CONVERGENCE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOUTH SLAVONIC AND GREEK PRONOMINAL SYSTEMS

Vit Bubenik
Snezana Milovanovic
Memorial University of Newfoundland

ABSTRACT

Section 1 introduces one of the salient Balkanisms – the 'proleptic use of pronouns', called crossindexing of the direct and indirect objects / clitic doubling constructions – in the context of other Balkanisms. The necessary diachronic background for the present study, case syncretism and the emergence of the postpositive article in South Slavonic languages, is provided in 2 and 3. The development of the Bulgaro-Macedonian pronominal system from that of Old Church Slavonic is outlined in 4, and the parallel development of the Greek system in 5. The current controversy regarding the synchronic status of Modern Greek and Bulgaro-Macedonian clitics is addressed in 6. It is demonstrated that pronominal clitics of Modern Greek cannot be considered to be bound morphemes and that Macedonian clitics stand a better chance to qualify for the status of bound morphemes / affixes vis-à-vis those of Greek but also those of closely related Bulgarian.
Section 8 attempts to establish a causal nexus between the loss of case and the emergence of crossindexing of the recipient / beneficiary and the patient by means of clitic doubling constructions. Modern Greek went as far as Middle Bulgaro-Macedonian before the loss of case marking on the definite article; Macedonian, however, converged with Greek in favouring the strategy of proclisis vs. Bulgarian enclisis: ton=vlépo, ton=jó (Greek) and go=glédam sinot vs. glédam=go, sina (Bulgarian) 'I see the son'. Furthermore, only Macedonian demarked this construction in that the doubling is necessary outside pragmatic contexts. Morphological corollaries are the uninterruptibility of the clitic block recipient=patient and its immediate attachment to the verb in Macedonian (vs. Bulgarian). Some desiderata for further typological and functional research along the lines of the present study are outlined in 7 and 9.

1. BALKANISMS

The area of the Balkans is one of the most famous examples of a *sprachbund*, or linguistic convergence area. In this area are found four genetically quite distinct families of the Indo-European phylum: Slavonic (Bulgarian, Macedonian, and southeastern dialects of Serbo-Croat), Romance (Rumanian), Illyrian (Albanian), and Hellenic (Greek). It is generally assumed that the long period of widespread migrations of various

b.   isplъniše   sē   dъnie   da   roditъ
     fulfill+AOR+3/PL   REFL   days+NOM   COMP   bear+3/SG

'The days were fulfilled for her to give birth.'   [Luke 2.6; Ass.]

The generalization of the infinitive loss and the dominant finite com-
plement stage is further attested in later stages of South Slavic. Infinitive
loss characterizes not only Ma onian, Bulgarian, and the regional
Serbian dialects, but also the st... dard Serbian dialect of Belgrade. The
emergence of new periphrastic future constructions is subsequent to the
loss of the infinitives. The modal compound is no longer formed by combin-
ing the volitional verb with the infinitive of the main verb (OCSl *xoštō*
MAIN VERB+INF) *Ja ću raditi*, but is replaced extensively by the construc-
tion consisting of the complementizer *da* plus the subjunctive *Ja (ho)ću da
radim* 'I will work'. This innovation spread to all S   an dialects, while
Croatian dialects, locate to the north of the Sava-D.   be line, still pre-
serve the use of the infinitive.

2. CASE SYNCRETISM IN SOUTH SLAVONIC LANGUAGES

Another linguistic change that characterizes the South Slavonic lan-
guages is case-syncretism. Reduction of the complex six case system of the
Old Church Slavonic is slightly less wide-spread than the complement fi-
nite constructions since it is still strongly resisted by standard Serbian
variants and other Slavic languages except Bulgarian and Macedonian.
There is a rich literature on the loss of case in other Balkan languages
(especially Greek and Rumanian) and we may dwell for a while on re-
gional Serbian dialects which currently exhibit various syncretisms. They
share the process of case merger by which distinct case forms co-occurring
with prepositions merge with the direct case: the accusative singular for
some nominal stems (*a*-stems), and the nominative singular for other
stems (*e, o* and consonantal stems). Mergers are not clearly confined to
distinct stems in regional dialects even though broad generalizations can
be drawn. This is a consequence of the accusative-nominative merger
which seems to be presently taking place; there are variations involving
either distinct or identical accusative-nominative forms across dialects;
and different usages have b   recorded even within the same dialect
(Milovanovic 1986). The ge   case, a single nominative-accusative
case, has been generalized in ...st plural stems. For these nominal stems
the complex case system has been reduced to a single case form – the gen-
eral case – used with prepositions in oblique functions and requiring help

of word order and semantics to distinguish between the subject (agent) and object (patient).

Among linguistic processes that condition case-syncretism that have been recognized by linguists are phonetic change, analogy, the use of prepositions and postpositions, word order phenomena and overlapping of usage. A unanimous position on which factors should be given priority has not been achieved.

Fairbanks (1977) maintains that the use of prepositions has very little influence on the process in question. It would seem that the use of prepositions does not affect the morphological make-up of most Slavic languages. According to Fairbanks, in all Slavic languages, other than Bulgarian and Macedonian, the introduction of prepositions created redundancies which did not cause the merger of cases. However, more subtle reasoning, paying attention to *sprachbund* convergencies, is in order. Bulgarian, Macedonian and the dialects of south-east Serbia which are geographically contingent exhibit the process of case merger only in prepositional cases. A significant contrast is observed between the standard dialect of Belgrade and regional dialects of south-east Serbia. The close examination of case-systems represented by various regional dialects reveals prepositional use to be important but not the most crucial factor of case merger. As far as the other potential factors are concerned, Belić (1905) has claimed that phonetic processes play no role in this process, more specifically, that there is no evidence of final sound reduction or vowel coalescence in the cases that merge. Of the remaining factors, analogy (which spreads case merger from certain nominal stems to other nominal stems) and the use of prepositions play a major role. The latter phenomenon may be readily observed in the prepositional use of oblique cases. It is fairly well known that all Macedonian and Bulgarian dialects employ the preposition *na* with the direct case to express the notion of reception/benefit and possession. The geographically contiguous regional Serbian dialects share this feature with Macedonian and Bulgarian (the latter two initiated the development of this construction, as will be shown in the next section). Belić (1905: 309) provides some examples of the prepositional use in combination with the accusative encoding the beneficiary / recipient:

(6)a. Idi   da kažeš   na   carsku   cerku
       go + IMP   that tell + 2/SG   on(to)   emperor's + ACC   daughter +ACC
       + 2/SG

'Go to tell it to the emperor's daughter.'

b. Prati   na   Cara   Lazara
   send + IMP   on(to)   Tsar + ACC   Lazar + ACC

'Send it to the Tsar Lazar.'

c. Kazala   na   momka   onoga
   told + FEMon(to)   guy + ACC   that + ACC

'She told it to that guy.'

However, this prepositional use is not extended to all regional Serbian dialects. Those contiguous with the standard dialect do not employ the preposition *na* with the genitive or dative. The dative in these dialects often retains a distinct case form while the genitive is expressed either by the preposition *od* 'from, of' plus the direct case, the quantifier co-occurring with the direct case for the partitive functions or even the standard variant of the inflected oblique forms. This system is found in one of the Moravian dialects in the south-eastern area. The dialect of the village Jovac located 145 km south of Belgrade (investigated in 1986 by Milovanovic) undoubtedly shows the merger of the prepositional cases, genitive, locative and instrumental, with the direct or the oblique case. Geographical proximity to the Bulgarian and Macedonian border obviously represents a significant factor in the presence of the features that make up the *sprachbund*. Witness the extension of the previously mentioned prepositional use to the expressions of reception and possession in the dialect of Pirot and its vicinity[1]:

(7)a. Kao   na   kuče   su   dali
     As   on   dog+NOM/ACC   be+3/PL   give+PP+M/PL

'They gave as if to a dog.'

b. čudo   na   Karadžiča   su   dali   da   priča
   Wonder   on   K.+ACC   be+3/PL   give+PP+M/PL   COMP   speak+3/SG

'It's a wonder they permitted Karadžič to speak.'

c. Kako   mu   dadoše   da   govori
   How   he+DAT   give+AOR+3/PL   COMP   speak+3/SG

'How did they permit him to speak?'

The issue of the reduction of the case system will be reexamined in the following section in the context of the emergence of the postpositive article in Bulgarian and Macedonian.

---

[1]The data in (7) were provid   Slavinka Madič, *1929, in the village Velika
L.   a which is non-exist   ow. Velika Lukanja   located 12 km from
l   Both Pirot and Veli,   Lukanja are approximately 36 km from the
Bu   an border.

