/ verbal prefix;
 if this prefix, in addition to
 perfectivizing a verb, also
 carries a "diminutive" meaning,
 then it is not listed separately
 (see the unprefixd verb)

podarok pl.-otsi gift, present

podbel coltsfoot

podeli P C2 distribute, serve out,
 separate

podelva I C1 distribute, serve
 out, separate

podlaj P C8 bark

podlavnuva I C1 bark

podrabortva I C1 imperfective to
 podrabota, see rabota

podue se P C6 swell up

poduva se I C1 swell up

podzemi adv. under the ground

pofali se P C2 boast

poftor adv. for the second time

pogatša type of flat, round bread

pogodi se P C2 find oneself

pogon acre
 pojas belt dim.pojaftše
 pojla I C1 say, command
 pojndelnik Monday
 pokazalets pl.-altsi fore-
 finger
 poke more najpóke most
 pokladi pl.t. carnival
 poklon present, gift
 pokloni¹ P C3 give, grant,
 present ~ se apologize
 pokloni² P C2 pray (in a
 mosque)
 poklonuva I C1 give, grant,
 present ~ se apologize
 pokosi P C2 mow
 pokrivatš blanket
 pokukjnina household
 furnishings
 polazi P C2 start to crawl
 pole field
 polegni P C3 lie down (of hay,
 corn)
 politsa shelf dim.politše
 poljak pl.-atsi field guard
 poln full
 polni I C3 fill P: na-
 polnokj midnight
 polójna half, small of the
 back
 polok¹ pl.-odzi a number of
 handfuls of wheat together
 polok² pl.-odzi nest-egg
 pomini P C3 pass by
 pominva I C1 pass by
 pomirisa P C1 smell
 pomogni P C3 help
 pomoš f. a.pomošta help
 pomošnik pl.-itsi helper
 pomoži P C2 help
 pomožva I C1 help
 pop pl.popoj priest
 popaja pl.popaj pope's wife
 popameten f.-tna intelligent
 popara dish made of stale bread,
 cheese and milk
 popraj P C8 better, improve
~ se improve (health, weather)
 poprak pl.-adzi girth of a saddle
 poprava I C1 better, improve
~ se improve (health, weather)
 porabi P C2 hem
 porasti P C2 grow
 poroditsa parents and children,
 relatives
 poroj pl.poroj torrent, flood
 porta front-door
 portokal orange
 porutša P C1 have breakfast
 porutšek pl.-etsi breakfast
 porutšva I C1 have breakfast
 pos¹ f. a.posta pl.posti reaped
 track
 pos² m. a.posto pl.posti fast
veligdenskí posti Lent
 posadi P C2 plant
 posaka P C1 want, like, love
 posej P C10 sow
 posen f.posna adj. fasting
posna mandža food without fat
 posestrima adopted sister
 poseta visit
 poseti P C2 visit
 posetva I C1 visit
 posini P C3 adopt a child
 posinva I C1 adopt a child

posle adv. afterwards
 posmrtska voda life-giving water
 posop flour
 postava lining
 postek pl.-edzi belt
 postela bed
 posteli P C3 spread
 postelva I C1 spread
 posti I C2 fast P: iz- za-
 pošken honest
 poškja post
 poškjo because
 poškjuva I C1 serve
 pot f. a.potta pl.potoj sweat
 potaki further
 potek part of a plough
 potfakja I C1 seize, grip
 (from below)
 potfati P C2 seize, grip
 (from below)
 poti I C2 be sweating P: iz-
 potkog pl.potkoj horseshoe
 potkoj P C9 shoe (a horse)
 potkova I C1 shoe (a horse)
 potkrenva I C1 see kreni
 potkvas buttermilk
 potkəsni P C3 take a bite
 potkəsnuva I C1 take a bite
 potnej I C10 sweat
 potopašnitsa breeching
 pototski pl.t. rest of home-
 brew
 potpološka quail
 potreba¹ need
 potreba² P C1 need
 potrebuva I C1 need
 potroši P C2 spend money
 po(t)stani P C3 be exhausted
 potšekva I C1 wait (regularly,
 very long)
 potšešti P C2 regale ~ slatko
 serve the sweet
 potšini P C3 rest
 potšinva I C1 rest
 potšni P C3 begin
 potšnuva I C1 begin
 potšva I C1 begin
 povit pl.povidi clematis
 povej pl.povoj bandage, napkin
 povozi P C2 drive (a car) ~ se
 ride
 pozdraf¹ greeting
 pozdraf² adj. f.-ava regaining
 health
 pozdrava I C1 greet
 pozdraven regaining health
 pozdravi P C2 greet
 pozemi adv. on the ground
 poznaj P C8 recognize
 poznat adj. acquaintance
 poznavá I C1 be acquainted with
 požala P C1 be troubled
 požali P C5 complain
 požnie P C7 harvest
 požok pl.požoj snail
 prababa great-grandmother
 pradedo great-grandfather
 pra¹ pl.praoj dust
 pra² adj. f. prava pl.pravi
 right, true
 pravo adv. straight on
 prafnutše great-grandchild
 praj I C8 make, do P: na- za-
 pras a.prazo leek
 prase¹ calf (of the leg)
 prase² pig

praska peach
 praša P C1 ask
 prašak powder
 prašen dusty
 praši I C2 hoe P: s-
 prašina dust
 prašva I C1 ask
 prat pl.pratoj rod, stick,
 switch
 pratška switch, twig
 pravets direction
 pravina truth
 prazen f.prazna empty
 prazni I C3 empty P: iz-
 praznik pl.-itsi feast
 pred da conj. before
 preden f.predna fore-, front
 predi I C2 spin P: do- iz-
 prefakja I C1 be contagious
 prefati P C2 be contagious
 prefrli P C2 throw over v se
 boil over
 prefrl(uv)a I C1 throw over
v se boil over
 pregja yarn
 pregleda P C1 inspect
 pregledva I C1 inspect
 prejav se P irr. overeat
 prejdi P C4 cross
 prejdva I C1 cross
 preklaj P irr. lay down
 somewhere else
 prekolni P C3 curse
 prekrsti se P C2 cross o.s.
 preladi P C2 cool down too
 much
 preladva I C1 cool down too
 much

premesti P C2 put, place somewhere
 else
 premesva I C1 put, place somewhere
 else
 premini P C3 cross, pass by
 preminvva I C1 cross, pass by
 premisli se P C2 change one's
 mind
 premoltši P C2 not to be on
 speaking terms with somebody
 premoltšuva I C1 not to be on
 speaking terms with somebody
 prem(r)eže misfortune, trouble
 prenokeva P C1 spend the night
 prenosi P C2 carry to another
 place
 prenosva I C1 carry to another
 place
 prepetši P C4 bake too much
 preprži P C2 bake, roast too much
 preretši P C4 say once again
 presen f.presna fresh
 preslap mountain-pass
 presletši P C4 change clothes
 presoli P C2 salt too much
 prespie P C7 sleep a little while
 prešlen vertebra (on a spindle)
 preterano adv. extremely
 pretetši P C4 overflow
 pretresi P C2 search
 pretstavi P C2 present
 pretšeka P C1 receive, welcome
 pretšekori P C2 step across
 pretšekva I C1 receive, welcome
 pretši I C2 hinder
 pretšista Feast of the Holy
 Virgin
 prevari P C2 cook too much

