

MATEJ ŠEKLI

MACEDONIAN: GENEALOGY, TYPOLOGY AND SOCIOLINGUISTICS

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Makedonščina: geneo-, tipo- in sociolingvistična opredelitev

V prispevku je makedonščina opredeljena geneo-, tipo- in sociolingvistično. S stališča genealoškega jezikoslovja je s pomočjo relativne kronologije in zemljepisne razširjenosti relevantnih jezikovnih sprememb prikazano oblikovanje makedonščine in bolgarščine kot geolektov znotraj vzhodne južne slovanščine. Z gledišča tipološkega jezikoslovja je umeščena v kontekst balkanske jezikovne zveze. Sociolingvistični pogled pa prikaže proces standardizacije in pravni položaj sodobnega makedonskega knjižnega/standardnega jezika kot sociolekta.

Ključne besede: makedonščina, bolgarščina, genealosko jezikoslovje, tipološko jezikoslovje, sociolingvistika

The article attempts to define Macedonian from the view-point of linguistic genealogy and typology as well as sociolinguistics. The genesis of Macedonian and Bulgarian as geolects within Eastern South Slavic is discussed from the vantage point of genealogical linguistics, using the relative chronology and the geographical distribution of the individual linguistic changes. The typological part of the discussion then attempts to establish the position of Macedonian in the context of the so-called Balkan Sprachbund. Finally, the process of standardisation and the legal status of modern Macedonian literary/standard language as a sociolect are presented, thus shedding additional light on the linguistic system under discussion from the sociolinguistic point of view.

Keywords: Macedonian, Bulgarian, genealogical linguistics, typological linguistics, sociolinguistics

1 INTRODUCTION

Depending on the vantage point from which the questions connected to the human language are tackled, there are three modes of contemporary linguistic enquiry in the study of *idioms* (i.e., linguistic systems and diasystems):¹ genealogical linguistics (i.e., historical comparative linguistics and areal dialectology), typological linguistics, and sociolinguistics.² These three main branches of linguistics are in-

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- 1 The term *idiom* functions as the most general and in terms of its connotative qualitative or hierarchical value a rather neutral label (cf. Brozović 1970: 10). In terms of linguistic geography an *idiom* can stand for a *geolect*, it can refer to a *sociolect* as a societal phenomenon, or to a *chronolect* if the temporal dimension is considered.
- 2 For the subdivision of linguistics into the said branches as well as the division of genealogical linguistics into historical comparative linguistics and dialectology cfr., e.g., Brozović 1996.

dependent from each other as far as their theoretical modelling and methodological approaches are concerned. Consequently, any kind of research results should not be automatically transferred from one to the other, which amounts to the fact that there are essentially three independent linguistic classifications of any given idiom that must be established.

Genealogical/genetic linguistics studies the genetic relationship between linguistic phenomena accumulated in the form of idioms and establishes their genealogical classification based on (the level of) genetic affiliation (in the majority of cases the genetic affiliation between any two linguistic systems will depend on their mutual geographical distance). To this purpose, this branch of linguistics explores the evolutionary development of geolects within the spatial dimension as it progresses in interdependence with innovations in the domain of language change, while it remains alert to the social factor that contributes to the secondary processes of standardisation or destandardisation at the sociolectal level. Genealogical linguistics is a cross-linguistic and diachronic discipline (linguistic affiliation can only be established on the basis of a diachronic approach, which in turn reveals the exact mechanisms of individual evolutionary histories). The branch of genealogical linguistics that is particularly interested in the analysis of geolects comprises comparative linguistics and dialectology.

In the 1870s, the Leipzig Neogrammarian school of linguistics came to the correct conclusion that sound change is by far the most systematic process among the changes that can affect a given language. Sound changes can be accurately captured by mathematically precise rules (rather appropriately, the Neogrammarians called them *Lautgesetze*, i.e. sound laws). As such, the historical phonology of a language is undeniably the most important criterion for accurate genealogical classification of an idiom. To this may be added the morphological criterion, but only if the areas of innovation in the domain of morphology overlap with those involving sound change. Syntactic and lexical features have a decidedly inferior impact on the actual genealogical classification. The main reason for that is the inherent instability of the referents in extra-linguistic reality and the ease with which such features can be influenced by contact situations, be it that these involve the individual geolects or sociolects.

Typological linguistics studies the structure of idioms, which is to say their typological similarities and differences on several different levels of linguistic enquiry, and establishes several types of typological classification: phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical. Quite independent from their genealogical affiliation, linguistically similar idioms can thus be grouped together into “types”. In its application, typological linguistics is predominantly cross-linguistic and synchronic, language history being rather irrelevant for the establishing of typological similarity. An important part of synchronic typological linguistics is contrastive linguistics, the aim of which is to contrast (that is to say “compare” on synchronic level) linguistic structures of analysed idioms, regardless of whether they are related or not.

Sociolinguistics studies idioms as a means of communication of a given linguistic community or of an individual. It focuses on the impact of social factors on the use of language and establishes sociolinguistic (or social) classification of both genetically related as well as non-related idioms. The main classificatory criterion seems to be the communicative role of a given idiom in the society, whereby the literary/standard language presents the most prestigious linguistic variety. Sociolinguistics can be either non-cross-linguistic or cross-linguistic, and synchronic or diachronic.

2 GENEALOGICAL LINGUISTICS

Building on the theoretical and methodological approach of genealogical linguistics, this section attempts to systemise the evolutionary histories of the Easter South Slavic geolects, i.e. Macedonian and Bulgarian. In the framework of genealogical linguistic classification, the term *language* is to be defined as a geographical linguistic phenomenon (a gelect) which encompasses groups of dialects and their local varieties displaying the same set of linguistic characteristics (i.e., archaisms and/or innovations). These must, in turn, differ in a meaningful way from the linguistic properties of a neighbouring group of dialects, which between themselves naturally form a neighbouring language.

The dismemberment of Late Proto-Slavic into South, East, and West Slavic was brought about by a number of older non-common post-Proto-Slavic sound changes. The gradual rise of the Old Slavic geolects is to be dated to the 9th c. AD. Subsequent disintegration of these major geolects, which was due to a younger stratum of non-common post-Proto-Slavic innovations (starting around 10th c. AD), finally resulted in the formation of the individual Slavic languages.³

2.1 From Proto-Slavic to Old South Slavic geolects

The gradual rise of the Old Slavic geolects is to be dated to the 9th c. AD. The non-common post-Proto-Slavic innovations in the domain of sound change that shaped these macro-dialects are partly to be understood as consequent to the tendencies inherited from Proto-Slavic, while a small number of innovatory trends emerges independently.

The most relevant older non-common Slavic sound changes related to the Proto-Slavic open syllable conspiracy (permitting open syllables only) and the phenomenon of intrasyllabic harmony (a tendency towards phonetic harmonisation of consonants and vowels within the same syllable) were the palatalisation of velars, consonant cluster simplification, liquid metathesis, and the rise of syllabic liquids. That all these developments postdate the reconstructed Proto-Slavic linguistic stage

³ For a detailed discussion of the linguogeneses of the South Slavic languages see Šekli 2018: 81–169.

and are not universally Slavic follows from the fact that they are not characteristic of the entire continuum, an early absence of the reaction to Proto-Slavic tendencies and associated sound changes being typical of several archaic linguistic areas.