3. THE EMERGENCE OF THE POSTPOSITIVE ARTICLE AND THE REDUCTION OF THE CASE SYSTEM

The source of the postpositive article – found in Rumanian, Albanian, Bulgarian and Macedonian – is uncertain (cf. Mladenov 1929: 248, regarding the existence of the postpositive article in the North Russian dialects). The Greek article is prepositive and is usually ruled out as a potential source (but even the Greek pattern with an article repeated with an attribute could provide a model: *(ho) anér ho=kalós > ándras o kalós*; cf. Rumanian *prieten=ul sincer* < Latin *(ille) amīcus ille sincērus*). According to Stölting (1970), the Bulgarian-Macedonian article was influenced in its formation and placement by the Rumanian and partly by the Albanian system during its formative period between the 6th & 10th centuries. It is fairly well-known that Old Church Slavonic, as a conservative literary dialect with six synthetic cases, did not develop (or rather, had no need to develop) the article. Rare OCSl instances of an 'article' – such as (8) – are to be interpreted as cliticized demonstrative pronouns:

(8)   člověkotъ
        man=that
        'that man'   [Mark xiv.21; Mar]

This usage, however, was on the increase in the progressive Bulgaro-Macedonian dialects during the 11th – 13th centuries. Ultimately, the demonstrative pronoun lost its deictic meaning and was recategorized as a definite article. This process may be followed in the Bulgaro-Macedonian literary documents composed during the 11th – 13/14th centuries. (*Codex Suprasliensis* [11th c.]; the writings of Exarch Johannes, *Praxapostolus ochridensis* [12th c.]; *Narodno žitie Ivana Rilъskago* [12th c.]; *Dobrejšovo-Evangelium* [13th c.]; narrations of Michail Voinъ [14th c.]).

It is important to realize that the period of the emergence of the postpositive article in South Slavonic languages is in causal nexus with the reduction of the system of synthetic cases. The rich system of six cases, as known to us from Old Church Slavonic, was reduced to three by the loss of the locative, instrumental, and genitive. Thus in Old Bulgarian the notions of location and instrumentality started being expressed by prepositional phrases. As far as the notion of possession was concerned, in OCSl the nominal and pronominal possessorS were expressed by the genitive case. In Middle Bulgarian (after the 14th c.) the nominal and pronominal possessor started being expressed by the dative, which was later on replaced by the prepositional phrase *na* plus the noun (in the accusative). Mladenov

(1929: 228) gives the following Middle Bulgarian example of the dative, and its Modern Bulgarian equivalent *na* Noun+ACC:

(9)a. doidošŏ   do   vratъ   gradu   (Middle Bulgarian)
     reach+AOR+3/PL   to   gate+GEN/PL   town+DAT

   'They came to the gate of the town'

  b. doidoxa   do   vratata   na   grada   (Modern Bulgarian)
     reach+AOR+3/PL   to   gate+ART   to   town+ACC

Similarly, the pronominal possessor which used to be expressed by the genitive in OCSl and Old Bulgarian started being expressed by the clitic pronominal form in the dative. Old and Modern Bulgarian constructions are given in (10):

(10)   synъ   jego   (OBg)   sin=mu   (MnBg)
       son   he+GEN   son=he+DAT

       'his son'   'his son'

In the Modern Macedonian dialect of Dihovo (Groen 1977:81) the clitic dative forms are used only with kinship terms (= inalienable possession):

(11)a. sín=mi   'my son'   b.   sinój=mu   'his/her sons'
     son=I+DAT   sons=he/she+DAT

To put emphasis on the possessor (and to avoid ambiguity in the 3rd PERS) the pronominal possessive adjectives (or the prepositional phrase in the 3rd PERS) have to be used:

(12)   mója žéna   vs.   žéna=mi
       my wife (i.e., mea uxor)   wife=I+DAT
       'MY wife'   'my WIFE'

       sín=mu   négof/   na toj   sín=mu
       son+he+DAT his/   to him   son=s/he+DAT
       'HIS son'   'his/her son'

       sín=mu   néžin/na tája
       son=she+DAT hers/to her
       'HER son'

With the genitive Bulgaro-Macedonian dialects lost also the accusative case (the suffix -*a* used to express both the genitive and accusative with masculine nouns). Middle Bulgarian presents an intermediate state of affairs when the old ACC/GEN suffix -*a* may be used after the preposition *na*:

(13)	Old	Middle	Modern Bulgarian
NOM	Stojan	Stojan	Stojan
ACC	Stojana	Stojana	Stojan(a)[2]
DAT	Stojanu	na Stojana	na Stojan

A complete loss of the morphological distinction between the subject and object (expressed originally by -ъ > -Ø vs. -*a*) resulted in the crossindexing of the object in the verbal complex. Macedonian examples are given in (14):

(14)a. čovekot   jade   b.   go=gledam   čovekot
    man=ART   eat+AOR+3/SG   he+ACC=watch+1/SG   man=ART
    'The man ate'   'I am watching the man.'

On the Greek side, the system of four cases was reduced to three during the early Byzantine period. The notion of reception which used to be morphologized by the dative in Hellenistic Greek started being expressed by either the genitive (Southern dialects) or the accusative (Northern and Asia Minor dialects).

The common denominator of this morphological merger in both Slavic and Hellenic was the semantic closeness of the notions of possession and benefit/reception. Ultimately, in both Bulgaro-Macedonian and Greek the semantic functions of possessor and beneficiary/recipient ended up being expressed by the same construction/case. The following examples show the Bulgarian prepositional phrase with *na*, and the Greek genitive in both functions:

(15)	Possessor		Recipient/Beneficiary	
	'the house of the old man'		'he said to the old man'	
Bulgarian	kъštata	na starikъt	mu=reče	na	starikъt
	house=ART	to old=ART	he+DAT= say+AOR+3/SG	to	old=ART
Greek	to=spiti	tu=geronta	to=ipe	tu=geronta
	ART=house	ART+GEN=old+OBL	it=say+AOR +3/SG	ART+GEN=old+OBL

In earlier Hellenistic Greek the distinction between possession and reception was weakened or blurred in contexts where Wackerngel's Law

---

[2]The suffix -*a* is used only with anthroponyms (and also with common masculine nouns). If determined by the article, only one form in -ъt functions as both the subject and object (cf. Mladenov 1929: 226).

moved the pronominal clitics into S-2 position as in the following New Testament (NT) examples in (16) and (17):

(16) sý=mou   nípteis   toùs   pódas   [John XIII.6]
      you=I+GEN   wash+2/SG   ART+ACC/PL feet+ACC

      'You are washing feet (un)to me?'

The Vulgate shows the unambiguous dative form *tu mihi lavas pedes.* However, one could claim that Wackerngel's Law lifted the clitic from its postnominal position ... *pódas=mou* 'my feet', as tacitly assumed by the New English Bible, which translates the above passage 'You, Lord, washing my feet?'.

Both versions are available in John XI.21 and 32, where Martha said:

(17)   Kýrie, ei ês hôde, ouk àn apéthanen ho adelphós=mou,

but Mary said: Kýrie, ei ês hôde, ouk án=mou apéthanen ho adelphós.

Strictly speaking, Martha said unambiguously: 'Lord, if you were here, my brother would not have died', whereas Mary's statement can be translated either 'the brother would not have died unto me' (with *mou* expressing Beneficiary 'unto me'), or 'my brother would not have died' (assuming that the clitic *mou* was placed by Wackernagel's Law in S-2 position).

4. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOUTH SLAVONIC PRONOMINAL SYSTEMS

To facilitate our further discussion we will be referring to Chart 1, which shows the pronominal system of Old Church Slavonic.

Chart 1: The Pronominal System of Old Church Slavonic

	I	you	he	she	we (dual)
NOM	azŭ	ty	onŭ/oni	ona	vě
DAT	mině, *mi* [3]	tebě, *ti*	onomu/ onemu, *emu*	onoi / onei, eě	nama, *na*
ACC / GEN	mene, *mě*	tę tě	onŭ /oni, *i* ego, *nji*	onõ, õ eě	naju, *na*

---

[3] Forms following a comma and printed in *italics* are reduced or clitic forms of the corresponding full pronominal form. Forms following the slash symbol (/) are alternative forms.

	ye (dual)	we	ye	they (m)	they (f)
NOM	va	my	vy	oni	ony / onē
DAT	vama, *va*	namŭ, *ny*	vamŭ, *vy*	onĕmu / onimŭ, *emŭ / imŭ*	
ACC / GEN	vaju, *va*	nasŭ, *ny*	vasŭ, *vy*	ony / onē	

Unlike in the full forms of the 1st and 2nd PERS, there was no morphological constrast between DAT and ACC/GEN in dual and plural in the clitic forms. In the 3rd person plural the contrast in gender was neutralized in oblique forms, as in *ony/onē* 'them' (M/F). But the contrast between the full and clitic form was here available (at least in the dative): *onĕmŭ/onimŭ* 'to THEM' vs. *emŭ/imŭ* 'to them'.