prezdrej P C10 become overripe
 preživa I C1 ruminate
 priatelj friend
 prijatel'svo friendship
 priavi P C2 report someone's
 arrival to the police
 priberi P C3 send for
 približi P C3 approach
 pribrat pl.-akja half-brother
 prigodi P C2 prepare, dress up
 prigodva I C1 prepare, dress up
 prikazna tale, story
 prikazva I C1 tell
 prileptšanets pl.-ani native
 of Prilep fem.pripleptšanka
 adj. prilepski
 primni P C3 receive
 primva I C1 receive
 pripadni P C3 belong, be
 epileptic
 pripadnuva I C1 belong, be
 epileptic
 pripaja I C1 see pripadnuva
 pripájt'sa faint, swoon
 pripie se P C6 be thirsty
 pripurno sultry
 prirodnen f.-dna natural,
 home-made
 prisestra half-sister
 pristudi P C2 become cold
 pritšesna eucharist
 pritšesti se P C2 receive the
 eucharist
 pritšesva se I C1 receive the
 eucharist
 pritška I C1 pinch
 prle pl.prli'a young donkey
 prlitsa quail
 (pro-) verbal prefix; if this
 prefix only perfectivizes the
 (unprefixed) verb to which it
 is attached, then it is not
 listed separately (see the
 unprefixed verb)
 prodaj P C8 sell
 prodava I C1 sell
 prodavatš seller
 progori P C2 utter
 prolet f. a.prole^{tt}a spring
proletoski last spring
 adj.proleten f.proletna
 promeni P C3 change (clothes)
 promenva I C1 change (clothes)
 propadni P C3 be lost, perish
 propadva I C1 be lost, perish
 propas f. a.propasta loss
 propasti P C2 ruin, spoil
 propasva I C1 ruin, spoil
 pros adv. f.prosta simple
 proso millet
 prostum adv. (stand) erect
 protšuen f.-uena famous
 prplitsa iron to which the
 upper mill-stone is attached
 prpor stomach of a hen
 prs a.prsto pl.prsti finger
 dim.prste
 prska I C1 sprinkle, pour (rain)
 P: po-
 prsten pl.prstenje ring
 prša dandruff
 prtš male goat
 prvostinka cow which calves for
 the first time
 prži I C2 bake, roast P: do- iz-
 ptsojsa P C1 die (animals)

ptsojsva I C1 die (animals)
pufka maize-grain dim.puftše
puka I C1 burst, shoot P: iz-
pukni P C3 burst, shoot
puli I C2 look
pupale roll (of bread)
pupunets hoopoe
pustikukja m./f. squanderer,
prodigal
puška rifle
puškenitsa perfidious woman
puški P C2 let go, drop, send
puškja I C1 let go, drop, send
puzderka hards, hurds

R

rabadžia coachman
rabi I C2 seam
rabota¹ work, thing
rabota² I C1 work P: do- iz-
po- s- pod- sec.ipf.
podrabotva
rabotnik pl.-itsi worker fem.
rabotnitška
radión radio
rados f. a.radosta joy,
gladness, feast (of wedding,
christening)
radosen f.-sna glad
radva se I C1 celebrate, feast
P: iz-
raft pl.raftoj shelves, shelving
raj pl.raj paradise
ra(j)atlok free man, without
worries adj.rajatisan
rak cancer
raka pl.ratse hand, arm dim.

ratše augm.ratšiške
rakaf a.rakoo pl.rakaj sleeve
rakatka pl-tki a handful of
wheat (which the harvester cuts)
rakia f. brandy dim.rakitška
religiózen religious
ralnik plough-share
ralo¹ plough
ralo² pair
ramen f.ramna even, level
ramka frame, honey-comb
ramni I C2 level P: iz-
ramnina plain, level spot
ramnitsa see ramnina
ramo pl.ramena shoulder dim.
ramentse
ranenik pl.-itsi foster-son
dim. ranenitše
ranenitška foster-daughter
rani I C2 feed P: na-
rano adv. early
rap pl.raboj seam
ras a.rasto pl.rastoj wooden
bat in the fulling-mill
rasipi P C3 break, spoil ~ se
deprave
rasipva I C1 break, spoil ~ se
deprave
raskreni P C3 straighten up
raskrenva I C1 straighten up
raskrsnitsa crossing
rasol cabbage storen ~
sauerkraut
rasolnitsa pickle
raspapuntsi P C2 break out
(blossom)
raspara P C1 unsew, unrip
rasparva I C1 unsew, unrip

raspaši P C3 ungird
raspašva I C1 ungird
rasplatši se P C3 burst into
tears
raspleti P C2 knit
raspuškenik perfidious man
fem.raspuškenitsa
raspuški P C2 dismiss, let get
out of hand
rasti I C2 grow
rastóri P C2 unload
rastórva I C1 unload
rastsepi P C2 split
rastsepva I C1 split
rastsuti P C2 come into full
bloom
rastsutva I C1 come into full
bloom
rasturi P C2 distribute,
disperse
rasturva I C1 distribute,
disperse
ratšen f.ratšna adj. hand-
ratška handle
razberi P C3 understand
razberva I C1 understand
razboj a.razbojo pl.razboj
loom
razboľi se P C2 fall sick
razbudi P C2 waken
razbudva I C1 waken
razdava I C1 distribute,
hand out
razdeli se P C2 separate
razdelva se I C1 separate
razgašken ungirdled, untidy
razmesi P C2 knead (for the
2nd time)

razmesva I C1 knead (for the
2nd time)
razvie P C6 develop
razviva I C1 develop
rbe backbone
rebro rib
redi I C2 put in order, in rows
P: na-
reka river dim.retšiške
remen pl.remenje belt
renda I C1 grate P: iz-
rende grater, rasp
repa turnip, beet šekerna ~
sugar-beet
rešeto sieve
rešetrka thistle
ret¹ a.redo pl.redoj order, turn,
row
retši P C4 say P: do-
retšisi adv. almost, hardly
reze latch
rgja rust
rgjosa P C1 rust
rgjosva I C1 rust
ribi fish dim.riptše
ribar fisherman
riden f.ridna hilly
rika I C1 bray (of donkey);
low (of cow)
rini I C3 dig P: do- iz-
ripni P C3 jump
risjanets pl.-ani a Christian
fem.risjanka
ristos Christ
rit pl.ridoj hill dim.rittše
rka I C1 snore
rkulets pl.rkultsi germ
roba stock

roda race, family
 rodan spinning-wheel
 rodi P C2 give birth
 roditeli pl.t. parents
 rodnina pl.rodnini, rodninje
 relative
 rofja thunder
 rogja I C1 give birth
 rogozina straw-bed
 roj se I C9 swarm P: iz-
 rok pl.rogoj horn dim.rodže
 rop slave
 ropsvo slavery
 ropa I C1 knock, beat P: do-
 po- za-
 rosa dew
 rš a.ršta rye
 ršintše small reel for spun
 wool
 rt pl.rtož greyhound
 rten pl.rteni offshoot (of a
 plant)
 rti I C2 begin to sprout P:
 iz-
 ruba trousseau
 ruda ore
 rufet clothing, dress
 ruga: na u in kind
 rug(v)a I C1 herd someone's
 sheep and be paid in kind
 runo fleece (the wool shorn
 from a sheep at one time)
 rus adj. blond
 rusin pl.rusi Russian fem.
 rusinka
 rutša I C1 have lunch
 rutšek pl.-etsi dinner, noon
 meal

ruzgaets cartilage, gristle
 ruža rose; proper name
 ržan adj. rye
 ržejntsa stalk of rye, rye-straw
 rži I C2 neigh, whinny
 S
 <s- /s- z-/ verbal prefix; if
 this prefix only perfectivizes
 the (unprefixed) verb to which
 it is attached, then it is not
 listed separately (see the un-
 prefixed verb)
 sabájle a.sabájleto adv. early
 in the morning
 sabja sabre
 sabota Saturday
 sadi I C2 plant
 saka I C1 want, like, love
 sakaldisa P C1 make nervous,
 excite
 sakaldisva I C1 make nervous,
 excite
 salam adj.indecl. sane
 salo fat (of pigs)
 samar pack-saddle adj.samaren
 samo adv. only
 samsur or namsur adj.indecl.
 gloomy, depressed
 sandalia f. chair dim. sanda-
 liftše
 sandalka sandal
 sanduk pl.-utsi chest, box
 sanja sleigh
 sanokj adv. the whole night
 santim centimetre
 santratš tool of the blacksmith