The non-common post-Proto-Slavic palatalisation of velars: **(1)** PSI. *k, *g + *E₂ (= *ě₂, *-i₂) > Novgorod-Pskov Russ. *k, *g, SSL., ESL., WSl. *c, *z (PSI. *kělb 'entire, whole' > *kělb, *cělb; PSI. *kěditi 'to filter' > *kěditi, *cěditi; PSI. *kbrky *kbrkove 'church' > *kbrky *kbrkove, *cbrky *cbrkove); **(2)** PSI. *x + *E₂ (= *ě₂, *-i₂) > Novgorod-Pskov Russ. *x, SSL., ESL. *s, WSl. *š (PSI. *xědb 'grey' > *xědb, *sědb, *šědb); **(3)** PSI. *E₃ (= *i, *b, *e) + *x - *C, *y, *b > SSL., ESL. *s, WSl. *š (PSI. *vbx *vbxo 'whole' > *vbsb *vbsa *vbsse, *všb *všša *všše); **(4)** PSI. *sk, *zg + *E₂ (= *ě₂, *-i₂) > Novgorod-Pskov Russ. *sk, *zg, SSL., ESL. *sc, *zž, WSl. *šč, *žž (PSI. *na dьskě 'on the board' > *na dьskě, *na dьscě, *na dьščě; PSI. *vь mьzгě 'in the sap' > *vь mьzгě, *vь mьzзě, *vь mьžžě); **(5)** PSI. *kv, *gv, *xv + *E > WSl., Novgorod-Pskov Russ., SW Bruss., N Ukr. *kv, *gv, *xv, SSL., ESL. *cv, *zv, *sv (PSI. *květb 'flower' > *květb, *cvětb; PSI. *gvězda 'star' > *gvězda, *zvězda; PSI. Npl *vьlxvi of 'magician' > *vьlxvi, *vьlsvi).

The non-common post-Proto-Slavic simplification of *tl, *dl and *tn, *dn: **(1)** PSI. *tl, *dl > WSl., NW Sln., Novgorod-Pskov Russ. *tl, *dl, SSL., ESL., CSIk. *l (PSI. *modliti (se) 'to pray, to ask' > *modliti (se), *moliti (se); PSI. *šidlo 'awl' > *šidlo, *šilo; PSI. Nsg m, f, n ptc. praet. act. II *pletb *pletla *pletlo of 'to knit, to twist, to plait' > *pletb *pletla *pletlo, *plelb *plela *plelo; PSI. Nsg m, f, n ptc. praet. act. II *vedlb *vedla *vedlo of 'to lead' > *vedlb *vedla *vedlo, *velb *vela *velo); **(2)** PSI. *tn, *dn > WSl., NW Sln. *tn, *dn, SSL., ESL. *n (PSI. *svbьnoti 'to dawn' > *svbьnoti, *svbnoti; PSI. *vędnoti 'to fade' > *vędnoti, *venoti).

The non-common post-Proto-Slavic liquid metathesis: **(1)** PSI. *ōRC > CSIk. *RaC (PSI. *ordlo 'plough' > *radlo; PSI. *olkom(ь)n(ь)j(ь) 'hungry, greedy' > *lakom(ь)n(ь)j(ь)); **(2)** PSI. *oRC > SSL., CSIk. *RaC, ESL., WSl. *RoC (PSI. *orsti 'to grow' > *rasti, *rosti; PSI. *olkьtb 'elbow' > *lakьtb, *lokьtb); **(3a)** PSI. *CoRC > Plb., Pom. *CarC/*CroC, SSL., Cz., Slk. *CraC, ESL. *CoroC, Pol., Sorb. *CroC (PSI. *korva 'cow' > *karva, *krava, *korova, *krova); **(3b)** PSI. *ColC > Pom. *CalC/*CloC, SSL., Cz., Slk. *ClaC, ESL. *ColoC, Pol., Plb., Sorb. *CloC (PSI. *golva 'head' > *galva, *glava, *golova, *glova); **(4a)** PSI. *CerC > SSL., Cz., Slk. *CrĕC, ESL. *CereC, Pol., Pom., Plb., Sorb. *CreC (PSI. *bergь 'slope, hill' > *brĕgь, *beregь, *bregь); **(4b)** PSI. *CelC > SSL., Cz., Slk. *ClĕC, ESL. *ColoC, *C'eloC, Pol., Pom., Plb., Sorb. *CleC (PSI. *melko 'milk' > *mlĕko, *moloko, *mleko; PSI. *šelmь 'helmet' > *šlĕmь, *šelomь, *šlemь).

The non-common post-Proto-Slavic rise of syllabic liquids: **(1a)** PSI. *CbrC > ESL. *CbrC, WSl. *Cf' C, SSL. *Cf' C > *Cf C (PSI. *zbrno 'grain' > *zbrno, *zr'no, *zrno); **(1b)** PSI. *CbrC > ESL. *CbrC, WSl., SSL. *Cf C (PSI. *kbrmiti 'to feed' > *kbrmiti, *křmiti); **(2a)** PSI. *CbIC > ESL. *CbIC > *CbIC, WSl. *Cf' C, SSL. *Cf' C > *Cf C (PSI. *vьlkь 'wolf' > *vьlk > *vьlk, *v'k, *v'k); **(2b)** PSI. *CbIC > ESL. *CbIC, WSl., SSL. *Cf C (PSI. *dьlgь 'debt' > *dьlg, *d'lg); **(3a)** PSI. *CrьC > ESL., WSl. *CrьC, CSIk. *Cf' C, SSL. *Cf' C > *Cf C (PSI. *krьstь 'baptism' > *krьst, *křst,

křst*); PSI. **Cr̥C* > ESl., WSl. **Cr'C*, SSl. **Cř'C* > **CřC* (PSI. **gr̥mēti* 'to thunder' > **gr'mēti*, **grmēti*); **(3b) PSI. **Cr̥C* > ESl., WSl. **Cr̥C*, SSl., CSlk. **CřC* (PSI. Asg **kr̥vb* 'blood' > **kr̥v*, **křv*); PSI. **Cr̥C* > ESl., WSl. **CrC*, SSl. **CřC* (PSI. **kr̥šiti* 'to crumble, to break' > **kršiti*, **křšiti*); **(4a)** PSI. **Cl̥C* > ESl., WSl. **Cl̥C*, CSlk. **Cl'C*, SSl. **Cl'C* > **ClC* (PSI. Gpl **sl̥zb* of 'tear' > **sl̥z*, **sl'z*, **slž*); PSI. **Cl̥C* > ESl., WSl. **Cl'C*, SSl. **Cl'C* > **ClC* (PSI. **sl̥za* 'tear' > **sl'za*, **slža*); **(4b)** PSI. **Cl̥C* > ESl., WSl. **Cl̥C*, SSl., CSlk. **ClC* (PSI. **pl̥tb* 'skin' > **pl̥t*, **pl̥t*); PSI. **Cl̥C* > ESl., WSl. **ClC*, SSl. **ClC* (PSI. **bl̥xa* 'flea' > **bl̥xa*, **bl̥xa*).