To judge by our written documents, the usage of the clitics was not well established; in many instances when we expect a clitic form the full form appears. There are even instances of parallel sentences, one with a full form and another one with a clitic form; an example from *The Our Father* in the *Codex Zogrophensis* [Matthew vi. 13] is given in (18):

(18) i   ne   vŭvedi   nasŭ   vŭ   napastŭ
      and not   lead+IMP   we+ACC   into   temptation

      nŭ   izbavi   ny   otŭ   nepriĕzni
      but   deliver+IMP   we+ACC   from evil+GEN

      'and lead us not into temptation but deliver us from evil'

Another example from the same codex is in (19):

(19) da ne   prĕdastŭ   tebe   sōpiri   sōdii
      that not   hand+3/SG   you+ACC   enemy   judge+DAT

      i   sōdii tē   prĕdastŭ   sludzĕ   i   vŭ
      and   judge=you+ACC   hand + 3/SG   constable+DAT   and   in

      teminicō   vŭvrŭžetŭ tē
      jail+ACC   put+3/SG=you + ACC

      'otherwise the enemy may hand you over to the judge, and the judge
      to the constable, and he will put you in jail'   [Matthew v. 25; Zogr]

Pronominal clitics expressing the patient and beneficiary/recipient occur typically in post-verbal position (20), but they may also be placed in S-2 position by Wackernagel's Law (21).

Postverbal clitics:

(20) i   sɯtvorjõ vy   čkomɯ   lovica
      and   make+1/SG=ye   people+DAT   fishermen

      'and I will make you fishermen of people'   [Matthew iv. 19; Zogr]

S-2 clitics:

(21) da i   ubijõtɯ
      that=him   kill+3/PL

      'that they may kill him'[Mark xiv. 55; Mar]

      ...zirěašete   kɯde i   polagāxõ
      look+IMPF+2/DU   where=him   lay+IMPF+3/PL

      'they (2) were looking where they laid him down'[4] [Mark xv. 47; Mar]

Examples in (21) show typical phonological hosts, such as the subordi-
nating conjunction *da* 'that' and the relative adverb *kɯde* 'where'. More
rarely, however, even the coordinating conjunction *i* 'and' may host
pronominal clitics, as shown in (22), where the reflexive pronoun *se* is at-
tached to it:

(22) i se   lice jego   obrazy   izměnjaše
      and=REFL face his   form+ACC/PL change+IMPF+3/SG

      'and his face changed itself'[5]   [Supr; Auty 1968: 79]

---

[4]Russian Old Church Slavonic does not possess the clitic *i* 'him, it'. Contrast
OCSl:

da   i   obrěžõt
that him   circumcize+3/PL
'that they (may) circumcize him'   [Lk 2,21; Mladenov 1929:293]
(cf. Bulgarian *da go obrěžat*)

with Russian OCSl

da   obrěžut   ego
that   circumcize+3/PL him
'that they (may) circumcise him'   [Mladenov 1929:293]

[5]This usage survived in Modern Bulgarian dialects, but *not* in Macedonian.
Mladenov (1929: 293) compares OCSl John 11, 28:

učitel'ъ   se   estъ   i   zovetъ   tě
teacher   here   is   and   calls   you
'the teacher is here and calls you'   [J 11, 28]
with Modern Bulgarian

učitel'ъt   e   túk   i   te   víka
teacher=ART is   here   and   you   calls

Further research into the matters of synenclisis involving the forms of the auxiliary (*lu*-participle plus verb 'to be'), and various particles and conjunctions (such as the interrogative particle *li*; conjunction/particle *že* 'and; but') is a desideratum. Broadly speaking the pronominal clitics are placed *before* the auxiliary, as shown in (23) and (24):

(23) a   malo   mi   jesi   dalu
      and   a little   I+DAT are   give+PP
      'and you gave me a little'   [Supr; Auty 1968:78]

(24) i   togda bo   gospod'i   mě   bě   posulalu
      and   then for   lord   I+ACC was   send+PP
      'And for then the Lord sent me'   [Supr; Auty 1968:80]

Modern Bulgarian preserved the sequence W=PRO=AUX; thus, (24) would be translated:

(25) gospód   me   bé   pratíl
      lord   m e   be+AOR+3/SG   send+PP
      'the Lord sent me'   [Mladenov 1929:293]

Modern Macedonian, however, places the pronominal clitics *after* the auxiliary in the block of proclitics AUX=PRO=V:

(26) jas   sum   go   pródal
      I   be+1/SG   him/it   sell+PP
      'I have sold him/it'   [Groen 1977: 212]

The interrogative particle *li* is placed in S-2 position by Wackernagel's Law (27); similarly, the conjunction/particle *že* 'and; but' (which translates the Greek particle dé) is placed in S-2 position and the pronominal clitics follow, as shown in (27):

(27) ne   běxu   li   ti   reklu
      not   was+AOR+1/SG =Q   =you say+PP
      'Didn't I tell you?' / 'Hadn't I told you?'   [Supr; Auty 1968: 79]

De Bray (1980:130) exemplifies *i* 'and' and *no* 'but', as hosting clitics:

Obíčaj rodínata si i í služî vjárno

'Love your country and serve it faithfully'

Díren e i u tjax, no go ne namérili

'He was sought (i.e., they looked for him) in their house, but they did not find him.'

(28) iegda že i   postavišě   patriarxa...
      when=and=him   appoint+AOR+3/PL   patriarch+ACC

      'And when they appointed him patriarch'   [Supr; Auty 1968: 79]

      blaženyi že to   slyšavu   uboia   sě
      blessed=and=it   hear+PART/PERF   be-frightened+AOR+3/Sg   REFL

      'Having heard it, the blessed was frightened'   [Supr; Auty 1968:80]

And finally, there are rare instances which anticipate the later Bulgaro-Macedonian crossindexing of objects by pronominal clitics in the verbal complex:

(29) i   edinu   iunoša   eteru   po
      and   one   youth   one   after

      nemi   ide   ...i   iěsě i   iunošě
      he+LOC   go+AOR+3/SP   and   grab+AOR+3/PL=him   youth+ACC

      'and one youth went after him ... and they grabbed him'[Mark xiv. 51; Mar]
      (literally 'and they grabbed=him the youth')

Here we may speculate that the translator was influenced by spoken Macedonian, since *i iěsě=i* should suffice in literary style (the Greek original has only *kaì kratoûsin autón* 'and they grab him', i.e., not **kaì kratoûsin autòn tòn neaníān*).

Chart 2: Pronominal System of Modern Macedonian [DeBray 1980: 1984]

	I	you	he	she	we	ye	they
NOM	jas	ti	toj	taa	níe	víe	tíe
DAT	méne, *mi*	tébe, *ti*	nemu, *mu*	nejze, *i*	nam, *ni*	vam, *vi*	nim, *im*
ACC / GS.	méne, *me*	tébe, *te*	nego, *go*	nea, *ja*	nas, *ne*	vas, *ve*	niv, *ji*

The pronominal system of modern Macedonian is displayed in Chart 2. Innovations introduced by Macedonian (Western dialects) vis-à-vis the Old Church Slavonic system (Chart 1) may be described as follows:

(i)   The OCSl distinction of DAT vs. ACC in the singular (1st and 2nd person, i.e., participants in discourse) was given up in favour of a single oblique full form, which continues the old accusative (*mene, tebe*).

(ii)   In the singular clitic forms the OCSl distinction of DAT vs. ACC is continued (*mi* vs. *me, ti* vs. *te*); in the plural Macedonian (but not Bulgarian) introduced new forms matching the singular ones (*ni* vs.

ne, vi vs. *ve*); and the distinction of gender (OCSl *oni* 'they' (M) vs. *ony* (F)) was given up in favour of unmarked *tíe* 'they'.

