

# DISTRIBUTIVE AND SEMANTIC INTERPRETATION OF MACEDONIAN PRONOMINAL CLITICS: THREE CASES

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**Abstract:** *The predominant linguistic concepts, traditional grammar and hitherto used description, have mostly focused on language per se. However, we will step out of the frames of this view and attempt to concentrate on three cases, which, being exceptions, may be interpreted from three different aspects, which are not necessarily mutually exclusive: a) as an interference within the Balkan Language Area; b) as a reflection of the way reality is perceived and an exception regarding the linguistic projection of this reality; c) as a linguistic marginal case, which (barely) exists in the Macedonian language and in the languages of some of the other Balkan dialects.*

*We will look into three cases that focus on clitics: 1. the so-called “jumping clitics”; 2. a combination of dative and accusative forms; 3. the case whose paradigmatic properties are founded upon the example: “Kje ni svaram kafe/Will (to) us make coffee.” Since these cases stand out as exceptions from the predominant description in Macedonian, we will correlate them with the rest of the Balkan languages and raise them to the level of a new Balkan phenomenon, an expression of the common mentality. Or, on the other hand, we will discard them as a marginal case in linguistics.*

**Keywords:** *linguistics, traditional grammar, linguistic description, clitics, Balkan Language Area, Macedonian language, Balkan languages, exceptional grammatical forms*

## o. Introduction

Theory is withdrawing. “The demon of theory is tired today”, said Romanian critic Eugen Simion. Linguistics is in recession: there is no room for new theories that might bring about revolutions such as those of the Young Grammarians, Saussure or Chomsky. Linguistics’ new task is to face the challenge of interdisciplinarity, not to remain a mere skill, but to incorporate measurable variables, much like technical sciences do, by which to analyse reality reflected in language with linguistic means.

Primarily, this connection can find its reflection in the concept of *reference*. Considering the definition of reference as “directing at or pointing to objects, people, events or actions in general, or objects, people, events and actions in particular, by using specialised linguistic means whose realisation can be considered both in terms of endophora and egsophora” (Дучевска 1996, 8), or as “the relation between a part of the utterance and an individual or set of individuals that it identifies” (Matthews 2005, 312), it is the basic link, set in this concept as a paradigm. In this sense, aid is provided from the field of pronouns, which, according to Kristal (Kristal 1998, 406) refers to a closed word class, which can be used to substitute a noun phrase/syntagma or a single noun. The grammatical description of the distribution of the pronouns in a language is, in his view, a

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complex one: it is frequently given on the basis of more general terms, such as: proform and deixis.

The definition of clitics merges two aspects: a syntactic and a phonological one. Although we will not view them from a phonological, but a distributive and semantic angle, which means we will view them as sentence elements, still, the concept of clitics inherently contains the phonological moment, that is, it is bound to suprasegmental phonology.

In linguistics, clitics are defined as grammatical elements, which are syntactically treated as separate words, yet they form a phonological unit with the preceding and succeeding words. For instance, they can be independently declined and conjugated [go, mu, ja, í; you (are), (he) is], but, in pronunciation, they form a unit with the surrounding words (compare Matthews 2005, 56).

Our goal here is to establish a principle in the form of a hypothesis, which thereafter, through the lower theoremic structures, in the shape of implications, will be (self)proved (via practice or analysis) or refuted. In fact, what will be proved or refuted are theorems (compare Hjelmslev's views, for example). Our hypothesis is the following: the system of pronominal clitics, which is related to pronouns via its referential characteristics, to syntax via linearisation and the expression of case relations and to phonology via its atonicity, eliminates the established concept of the use of pronouns and exhibits a behaviour that departs from normal logical-grammatical rules. The three cases we present provide the proof by which we root the theory into a theorem (compare Hjelmslev's views on this topic).

On the one hand, there is a distributive, and on the other, a semantic hermeneutic procedure in understanding the use of pronominal clitics, because they carry additional semantic load as opposed to adverbial clitics, for instance, and it constitutes their *diferentia specifica* in terms of distribution. Namely, the fact that they are a kind of morphological case forms implies that they inherently indicate sentence relations between words (a possessive relation, object relations, etc.), and the fact that they are pronominal loads them with the semantic charge of reference. Their specific distribution ought to be sought both in their atonicity, unaccentogenicity, or the fact that they are clitics, and in the semantics in which they operate both within endophora and egsophora.