The relevant older non-common post-Proto-Slavic innovations unrelated to the Proto-Slavic tendencies are: **(1)** the reflexes of Proto-Slavic palatals **t̥*, **d̥*: PSI. **t̥*, **d̥* > Sln., W Kajk., Čak. **t̥* > **ć*, **j*, E Kajk., W Štok., E Štok. **t̥* > **ć*, **ž*, Torlakian, Mac., Blg. **št*, **žd*, ESl. **č*, **ž*, WSl. **c*, **ž*₂ (PSI. **svēta* 'light, illuminant' > **svēča*, **svēšta*, **svēča*, **svēca*; PSI. **meda* 'border' > **meja*, **mežja*, **mezda*, **meža*, **mezja*); **(2)** the simplification of Proto-Slavic palatal clusters **šč*, **žž*: PSI. **šč*, **žž* > Sln., Kajk., Čak., W Štok., ESl., WSl. **šč*, **žž*, E Štok., Torlakian, Mac., Blg. **št*, **žd* (PSI. **piščalb* 'whistle' > **piščalb*, **pištalb*; PSI. Npl **drožži* 'yeast' > **drožži*, **droždi*).

These older non-common post-Proto-Slavic sound changes shaped the following Old South Slavic geolects (for better orientation, the names of South Slavic languages and/or dialects are provided in brackets): **(1)** Northwestern Alpine South Slavic (> Northwestern Slovenian); **(2)** the Southeastern Alpine-Western Pannonian-Littoral South Slavic complex (> Southeastern Slovenian, Western Kajkavian, Čakavian); **(3)** the Eastern Pannonian-Dinaric South Slavic complex (> Eastern Kajkavian, Western Štokavian); **(4)** Ras South Slavic (> Eastern Štokavian); **(5)** Eastern South Slavic (> Torlakian, Macedonian, Bulgarian). Among the enumerated Old South Slavic geolects, the first to be documented was Eastern South Slavic. Genealogically speaking, Old Church Slavonic, the first Slavic literary language, is in fact Eastern South Slavic of the second half of the 9th c. AD. Its dialect basis was the local dialect of Tessoniki, where its propagators, viz. Cyril and Methodius, came from.

Table 1: The Old South Slavic geolects and their characteristic features

| Proto-Slavic | NW Alpine South Slavic | SE Alpine- -W Pannonian- -Littoral South Slavic | E Pannonian- Ras -Dinaric South Slavic | Ras South Slavic | Eastern South Slavic |
|--------------|------------------------|---|---|------------------|----------------------|
| <i>*tl</i> | <i>*tl</i> | <i>*l</i> | <i>*l</i> | <i>*l</i> | <i>*l</i> |
| <i>*dl</i> | <i>*dl</i> | <i>*l</i> | <i>*l</i> | <i>*l</i> | <i>*l</i> |
| <i>*tn</i> | <i>*tn</i> | <i>*n</i> | <i>*n</i> | <i>*n</i> | <i>*n</i> |
| <i>*dn</i> | <i>*dn</i> | <i>*n</i> | <i>*n</i> | <i>*n</i> | <i>*n</i> |
| <i>*t̥</i> | <i>*ć</i> | <i>*ć</i> | <i>*ć</i> | <i>*ć</i> | <i>*št</i> |
| <i>*d̥</i> | <i>*j</i> | <i>*j</i> | <i>*ž</i> | <i>*ž</i> | <i>*žd</i> |
| <i>*šč</i> | <i>*šč</i> | <i>*šč</i> | <i>*šč</i> | <i>*št</i> | <i>*št</i> |
| <i>*žž</i> | <i>*žž</i> | <i>*žž</i> | <i>*žž</i> | <i>*žd</i> | <i>*žd</i> |

2.2 From Old Eastern South Slavic to the modern Eastern South Slavic geolects

2.2.1 Common Slavic loss of Proto-Slavic jers and its consequences

The essentially non-homogeneous Slavic linguistic area as it was shaped by the older non-common post-Proto-Slavic innovations reaching back to the 9th c. AD was affected a century or two later by the common Slavic sound change that caused the syncopation of *jers* in weak position. This development set in motion a number of related non-common Slavic sound changes responsible for the creation of a rift between the emerging southern and northern (i.e., eastern and western) Slavic linguistic areas. The North phonologised the distinction between palatalised and non-palatalised consonants and eliminated the opposition between the reflexes of PSl. palatals **ń, *ĺ, *ř* and dentals **n, *l, *r* before front vowels, while the South merged PSl. **i* and **y*. It is likely that *jer* fall was also responsible for late Slavic contraction processes.

Common Slavic loss of Proto-Slavic weak *jers*. Proto-Slavic *jers* underwent Havlík's rule, by which all final *jers* were apocopated and word-internal *jers* starting from the right word-edge were subject to a syncope-like rhythmic law eliminating all *jers* in the so-called weak position: PSl. **ǫ, *ǫ* > CSI. \emptyset (PSl. **pǫsǫ* **pǫsa* 'dog' > CSI. **pǫs* **psa*; PSl. **sǫnǫ* **sǫna* 'dream, sleep' > CSI. **sǫn* **sna*; PSl. **konǫcǫ* **konǫca* 'end, beginning' > CSI. **konǫc* **konca*; PSl. **petǫkǫ* **petǫka* 'the fifth one' > CSI. **petǫk* **petka*; PSl. **bǫrati* 'to collect' > CSI. **brati*; PSl. **sǫpati* 'to sleep' > CSI. **spati*).

The non-common Slavic palatalisation of consonants. East and West Slavic as well as (at least partly) Eastern Bulgarian phonologised the probably already Proto-Slavic allophonic opposition between non-palatalised reflexes of Proto-Slavic labials **p, *b, *m, *v* and dentals (in a broad sense) **t, *d, *n, *l, *r, *s, *z* occurring in front of non-front vowels, and their palatalised variants, which as a consequence of Proto-Slavic tendency for intrasyllabic harmony appeared before **i, *b, *e, *e*, and **ě* – a development which, with the exception of Eastern Bulgarian, is not typical of South Slavic: PSl. **C^O* vs. **C^E* > SSl. **/C/ = */C/*, ESl., WSl. **/C/* vs. **/C'/* (PSl. Nsg m ptc. praet. pass. **danǫ* of 'to give' vs. **danǫ* 'tribute' > SSl. **da/n/ = *da/n/*, ESl., WSl. **da/n/* vs. **da/n'/*; PSl. Nsg m ptc. praet. pass. **pitǫ* of 'to drink' vs. **piti* 'to drink' > SSl. **pi/t/ = *pi/t/i*, ESl., WSl. **p'ǫ/t/* vs. **p'ǫ/t'/i*).