sapun soap
 sapunitsa lather (of soap)
 sat¹ a.sado pl.sadoj pan, pot
 sat² hour, clock pet sato
 five o'clock pet sati five
 hours
 satš pl.satšoj large metal lid
 sažgi pl.t. soot
 sebitšen f.-tšna selfish
 sedele seat of a saddle
 sedelo nest
 sedi I C4 sit, live, stay
 P: po-
 sedlo saddle
 sedni P C3 sit down
 sednuva I C1 sit down
 sega now
 seis a.seizo pl.seizi groom,
 stable-boy
 sej I C10 sow, sift
 sekade adv. everywhere
 sekira large axe dim.
 sekirtše
 sektembar September
 seljanets pl.-ani peasant,
 country man fem.seljanka
 selo village adj.selski
 seme seed
 semka seed
 sen iron pivot
 senka shadow
 seno hay
 sermia f. property
 sestra sister dim.sestritše
 seti se P C2 remember
 setne after that
 setši I C4 cut P: iz-
 setšilo cutting edge

setško see sjetško
 sever North
 siaľitsa electric lamp
 sif f.siva grey
 sila force
 silen f.silna strong
 sin¹ pl.sinoj voc.sine son
 dim.sintše form of address also
 sinko
 sin² blue
 sinjak hoar-frost
 sintšes corn flower
 sipájntsa smallpox adj.sipájntšaf
 a.sipajntšájo f.sipajntšaj
 sirak pl.siratsi orphan dim.
 siratše
 siriške rennet toj e bes u he
 looks poorly
 siroma adj. a.siromájo no fem.,
 no ntr., pl.siromasi poor
 siromaftše poor child
 siromaški poor
 siten f.sitna tiny
 sito sieve dim.sitse
 sjetško February
 skakalo waterfall
 skakulets grass-hopper
 skala stairs
 skap expensive
 skapia f. expensiveness
 skele scaffolding
 skita I C1 wander, tramp, fool
 about
 skitnik pl.-itsi wanderer fem.
 skitnitška
 sklopets pl.-optsi mortar
 skloptsi pl.t. bowl with cover
 skoba horseshoe

skolovranets pl.-antsi starling
 skopen castrated
 skopjanets pl.-ani native of
 Skopje fem.skopjanka adj.
 skopski
 skorina I C1 waken
 skorna boot
 skorni P C3 waken
 skraluš scale
 skrišem adv. secretly
 skrišen f.skrišna stealthy
 skrka rocky ground
 skukaĭi se P C2 be stiff with
 cold
 skut lap (part of the body)
 skuvaĭ leavings, scraps
 slaga I C1 obey
 slama pl.slamje straw
 slana hoar-frost
 slanatok chick-pea
 slanina lard
 slap f.slaba weak
 sĭeg(v)a I C1 go down,
 descend
 sĭekva I C1 undress
 sĭepó oko pl.sĭepí otši temple
 sĭes a.sĭezo pl.sĭezoj mallow
 sĭetši P C4 undress
 sĭezi P C4 go down, descend
 sĭliva plum
 sĭlivójtša plum brandy
 sloboda freedom
 slok pl.slogoj ridge between
 two furrows
 slovo letter
 složi se P C2 agree
 složva se I C1 agree
 sluša I C1 listen, hear

slušni P C3 listen, hear
 slutšva se I C1 happen
 služba service
 služi I C2 serve
 služitel server (of the pope)
 smatok pl.smatštsi bad egg
 smej¹ I C10 dare
 smej² se I C10 laugh P: po-
 smeni P C3 change, exchange,
 take turns
 smenva I C1 change, exchange,
 take turns
 smesti P C2 place, put up
 smesva I C1 place, put up
 smeša P C2 mix
 smešen f.smešna ridiculous
 smešva I C1 mix
 smok pl.smokoj snake
 smokva fig
 smola resin
 smrdeĭ stench
 smrdí I C2 stink P: po- pro-
 smreka juniper
 smrekuĭka juniper-berry
 smrt f. a.smrĭtta death
 snaĭ voc.snao pl.snaj wife of
 son or brother
 snaĭa body, torso
 sneguĭka snowdrop
 snek pl.snegoj snow dim.
 snedže
 snoj I C9 warp P: do- za-
 snop pl.snopje, snopoj sheaf
 snoški adv. last night
 (so-) verbal prefix; if this
 prefix only perfectivizes the
 (unprefixed) verb to which it
 is attached, then it is not

listed separately (see the un-
 prefixed verb)
 soba stove
 soberi P C3 harvest, gather
 soberva I C1 harvest, gather
 sobor fair, feast
 sobue P C6 take off (stockings,
 shoes)
 sobuva I C1 take off (shoes,
 stockings)
 soj pl.sojoj family, race
 sok pl.sokoj juice
 sokak pl.sokatsi street
 sokol pl.sokĭi falcon
 soĭ f. a.soĭta salt dim.
 soĭtsa
 soĭarnik salt-barrel
 soĭi I C2 salt P: do- na- po-
 soĭka spool
 somun loaf of bread
 sontse sun
 sopka hobble, fetter (for a
 horse)
 sor pl.soroj a kind of hatchet
 sovrá low table
 soza tear dim.soze
 spanakj spinach
 spanko pl.spankoftsi sleepy-
 head fem.spanka
 spasi P C2 save
 spasuva I C1 save.
 spej P C10 sing (in church)
 speva I C1 sing (in church)
 spie I C7 sleep P: po- za-
 spila rocky ground
 spitsa spoke
 splina spleen
 społájtí thank you

spomeni P C3 mention, commemo-
 rate
 spotina I C1 sweat
 spotni P C3 sweat
 sprega I C1 put to (oxen)
 spregni P C3 put to (oxen)
 spremi P C3 prepare
 sprem(v)a I C1 prepare
 srbin pl.srbi a Serbian fem.
 srbinka adj.srpski
 srnja chamois
 srp pl.srpoj sickle
 srt pl.srtoj top ridge of a
 mountain
 srtše heart
 stablo trunk (of a tree)
 stalno adv. continuous
 stamboltski adj. of Istanbul
 stani P C3 get up, stand up P:
 pod-; happen; begin
 stanva I C1 get up, stand up;
 happen; begin
 staor rat
 stap pl.stapoj walking stick
 dim.staptše
 stapalo foot-sole, foot of a
 stocking dim.stapaltše
 star old
 starej I C10 grow old
 stariške old man
 staros f. a.starosta old age
 stava a heap of sheaves
 stavi¹ I C2 put sheaves together
 P: na-
 stavi² P C2 put, lay
 stavuva se I C1 meet
 stelja a thick cover under the
 saddle

stemni se P C5 get dark P: za- strebro silver adj.strebren
stemnuva se I C1 get dark strebrolúbets pl.-úptsi miser
stena stone fem.strebrolúpka
stenka I C1 groan, moan streda Wednesday
stigni P C3 reach, arrive; strede middle
be sufficient streden f.-dna middle-
stig(v)a I C1 reach, arrive; srednio prs middle finger
be sufficient stredina see strede
stiptsa alum streken f.-kjna fortunate, lucky
stoj I C9 stand P: po- strekjáolia m./f. a lucky person
stok pl.stogoj haystack strela arrow
stoka cattle adj.stotšen stretselo feast
f.stotšna strežer pole in the middle of
stol pl.stolój bench dim. the threshing-floor
stoltše striko pl.strikoj father's
stolitsa chair brother; also form of address
stomna water-jug dim.stomne to an older man
stonogalka centipede strina voc.strino father's
stori P C2 do, complete brother's wife; also form of
~ se seem, appear, happen address to an older woman
toj se store dvajse godini he striži I C4 cut hair P: do- iz-
is 20 years old o- pod-
storva I C1 do complete ~ se strmen¹ pl.strmni stirrup
seem, appear, happen strmen² f.strmna steep
stotka one-dinar coin stroj pl.strojoj wedding
stra m. a.strao pl.straoj fear strojnik pl.-itsi match-maker
mu go imam strao I'm afraid struk a.-go pl.-goj plane
of him struži I C3 plane P: iz-
stram shame studen f.-dena cold
stramota interj. It's a shame studí I C2 be cold
strami se I C2 be ashamed, be stut pl.studoj cold
shy suaria m. constable
stramlif f.-iva shy, ashamed suarka dry wood, dry twig
strana side sudia judge
stransvo abroad sudžutsi pl.t. home-made sausage
strašen f.-šna fearful suf f.sua pl.sui dry
stratška magpie sukalo rolling pin
stre@ pl.strej eaves sukna fabric