Before we proceed to analyse the cases mentioned above regarding the distribution and semantic interpretation of pronominal clitics, we will discuss the two general types of clitics, i.e. the *adnominal* and *sentential*. The necessity for such a discussion arises from the fact that pronominal clitics are found in both basic types, while the verbal clitics are additionally required for one of the cases.

### 1. *Adnominal Clitics*

The occurrences of adnominal clitics can be divided in two major groups: possessive dative clitics and the article. Although Mishevska-Tomićj (Мишевска-Томиќ 2008, 15) clearly distinguishes possessive dative clitics as clitics in the full sense of the word, while separating the article as a morpheme, still, she considers them in this context, too (Мишевска-Томиќ 2008, 17-23). Although, the article may be considered as a borderline case between a clitic and a morpheme, we will exclude it from our further analysis: first, because it is not a pronominal clitic, which only refers to the short pronominal forms; and

second, because cliticity is more a diachronic condition of the article, while on the synchronic plane it is a morphological exponent.

It may be said that, in a broader or narrower range, possessive dative clitics have a function in all Balkan languages. We call these clitics “dative” not because they express a certain indirect object relation (we mentioned above that it is a purely possessive relation), but due to their form, which is identical to that of the pronominal dative clitic. No structural and semantic relation can be established between these two clitics:

Compare:

(1) **Mu** rekov na chovekot.

**Him** told to the man.

*I told the man.*

(2) **Go** vidov brat mu.

*Saw brother his.*

*I saw his brother.*

Examples (1) and (2) do not represent analogous cases. The connection of the first “him” to the second “his” is merely formal, and not structural or semantic. This (different semantics) has a distributive realisation, or a formal exponent in the fixed linearisation of these two cases, which is different for one example in relation to the other. Namely, in the first sentence, which employs a dative object, the pronominal clitic is located to the left of the verb, and, practically, it is a sentential one:

(3) *Voopshto, nemu **mu** se sluchivashe da se naogja na mesta kade shto ima belja.*

*Generally speaking, **to him** happened to find himself in places where there was trouble.*

*Generally speaking, he would often find himself in places where there was trouble.*

(A Butterfly Hunt, 77)

(4) *Nemu svet **mu** se zavrte.*

*To him the world **him** turned around.*

*The whole world turned around his head.*

(A Butterfly Hunt, 77)

In (3) and (4) the dative clitics are exponents of the indirect object, which “represents the indirectly dependent NP (noun phrase, author’s note) and names the addressee or the goal of the action” (Минова-Ѓуркова 2000, 205).

The adnominal clitics with a possessive meaning are always come after the noun which is the centre of the syntagma and are most commonly associated with names of relatives:

(5) *Sestra **ti** vekje nekolku pati te barashe.*

*Sister **your** has already called you several times.*

*Your sister has already called you several times.*

(6) *Sin **mi** ne doshol vekje godina.*

*Son **my** hasn’t come to visit for a year now.*

*My son hasn't come to visit for a year now.*

(7) *Kjerka ni e najubava.*

*Daughter our is most beautiful.*

*Our daughter is most beautiful.*

The Macedonian standard does not permit using these clitics with other nouns. However, the press and, especially, colloquial speech often contain such examples with a stylistic marking and an ironic emotional shade:

(8) *Vladata ni në uchi preku reklamite.*

*Government our teaches us through commercials.*

*Our (dear) government teaches us through commercials.*

(9) *Komshijata mi e najloshiot na svetov.*

*Neighbour my is the worst in the whole world.*

*That neighbour of mine is the worst in the whole world.*

## 2. Sentential Clitics

Sentential clitics refer to a whole range of clitics, from pronominal to verbal. Apart from these two categories, the group of sentential clitics also contains: the modal clitics *kje* and *bi* (Macedonian for *will* and *would*), the subjunctive clitic *da* (Macedonian for *to*) and the negative clitic *ne* (Macedonian for *not*), as well as interrogative words that sometimes behave as clitics: *koj* (*kogo*, *komu*), *shto*, *koga*, *kade/kaj* [Macedonian for *who* (*whom*, *acc./dat.*), *what*, *when*, *where*] (Мишевска-Томиќ 2008, 37).

The system of pronominal clitics in the Macedonian language is as follows:

	Dative		Accusative	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
1p.	mi	ni	me	nè
2p.	ti	vi	te	ve
3p.	mu	im	go	gi
Refl.		si		se

(Table 1: The system of pronominal clitics in the Macedonian language.)

In indicative affirmative constructions they are always distributed before the verb.