Non-standard dialects introduced even more far-reaching innovations. The dialect of Dihovo (a western dialect spoken in a village lying about 8 kms to the west of Bitola, described by Groen 1977) gave up the OCSl distinction of DAT vs. ACC in all persons in *both* numbers; in the plural both full forms (DAT and ACC) are available but either of them can be used to express either the beneficiary or the patient. In addition, the distinction of gender and number on the clitic forms expressing the recipient/beneficiary was lost (Dihovo *mu* 'to him/her/them' vs. Standard Macedonian *mu* 'to him', *i* 'to her', *im* 'to them'. The Dihovo system is presented in Chart 3.
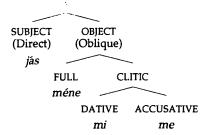
Chart 3: Non-standard Macedonian Pronominal System
(dialect of Dihovo) [Groen 1977]

	I	**you**	**he**	**she**	**we**	**ye**	**they**
NOM	jás (ka)	ti	toj	tá(j)a	níe	víe	tíe
DAT	méne, mi	tebe, ti	négo/ toj, mu	néze/ tája, mu	nas/ nam, ni	vas/ vam, vi	ním(i), mu
ACC / GEN	méne, me	tebe, te	négo/ toj, go	néze/ tája, je	nas/ nam, ne	vas/ vam, ve	tíe, i

Some examples of Standard and Dihovo usage are given in (30):

(30)a. toj   méne   me   víde   (Both Standard & Dihovo)
     he   me+OBL   me+ACC   see+AOR+3/SG
     'he saw me'

   b. toj   nas   ne   víde   (Standard)
     he   we+ACC   we+ACC   see+AOR+3/SG
     'he saw us'

     toj   nas/nam   ne   víde   (Dihovo)
     he   we+OBL   we+ACC   see+AOR+3/SG
     'he saw us'

   c. toj   nam   ni   go   dáde   (Standard)
     he   we+DAT   we+DAT   it+ACC   give+AOR+3/SG
     'he gave it to us'

     toj   nam/nas   ni   go   dáde   (Dihovo)
     he   we+OBL   we+DAT   it+ACC   give+AOR+3/SG
     'he gave it to us'

Macedonian personal pronouns are the only class of words which distinguish case. They have special forms when they have a subject function (direct form), and other object (oblique) forms to express functions of the beneficiary/recipient and the goal/patient (in terms of morphology, the dative and the accusative case). The object (oblique) forms distinguish full and clitic forms; the full forms do not distinguish between the dative and accusative (with the difference bewtween standard and non-standard speech as described above) and they have to be used together with the clitic forms which possess this contrast (except when they occur after preposition):

```
              _____·_____
             /                 \
        SUBJECT            OBJECT
        (Direct)           (Oblique)
          jás             _____
                         /        \
                     FULL          CLITIC
                     méne         _____
                                 /        \
                             DATIVE    ACCUSATIVE
                               mi          me
```

The nominal beneficiary/recipient (=indirect object) is marked by the preposition *na* 'to' and crossindexed by the clitic form in the verbal complex:

(31)   mu go dáof   na brát mi   (Dihovo)
        he+DAT=it+ACC=gave+1/SG   to brother=I+DAT
        'I gave it to my brother'

It should be observed that objective clitics *mu* (he+DAT) and *go* (it+ACC) are proclitics whereas the possessive *mi* (I+DAT) is an enclitic: *mu=go=dáof na=brát=mi.*

The pronominal beneficiary/recipient may be marked by the same preposition *na* (*na toj* 'to him', *na tája* 'to her') or expressed by the oblique form (*négo* 'him', *néze* 'her'); in either case, it has to be crossindexed by the clitic *mu* which is marked for case (Dative) but *not* for gender (in Dihovo). The nominal categories of number, gender and case are thus divided between full and clitic forms in that the former ones are marked overtly for number and *gender,* and the latter ones for number and *case.*

Examples in (32) show the male recipient (*case* indicated by *mu* 3/SG+DAT, and *gender* indicated by the oblique form with or without preposition *na toj/négo*) and the (33) the female recipient (case indicated by *mu* 3/SG+DAT, and gender by the oblique form with or without preposition *na tája/néze*).

(32) *Pronominal male recipient*:

a. mu   go   dáof   na   toj   (Dihovo)
    3/Sg+DAT   it+ACC   gave+1/SG   to   he+DIR

    'I gave it to him'

b. mu   go   dáof   négo
    3/SG+DAT   it+ACC   gave+1/SG   he+OBL

    'I gave it to him'

(33) *Pronominal female recipient*:

a. mu   go   dáof   na   tája   (Dihovo)
    3/Sg+DAT   it+ACC   gave+1/SG   to   she+DIR

    'I gave it to her'

b. mu   go   dáof   néze
    3/Sg+DAT   it+ACC   gave+1/Sg   she+OBL

    'I gave it to her'

In (32)a. and (33)a. the recipient is marked by the clitic form *mu*, without the distinction of gender, and crossindexed by the prepositional phrase *na toj* (M) vs. *na tája* (F), with the distinction of gender; in (32) b. and (33) b., as above, the recipient is marked by the clitic form *mu*, and crossindexed by the oblique form *négo* (M) vs. *néze* (F), with the distinction of gender.

The nominal patient (direct object) is not marked by any preposition but then it has to be crossindexed – if it is definite – by the pronominal clitic (*go* 'him', *je* 'her', *i* 'them') in the verbal complex; examples are provided in (34):

(34) otvoréte je vráta ta   (Dihovo)
      open+2/PL=her door=ART

    'open the door'

    otko   ímame   kóla...
      since   have+1/PL   car

    'since we have had a car, ...'

    go gledam   čoekot
      him=watch+1/SG   man=ART

    'I am watching the man'

    gledam   čoek   nadvor
      watch+1/SG   man   outside

    'I am watching a man outside'

The pronominal patient is definite and has to be crossindexed by the pronominal clitic, as shown in (30). The sequence: OBL CL V (oblique form –

clitic form – verb) is the marked one, i.e., if the patient or recipient are as-
signed the pragmatic function of focus (in the sense of Functional
Grammar, cf. Dik 1989: 277-88) the oblique form is placed in preverbal
position, as was shown in (30) (partially reproduced below). The unmarked
counterparts are listed in (35):

(30)a. toj   méne   me víde
        he   I+OBL   I+ACC=see+AOR+3/SG

        'he saw ME'

    c. toj   nam   ni   go   dáde
        he   we+DAT   we+DAT   it+ACC   give+AOR+3/SG

        'he gave it to US'

(35)a. toj   me víde   méne
        he   I+ACC=see+AOR+3/SG   I+OBL

        'he saw me'

        toj   ni   go   dáde   nám
        he   we+DAT   it+ACC   give+AOR+3/SG   we+DAT

        'He gave it to us'

5. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GREEK PRONOMINAL SYSTEM

The Ancient Greek pronominal system is shown in Chart 4 and its Late
Medieval/Early Modern Gr- k descendant in Chart 5. The latter system –
represented e.g. by Erōtok... s (17th c.) – is essentially identical with that
of Modern Greek.

Chart 4: The Pronominal System of Ancient Greek

	I	you	he	she	we (dual)
NOM	egṓ	sý			nō
GEN	emoû, *mou*	soû, *sou*	autoû	autês	nṓin
DAT	emoí, *moi*	soí, *soi*	autôi	autêi	nṓin
ACC	emé, *me*	sé, *se*	autón	autén	nṓ

	ye (dual)	we	ye	they (m)	they (f)
NOM	sphṓ	hēmeîs	hymeîs		
GEN	sphṓin	hēmôn	hymôn	autôn	
DAT	sphṓin	hēmîn	hymîn	autoîs	autaîs
ACC	sphṓ	hēmâs	hymâs	autoús	autás

Chart 5: The Pronominal System of Early Modern Greek

	I	you	he	she	we	ye	they (M)	they (F)
NOM	egó	esí	aftós	aftí	ēmís	sís		
GEN	emé(na)/ ména, *mu*	esé(na)/ séna, *su*	tóne, *(n)tu*	tíne, *(n)tís*, tsí	emás/ máse, *mas*	esás, sáse, *sas*	tóse, *(n)tos*	?
ACC	emé(na)/ ména, *me*	esé(na)/ séna, *se*	tóne, *ton*	tíne, *tín*	emás/ máse, *mas*	esás, sáse, *sas*	tóse, *(n)tos*	?

   As a result of several phonological changes which took place during the Hellenistic and Roman periods (loss of length, unrounding of [y] > [i], and raising of the front mid *ē* > *ī*) the Early Medieval system lost a number of morphological contrasts. In the second person singular, the contrast between the nominative (*sý* > *sí*) and the dative (*soí* > *sý* > *sí*) was lost; in the plural the contrast between all the forms of the 1st person vs. those of the 2nd person was lost (the resulting forms would sound as follows: **imís, *imón, *imín, *imás*). There were no clitic forms in the plural sub-paradigm, and in the singular only the 1st person displayed opposition between the full (*emú, emé*) and the clitic form (*mu, me*).