The development of Proto-Slavic palatals **ń, *ĺ, *ř*. East Slavic, West Slavic (and in part secondarily also Eastern Bulgarian) merged the reflexes of PSl. **ń, *ĺ, *ř* with the reflexes of PSl. **n, *l, *r* if followed by front vowels, while South Slavic preserves the old opposition, which is phonologically distinctive: PSl. **ń, *ĺ, *ř* vs. **n^E, *l^E, *r^E* > SSl. **ń, *ĺ, *ř* vs. **n, *l, *r*, ESl., WSl. **n', *l', *r'* = **n', *l', *r'* (PSl. **ko/ń/b* 'horse' vs. **n/itǫ* 'thread' > SSl. **ko/ń/* vs. **n/it*, ESl., WSl. **ko/n/ = *n'/it'*; PSl. **po/ĺ/e* 'field' vs. **l/ipa* 'linden' > SSl. **po/ĺ/e* vs. **l/ipa*, ESl., WSl. **po/l'/e = *l'/ipa*; PSl. **mo/ř/e* 'sea' vs. **r/ěka* 'river' > SSl. **mo/ř/e* vs. **r/ěka*, ESl., WSl. **mo/r'/e = *r'/ěka*).

The development of Proto-Slavic **i* and **y*. Proto-Slavic **i* and **y* merged into South Slavic **i* (not yet in Old Church Slavonic, however), but were preserved in East and West Slavic, although without an accompanying phonemic opposition: PSI. **i* vs. **y* > SSl. **i*, ESL., WSl. **i* vs. **y* (PSI. **biti* ‘to beat’ vs. **byti* ‘to be, to exist, to be situated’ > SSl. **biti* = **biti*, ESL., WSl. **b’iti* vs. **by’i*; PSI. **tixъ* ‘still, silent’ vs. **ty* ‘you’ > SSl. **tix* = **ti*, ESL., WSl. **t’ix* vs. **ty*).

2.2.2 Western and Eastern South Slavic sound changes

A 10th-century wave of non-common South Slavic sound changes progressed from two areas of spread, viz. Western South Slavic (Slovenian/Slovene-Central South Slavic) and Eastern South Slavic (Macedonian-Bulgarian). The isogloss separating Western and Eastern South Slavic is PSI. **i*, **d* > W SSl. **ĭ*, **j*/**ĭ* vs. E SSl. **št*, **žd*.

Proto-Slavic **ǫ* and **ǫ̆*. Proto-Slavic *jers* that escaped syncope by Havlík’s Law (i.e., the so-called strong *jers* = **ǫ*, **ǫ̆*) were retained as two separate vowels in Eastern South Slavic, while Western South Slavic independently merged them into central *schwa* around the 10th c. AD (the W SSl. unilateral innovation): PSI. **ǫ* vs. **ǫ̆* > W SSl. **ə*, E SSl. **ǫ* vs. **ǫ̆* (PSI. **pъsъ* ‘dog’ > OCS. *пѣсъ* ‘dog’, Sln. *pěs* [pěs], NŠtok. *päs*, Mac. *нес*, Blg. *нѣс*; PSI. **dъnъ* ‘day’ > OCS. *дѣнь* ‘day’, Sln. *dân*, NŠtok. *dân*, Mac. *ден*, Blg. *дѣн*; PSI. **kоnъsъ* ‘end, beginning’ > OCS. *кѡнѣць* ‘end’, Sln. *kónec* [kónɛs], NŠtok. *kònac*, Mac. *конец*, Blg. *конѣц*; PSI. **sъnъ* ‘dream, sleep’ > OCS. *сѣнь* ‘dream, sleep’, Sln. *sěň* [sěň], NŠtok. *săn*, Mac. *сон*, Blg. *сѣн*; PSI. **mъxъ* ‘moss’ > CS. *мъхъ* ‘moss’, Sln. *mâh*, NŠtok. *mâh*, Mac. *мов*, Blg. *мѣх*; PSI. **pętъkъ* ‘the fifth one’ > OCS. *пѣтъкъ* ‘Friday’, Sln. *pětek* [pětɛk], NŠtok. *pétak*, Mac. *немок*, Blg. *нѣтък*).

Proto-Slavic consonant clusters **-pǫ̆-*, **-bǫ̆-*, **-mǫ̆-*, **-vǫ̆-*. The Western South Slavic reflexes of Proto-Slavic intervocalic clusters **-pǫ̆-*, **-bǫ̆-*, **-mǫ̆-*, **-vǫ̆-* are preserved intact. As a unilateral innovation, however, Eastern South Slavic shows a regular loss of the epenthetic **ǫ̆* (10th c. AD), producing **pj*, **bj*, **mj*, **vj* (PSI. **zemǫ̆la* ‘earth’ > OCS. *земѣла* ‘earth’, Sln. *zémlja*, NŠtok. *zèmlja*, Mac. *земја* [zemja], Blg. *земя* [zem’ă]) (Мирчев 1958: [152–153]; Конески 1965: 55; 2001: 55; Харалампиев 2001: 84; БДА: 172).

Proto-Slavic **jV* sequences. Proto-Slavic sequences of **j* [**j̆*] plus vowel, originally retained unchanged in Western South Slavic, underwent a series of Eastern South Slavic progressive developments: (1) PSI. **jě-* > W SSl. **jě-*, E SSl. **ja-* (PSI. **jěsti* ‘to eat’ → OCS. *ѣсти* ‘to eat’, Sln. *jěsti*, NŠtok. *jěsti*, Mac. Nsg m ptc. praet. act. II *из-јал*, Blg. Nsg m ptc. praet. act. II *ял*); (2) PSI. **je-* > W SSl. **je-*, E SSl. **e-* (sporadically) (PSI. **jezero* ‘lake’ > OCS. *кѣзеро* ‘lake’, Sln. *jezêro* (≥ *jêzero*), NŠtok. *jězero*, Mac. *езеро*, Blg. *ѣзеро*); (3) intervocalically (where there was no contraction), Proto-Slavic **-j-* was dropped, producing a hiatus: PSI. **Vji*, **Vje* > W SSl. **Vji*, **Vje*, E SSl. **Vi*, **Ve* (PSI. 2sg praes. **stojiši* of ‘to stay’ > OCS. *стоиши* [stojiši], Sln. *stojíš*, NŠtok. *stòjĩš*, Mac. *стоиш* [stóiš], Blg.

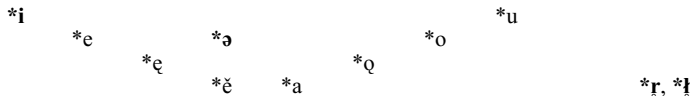
cmoιuu [stoiš]; PSI. 2sg praes. **piješi* of ‘to drink’ > OCS. *пикши* [piješi] of ‘to drink’, Sln. *piješ*, NŠtok. *pijěš*, Mac. *nueu* [pieš], Blg. *nǫeu* [pieš]).

Proto-Slavic **ń* and **ĺ* before front vowels. As opposed to the original preservation of PSI. **ń* and **ĺ* before front vowels in Western South Slavic area, Eastern South Slavic neutralised the phonological opposition and depalatalised them to **n* and **l*: PSI. **ńE*, **ĺE* > W SSl. **ń*, **ĺ*, E SSl. **n*, **l* (PSI. Gsg m/n **otъ nego* ‘from him’ > OCS. *отъ него* [otъ nego] ‘from him’, Sln. *od njęga* [ot njęga], NŠtok. *od njęga* / *од њęга* [od nęga], Mac. *od nego* [ot nego], Blg. *от нęго* [ot nęgo]; PSI. **poĺe* ‘field’ > OCS. *поле* [poĺe] ‘field’, Sln. *poljē* [poljē] (≥ *pōlje* [pōlje]), NŠtok. *pōlje* / *поље* [pōlje], Mac. *поле* [pole], Blg. *полé* [polé]).