suo dry place
suodlitsa dry river-bed
surla woodwind instrument
surme wooden bolt for doors
surójtša fire-wood
suši I C2 dry P: iz-
sut pl.sudoj court
sutši I C3 roll out (paste)
P: iz-
svadba wedding
svakja¹ voc.svake female guest
at a wedding Š
svakja² I C1 understand
svat voc.svatu pl.svatoj male
guest at a wedding starió ~
oldest guest at a wedding
svati P C2 understand
svedok pl.svedotsi witness
svekor voc.svekre father of
husband
svekrva voc.svekrvo mother of
husband
sves f. a.svesta consciousness
sveska voc.svesko sister of
your wife
svesti se P C2 regain
consciousness
sveškenik pl.-itsi priest
sveškja candle dim.sveškentse
svetets pl.sveťtsi saint
sveti I C2 shine (moon) P: po-
svetlo light
svetni P C3 flash
svetnuva I C1 flash
svetuľka fire-fly
svinja pl.svinje swine
svinjar voc.svinjare swine-
herd fem.svinjarka

sviratš player, musician
sviri I C2 play music
svirka flute
svitši I C2 twitter
svrdel pl.svrdľi drill dim.
svrdle
svršenik pl.-itsi fiancé
svršenitsa fiancée
svrti P C2 turn
svrtva I C1 turn
Š
šajak type of heavy woollen
fabric
šamak reed
šamia kerchief dim.šamiftše
handkerchief
šandan candlestick
šara design, pattern
šaren f.šarena multicoloured
šarkánoga with piebald legs (of
a horse)
šavar reed
šej a.šeo pl.šeoj thing
šeker sugar adj.šekeren f.-rna
šeta I C1 walk, wander P: pro-
šia neck
šie I C6 sew P: so-
šina hoop
šini se P C3 sprain
šinik pl.-itsi measure of weight
for corn
šip pl.šipje dog rose
šipinka rose-hip
širok wide, broad
šiše bottle dim.šišentse
škembe tripe

šketa damage
šketi I C2 cause damage
šketlif f.-iva harmful
škitsa¹ plank, bat, stave
škitsa² part of a plough
škjave sorrel
š(kj)om conj. as soon as
škjurets pl.-rtsi cricket
školovan f.školovana, -vána
learned
škola or školía school
škriptsa part of a loom
šnjajder tailor
špore stove with oven
štrk pl.štrkoj stork
štrp f.štrba toothless
šumjak pl.-atsi dense forest
šupelka flute, (shepherd's)
reed
šura pl.šurej wife's brother
šušlek sleet
šutka broken water-jug
švaler lover

T

taban beam
tabiet custom, habit
tafta tray
taftabitsa bedbug
tağa sorrow, pain
taka adv. like this, like
that
tamám precisely, exactly
tambura tamburitza
tamidžána large jar
tamošen f.-šna of that place
tamu adv. there

286

tapan drums
tapandžia drummer
tapia deed of ownership
tatko pl.-oj, -oftsi father
tava frying-pan dim.taftše
tavan ceiling
taži I C2 be sad, long P: po-
tegaets a.tegájtso plantain
tekne bread-trough
tekni P C3 understand, have a
mind for something
teknuva I C1 understand, have a
mind for something
tel pl.teløj wire
telasam vampire
tele calf
teleškó meso veal
televizór TV
teme top of head, scalp
temel' foundation
temen f.temna dark
temjan incense
temjanuška violet
temnitsa darkness
tendžere pan dim.tendžertše
teneke tinned iron
tepa I C1 beat P: na- o-
teptsia f. large shallow metal
bowl (for baking) dim.
teptsiftše
tera I C1 drive, chase
tersene adj.indecl. obstinate
ter(d)zia tailor
tesla adz
testo dough
tetin voc.tetine husband of
father's sister dim.tetintše
tetka voc.tetko father's sister

tetoftšanets pl.-ani native
of Tetovo fem.tetoftšanka
tetši I C4 flow P: do- sec.
ipf.dotekva
težok f.teška heavy, difficult
tikva gourd
til nape, back of the neck
tilje blunt back of an axe
tinja silt, mud
tkaatš weaver fem.tkaatška
tkaj I C8 weave P: do- iz-
tlanik place near the hearth
tlej I C10 glow
toğr freight, load
togaj, togaš then
tokmi I C2 prepare, get ready
toku adv. that much
top pl.topøj gun
topéjntsa crumbled and
roasted maize bread
topi I C2 melt P: s-
topilo water in which hemp
is soaked
toplí I C2 warm P: iz- s-
za-
topol f.topla warm
topola poplar
toptan adv. all together
torba bag
tóri P C2 load
tornik pl.-itsi Tuesday
torva I C1 load
totšen f.-ena sharp
totši¹ I C2 sharpen P: na-
totši² I C2 pulverize P: iz-
totšilo whetstone
totšnik pl.-itsi pounder
traj I C8 be silent, last P:po-

trap pl.trapje trench, ditch
for irrigation
trapi I C2 furrow P: na-
treba I C1 need, must, be
necessary
trebi I C2 clean, pick over P:
iz-
trem pl.tremøj porch, doorway
trendafil rose
tresi I C2 shake P: iz-
treska fever, malaria
treskoti I C2 bang, thunder,
explode
treva pl.trevje grass dim.
treftše
trga I C1 pull
trgni P C3 start out, begin to
move
trgnuva I C1 start out, begin to
move
trgoets pl.-oftsi merchant
trgovia trade, commerce
trie I C6 rub, wipe
tritsi pl.t. bran
trkala I C1 roll P: iz-
trkalo wheel
trlinka black thorn, sloe
trlo sheep-fold
trn pl.trnje thorn, black thorn
tro a little bit
troši I C2 spend money P: iz-
troška crumb dim.troftše
trošok expense, cost
trotška see tro
trpešlif f.-iva patient
trska reed, cane
trtša I C1 run P: po-
truba trumpet

287

trudna adj. pregnant
true I C6 poison P: o-
trup pl.trupje trunk
trut work
tsalt pl.tsaltoj precentor
tsalva I C1 chant (in church)
tsar voc.tsare Czar adj.
tsarski
tsarsvo Czardom
tsarėjtsa weasel
tsemi I C2 strain (milk) P:
iz-
tsefka barrel (of a spool)
tsel adj. whole
tsepėjntsa log, chopping-
block
tsepets pl.-eptsi part of a
loom
tsepi I C2 split, chop P: iz-
tserepna earthenware dish for
baking bread dim.tserepnitše
tserevo intestine dim.
tsereftše
tsigla brick
tsimet cinnamon
tsitsa I C1 breast-feed P: na-
tsrkva church adj.tsrkven
tsrn black
tsrñ džiger see džiger
tsrnitsa mulberry tree
tsrnka pupil of eye
tsrpi I C2 dip, draw (water)
P: iz- na-
tsrven red
tsrvenik red earth
tsrvets pl.-ftsi worm
tsrvojadina wormhole
tsrvosan worm-eaten

tsut blossom
tsuti I C2 blossom
tsveke flower
tšadi I C2 smoke P: iz-
tšafka jackdaw
tšakarlia adj.indecl. having a
cast in the eye
tšakarlif f.-iva pl.-ii see
tšakarlia
tšakia f. pocket-knife dim.
tšakiftše
tšakmak pl.-atsi lighter
tšam pl.tšamje pine tree
tšamtše cup, mug
tšaršaf pl.-afi tablecloth,
bed sheet
tšaršia market-place, downtown
tšas¹: ováj tšas at once
tšas² f. a.tšasta pl.tšasti part
tšaša cup, glass
tšat a.tšado pl.tšadoj smoke
tšatia f. roof
tšebritsa savory
tšedo child
tšejntsa wheat adj.tšejntšen f.
tšejntšna
tšejs a.tšejzo pl.tšejzi
trousseau
tšeka I C1 wait P: do- po-
tšekkan hammer dim.tšekantše
whetstone (for a scythe)
tšekor step
tšekori I C2 step
tšel shoe dim.tšele
tšelar shoemaker
tšelat m./f. sg.t. a.tšela^{ta}
children
tšelgadžia music-player