(10) *Koga ti rekov: draga! –*

*potemne tvojata belost,*

*me prezre ti so snaga.*

*When (to) you told: my dearest!-*

*Your whiteness darkened,*

*Me you scorned with zest.*

*When I told you: my dearest!-*

*Your whiteness darkened,*

*You scorned me with zest.*

(“Scorn” – Koneski)

(11) *Shtom **mu go** prepoznav glasot, pred oči **mi se** pojavija...*

*As soon as **him his** recognised voice, in front of eyes **(to) me themselves** appeared...*

*As soon as I recognised his voice, ... came to my mind.*

(“Daddy, Don’t Cry”, Rumena Buzharovska)

The same is the case with the interrogative constructions:

(12) ***Mu go** prepozna plachot?*

***(To) him his** recognised cry?*

*Did you recognise his cry?*

(13) *Vam **vi** reche?*

*To **you** told?*

*Did he told you?*

However, in imperative constructions the word order is different. If the verb is in its imperative form, then the clitic is placed to the right of it, i.e. immediately after the verb. According to the standard, linearisation ought to be the same in negated imperative contexts, too.

(14) *Rechi **mu** da dojde.*

*Tell **him** to come.*

(15) *Ne pish’uwaj **mu** povekje!*

*Not write **him** anymore!*

*Don’t write to him anymore!*

However, practice registers a serious deviation from the recommended and standard word order, which is only seldom heard in colloquial style. Thus, in a spoken text, i.e. in a spoken discourse, one is more likely to hear:

(15a) *Ne **mu** p’ishuvaj povekje.*

*Not **(to) him** write, anymore!*

*To him don’t write anymore!*

We have marked the stress in Examples (15) and (15a) in order to show that, regardless of the place of the clitic in colloquial style, the stress retains its standard position, i.e. its antepenultimate position, or, in other words, it has a proparoxytone character. Still, Example (15a) provides an opportunity to stress the negative clitic *ne*, too, due to pragmatics – in order to put it into focus, or, to accentuate it. In this way we also express modality, or an additional personal attitude, although, in essence, the propositional value of the statement remains unchanged:

- (15b) *N'e mu p'ishuvaj povekje.*  
*Don't write to him anymore.*

This situation is especially characteristic of Skopje speech, which does not correspond to the situation that dialectologists have described, but rather imposes itself as a superdialectal speech expression.

We have already identified several occurrences in the Balkan languages regarding object doubling, a phenomenon that is necessarily related to pronominal clitics, as well as to the initial sentence position, which is occupied by clitics in the standard Macedonian language and in the western Macedonian dialects, as opposed to the eastern.

The modal clitics *kje* and *bi*, as well as the subjunctive clitic *da* are positioned before the verb, and also, before the pronominal clitics. In fact, in the case of a series of clitics, they are ordered as follows: the negative clitic, then the modal and subjunctive clitics, then the dative and, finally, the accusative clitic.

- (16) *Ne bi da mu ja dade knjigata.*  
*Not would to him give the book.*  
*He wouldn't give him the book.*

- (17) *Ne kje da mu ja dade knjigata.*  
*Not will to him give the book.*  
*He probably didn't give him the book.*

- (18) *Mu ja zede knjigata.*  
*Him took the book.*  
*He took the book from him.*

- (19) *Ne saka da mu ja ispee pesnata.*  
*Not want to him sing the song.*  
*He doesn't want to sing him the song.*

The system of verbal clitics contains the forms of the auxiliary verb *sum* (Macedonian for *to be*, translator's note). More precisely, the entire verbal clitical system consists of the verbal clitics, whose forms belong to the group of sentential clitics.

	<b>Singular</b>		<b>Plural</b>
1p.	sum		sme
2p.	si		ste
3p.	e		se

(Table 2: The system of verbal clitics in the Macedonian language.)

In all South Slavic languages, the present tense forms of the auxiliary verb *sum* are clitics. The past tense forms of the auxiliary verb *sum* are accentogenic forms which can play the role of hosts to other clitics.

(20) *Toj m'u beshe veren sorabotnik.*

*He him was a loyal associate.*

*He was his loyal associate.*

Example (20) indicates that *mu* forms a relation of proclisis to the verb *beshe* – the pronominal form is a proclitic, while the imperfect form of the auxiliary verb is the host.