   Without going into intermediate medieval systems, we want to make some general typological observations from the point of view of one of the Early Modern Greek descendants (Erōtokritos, 17th c.). Most notably, the above mentioned contrast full–clitic form in the 1st SG (*emé* vs. *me*) supplied a model for all the other persons: 2nd SG *esé* vs. *se*, 1st PL *emás* vs. *mas*, 2nd PL *esás* vs. *sas*. The affix *e* could be added also at the end of clitic forms to create new full forms: *tóne* vs. *ton, máse* vs. *mas, sáse* vs. *sas*, and

tóse vs. *tos*. In the 1st and 2nd person these forms are not found in Modern Greek which possesses only one oblique form in the plural:

		Early Modern Greek	Modern Greek
		'we'	'we'
Direct		emís	emís
Oblique	Full	emás ~ máse	emás
	Clitic	mas	mas

In the 3rd person the full forms with -*e* (*tóne*, *tíne*, *tóse*) are found today only as variants of the clitic forms (*ton*, *tin*); they were replaced by the accusative forms of the demonstrative pronoun *aftós (aftón, aftín, aftús, aftés)*. The contemporary forms *tóne* and *tíne* could be a recreation of Modern Greek and need not continue the earlier full forms *tóne* and *tíne*.[6]

In the full forms the Ancient Greek distinction of the genitive vs. accusative was given up in favour of a single oblique form which continues the old accusative (AGr *emé* > EMnGr *emé(na)* ~ *ména*, AGr *hēmás* > EMnGr *emás*).

However, as in Bulgaro-Macedonian, the clitic forms preserve the morphological contrast between the genitive vs. accusative (dative vs. accusative in Bulgaro-Macedonian), which is crucial for the grammaticalization of the semantic functions of the possessor, beneficiary/recipient and patient. Unlike Bulgaro-Macedonian, Greek possesses only one plural clitic form in the 1st and 2nd Person (*emás* vs. *mas*, *esás* vs *sas*). The Modern Greek case system is thus somewhat anomalous in displaying more nominal (NOM, GEN, ACC) than pronominal (full) forms (NOM and OBLIQUE); languages typically display the opposite ratio (e.g., English), or, they preserve case distinctions with pronouns while they lose them with nouns (e.g. Bulgaro-Macedonian).

The nominal beneficiary/recipient (=indirect object) may be marked by the preposition *s(e)* 'to' (cf. Bulgaro-Macedonian preposition *na* 'to').:

(36) díno   to=vivlío   sto=Jáni
      give+1SG   ART=book   to+ART=John
      'I (am) giv(ing) the book to John'

---

6 We owe this observation to Brian Joseph (personal communication).

If the pragmatic function of tail[7] (called more commonly right dislo-cand) is assigned to this constituent, it has to be crossindexed by the pronominal clitic in the verbal complex (proclitic if the verb is finite):

(37) tu=to=díno   to=vivlío, sto=Jáni
      him=it=give+1/SG ART=book, to+ART=John

     'I (am) giv(ing) the book to him, to JOHN'

It should be observed that in (37) the recipient is outside the nuclear predication (Dik 1989: 183ff.). Prosodically, the tail constituent is separated from the nuclear predication by the intonation (expressed orthographically by the comma) which is not present in (36) where the recipient is inside the nuclear predication.

Similarly, the pronominal recipient – if assigned the function of tail – will appear after the intonation break:

(38) aftós   mu=to=édose,   (s)eména
      he   I+GEN=it=give+AOR+3/SG, (to)=I+OBL

     'He gave it to ME'

The preposition *se* is obligatory in cases of double contrastive focus, as shown in (39):

(39) s=eména   édose   to=vivlío   óxi   s=eséna
      to+I+OBL   give+AOR+3/SG ART=book   not   to=you+OBL

     'He gave the book to ME, not to YOU'

The oblique full form may also appear in the position of theme, or, functionally speaking, the beneficiary or patient may be assigned the function of theme,[8] as shown in (40):

(40)a. eména   θa=mu=filísis   to=xéri
       I+OBL   FUT=I+GEN=kiss+FUT+2/SG ART=hand

      'To me you will kiss the hand?' ~ 'Will you kiss the hand to me?'
                  [Kazantzákis, *O Xristós ksanastavrónete*]

   b. eména   afíste=me
      I+OBL   let+AOR+IMP/PL=I+ACC

     '(As far as I am concerned), let me go!'

---

[7] In Functional Grammar (Dik 1989: 135, Siewierska 1991: 150) 'the Tail is char-acterized as an 'after-thought' to the predication, i.e., as information meant to clarify or modify some constituent in the predication'.

[8] In Functional Grammar (Dik 1978:130, Siewierska 1991:150) 'the Theme is de-fined as specifying the universe of discourse with respect to which the subse-quent predication is presented as relevant'.

Early Modern Greek examples of coreferential theme and tail constituents (from Erōtokritos, 17th c.) are given in (41):

(41)a. na=mu=ta=pís   eména
     that=I+GEN=those=say+AOR+2/Sg   I+OBL

     'That you (may) tell those to me'

   b. Ke=xáno=se   k=eséna
      and=lose+I/SG=you+ACC   and=you+OBL

      'And I (will) lose you'

   c. ma   emé=pote   de=mú=rese
      but   I+OBL=ever   not=I+GEN=please+AOR+3/SG

      'But (as far as I am concerned) it never pleased me'

The use of the coreferential theme and tail constituents is common in Modern Colloquial Greek, especially in dialects. (42) is an example from the Northern (Macedಂ ಂn) variety:

(42)a. ki=šéna   i=mira   š=éduki   mia=fúnda   maraméni
      and=you+OBL   ART=fate   you+ACC=   one=flower   withering
                                give+AOR+3/SG

      'And as far as you are concerned, the fate gave you a withering flow-
      er'   [Adamopoulos 1988: 39]

6. MACEDONIAN PRONOMINAL CLITICS AS 'BOUND' MORPHEMES

Currently, the synchronic status of Modern Greek and Macedonian cli-tics is a matter of controversy. Spencer (1991: 358 ff.) argues that the clitic doubling phenomenon in Macedonian is similar to object agreement in a language like Chukchee. Similar clitic doubling constructions are also known from Hebrew and Latin-American Spanish (the type *lo=vimos à Juan* 'We saw Juan'). According to Spencer (1991: 362), the Greek clitic sys-tem also bears much resemblance to that of Macedonian, but he did not elaborate on this point.

Prinz (1991) went into detail and suggested that pronominal clitics of Modern Greek are bound morphemes affixed syntactically to the hosting lexical item. One of his arguments for the affix status of Modern Greek object clitics (p. 170-184) draws on the parallel working of the three-sylla-ble rule. As is well-known, this rule moves the accent in inflected forms if an extra syllable is added, e.g., *ónoma* 'name' -> *onómatos* (Gen), and seemingly also in the clitic group, e.g., *kàne=to* 'do it!' -> *kàne mú=to* 'do it for me!'. However, the parallel is incomplete since one would expect **kané=mu=to* by the three-syllable rule. Also, it is not clear to us in which

sense the elision of the stressed vowel of the phonological host after the special clitic (e.g., *ta=éxo* > *tá=xo* 'I have them') proves the affix status of Modern Greek special clitics. It is true that the accent in Greek finite forms is assigned by the three-syllable rule, e.g., the active imperfect *édina* (1SG), *edíname* (1PL) 'dress', but there are also affixes which are accented inherently (i.e., the finite forms in which they occur cannot be said to be accented by the three-syllable rule), e.g., the mediopassive imperfect *edinómun* (1/SG) or the passive future *θa diθó*. On the Macedonian side, however, the three-syllable stress rule treats as a word any content word together with its enclitics, e.g. *žénata* wife=ART 'the wife', *ženáta=ti* wife=ART=you+DAT 'your wife', *dájte=mi* 'give me!', *dajté=mi=go* 'give me it!'.

But more importantly, as shown above (section 4), the special clitics of Greek do *not* exclude the full NPs, or, put differently, they do not obligatorily crossindex the recipient/beneficiary and the patient. In this respect, they are different from the special clitics of Macedonian which are *obligatory* with definite object NPs (including full forms of pronouns).

To argue more convincingly for this point, let us re-examine the Greek examples in (36) and (37), summarized in (43), and their Macedonian equivalents in (44):

     (i)   gives the nuclear predication without crossindexing the recipient and patient;

     (ii)   crossindexes the recipient;

     (iii)   crossindexes the patient;

     (iv)   crossindexes both the recipient and the patient.