tšelik steel
tšelo forehead
tšamerika white hellebore
tšenka maize adj.tšenkaren
f.tšenkarna
tšenkarnitsa maize bread
tšep pl.tšepoj nozzle, spout
tšepka I C1 scratch, drag out
P: iz-
tšeporok pl.-otsi hand-span
(distance between thumb and
forefinger)
tšera yesterday adj.tšerašen
f.tšerašna
tšerešna cherry
tšerga rug
tšes f. a.tšesta honour
tšesen f.tšesna honourable
tšesti I C2 regale, honour
(guests)
tšestit happy, lucky
tšestiti tsare Honourable
Czar
tšeša I C1 scratch P: iz-
tšešel pl.tšešli comb
tšešla I C1 comb P: iz- na- po-
tšešma tap, faucet
tšetvrtok Thursday
tšikoláto chocolate
tšingen adj. enamelled
tšingo enamel
tšini I C2 cost, be fit for,
seem
tšinia f. glass, water-bottle
dim.tšiniftše
tšis f.tšista clean, pure
tšita I C1 read P: po- pro-
tšivia f. wedge

tšizma boot
tšklemnitsa ridge (of a roof)
tškrapja scorpion
tšmej I C10 smolder
tšoek pl.tšoetsi, luge man,
person, human being
tšoetše pupil of the eye
tšontšoklet(s) sun-flower
tšorap stocking
tšorba soup
tšpirt pl.tšpirtoj match
tšudi se I C2 be astonished
tšudo miracle za ~ extremely
tšue P C6 hear
tšuka I C1 beat, knock; geld
P: iz-
tšukni P C3 beat, thump
tšunka small boat
tšupa (nubile) girl dim.tšupe,
tšupentse
tšurilo snout
tšutšurliga skylark
tšuva I C1 conserve, guard
tšuvar guard
tšužgi f.tšužgja unknown
a.tšužgio
tuginets pl.-intsi stranger,
foreigner
tuk gravy
tuka adv. here
tuku conj. but, however
tula brick
tumatši I C2 translate
tumba hillock
tupájntsa fist dim.tupájntše
turi P C2 pour
turlia kind, sort
turšia f. sauerkraut

turta unleavened bread with
sugar
turtšin pl.turtsi Turk fem.
turtšinka adj. turtski
turtsia Turkey
turva I C1 pour
tutun tobacco
tu(v)a here
tuzluk pl.-utsi stocking
without foot
tvarlia: ne e v na litse he
looks badly
tvrdoġlâets stubborn
tvrť f.tvrda hard, firm

U

ubaf f.ubaa pl.ubaj beautiful,
fine, nice; tasty
udaj se P C8 drown
udira I C1 hit, strike
udri P C2 hit, strike
ugar fallow
ugasni P C5 quench
ugrej P C10 shine (of sun)
ugreva I C1 shine (of sun)
ugurtsus mischievous person
ukni P C3 blow
ukoj P C9 shoe (a horse)
wrongly
ukova I C1 shoe (a horse)
wrongly
ukradi P C2 steal
ukupno adv. all together
ukusen f.ukusna tasty
uġera cholera
uġiške swarm
umira I C1 die

umiratška death
umnik pl.umnitsi wisdom tooth
umori se P C2 get tired
umorva se I C1 get tired
umri P C5 die
uplaši P C2 frighten
upotrebi P C2 use
upotrebva I C1 use
urka distaff
uskip moon on the wane
usluži P C2 render service
uslužva I C1 render service
usta mouth dim.uste
ustrami se P C2 be ashamed, be
shy
uš, uše, uške still, more
utia f. iron-heater
utka pl.utki owl
utlějsa P C1 iron
utlějsva I C1 iron
utre adv. to-morrow utrě vetšer
to-morrow night
utrina pl.utrinje early morning
utro morning
utši I C2 learn, teach P: iz-
na-
uvo pl.uši ear dim.uše
uvredi se P C2 be offended
uzda bridle, rein
uzdrej P C10 ripen
uzengia f. stirrup
užina¹ lunch
užina² I C1 have lunch

V

vadi¹I C2 irrigate P: na- za-
vadi²I C2 take out (P: izvaj)

vaka adv. this way, like this
vakaf a.vakao pl.vakaj parish
vakja see fakja
vaġa I C1 full P: iz-
vaġjtsa fulling-mill
vaġjtsar fuller
valia m. governor of a vilayet
vampir vampire
vamu adv. here
vanġġa vanilla
vaptsa P C1 paint
vapt(s)va I C1 paint
var f. a.varta lime
vari I C2 cook P: do- s- za-
varilo a dish of meat and
cooked vegetables
varosa P C1 limewash
varosva I C1 limewash
vati see fati
vazduk air
vazna vase
vdeni P C3 thread, put in
vdenva I C1 thread, put in
vdoets pl.vdoftsi widower
vdojtsa widow
vedar f.vedra clear
vedrina bright, nice weather
vek age, epoch
veke already
veġentse thick woollen rug
veġesjanets pl.-ani native of
Titov Veles fem.veġesjanka
veli I C2 say
veli(g)den Easter adj.veġig-
denski veġigdenski posti Lent
velí petok Good Friday
veli tšetvrtok Maundy Thursday
velġa sabota Easter Eve

vena vein
venets pl.ventsí wreath
ventša P C1 marry
ventša(v)a I C1 marry
veren f.verna true
veresia f. tally
verva I C1 believe P: za-
ververitsa squirrel
vesla oar
vesnik newspaper
veš a.veškio f.vešta pl.veški
skilful, adroit
veter a.vetro pl.vetroj wind
dim.vetertše
vetroit windy
vetšer f. a.vetšerta evening
vetšerva to-night adj.vetšerni
vetšera¹ supper
vetšera² I C1 have supper
vetšernitsa evening star, Venus
vezatška woman-embroiderer
vezi I C3 embroider P: do- na-
po- sec.ipf.dovezva
vežgja eyebrow
vidi P C4 see v se seem
vie I C6 howl; geld
vika I C1 call
vikni P C3 call
vila pitchfork dim.viġe
vilitsa jaw
viluška fork dim.viġuftše
vime udder
vino wine dim.vintse
vir pl.viroj pool, puddle
visina height
visok high, long
vistina truth, interj. indeed
višna morello

vitel pl.vitli small stick where the water-jugs stand
 used in tying sheaves; vodovrik bog
 whirlpool vojna war
 vitka I C1 wind, wrap vojniki pl.vojnitsi soldier
 vitkalnik large pie with vojska army
 several layers of dough vol pl.voloj ox adj.voltski
 rolled in circles and filled volja will
 with meat, cheese or cabbage volk pl.voltsi wolf fem.voltšitsa
 vitkan curdled dim. voltše, voltšentse augm.
 viuľitsa snowstorm voltšiške adj. voltški, voltšof
 vizba store-room volna wool
 vizgodina leap year volnen f.volnena woollen
 vizíta visit vologar herdsman of oxen fem.
 vjani P C3 ride on horseback vologarka
 vla a.vlao pl.vlasi Arumanian vos a.vozo pl.vozoj train
 fem.vlajnika adj.vlaški voška louse
 vladika m. pl.vladitsi bishop vozi I C2 drive v se ride
 vlado, vlade proper name voziške thill
 vlakno hair vra a.vrao pl.vraoj grain to be
 vlas f. a.vlasta power threshed
 vlažen f.vlažna damp vrakja I C1 give back v se
 vleg(v)a I C1 enter come back
 vletši se I C2 creep; hang vrati P C2 give back v se come
 about back
 vletška se I C1 creep; hang vrapťše sparrow
 about vrata inner door dim.vratnitše
 vlezi P C4 enter vrekja sack
 vnatre inside vrel hot
 voda pl.voge water vreme time, weather na v in time
 vodar water-carrier fem. vreteno spindle
 vodarka vrf¹ a.vəro pl.vəroj top dim.
 vodéjntsa water-mill vrftše
 vodéjntšar miller vrf² a.vəro cream
 voden f.vodena wet vrftsa shoe-lace
 vodilo rein vrie I C6 boil, swarm
 voditsi pl.t. Epiphany, vrnežľif f.-iva rainy
 Baptism of Christ vrni I C3 rain P: pod- za-
 vodnik corner in the kitchen vrs f. a.vrsta generation nie