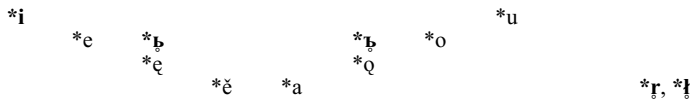
Table 2: The essential dichotomies between Western and Eastern South Slavic

| Proto-Slavic | Western South Slavic | Eastern South Slavic |
|---|---|---|
| <i>*ĭ</i> , <i>*ĭ́</i> | <i>*ĕ</i> , <i>*j</i> / <i>*ĵ</i> | <i>*st</i> , <i>*žd</i> |
| <i>*ĳ</i> vs. <i>*ĳ̆</i> | <i>*ə</i> | <i>*ĳ</i> vs. <i>*ĳ̆</i> |
| <i>*pĺ-</i> , <i>*bĺ-</i> , <i>*mĺ-</i> , <i>*vĺ-</i> | <i>*pĺ-</i> , <i>*bĺ-</i> , <i>*mĺ-</i> , <i>*vĺ-</i> | <i>*pĺ-</i> , <i>*bĺ-</i> , <i>*mĺ-</i> , <i>*vĺ-</i> |
| <i>*-pĺ-</i> , <i>*-bĺ-</i> , <i>*-mĺ-</i> , <i>*-vĺ-</i> | <i>*-pĺ-</i> , <i>*-bĺ-</i> , <i>*-mĺ-</i> , <i>*-vĺ-</i> | <i>*-pj-</i> , <i>*-bj-</i> , <i>*-mj-</i> , <i>*-vj-</i> |
| <i>*jě-</i> | <i>*jě-</i> | <i>*ja-</i> |
| <i>*je-</i> | <i>*je-</i> | <i>*e-</i> |
| <i>*Vji</i> , <i>*Vje</i> | <i>*Vji</i> , <i>*Vje</i> | <i>*Vi</i> , <i>*Ve</i> |
| <i>*ńE</i> , <i>*ĺE</i> | <i>*ń</i> , <i>*ĺ</i> | <i>*n</i> , <i>*l</i> |

Western South Slavic inventory of vowels and vocalic liquids (ca. 1000 AD):



Eastern South Slavic inventory of vowels and vocalic liquids (ca. 1000 AD):



Western South Slavic consolidated into Slovenian/Slovene and Central South Slavic (*srednjojužnoslavenski jezik*), i.e. Kajkavian, Čakavian, Western Štokavian, and Eastern Štokavian, while Eastern South Slavic yielded Macedonian and Bulgarian. Displaying innovations of both Western and Eastern South Slavic, two transitional geolects were formed, viz. Torlakian and Northern Macedonian dialects.

The gradual shaping of South Slavic languages with diagnosable defining features reaches back to the 10th and 11th centuries AD. Several Old Western South Slavic geolects converged into Slovenian/Slovene and Central South Slavic, Old Eastern South Slavic, on the other hand, diverged into a number of Eastern South

Slavic geolects, from which emerged Macedonian and Bulgarian, both only to a certain extent justifiable as languages.

2.2.3 Eastern South Slavic geolects

The non-common Eastern South Slavic innovations (including accentological changes) produced a number of smaller geolects that fail to display any transparent traces of subsequent convergent behaviour. In terms of genealogical linguistic classification, it is nearly impossible to delimit Macedonian from Bulgarian given that the most characteristic isoglosses traversing the Eastern South Slavic linguistic territory tend not to occur in bundles but form transitional dialect areas.⁴ The Macedonian part of Eastern South Slavic does, however, exhibit some innovatory trends that are atypical in the properly Bulgarian area, while Bulgarian has innovated in the domain of accentology. “Macedonian” innovations show an autochthonous and an allochthonous layer, the latter due to the secondary spread from (Eastern) Štokavian. It is exactly this set of innovatory features that could indeed form the basis for a viable internal division of Eastern South Slavic. The most wide-spread, properly Macedonian innovation seems to be PSI. *ǫ > o (Конески 1965: 31; 2001: 30; Видоески 1974: 33; Марковиќ 2001: 13; БДА: 73, 59). A significantly narrower area of influence is typical of the rise of secondary *ĉ, *ẓ̌ as the reflexes of PSI. *t and *d̥, an indirect consequence of which is a secondary type of differentiation between the results of PSI. *t, *d̥ and PSI. *šč, *žẓ̌ (Мирчев 1958: 155–156; Конески 1965: 69–74; 2001: 58–62; Харалампиев 2001: 81–83; БДА: 211–218). This innovatory trend goes back to the middle Macedonian / middle Bulgarian period (up until the 15th c. AD) and is tightly clustered, so that it could potentially provide a further differentiating feature between the two geolects or at least their core linguistic areas.

2.2.3.1 Macedonian

Macedonian has a homogeneous fundament in Eastern South Slavic (to become Torlakian, Macedonian, and Bulgarian) and shows convergent features in the domain of uniquely Macedonian sound changes.

The most characteristic innovations are: (1) PSI. *ǫ > E SSl. *ǫ > Mac. o (an autochthonous Macedonian sound change, which is sporadically documented already in the 10th c. AD in the Old Church Slavonic texts from the Ohrid Literary School) (PSI. *sъnъ ‘dream, sleep’ > OCS. сѣнь ‘dream, sleep’ > Mac. сон; PSI. *петъкъ ‘the fifth one’ > OCS. пѣтъкъ ‘Friday’ > Mac. петок; PSI. *тъхъ ‘moss’ > CS. мъхъ ‘moss’ > Mac. мов); (2) PSI. *t, *d̥ > E SSl. *št, *žd > Mac. š(t), ž(d) ≥ ḳ, ġ (an allochthonous, properly Eastern Štokavian sound change) (PSI. *petъ

4 “[M]ак. говори за сето време представувале еден таков континуум со буг. и срп. говори што денеска не е можно да се посочи никаква поизразита граница меѓу овие јазици од јужнослов. група” (Конески 2001: 2).