In Greek (43) single and double crossindexing (ii-iv) is available but it is *not* obligatory. (ii) or (iv) (crossindexing the recipient) is used when the recipient is assigned the pragmatic function of tail in which case there must be an intonation break between the sentence and this constituent. As shown in (iii) and (iv), the patient may be crossindexed only if it is definite.[9]

On the other hand, the Macedonian counterparts in (44) reveal that:

---

[9] Indefinite patients may be cross-indexed in Modern Greek and Albanian if they are *specified* (cf. Kazazis and Pentheroudakis 1976); in functional terminology, if they are *thematic* or *contrastive*: e.g. 'speaking of a sweater' or 'as for a sweater' *su to pléko éna pulóver*, lit. you *it* knit+1/SG one sweater 'I'll knit you one'). For Macedonian, our informant, Ms. Žaklina Beleva (*1964 in Bitola), refused the cross-indexing of indefinite patients in the above contexts as ungrammatical (*ke ti *go* ispletam *eden*). This matter should be further investigated (we are grateful to Brian Joseph for drawing our attention to it).

    (i)   without the recipient and the patient crossindexed the sentence is ungrammatical;

    (ii)   unlike in Greek – the definite patient has to be crossindexed by the clitic;

    (iii)   it is not enough to crossindex the definite patient if the recipient is expressed in the sentence.

(43) (i)   díno $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{to} \\ \text{ena} \end{Bmatrix}$ vivlío   sto=Jáni

      (ii)   tu=díno $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{to} \\ \text{ena} \end{Bmatrix}$ vivlío,   sto=Jáni

      (iii)   to=díno   to   vivlío   sto=Jáni
            *to=díno   ena

      (iv)   tu=to=díno to   vivlío,   sto=Jáni
            *tu=to=díno ena

(44) (i)   **dávam $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{knígata} \\ \text{edna kníga} \end{Bmatrix}$ na=Ivana

      (ii)   **mu=dávam   knígata   na=Ivana
            mu=dávam   édna kníga na=Ivana

      (iii) *ja=dávam   knígata   na=Ivana
            **ja=dávam   édna kníga na=Ivana

      (iv)   mu=ja=dávam   knígata   na=Ivana
            *mu=ja=dávam   édna kníga na=Ivana[10]

As shown above in (34), in Macedonian the patient is crossindexed only if it is definite. The beneficiary/recipient, however, has to be crossindexed no matter whether it is definite or indefinite:

(45)a. i=dávam   na=žénata
       she+DAT=give+1/SG to=woman=ART
     'I give [it] to the woman'

---

[10]We are grateful to Ms. Žaklina Beleva for judging the degree of grammaticality of sentences in (44). A double asterisk (**) indicates a totally unacceptable construction, a single asterisk (*) an unacceptable one. With ditransitive verbs, such as 'give' not to cross-index at least one of the beneficiary or the definite patient is totally unacceptable. It is less serious unacceptable – not to cross-index the beneficiary than the patient (if the other participant is cross-indexed).

b. i=dávam   na(=édna)   žéna
   she+DAT=give+1/SG   to(=one)   woman

'I give [it] to a woman'

Some dialects of Macedonian may crossindex even the indefinite patient provided it is animate:

(46) kači=se   gore,   da   go=gledaš   eden čo'ek umren
     get=REFL upstairs that he+ACC=see+2/SG one man   dead

'Climb upstairs that you may see a dead man'   [Sandfeld 1930: 193]

The data in (45) and (46) indicate that the determining factor for the crossindexing of objects in Macedonian is animacy rather than definiteness.

7. THE TYPOLOGY OF BALKAN PRONOMINAL SYSTEMS

In this section we want to alert the reader to the fact that all the other languages of the Balkan *sprachbund* use the same strategy of crossindexing of the beneficiary and patient by the pronominal clitics. (Limitations of space will not allow us to comment on the situation in Rumanian).

The Albanian system resembles that of Macedonian. Its clitics behave like 'affixes' in that they are obligatory, and their coreferential beneficiary and patient are *not* separated from the sentence by an intonation break. Appropriate examples are given in (47):

(47)a. Djali mori   librin   e   ia   dha së   motrës
      boy   took book+ACC and   s/he+DAT   gave PRT sister+DAT
                                  =s/he+ACC

'The boy took the book and gave it to his sister'   [Camaj 1984:265]

b. Ep-ia   djalit   bukën
   give=s/he+DAT=s/he+ACC boy+DAT   bread+ACC

'Give the boy the bread!'   [Camaj 1984:265]

The whole system of full and clitic forms is displayed in Chart 6.

In the plural subparadigm the Albanian pronominal system grammaticalizes the distinction between recipient / beneficiary vs. patient by full forms (*neve* DAT vs. *ne* ACC) whereas Macedonian does it by clitic forms (*ni* DAT vs. *ne* ACC). In the singular subparadigm (the 1st and 2nd Person) there is only *one* oblique full vs. clitic form, respectively (*mue/a* vs. *më*) as in the Greek plural subparadigm. In the 3rd person the morphological contrast between the dative and accusative is observed in both full and clitic forms.

One of the interesting features of the Albanian system is the existence of contracted forms of the sequences of pronominal clitics expressing the beneficiary/recipient and patient. For instance, *ia* in (47) consists of *i* 'him/her' (Dat) and *e* 'him/her' (Acc).

Chart 6: The Albanian pronominal system

	I	you	he	she
NOM	unë	ti	ai	ajó
DAT	mue/ a, *më*	ty, *të*	(a)tíj, *i*	(a)sáj, *i*
ACC	mue/ a, *më*	ty, *të*	(a)të́, *e*	(a)të́, *e*

	we	you	they (M)	they (F)
NOM	na/ e	ju	atá	ató
DAT	neve, *na*	juve, *ju*	(a)týn/re, *u*	(a)týn/re, *u*
ACC	ne, *na*	ju, *ju*	(a)tá, *i*	(a)tó, *i*

The contracted sequences of the beneficiary/recipient and patient (in the 3rd person) are shown in Chart 7.

Chart 7: Pronominal beneficiary/recipient and patient in Albanian[11]

Beneficiary/ Recipient	Patient	Underlying Form	Contracted Form
1	3	më =e	ma
2	3	të = e	ta
3	3	i = e	ia
11	3	na = e	na e
22	3	ju = e	jua
33	3	u = e	ua
1	33	më = i	mi
2	33	të = i	ti
3	33	i = i	ia
11	33	na = i	na i
22	33	ju = i	jua
33	33	u = i	ua

The system neutralizes the distinction in number of the patient (3rd person) after the beneficiary/recipient (in the 3rd person, and the 2nd person

---

11 In the chart, 1 denotes 1/SG, 11 denotes 1/PL, 2 denotes 2/SG, etc.

plural), i.e., *ia* is both 'him -it/them', *ua* 'them - it/them', and *jua* 'to ye -it/them'. The number distinction of the patient is shown on the coreferential noun, as shown in (48):

(48) *ia*   'him - it'   (< *i* + *e*)   'he gave him the book'

    ia   dha   librin
    3/SG=3 gave   book+ACC

    ia   'him - them' (< *i* + *i*)   'he gave him the books'

    ia   dha   librat
    3/SG=3 gave   books

Put differently, the number contrast with the beneficiary/recipient (*ia* 'him -it/ them' vs. *ua* 'them - it/them') is more important than the contrast with the patient. The former contrast is double-marked, the latter only single-marked.

On the other hand, as shown above in Chart 3, the Macedonian dialect of Dihovo neutralizes the distinction in number of the beneficiary/recipient in the 3rd PERS of clitic forms. The full pronominal form or the nominal form, of course, disambiguates the sequence *mu=go* as either 'him it' or 'them it'; this is shown in (49):

(49)	Rec=Pat	Rec	Rec=Pat	Rec
	mu=go	négo/na toj	mu=go ...	nim(i)/na tíe
	him=it...	to him	him=it...	to them
	3=3	3	3=3	33
	mu=i	négo/na toj	mu=i	nim(i)/na tíe
	him=them	to him	him=them	to them
	3=33	3	3=33	33

Unlike the nonstandard Macedonian dialect of Dihovo, the Albanian, Standard Macedonian and Bulgarian systems possess more full than the clitic forms in the plural subparadigm. In semantic terms, Albanian and Bulgaro-Macedonian grammaticalize the distinction between the beneficiary/recipient vs. the patient by means of the full forms whereas non-Standard Macedonian does it by clitic forms. In Bulgarian, both the nominal and pronominal beneficiary/recipient is marked by the preposition *na* 'to' (*na starikъt* 'to the old man', *na nas* 'to us'); the archaic (OCSl) full pronominal form *nam* 'to us' survives in some dialects (Mladenov 1929: 240); and the clitic form *ni* is used in both functions of beneficiary/recipient and patient '(to) us'. It is the other way round in non-Standard

Macedonian: the old full forms *nam* and *nas* are used indiscriminately for both the beneficiary/recipient and patient, and the distinction is expressed by the clitic form *ni* (DAT) vs. *ne* (ACC) in the plural subparadigms. Chart 8 captures this important difference.