sne edná v we are of the (of a Moslem woman)
 generation/age zabulva se I C1 cover the face
 vrsnik pl.-itsi person of the za da conj. in order to
 same age fem. vrsnitsa zablaf a.zablájo f.zablaa buck-
 vršak upper leaf of the toothed
 tobacco-plant zabordžen indebted
 vrši¹ I C2 thresh P: o- zadátša task
 vrši² I C2 engage P: s- zaden f.zadna back, rear-
 vršidba threshing season zaduf a.zaduo asthma
 vršľi I C2 sharpen P: na- zaduša, zadúša commemoration of
 vrti I C2 turn the death of someone
 vrvi I C2 go, walk zaduvľif f.-iva pl.-ij asthmatic
 vujko pl.vujkoj mother's zafakja I C1 seize, grab
 brother dim.vujťše zafati P C2 seize, grab
 vujna voc.vujno wife of zagar hunting dog
 mother's brother zagini P C3 perish, lose one's
 vrzi P C3 tie way
 vrzva I C1 tie zaginva I C1 perish, lose one's
 vzemi adv. in the ground way
 z zagrapp pl.-abi armful (of hay)
 zagubi P C2 lose one's way
 zaj P irr. set (of sun)
 zajak pl.zajatsi hare dim.
 z- see (s-) zajatše
 (za-) verbal prefix; if this zajatškó meso hare's meat
 prefix, in addition to per- zajdva I C1 set (of sun)
 fectivizing a verb, also zajsi P C4 carry, bring away
 carries an "inchoative" zakľutšva I C1 lock
 meaning, then it is not listed zakolňi P C3 slaughter
 separately (see the unprefixad zakolňi se P C3 swear, take oath
 verb) zakop funeral
 zabra woman with large teeth zakopa P C1 bury
 zablo pl.-oftsi man with large zakopva I C1 bury
 teeth zakrie P C6 cover, hide a bit
 zabóraj P C8 forget zalak a.zalago pl.zaladzi
 zabora(v)a I C1 forget mouthful, bite dim.zaladže
 zabordži P C2 borrow, run zalej P C10 water
 into debts zalepi P C2 stick
 zabuľi se P C2 cover the face

zaloška sole
 zamba punch (a tool)
 zameni P C2 replace, succeed
 zamesi P C2 knead
 zamesva I C1 knead
 zameša se P C1 mix, interfere
 zamešva se I C1 mix, interfere
 zamini P C3 leave
 zaminva I C1 leave
 zamisli se P C2 sink in
 thought
 zamratši se P C2 get dark
 zamrzni P C3 freeze
 zanat handicraft, trade
 zap a.zabo pl.zabi tooth
 zapat West
 zapali P C2 light, set afire
 zapalva I C1 light, set afire
 zaperva I C1 sec.ipf. of
zaperi see peri
 zapira I C1 stop
 zapójl'a P C1 command
 zaposli P C2 employ, hire v se
 find a job
 zapostuva I C1 sec.ipf of
zaposti see posti
 zapri P C5 stop
 zaprška thick gravy with
 onion and paprika
 zapusti P C2 neglect
 zarabi P C2 hem
 zarabota P C1 earn
 zaraduva I C1 earn
 zareži P C2 prune
 zarežva I C1 prune
 zaripnat hoarse
 zaripni P C3 become hoarse
 zaripnuva I C1 become hoarse

zarzavat sg.t. vegetables
 zasebno adv. separately, indi-
 vidually
 zaspie P C7 1. see spie 2. lull
 to sleep
 zaspiva I C1 lull to sleep
 zastani P C3 stand still
 zastanva I C1 stand still
 zastoj P C9 stand still a little
 while
 zastupi P C2 replace
 zaš(kj)o why
 zategatš lever (on a loom)
 zatilok pl.-otsi collar
 zatož therefore
 zatšuva P C1 preserve, guard
 zatvor jail
 zatvora I C1 close
 zatvori P C2 close
 zavari P C2 1. see vari 2. burn
 zavien tortuous
 zaviftsi pl.t. kind of puttees
 zavitka P C1 wind, wrap
 završi P C2 end, finish
 zavrti P C2 turn
 zavrtva I C1 turn
 zbogum good-bye, farewell
 zbor pl.zboroj word
 zbor(v)a I C1 talk
 zdinva I C1 pant
 zdi(v)ni P C3 pant
 zdraf f.zdrava healthy
 zdrak pl.zdratsi ray
 zdravej (se) I C10 recover,
 regain health
 zdravje health
 zdravo-živo a greeting
 zdrej I C10 ripen

zdrel ripe
 zelen green
 zelje spinach
 zelka cabbage
 zelnik pl.zelnitsi large pie
 filled with meat, cheese or
 cabbage
 zemi P C4 take, begin
 zemja earth, country
 zem(v)a I C1 take, earn
 zer poison
 zet voc. zetu pl.zetoj
 daughter's husband
 zgjavne pillow
 zglop pl.-boj joint, ankle
 dim.zglobe, zgloptše
 zgora adv. from above
 zgrada building
 zian loss, damage
 zima winter zimáva and
zimoski adv. last winter
 adj. zimen f.zimna
 zlato gold adj.zlaten f.-tna
 zmef a.zmeo pl.zmeoj dragon
 zmia f. snake
 znaj I C8 know
 znak pl.znakoj sign
 znatši¹ interj. thus, so
 znatši² I C2 mean
 zolva husband's sister dim.
 zolve
 zora dawn préd v before dawn
 zort worry
 zoškjo see zaškjo
 zovri P irr. boil
 zrno grain

Z

žaba frog, toad
 žal f. a.žalta pity
 žala I C1 be troubled about
 žali I C5 complain
 žalos f. a.žalosta sorrow adj.
 žalosen f.-sna
 žar m./f. a.žaro, žarča pl.žaroj
 heat, ember dim.žartše
 ždrebe foal
 ždrebi se I C2 foal
 ždriga I C1 belch
 ždriganje belch
 ždrigna P C1 belch
 žeden f.žedna thirsty
 žegol pl.žegli part of a yoke
 želat a.-do pl.-di acorn
 železar smith
 železo iron adj.železen f.-zna
 želka turtle
 žena voc.ženo woman, wife adj.
 ženski
 ženi I C2 marry (of a man) P: o-
 žeški P C2 boil
 žetva reaping time
 žežok a. žeskio f. žeška hot
na žeško in the heat
 žif f.živa alive
 žitel inhabitant
 žitni: žitni pazar corn-market
 žito¹ sieve
 žito² grain
 žitsa thread
 živej I C10 live P: po- pro-
 živets pl.žiftsi hangnail
 život m./f. a. životo, životta
 life

žnie I C7 harvest P: do-
 žolt f.žolta yellow
 žotnitsa jaundice
 žotška gall bladder, egg-yolk

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

a.	article	[]	phonetic transcription
adj.	adjective	/ /	phonemic transcription
adv.	adverb	()	mophonemic transcription
aor.	aorist	→	"is realized as"
augm.	augmentative	+ "	"is a realization of"
/C/	any consonant phoneme	+ "	morpheme boundary sign
conj.	conjunction	*	non-existent form
d	derivational	#	in phonology: word boundary
dim.	diminutive		in morphology: morphonemic
f	flexional		zero
fem. f.	feminine	∅	morphemic zero
ipf. I	imperfective aspect	~	opposes the members of a
impf.	imperfect tense		mophonemic alternation
indecl.	indeclinable		boundary signs of a stress
interj.	interjection		unit
irr.	irregular verb		
masc. m.	masculine		
ntr. n.	neuter		
part.	particle		
pf. P	perfective aspect		
pl.	plural		
pl.t.	plurale tantum		
pres.	present tense		
sec.ipf.	secondary imperfective		
sg.	singular		
sg.t.	singulare tantum		
/V/	any vowel phoneme		
voc.	vocative		

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REZIME

Prvo poglavlje

Ova knjiga opisuje govor sela Dihovo u Bitolskom kraju u Makedoniji. Koliko nam je poznato, još ne postoji lingvistička literatura o Bitolskom kraju. Taj nedostatak bio ja važan argumenat, na osnovu kojeg je prihvaćen prijedlog prof.dr. Bože Vidoeskog na Univerzitetu "Kiril i Metodij" u Skopju da se uzme govor Dihova kao predmet studije.