‘oven’ > OCS. *пешть* ‘oven’ > Mac. *пешт*; PSi. **pomotǫbь* ‘help’ > OCS. *помошть* ‘help’ > Mac. *помош* vs. PSi. **světa* ‘light, illuminant’ > OCS. *свѣшта* ‘light, candle, torch’ ≥ Mac. *свеќа*; PSi. **nočь* ‘night’ > OCS. *ношть* ‘night’ ≥ Mac. *ноќ*; PSi. **močь* ‘strength’ > OCS. *мошть* ‘strength, force, power’ ≥ Mac. *моќ*; PSi. **krada* ‘theft’ > CSI. *кражда* ‘theft’ → Mac. *кражба* vs. PSi. **meda* ‘border’ > OCS. *межда* ‘border’ ≥ Mac. *меѓа*); (3) PSi. **ščь, *žžь* > E SSl. **št, *žd* > Mac. *št, žd* (PSi. **tǫšča* ‘mother-in-law’ > OCS. *тъшта* ‘mother-in-law’ > Mac. *тешта*; PSi. **puščati* ‘to let’ > OCS. *пуштити* ‘to let’ → Mac. Nsg m ptc. praet. act. II *пуштам*). Accordingly, Macedonian could be defined as an Eastern South Slavic geolect with the following two peculiarities: an *o*-reflex of Proto-Slavic strong *jer* (**ǫ*) and secondary differentiation between the reflexes of PSi. **í, *ǫ́* and **ščь, *žžь*. In regard of the latter characteristic feature a southwestern (Охрид, Корçë/Корча, Каcтoрiá/Кoстyp) and a southeastern dialect islands (Θεσσαλονίκη/Солун) were formed.

In relation to Eastern South Slavic and Bulgarian, Macedonian can be defined by the uniquely Macedonian innovations in the southwest of Eastern South Slavic. Macedonian has the characteristics of a secondary geolect characterised by Štokavian superstratal influence on autochthonous Eastern South Slavic features.

2.2.3.2 Bulgarian

Bulgarian has a homogeneous starting point in Eastern South Slavic and is characterised by the absence of convergence. There are no specifically Bulgarian sound changes apart from a single innovatory phenomenon in the domain of accentology.

Characteristically Bulgarian defining features are: (1) PSi. **ǫ* > E SSl. **ǫ* > Blg. *ə* (PSi. **sǫnъ* ‘dream, sleep’ > OCS. *сънъ* ‘dream, sleep’ > Blg. *сън*; PSi. **petьkъ* ‘the fifth one’ > OCS. *пѣтъкъ* ‘Friday’ > Blg. *петък*; PSi. **mъxъ* ‘moss’ > CS. *мъхъ* ‘moss’ > Blg. *мъх*); (2) PSi. **í, *ǫ́* vs. **ščь, *žžь* > E SSl. **št, *žd* > Blg. *š(t), ž(d)* (PSi. **pečь* ‘oven’ > OCS. *пешть* ‘oven’ > Blg. *пещ*; PSi. **pomotǫbь* ‘help’ > OCS. *помошть* ‘help’ > Blg. *помощ*; PSi. **světa* ‘light, illuminant’ > OCS. *свѣшта* ‘light, candle, torch’ → Blg. *свѣц*; PSi. **nočь* ‘night’ > OCS. *ношть* ‘night’ > Blg. *нощ*; PSi. **močь* ‘strength’ > OCS. *мошть* ‘strength, force, power’ > Blg. *мощ*; PSi. **krada* ‘theft’ > CSI. *кражда* ‘theft’ → Blg. *кражба*; PSi. **meda* ‘border’ > OCS. *межда* ‘border’ > Blg. *межда*); (3) PSi. **ščь, *žžь* > E SSl. **št, *žd* > Blg. *št, žd* (PSi. **tǫšča* ‘mother-in-law’ > OCS. *тъшта* ‘mother-in-law’ > Blg. *тъща*; PSi. **puščati* ‘to let’ > OCS. *пуштити* ‘to let’ → Blg. Nsg m ptc. praet. act. II *пуштам*; PSi. Npl **drožži* ‘yeast’ → OCS. *дрожьѣ* ‘yeast’, Blg. *дрожди*); (4) properly Bulgarian accent shift by Bulachovskij’s Law (PSi. **gōrdь* (c) ‘fence’, **gōrdь ть* ‘this fence’ > Blg. *град* vs. *градѣт*; PSi. **nōsь* (c) ‘nose’, **nōsь ть* ‘this nose’ > Blg. *нос* vs. *носѣт*; PSi. **mēsō to* (c) ‘this meat’ > Blg. *месото*; PSi. **prōso to* (c) ‘this millet’ > Blg. *просото*; PSi. **rěčь* (c) ‘word, speech’, **rěčь та* ‘this word, this speech’ > Blg. *реч* vs. *речѣта*; PSi. **nōčь* (c) ‘night’, **nōčь та* ‘this night’ > Blg. *нощ* vs. *нощѣта*; PSi. **mōldostь* (C) ‘youth’, **mōldostь та* ‘this youth’ > Blg. *младост* vs. *младостѣта*; PSi. **jēsень* (c) ‘au-

tumn', *jěsenъ ta 'this autumn' > Blg. *éceň* vs. *ecenmá*). Bulgarian could accordingly be defined as Eastern South Slavic with the absence of an *o*-reflex of PS1. *ǰ, lack of secondary differentiation (i.e., the preservation of a single outcome) between the reflexes of PS1. *f, *d' and *šč, *žž, and an idiosyncratic accent shift.

In relation to Eastern South Slavic and to Macedonian in particular, Bulgarian must be defined by the absence of typically Macedonian innovations in the centre of Eastern South Slavic.

3 TYPOLOGICAL LINGUISTICS

From the point of view of language typology, Modern Eastern South Slavic differs considerably from other modern Slavic geolects primarily in morphosyntax, since it was exactly that feature of Eastern South Slavic language area that experienced most radical changes as due to its integrated position within the Balkan Sprachbund (also known as the Balkan language area). These changes vehemently transformed its linguistic structure, and consequently caused a considerable switch in the very typological make-out.

The Balkan Sprachbund encompasses different genealogically not closely related Indo-European languages and their dialects on the Balkan Peninsula. The geolects generally considered to be part of this linguistic area are Eastern South Slavic, Albanian, Greek, and Romanian (with its four varieties, i.e. Daco-Romanian, Aromanian, Megleno-Romanian, and Istro-Romanian). Some linguists would add Turkish to the group as well. It is supposed that these languages, due to their protracted mutual influence, have developed a few common morphosyntactic features or, put more precisely, *a tendency* to develop such features, their so-called unitary *typological goal*. It is possible if not altogether probable that in the Middle Ages the Balkan Romance substratum and adstratum, i.e. Romanian, would have played a decisive role in this process (Конески 1967a: 8–9; Асенова 2002; Fiedler 2009).

In Eastern South Slavic, the so-called morphosyntactic Balkanisms must have arisen between the time of Old Eastern South Slavic and the emergence of its Modern Eastern South Slavic descendants, viz. Macedonian and Bulgarian. These secondarily acquired linguistic features significantly altered the linguistic type of both South Slavic geolects in question. They are abundant in the morphosyntax of the verb as well as the noun and the pronoun, and in the realm of syntax itself.⁵

In the morphosyntax of the verb, the following changes took place by the time of the emergence of Modern Eastern South Slavic: **(1)** the retention of the Proto-Slavic synthetic past tense forms, i.e. the aorist (perfective past tense form) and the imperfect (imperfective past tense form) (Mac. *Купивме убави сувенири* 'We

5 For a detailed discussion of linguistic Balkanisms in Standard Macedonian and Standard Bulgarian see Šekli 2018: 51–72.

bought nice souvenirs’, Blg. *Неотдавна четох тази книга* ‘I read this book not along ago’); (2) the semantic change of the Proto-Slavic analytic past tense form, i.e. the perfect (resultative past tense form), to a renarrative verbal mood (Mac. *Тој паднал*, Blg. *Той паднал* ‘(It is said that) he fell’); (3) the loss of the infinitive and the supine and their total replacement by the so-called *da*-structure (Mac. *Можам да пливам* ‘I can swim’, Blg. *Не мога да плувам* ‘I cannot swim’); (4) the rise of the future tense forms built with the help of morphological particles **te* and **ima da* (Mac. *ќе напишам*, Blg. *ќе напиша* ‘I will write’), and (5) verbal forms with *habeo* ‘I have’ and *sum* ‘I am’ expressing result, which occur in Macedonian, but are absent from Bulgarian (Mac. *Ја имам видено тврдината* ‘I saw the fortress’, *Не знам дали се дојдени* ‘I do not know whether they came’).