<div align="center">

Chart 8:
Marking for participants in discourse (in plural)
in Bulgarian and Macedonian.

</div>

	Bulgarian		Standard Macedonian		Non-standard Macedonian	
'we'	Full form	Clitic	Full form	Clitic	Full form	Clitic
NOM	níe		níe		víe	
DAT	na nas nam (archaic)	*ni*	nam	*ni*	nam/ nas	*ni*
ACC	nas	*ni*	nas	*ne*	nam/ nas	*ne*
'ye'						
NOM	víe		víe		víe	
DAT	na vas vam (archaic)	*vi*	vam	*vi*	vam/ vas	*vi*
ACC	vas	*vi*	vas	*ve*	vam/ vas	*ve*

Relevant examples are given in (50):

(50) toj nas víde   'He saw us'   (Bulgarian)
        toj na nas go dáde   'He gave it to us'
        toj nas ne víde   'He saw us'   (Standard Macedonian)
        toj nam ni go dáde   'He gave it to us'
        toj nam/nas ne víde   'He saw us'   (Dihovo)
        toj nam/nas ni go dáde 'He gave it to us'

8. CONVERGENCE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRONOMINAL SYSTEMS OF MACEDONIAN AND GREEK

At this point we may try to establish the causal nexus between the loss of synthetic (morphological) case and the emergence of crossindexing (double-marking) of the recipient / beneficiary and patient by means of the pronominal clitics. On the South-Slavonic side, we may start at the stage of synthetic case represented by OCSl *viždō syn+a* 'I see the son' and *da-doxu go syn+ovi/u* 'I gave it to the son' (the patient is marked by the suf-

fix-*a* and the recipient by the suffix -*ovi/u*). After the formation of the definite article, early Middle Bulgarian descendants of these two constructions can be reconstructed as shown in (51):

(51) glédām sin+a=togo   'I see the son'
      dadox   go sin+u=tomu   'I gave it to the son'

During the Early New Bulgarian period (as represented by the so-called Damaskins) both forms *sinutomu* (double-marked for dative) and *sinotomu* (only *tomu* is marked for dative) are documented (cf. Mladenov 1929: 248, and Stölting 1970: 184-7 for actually documented examples such as *gospodárutomu* 'to the housekeeper' vs. *ángelotomu* 'to the angel'). In our survey of the the literature, the form *sinotogo is not documented, whereas the double-marked *sinátogo* is common. To assign the pragmatic function of focus to the patient or recipient the strategy of crossindexing (double-marking) by the pronominal clitics was developed. The same effect, of course, could be achieved by intonation:

(52) glédām=go (go=glédām) sina=togo   'I see the SON
                                            (i.e., not someone else)'
      dádox=mu=go (mu=go=dádox) sinu=tomu   'I give it to the SON
                                            (i.e., not to someone else)'

In subsequent development, the case marking on the postpositive article (=demonstrative pronoun) was lost and we reach the modern Bulgarian (53) and Macedonian (54) stage:

(53) glédam=go sina   'I see the SON'   (Bulgarian)
      dádox=mu=go na=sina   'I gave it to the SON'

(54) go=glédam sinot   'I see the son'   (Macedonian)
      mu=go=dádov na=sinot   'I gave it to the son'

There are two important differences in the outcome of this historical process. In Macedonian – but not in Bulgarian – the strategy of crossindexing the focal patient and the recipient / beneficiary was demarked. The Bulgarian equivalents of the Macedonian sentences do *not* display the coreferential pronominal clitics:

(55) gledam sina   'I see the son'   (Bulgarian)
      dadox=go na sina   'I gave it to the son'

The other difference concerns the direction of clisis. In Bulgarian the clitics are attached to the finite verb forms by Wackernagel's Law in S-2

position as enclitics, whereas in Macedonian the clitics are attached to the
finite verb form as proclitics (with the exception of the imperative).

Modern Greek went as far as Middle Bulgarian before the loss of case
marking on the definite articles; with the exception of the article being
postpositive in Bulgaro-Macedonian but prepositive in Greek, the sen-
tences in (52) have exact parallels in Early Modern Greek texts:

(56)   vlépo=ton   (ton=vlépo)   ton=jó(n)
       see+1/SG=him   (him=see+1/SG)   ART=son
       'I see the son'

       édosa=tu=to   (tu=to=édosa)   ston=jó(n)
       gave+1/SG=you=it   (you=it=gave+1/SG) to=ART=son
       'I gave it to the son'

That is, the article is marked for case (*ton*=ACC, *ston*=DAT) while the
noun does not have to be marked by *-n* for the oblique case (ACC or DAT);
cf. Bulgaro-Macedonian after the loss of case marking on nouns: *da-
dox=mu=go sinotomu* (earlier *sinutomu*). In its later development Modern
Greek concurred with Macedonian in favoring the strategy of proclisis
with finite verb forms[12] (but enclisis is used widely in non-standard epi-
choric dialects), cf. Greek and Macedonian vs. Bulgarian:

(57)   ton=vlépo, ton=jó   (Greek)   proclisis
           go=glédam sinot   (Macedonian)   proclisis
vs.   glédam=go, sina   (Bulgarian)   enclisis
           tu=to=édosa, ston=jó   (Greek)   proclisis
           mu=go=dádov na=sínot   (Macedonian)   proclisis
           dádox=mu=go, na=sína   (Bulgarian)   enclisis

However, as indicated by the comma, only Macedonian went as far as
demarking the above constructions and reducing thus the pronominal cli-
tics to affixes whose function may be said to indicate object agreement
with the patient/ recipient/ beneficiary.

One of the remarkable features of Macedonian vis-à-vis Bulgarian is
the stability of the clitic block REC=PAT, e.g., *mu=go* which appears imme-
diately before the finite verb forms as one would expect from bound mor-
phemes (=prefixes). This holds true both for negative and interrogative
sentences. On the other hand, in Bulgarian if the main verb is in the past

---

[12]As far as we can tell, the observation that the divergence between
Macedonian and other Slavic languages is due to Greek influence was first
made by Joseph (1983: 239).

participle the auxiliary may precede or follow the block of clitics, while the interrogative particle *li* separates them from the main verb (PP=li=AUX=mu=go or PP=li=mu=go=AUX); in Macedonian, the auxiliary is placed at the beginning of the block of proclitics – with the pronominal clitics attached immediately to the verb – while the interrogative particle *li* is placed by Wackernagel's Law after the main verb (AUX=mu=go=PP=li).

In Bulgarian, the negative particle may host the clitic block *mu=go* (attached by Wackernagel's Law) with the interrogative particle *li* attached to the main verb or intervening between the clitics (NEG=mu=Q=go); or, the negative particle may host the auxiliary and the interrogative particle (NEG=AUX=Q) with the clitic block *mu=go* attached to the past participle (mu=go=PP). On the other hand, the only option of Macedonian is to place the auxiliary *before* and the interrogative particle *after* the block of pronominal proclitics plus the finite verb form: AUX=(mu=go=PP)=Q. The following data exemplify all the above options:

(58)	Bulgarian	Macedonian	Gloss
i	Dál=li=mu=go=e?	Mu=go=dál=li?	'Did he give it to him?'
ii	Dál=li=si=mu=go?	Si=mu=go=dál=li?	'Did you give it to him?'
	*Dál=li=mu=go=si?		
iii	Né=mu=go.dál=li	Ne=mu=gó=dal=li?	'Didn't he give it to him?'
	Né=mu=li=go=e dál?		
iv	Né=si=li mu=go=dál?	Ne=si=mu=gó=dal=li?	'Didn't you give it to him?'

The Macedonian state of affairs may be described insightfully by assuming the existence of the block of pronominal proclitics (*mu=go*) plus the finite verb form (past participle in 50 (i-iv)). The negative particle *ne* and the finitizing auxiliary are added as proclitics to this block, while the interrogative particle *li* is attached by Wackernagel's Law as an enclitic to this block. Summarily: NEG=AUX=(*mu=go=PP*)=Q. The interrgative particle may also be cliticized to the negative particle (e.g. *né=li mi=ja=dónese knígata* 'Didn't he bring the book to me?') or to the auxiliary (*né=bev=li ti=ja=dónel knígata* 'Hadn't he bring the book to you?'), cf. Kubeš (1988: 288). In either case the block of pronominal proclitics appears immediately before the finite verb form or PP.