Istraživanje govora je izvršeno u toku ljeta 1974. i 1975. godine i u proljeće 1976. godine, sveukupno sedam mjeseci. Osobito u početku istraživanja je intenzivno upotrebljavan "Prašalnik za sobiranje dijalektološki materijal za makedonskiot lingvistički atlas", koji nam je stavio na raspolaganje Institut za makedonski jazik "Krstе Misirkov" u Skopju.

Većina materijala je sakupljena u radu sa tri informanta, sve troje je starije od šezdeset i pet godina i rodom i po mjestu stanovanja iz Dihova. Ta tri informanta su Josif Ćorĝievski, Joanka Joanovič-Markovska i Tode Nasevski. Vrlo smo zahvalni svim tim ljudima na vremenu koje su nam stavili na raspolaganje, na strpljivosti koju su pokazali odgovarajući na naša pitanja, te na velikom gostoprimstvu koje su pružili meni i mojoj obitelji.

Opis ovog govora je sinhroničan i strukturalan. To između ostalog znači da historijske indikacije ne igraju nikakvu ulogu u opisu.

Drugo poglavlje

Utvrđenje fonemskog inventara osnovano je na slijedećoj definiciji fonema: fonem je jedinstvena množina distinktivnih

obilježja, koja nisu međusobno uređena u smislu slijeda. Osobito posljednji dio ove definicije je važan da bi se ustanovilo da li zvukovni kompleksi kao [tš] predstavljaju jedan fonem /č/ ili sekvencu fonema /t/ i /š/ (up. 2.4.).

Opozicija koja postoji između vokalskih i konsonantskih fonema nije relevantna u slučaju fonema /r/, koji ima i slogotvorne i neslogotvorne realizacije. To ipak ne znači da treba prihvatiti dva fonema /r/, pošto su gorespomenute realizacije u komplementarnoj distribuciji (up. 2.5.)

Samo fonem /l/ ima palatalizirani pandan u fonemu /l̥/. Ostali konsonanti u ovom govoru imaju palatalizirane (pored nepalataliziranih) realizacija, na primjer [d̥v'a] i [d̥va], ali ovdje palataliziranost predstavlja fonem /j/: /d̥vja/ i /d̥va/. To je kod /l/ nemoguće, pošto postoje opozicije kao [kól̥eno] + /kól̥eno/ i [kól̥je] + /kól̥je/ (up. 2.9.).

Odnos između fonema /i/ i /j/ vrlo je kompliciran. Rezimirajući možemo ustanoviti slijedeće (up. 3):

1. /i/ i /j/ su međusobno oponirani kada im prethodi neki konsonant osim /š ž/;
2. /i/ i /j/ su neutralizirani iza /š ž/ ispred vokala, i u međuvokalskoj poziciji;
3. /i/ i /j/ su u komplementarnoj distribuciji na početku riječi, iza vokala i pred konsonantom, osim u dva posljednja sloga u riječi;
4. /i/ i /j/ su u opcionalnoj opoziciji iza vokala bilo na kraju riječi, bilo ispred konsonanta u zadnjem ili predzadnjem slogu; opcionalne opozicije je opisao Ebeling (Some Premises of Phonemic Analysis, Word 23, 1967, 122-137): fonem s opcionalnim distinktivnim obilježjem Ebeling zove teškim fonemom. U našem opisu su teški fonemi (kao i opcionalni fonemi, up. dolje) podvučeni da bi se status tih fonema razlikovao od "običnih" fonema.

Sekvence dvaju identičnih vokala (na primjer /ii/) mogu biti realizirane kao jedan dug vokal ([ī]), kao dva kratka ([ii]) ili kao jedan kratak vokal ([i]). Realizacija drugog od dva identična vokala uvijek je opcionalna. Zato se radi o opcionalnom fonemu na primjer u /tš̥nīj/ (up. 4.1.)

Opcionalan je također fonem /a/ u sekvencama /oa/ i /ea/

koje pored potpune realizacije kao [oa] i [ea] mogu, uz neka ograničenja, biti realizirane i kao [o] i [e]. Osim toga postoje i realizacije tih vokalskih sekvenca kao [oo] i [ee]. To znači da je fonem /a/ u toj poziciji i opcionalan i težak fonem (naznačen dvostruko potcrtano) (up. 4.2.).

Kao i sekvence identičnih vokala, postoje i sekvence identičnih konsonanata, osobito /tt/. I ovdje se radi o opcionalnoj realizaciji jednog od dvaju konsonanata, na primjer [pattše] ili [patše] + /paṭtše/ (up.4.4.).

Posljednja dva odlomka ovog poglavlja obrađuju distribuciju fonema u opisanom govoru (5.) i neutralizacije i automatske alternacije koje su fonološki od značaja, a osim toga relevantne za morfologiju (6.).

Treće poglavlje

Morfologija se sastoji iz tri dijela: iz fleksije, derivacije i akcenta. U morfologiji je svuda upotrebljavan (apstraktni) osnovni alternant. Funkcija ovog alternanta je da pomoću jedne jedinice predstavi oblike koji su formalno i semantički povezani (u fleksijskim i derivacionim paradigmama). Razni nizovi pravila koja se primjenjuju na osnovni alternant pokazuju formalne i semantičke razlike među paradigmama.

Postoje dvije vrste pravila koja djeluju na osnovni alternant:

1. morfonološka pravila alternacije koja opisuju neautomatske razlike među paradigmama, to znači da uslovi za ta pravila nisu isključivo fonološki, nego uvijek dijelom morfološki;
2. fonološka pravila alternacije (označena u šestom odlomku fonologije) koja opisuju automatske alternacije, to znači alternacije na fonološkoj bazi i prema tome bez izuzetka. Nakon što su ova dva niza pravila primijenjena na osnovni alternant, počinju morfološki procesi, to jest dodavanje derivacionih sufiksa i nastavaka i određenje mjesta akcenta. Morfonološke alternacije su svuda nabrojane nakon opisa relevantnih morfoloških procesa, to znači na kraju opisa nominalne fleksije, verbalne fleksije i derivacije (up. 1.).

U nominalnoj fleksiji je posvećena posebna pažnja članu. Između ostalog se na semantičkoj i sintaktičkoj osnovi pokušava utvrditi da li se stvarno radi o članu ili o pokaznoj zamjenici (2.2.).

Nakon toga nominalna fleksija obrađuje: imenice (osnovu, singular i rod, plural, plurale tantum, vokativ, oblike člana), pridjeve, priloge, zamjenice i brojeve. Na kraju su nabrojane morfonološke alternacije.

U verbalnoj fleksiji su prvo obrađene gramatičke kategorije glagola, onda odnos između aspekta i forme (prefiksacija i sufiksacija) i popratne morfološke alternacije (2.9.1.-3.).