In nominal and pronominal morphosyntax, the following changes are characteristic of Macedonian and Bulgarian: (1) the loss of case endings, except for the vocative in nouns as well as the dative and the accusative in pronouns (Mac. *Живеам во Скопје* ‘I live in Skopje’, Blg. *Живея в София* ‘I live in Sofia’); (2) the rise of postpositive definite articles, which genetically continue demonstrative pronouns (**stolъ tъ* > Mac. *столот*, Blg. *столът* ‘the table’; **kоја ta* > Mac. *куќата*, Blg. *къщата* ‘the house’; **sedlo to* > Mac. *селото*, Blg. *селото* ‘the village’); (3) the rise of the comparative built with the prefix **po-* and of the superlative with the prefix **naj-* (Mac. *стар*, Blg. *стар* ‘old’ vs. Mac. *ностар*, Blg. *по-стар* ‘older’ vs. Mac. *најстар*, Blg. *най-стар* ‘the oldest’); (4) beside the use of possessive pronouns, possessivity can also be expressed by clitic dative forms of personal pronouns (Mac. *Ова е мојот брат* = *Ова е брат ми*, Blg. *Това е моят брат* = *Това е брат ми* ‘This is my brother’).

Regarding the syntactic plane, the following innovations have emerged: (1) the rise of clitic doubling of direct and indirect objects, typical of both Macedonian and Bulgarian, although rather more frequent in Macedonian (Mac. *Ги поздравивме Мара и Марко* ‘We greeted Mara and Marko’, Blg. *На Светозар му хрумна една мисъл* ‘An idea crossed Svetozar’s mind’); (2) the abolishment of Wackernagel’s law (requiring the placement of a clitic cluster in second sentence position), which only occurred in Macedonian and is absent from Bulgarian (Mac. *Го гледам* ‘I am watching at him’ vs. Blg. *Глеждам го* ‘I am watching at him’).

This brief sketch of linguistic Balkanisms in Modern Standard Macedonian and Bulgarian gives us a useful insight into the “new”, secondarily acquired shape of the two modern Slavic linguistic systems on the morphosyntactic plane. From the comparison of the two systems it clearly emerges that Standard Macedonian displays a greater degree of linguistic “Balkanisation” than Standard Bulgarian, cfr. the *habeo*- and *sum*-constructions, the higher frequency of clitic doubling and the abolishment of Wackernagel’s law.

Note that however radical the morphosyntactic changes in Eastern South Slavic might have been, they did not affect or change the genealogical status of the

linguistic systems under discussion, which is to say that Standard Macedonian and Standard Bulgarian still naturally remain essentially Slavic idioms.

4 SOCIOLINGUISTICS

From a purely sociolinguistic perspective, Modern Standard Macedonian is the official language of the Republic of North Macedonia, and is a modern literary/standard language with a fully developed scope of functional varieties. Similarly to other literacies in the *Slavia Orthodoxa/Graeca*, Macedonian literary language gradually developed from one of the regional recensions of Old Church Slavonic (viz. the Macedonian recension of Church Slavonic) in a long process of vernacularisation of the latter idiom in the period between the 12th and 18th c. AD (Конески 1967б: 11–21; Бојковска et al. 2008: 57–58). In the process of formation of the literary languages in the 19th c. within the Eastern South Slavic area modern vernaculars have been chosen. The linguistic basis of Modern Standard Macedonian are Western Macedonian dialects, while Modern Standard Bulgarian rests on Eastern Bulgarian dialects. In this way there obtains maximal differentiation between the two standards. The modern Macedonian standard is a relatively new phenomenon, since the language was standardised, established and internationally recognised only after the Second World War.

The ideological initiator of the modern Macedonian literary language was Krste Petkov Misirkov (1874–1926). In the fifth essay entitled *Неколку збори за македонцијот литературен јазик* ‘Some thoughts on the Macedonian literary language’ of his book *За македонските работи* ‘On Macedonian Matters’ from 1903 he proposed to choose the Western Macedonian dialects as the basis for the formation of Literary Macedonian⁶ and this because of its central position within the Macedonian-speaking area and its relative distance from both Serbian and Bulgarian. According to Misirkov, the vocabulary of the new standard language should include the lexical material of all Macedonian dialects and be written in a phonetic orthography. Due to complex historical circumstances in the South of Balkans, Misirkov’s ideas of literary language could be realised only after the Second World War, when the Republic of Macedonia itself finally came into being. Macedonian was declared as the official language of the Macedonian state at the first session of the Anti-fascist Asssembly of the National Liberation of Macedonia in the St. Prohor Pčinjski Monastery (in present-day Serbia) on 2 August 1944, viz. *Решение на Антифашиското собрание на народното ослободуене на Македонија за заведуене на македонскиот јазик како службен јазик во македонската држава* ‘Resolution of the Anti-fascist Asssembly of the National

6 “Благодарен’е на приликите сега није си избираме за обшч литературен јазик, централното македонско, т. е. Велешко-Прилепско-Битол’цко-Охридското наречие” (Мисирковъ 1903: 133).

Liberation of Macedonia for the introduction of the Macedonian language as an official language in the Macedonian state'. The Macedonian government adopted the *Решение за македонската азбука* 'Resolution on the Macedonian alphabet' on 5 May 1945 and the *Решение за правописот на македонскиот јазик* 'Resolution on the Macedonian orthography' on 7 June 1945. In the same year the *Македонски правопис изработен од Комисијата за јазик и правопис при Министерството за народната просвета* 'Macedonian Orthography, elaborated by the Commission for language and orthography of the Ministry of National Education' was published. One of the members of the commission was also the linguist Blaže Koneski (1921–1993), the author of the *Граматика на македонски литературен јазик I–II* 'Grammar of the Macedonian literary language I–II' (1952, 1954) and the editor of the *Речник на македонскиот јазик со српскохрватски полкувања I–III* 'Dictionary of the Macedonian language with explanations in Srbo-Croatian I–III' (1961, 1965, 1966).

In the gradual process of disintegration of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the 1990s, the Macedonians voted for an independent state from Yugoslavia at the independence referendum which took place on 8 September 1991. The *Устав на Република Македонија* 'Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia' was adopted on 17 November 1991. According to the article 7 of the constitution the official language of the Republic of Macedonia is Macedonian which is written in Cyrillic script.⁷ Macedonia was admitted to the United Nations on 8 April 1993. According to Prespa agreement between Macedonia and Greece from 17 June 2018, the official name of the state was changed to Republic of North Macedonia while the name of the language remained Macedonian. The change of the name of the state was introduced into the constitution on 11 January 2019.