The Bulgarian state of affairs is more complicated as a consequence of its free accent and a larger scope of the application of Wackernagel's Law. As 58 (i) and (ii) show, the past participle may host not only the sentential

interrogative particle *li* but also the auxiliary and the block of pronominal clitics *mu=go*; and the order auxiliary and the block of pronominal clitics appears to be interchangable: PP=Q=AUX=(*mu=go*) or PP=Q=(*mu=go*) =AUX[13].

If the predicate is negated, the negative particle may host the block of pronominal clitics *mu=go* with the interrogative particle attached to the main verb or intervening between the clitics; (iii) or, the negative particle may host the auxiliary with the interrogative particle attached by Wackernagel's Law and the block of pronominal clitics appearing before the past participle, (iv). In other words, the block of pronominal clitics in Bulgarian is not so clos．·y knit as in Macedonian since the interrogative particle may intervene between the dative and the accusative clitic: NEG=*mu*=go ~ NEG=*mu*=Q=*go*.

⹁iven the internal word-like stability of the block *mu=go*=PP in Macedonian – unlike in Bulgarian the block of clitics *mu=go* is never *interrupted* by the interrogative particle (cf. iii and iv), and it cannot be *separated* from its PP by this particle (cf. i and ii) and the auxiliary (cf. ii and iv) – it might be argued that the morpheme boundary + would capture more adequately the affix-like status of *mu* and *go*: #*mu+go+dal*#.

9. CONCLUSIONS

As argued in section 6, the Macedonian special clitics stand a better chance to qualify for the status of 'bound' morphemes than those of Modern Greek; in section 8 it was demonstrated that for different reasons the Macedonian clitics are better candidates for the status of 'bound' morphemes than those of closely related Bulgarian. More work remains to be done on the clitics of Albanian: in section 7, we highlighted their typological similarity with those of Macedonian. In Albanian the block of clitics Beneficiary /Recipient=Patient (Chart 7) exhibits similar word-like stability in that it cannot be interrupted by any other element. However, in both Albanian and Macedonian these clitics (or the block of clitics) keep the limited freedom of movement (typical of clitics) in that they attach as enclitics to the non-finite forms (and imperatives) but as proclitics to the finite verb forms and *l*-participles in Macedonian; contrast *dáj=mu=ja knígata na=négo* 'give the book tc ·.m' with *tój mu=ja=dál knígata na=négo* 'he

---

[13]According to Englund (1977: 110). However, both Mr. Valeri Stančev (*1955 in Sophia) and Dr. Svillen Stančev (*1957 in V. Turnovo) judged 58 (ii) *Dál=li=mu=go=si* to be ungrammatical. They also refused NEG=mu=go=Q AUX=PP or NEG=mu=Q=go AUX=PP given by Englund (1977: 114).

gave the book to him' (cf. the Albanian example in (47)). Even the fact that in verbal morphology the inflectional prefixes are apparently less common than the suffixes (but we are not aware of any statistics) might be an argument against their recognition as bound morphemes. Another counter-argument is the fact that – at least in Indo-European languages – one is used to think of agreement markers in terms of subject agreement markers.[14] In other words, more convincing examples for the affix-like status of clitics crossindexing the object would be furnished by languages where the clitic crossindexing the subject might also crossindex the object. Within the Indo-European family of languages several Iranian ergative languages exhibit this phenomenon (cf. Bubenik 1989 for details). For instance, in Pashto the same morpheme *əm* expresses the 1st PERS subject in the present (suffix +*əm*) and the 1st PERS object in the past (clitic =*əm*):

(59) zə   yəm
     I+DIR   be+1/SG

     'I am'

     tā   zə   wəlid=əm
     you+OBL   I+DIR   see+PP=1/SG

     'you saw me'

Kurdish data (dialect of Suleimaniye, Bynon 1979) are similarly complicated:

(60)a. min ēwa=m   bīnī   b.   bīnī+m+in
       I   ye=1/SG see+P   see+P+1/SG+2/PL

     'I saw ye'   'I saw ye'

(61)a. ēwa min abīn+in   b.   a+m+bīn+in
       ye I   see+1/PL   PREV+1/SG+see+2/PL

     'Ye see me'   'Ye see me'

In Kurdish (Suleimaniye) the same morpheme *m* encodes both the 1st PERS subject in the past and the 1st PERS object in the present. More specifically, in (60) a. =*m* is attached phonologically to the object as a clitic expressing the 1st PERS subject; in (60) b. the same phonological entity *m* may be considered as the suffix of the 1st SG, +*m*, attached in the appropriate position after the verb by a morphological rule; in (61) b. *m* encoding the 1st

---

[14]The situation is quite different in the Afro-Asiatic phylum. In Semitic languages the subject agreement markers in the imperfect are prefixes but those in the perfect suffixes (e.g. Classical Arabic *huwa yaktubu* 'he will write' vs. *huwa kataba* 'he wrote'). A major typological and diachronic cross-linguistic study of these matters is a desideratum (cf. Bubenik 1993).

PERS object appears inserted between the preverb and the verbal root as the prefix *m+*.

With this typological note – which gives an indication of our ongoing research – we wish to conclude our study. It is needless to say that much more remains to be done on the Balkan data both synchronically and diachronically before evaluating them in a broader typological context of other I-E and non-I-E languages.

REFERENCES

ADAMOPOULOS, DIMITRIOS. 1988. *Makedonika xorata ke masalia*. Thessaloniki: Kodikas.

AUTY, R. 1960. *Handbook of Old Church Slavonic. Part II. Texts and Glossary*. London: Athlone Press.

BELIĆ, ALEKSANDAR. 1905. *Dijalekti istočne i južne Srbije*. Beograd: Stamparija Kraljevine Srbije.

BUBENIK, VIT. 1989. An interpretation of split ergativity in Indo-Iranian languages. *Diachronica* VI, 2: 181-212.

    1993. Inflectional morphology and clitics in Functional Grammar: their typology and diachrony. *Diachronica* X, 2: 165-190.

BYNON, THEODORA. 1979. The ergative construction in Kurdish. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 42: 211-24.

DE BRAY, R.G.A. 1980. *Guide to the South Slavonic Languages*. Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publishers.

DIK, SIMON C. 1989. *The Theory of Functional Grammar*. Dordrecht: Foris.

ENGLUND, BRIGITTA. 1977. *Yes/no questions in Bulgarian and Macedonian*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.

FAIRBANKS, GORDON. 1977. Case inflection in Indo-European. *Journal of Indo-European Studies* V, 2-3: 101-29.

GROEN, B.M. 1977. *A Structural Description of the Macedonian Dialect of Dihovo*. Lisse: Ridder.

HENDRIKS, P. 1976. *The Radožda-Vevčani Dialect of Macedonian*. Lisse: Ridder.

JOSEPH, BRIAN. 1983. *The Synchrony and Diachrony of the Balkan Infinitive*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

KAZANTZAKIS, NIKOS. 1974. *O Xristos ksanastavronete*. Aθina: El. Kazantzaki.

KAZAZIS, KOSTAS & JOSEPH PENTHEROUDAKIS. 1976. Reduplication of indefinite direct objects in Albanian and Modern Greek. *Language* 52, 2: 398-403.

KORNAROS, VITZENTZOS. *Erōtokritos*. Pella. (Venice 1713).

KUBEŠ, BRANKA. 1988. Učebnice makedonštiny. Praha: Univerzita Karlova.

MILOVANOVIC, SNEZANA. 1987. *Case Syncretism in Serbo-Croatian*. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Pennsylvania State University.

MLADENOV, STEFAN. 1929. *Geschichte der bulgarishen Sprache*. Berlin: Gruyter.

POPOVIC, IVAN. 1955. *Istorija Srpskohrvatskog jezika*. Novi Sad: Gradska Štamparija.

PRINTZ, MICHAEL. 1991. *Klitisierung im Deutschen und Neugriechischen*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

SANDFELD, KRISTIAN. 1930. *Linguistique balkanique. Problèmes et résultats*. Paris: Champion.

SIEWIERSKA, ANNA. 1991. *Functional Grammar*. London: Routledge.

SPENCER, ANDREW. 1991. *Morphological Theory*. Oxford: Blackwell.

STÖLTING, WILFRIED. 1970. *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Artikels im Bulgarischen*. Slavistische Beiträge 44. München: Sagner.