Nakon toga je na redu fleksija u uskom smislu riječi. Glagolski oblik se uvijek sastoji iz najmanje tri dijela: osnova s prefiksom ili bez prefiksa, tematski elemenat (koji se zove morf) i nastavak. Glagolske osnove su označene u morfološkom osnovnom alternantu. Podijeljene su u deset razreda; klasifikacija se zasniva na dva kriterija: završni fonem osnove i niz tematskih elemenata koji se dodaju osnovi prije nego što se doda nastavak. Razredi 1 i 2 su (vrlo) produktivni, ostali se razredi smatraju neproduktivnim i zato su svi članovi tih razreda nabrojani (2.9.4.3.).

Nakon obrade osnova i tematskih elemenata, na osnovu kojih je provedena klasifikacija glagola, dani su nastavci, koji su za sve razrede (uglavnom) isti (2.9.4.4.); onda slijedi pregled glagolskih oblika po vremenu i načinu za svaki razred (2.9.4.4.1.-7.) i pregled svih oblika po razredu (2.9.5.1.-10.). Nakon toga je dan popis dubleta (osobito u aoristu) i pregled nepravilnih glagola (2.9.5.11.-12.). Treba naglasiti da se nepravilnost ove malobrojne grupe glagola nalazi isključivo u obliku osnove i nizu tematskih elemenata, dok su nastavci i kod ovih glagola pravilni (osim u prezentu glagola 'biti').

Na kraju ovog dijela morfologije nabrojane su morfonološke alternacije (2.9.6.).

Nakon fleksije obrađena su formalna sredstva tvorbe riječi. Treba uzeti u obzir da je materijal na raspolaganju bio dosta oskudan u uporedbi s književnim jezikom. U vezi s tim obrađeni su u prvom

redu tipovi tvorbe riječi za koje se pretpostavlja da su produktivni.

Derivaciona veza pretpostavlja, pored razlike, stalno istu formalnu i semantičku bazu. To između ostalog znači da se derivacija tiče samo onog dijela leksikona u kojem je prisutna derivaciona relacija, to za razliku od fleksije, koja se uvijek tiče svih članova određenog razreda riječi.

Formalna su sredstva derivacije u ovdje opisanom govoru:

1. afiksi, 2. kompozicija (slaganje riječi), 3. nula.

Uz tačku 1.: u nominalnim razredima riječi rijetko se javlja prefiksacija kao sredstvo tvorbe riječi, dok je to kod glagola vrlo produktivno sredstvo (3.3.1.).

Uz tačku 2.: slaganje riječi se često smatra sredstvo tvorbe riječi pored derivacije. Ovdje je slaganje riječi obrađeno u okviru derivacije iz praktičnih razloga: broj složenica je u materijalu tako malen, da zasebna obrada ne bi imala mnogo smisla (3.3.2.).

Uz tačku 3.: kada ne postoji isključivo formalno sredstvo derivacije, uvijek je ipak prisutna razlika u fleksiji, na primjer /spánko/ "pospanko" masc., /spánka/ fem.; ili /mrži/ "biti lijen", /mřza/ "lijenost" (3.3.3.).

Kriterij da se u derivacionoj relaciji ustanovi što je osnova izvođenja (derivat) a što izvedenica (derivat) zasnovan je na slijedećem: 1. prisustvo afiksa u derivatu i njegovo odsustvo u derivantu; 2. prisustvo dodatnog semantičkog obilježja u derivatu i odsustvo toga u derivantu; 3. analogija. U velikom broju derivacionih veza, osobito veza koje nisu obilježene formalnim sredstvima, nije moguće ustanoviti što je derivat a što derivat (3.4. i 3.3.3.).

I u tvorbi riječi javljaju se morfonološke alternacije. Treba obratiti pažnju na to da osnovni alternant upotrijebljen u derivaciji da bi se u apstraktnom obliku utvrdila veza između (dva ili više) članova derivacione relacije može biti drugačiji nego onaj upotrijebljen u fleksiji (3.5.).

Nakon toga slijedi pregled derivacionih relacija. Podjela je izvršena po vrstama riječi i kod imenica po rodu derivata: imenice u muškom, ženskom, srednjem rodu, pluralia tantum; pridjevi, prilozi, glagoli (3.6.).

Na kraju derivacije dan je popis postojećih morfonoloških alternacija (3.7.).

Posljednji dio morfologije opisuje akcenat. Akcenat je obrađen u morfologiji, a ne u fonologiji kao obično, jer akcenat operira na nivou morfologije: akcenat karakterizira morfeme ili grupe morfema. Akcenat nije osobina fonema.

Funkcija akcenta je u prvom redu kontrastivna. To znači između ostalog da prisustvo akcentiranog sloga pretpostavlja prisustvo barem jednog neakcentiranog sloga u istom izrazu. To znači također da jednosložne riječi ne mogu biti smatrane akcentiranim.

U govoru Dihova akcenat može imati distinktivnu funkciju; to znači da može paradigmatski razlikovati riječi (4.0.).

Za opis akcenta upotrijebljena je teorija koju je predložio P. Garde (up. bibliografiju). Garde klasificira riječi jezika u dvije grupe: akcentogene riječi i klitike. Riječ je akcentogena kada njeno prisustvo može izazvati akcenat u izrazu. Ova definicija ništa ne govori o mjestu akcenta. Mjesto akcenta biva kasnije definirano. Klitike su negativno definirane kao riječi koje se ne mogu smatrati odgovornim za postojanje akcenta. Klitike čine zatvorenu vrstu riječi koje su isključivo jednosložne; u pravilu su po broju vrlo ograničene i zato ih se može nabrojati.

Elementi akcenatskog sistema su: 1. jedinica koja može biti akcentirana, to je u govoru Dihova slog; 2. akcenatska jedinica; to je jedinica karakterizirana jednim i ne više nego jednim akcentom. Akcenatska jedinica se može sastojati iz jedne jedine akcentogene riječi ili iz akcentogene riječi i jedne ili više klitika ili iz dvije akcentogene riječi (s klitikama ili bez njih) (4.2.2.).

U paragrafu 4.3. nabrojane su klitike i dani argumenti zašto negaciju /ne/ i prijedloge ne treba smatrati klitikama.

U paragrafu 4.4. formulirana su pravila koja određuju mjesto akcenta. Postoji glavno akcenatsko pravilo (4.4.5.) po kojem je akcenat na antepenultimi akcenatske jedinice. Ali ovom pravilu prethodi čitav niz ograničenja (4.4.1.-4.).

Na kraju je dan pregled najfrekventnijih akcenatskih jedinica, koje su grupirane po sastavnim dijelovima.

Četvrto poglavlje

Ovo poglavlje ukratko obrađuje nekoliko predmeta iz sintakse. Po redu se govori o: 1. prijedlozima, 2. veznicima, 3. česticama, 4. uzvicima i 5. obliku i upotrebi složenih glagolskih vremena.

Peto poglavlje

Ovo poglavlje obuhvaća niz tekstova magnetofonski snimljenih u toku istraživanja. Tekstovi 9-12 su legende koje je ispričao Stojče Ilievski, zabilježene u toku specijalnog snimanja. Ostali tekstovi potiču od raznih informanata; nisu snimljeni po dogovoru, nego u toku običnih razgovora. Tekstovi su zabilježeni fonološki.

Tekstovima prethodi nekoliko primjedaba o sandhiju. Te pojave su u tekstovima označene zagradom () kad fonemi nisu realizirani i podvučeno kao _ kada su /i/ i /e/ realizirani kao [j].

Šesto poglavlje

Posljednje poglavlje obuhvaća uz nekoliko iznimaka sve riječi sakupljene u toku istraživanja. Nisu posebno spomenuti prijedlozi, zamjenice i brojevi koji su obrađeni u morfologiji i sintaksi. Osim toga su glagoli složeni s jednim od prefiksa spomenutih u uvodu leksikona zabilježeni kod osnovnih prostih glagola.

Notacija je u leksikonu fonološka, osim kod gorespomenutih prefiksa, koji su zabilježeni morfonološki.