5 CONCLUSION

In terms of genealogical linguistic classification it is nearly impossible to delimit Macedonian from Bulgarian within the Eastern South Slavic linguistic area given that the most characteristic isoglosses traversing this area tend not to occur in bundles but actually form transitional dialect areas. The Macedonian part of Eastern South Slavic does, however, exhibit some innovatory trends that are atypical in the Bulgarian area proper, while Bulgarian has innovated heavily in the domain of accentology. The most wide-spread, properly Macedonian innovation seems to be PSI. *ǫ > o (11th c. AD) (PSI. *sъпъ 'dream, sleep' > Mac. сон, PSI. *pětъкъ 'the fifth one' > Mac. петок, PSI. *тѣхъ 'moss' > Mac. мов). A significantly narrower area of influence is typical of the rise of secondary *ĉ, *ǰ as the reflexes

7 "Во Република Македонија служебен јазик е македонскиот јазик и неговото кирилско писмо".

of PSI. **f* and **d*, due to a secondary spread from (Eastern) Štokavian, an indirect consequence of which is a secondary type of differentiation between the outcomes of PSI. **t*, **d* and PSI. **šč*, **žž* (15th c. AD) (PSI. **noť* ‘night’ ≥ Mac. *ноќ*, PSI. **međa* ‘border’ ≥ Mac. *меѓа* vs. PSI. **tbšča* ‘mother-in-law’ > Mac. *теуѓа*). From the point of view of language typology, the Eastern South Slavic language area experienced the most radical changes in morphosyntax due to its integrated position within the Balkan Sprachbund (also known as the Balkan language area). These changes vehemently transformed its linguistic structure, and consequently caused a considerable switch in the typological make-out of the language. From the comparison of the two systems it clearly emerges that Standard Macedonian displays a greater degree of linguistic “Balkanisation” than Standard Bulgarian, cfr. the *habeo-* and *sum-* constructions, the higher frequency of clitic doubling and the abolishment of Wackernagel’s law. From a purely sociolinguistic perspective, Modern Standard Macedonian is a modern literary/standard language with a fully developed scope of functional varieties. According to the constitution of the Republic of North Macedonia, it is the official language of the Republic, and is also internationally recognised as such.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Blg. = Bulgarian; **Bruss.** = Belorussian; **CS.** = Church Slavonic; **CSI.** = Common Slavic; **CSIk.** = Central Slovak; **Cz.** = Czech; **Čak.** = Čakavian; **E** = East(ern); **ESl.** = East Slavic; **Kajk.** = Kajkavian; **Mac.** = Macedonian; **N** = North(ern); **NE** = Northeast(ern); **NW** = Northwest(ern); **NŠtok.** = Neo-Štokavian; **OCS.** = Old Church Slavonic; **Pib.** = Polabian; **Pol.** = Polish; **Pom.** = Pomeranian; **PSl.** = Proto-Slavic; **Russ.** = Russian; **S** = South(ern); **SE** = Southeast(ern); **SW** = Southwest(ern); **Slk.** = Slovak; **Sln.** = Slovenian/Slovene; **Sorb.** = Sorbian; **SSl.** = South Slavic; **Štok.** = Štokavian; **W** = West(ern); **Ukr.** = Ukrainian; **WSl.** = West Slavic

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POVZETEK

Makedonščina: geneo-, tipo- in sociolingvistična opredelitev

S stališča genealoškega jezikoslovja je ostro mejo med makedonščino in bolgarščino zelo težko potegniti, saj izoglose najznačilnejših nesplošnovzhodnojužnoslovanskih inovacij ne potekajo v snopu, med zahodnomakedonskimi in vzhodnobolgarskimi govori namreč obstajajo številni prehodni geolekti. Kljub temu pa je dejstvo, da »makedonski« del vzhodne južne slovanščine izkazuje inovacije, ki v »bolgarskem« delu slednje niso znane, »bolgarski« del pa naglasno inovacijo (t. i. bolgarski naglasni pomik po pravilu Bulahovskega). »Makedonske« inovacije so avtohtone, tj. nastale so na delu vzhodnojužnoslovanskega prostora, in alohtone, tj. razširile so se s sosednjega (vzhodno)štokavskega jezikovnega prostora. Najbolj razširjena avtohtona makedonska inovacija se zdi vokalizacija praslovanskega krepkega **ъ* v *o* (11. stoletje) (psl. **сънь* 'sen, spanje' > mak. *сон*, psl. **пѣтъкъ* 'tisti, ki je pēti' > mak. *немок*, psl. **махъ* 'mah' > mak. *моѳ*). Manjši zemljepisni obseg imajo drugotni odrazi praslovanskih **ѣ*, **ѣ* tipa **ѣ*, **ѣ*, rezultat alohtone glasovne spremembe, na makedonski jezikovni prostor razširjene z (vzhodno)štokavskega, kar ima za posledico drugotno razločevanje med odrazi praslovanskih **ѣ*, **ѣ* na eni strani in praslovanskih **ѣ*, **ѣ* na drugi (15. stoletje) (psl. **ноѣ* 'noč' ≥ mak. *ноѳ*, psl. **меѣ* 'meja' ≥ mak. *меѣ* : psl. **таѣѣ* 'tašča' > mak. *меума*). Z gledišča tipološkega jezikoslovja je v vzhodnojužnoslovanskih geolektih znotraj t. i. balkanske jezikovne zveze prišlo do nekaterih predvsem oblikoskladenjskih sprememb (morfosintaktičnih inovacij) (glagolski sistem: nastanek pripovednega naklona, izguba nedoločnika in namenilnika ter njuna nadomestitev z *da*-zgradbo, nastanek prihodnjega časa z oblikotvornima členkoma **te* in **ima da*, glagolski obliki *s habeo* in *sum*; imensko-zaimenski sistem: izguba sklonskih končnic, nastanek postpozitivnih določnih členov, nastanek primernika s predpono **po*- in presežnika s predpono **naj*-, izražanje svojine z dajalnikom naslonskih oblik osebnih zaimkov; skladenjski sistem: nastanek zaimkovnega podvajanja premega in nepremega predmeta, pojavljanje naslonskega niza na prvem mestu v stavku), ki so korenito spremenile slovnično zgradbo in posledično jezikovni tip teh geolektov, kar se odraža tudi v obeh knjižnih jezikih. Primerjava jezikovnih sistemov slednjih pa pokaže, da knjižna makedonščina izkazuje večjo stopnjo jezikovne »balkanizacije« kot knjižna bolgarščina (prim. nastanek glagolskih oblik *s habeo* in *sum*, večja pogostnost zaimkovnega podvajanja premega in nepremega predmeta, odprava Wackernaglove stave naslonk). S sociolingvistične perspektive pa je sodobna knjižna makedonščina polnofunkcionalni knjižni/standardni jezik z razvitimi vsemi funkcijskimi zvrstmi ter z makedonsko ustavo določen in mednarodno priznan uradni jezik Republike Severne Makedonije.