The combination of the verbal and pronominal clitics poses a problem in its own right, i.e. it represents the first of the three cases on which we focus our attention. We must underscore the fact that, importantly, Macedonian verbal clitics have abandoned the Slavic condition of mere enclisis and also occur in a purely Balkan proclisis, as well as in the initial position in the sentence (irrespective of whether it is embedded within another, compound or complex, sentence).

### 3. Case 1: “Jumping Clitics”

We have already stated that, with respect to their surrounding words, clitics occupy a fixed position. In comparison to accentogenic forms, they can be *general* and *special*. As far as verbal clitics are concerned, when compared to accentogenic verbal forms, we have already categorised them as special. However, what can be said of those that have the same origin (for instance, the forms of *sum*), and yet, depending on the person in which they are conjugated, change their position? We would like to highlight here that the possibility for distributive duality in the first and second person is only limited to the dative clitic. The accusative one is incapable of changing position because the rection in that case is stronger than the one assumed by the dative object. Namely, “the relation between the verb form marked for person and the direct object is regarded as strong rection, while a weak rection occurs in the case of the indirect object, the adverbial object and the adverbial determination in the sentence” (Минова-Ѓуркова 2000, 99). Due to the latter, a case such as: *\*Go sum videl./ \*Him I have seen.* is impermissible. Also, the possibility of comparison in terms of distribution of the first and second as opposed to the third person is exclusive to the dative clitic, because the accusative one will not appear in constructions with a verbal-nominal predicate and it is impossible to compare it in the perfect tense forms because of the absence of the third person verbal clitic.

Let us consider the following examples:

(21) *Jas ne se kaam poradi toa I blagodaren sum im na bogovite...*

*I don't regret it and grateful am (to) them the gods...*

*I don't regret it and I am grateful to the gods... (La Fontaine)*

(22) *Zaednichki im e samo krajot.*

*Common (to) them is only the end.*

*The only thing they have in common is the end. (Kadare)*

Taking into consideration the formula for the above distributive analysis ( $a_1, a_2, \dots, a_{n-1}$ , and  $a_{n+1}, a_{n+2}, \dots, a_n$ ), in the expression “... grateful am (to) them the gods...”, where there is a combination of a verbal and a pronominal clitic, the linearisation takes the form of

“sum”, then “im”, that is, the pronominal clitic is positioned after the forms of “sum”. The same applies to the first person singular, as well:

(23) *Vie vo najmala raka zakluchuvate deka nie, ednostavno, **sme im** izlegle vo presret...*

*To say the least, your conclusion is that we, simply, **are (to) them** come out to meet them...*

*To say the least, your conclusion is that we have simply come to their rescue... (“The General” – Kadare)*

An analogous situation can also be observed in the second person:

(24) *Ti **si mi** prijatel.*

*You **are me** friend.*

*You are my friend.*

(25) *No, tamu ne bev sosem srekcjen, i vie, denes, **ste mi** potrebni.*

*But, I wasn’t entirely happy there, and today, you **are (to) me** necessary.*

*But, I wasn’t entirely happy there, so I need you today. (“The Misunderstanding” - A. Camus)*

Example (22) follows the distributive practice of combining a verbal + a pronominal clitic. Namely, in the third person (both singular and plural) the pronominal clitic precedes the verbal, a position where we expect the opposite combination of a pronominal clitic + a verb.

Also, compare the latter with Example (26):

(26) *Jabolkata **ni se** glaven izvor na egzistencija.*

*Apples **(to) us are** a main source of existence.*

*Apples are our main source of living. (mkd.mk)*

As we can see, the forms of the pronominal clitics for the first and second person are an exception to the expected distribution, while in the third person they occupy the expected position in relation to all other verbs. A question arises of why this is so. In order to gain a more profound insight in this non-analogous<sup>1</sup> distribution in terms of linearisation, we must draw a parallel with the dialectal situation, as well as with the situation in the Balkan language alliance or at least in some of its languages, along with the South Slavic ones.

The dialectal situation is nearly identical to that in the standard language. A particular consistency can be observed in the eastern dialects. In contrast, the central and peripheral western dialects deviate in the direction of equal positioning of the pronominal clitic. Thus, we can observe:

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<sup>1</sup> Every non-analogous language situation draws additional attention and demands investigation and elaboration, because, in essence, it contradicts the second postulate of the Young Grammarians: (a) that phonetic changes are absolute; (b) that the incidence of any exceptions is the result of the law of analogy.

(27) *Kolku puta **vi sum** rekla da ne go praete toa.*  
*How many times (to) you am told to not do that.*  
*I've told you time and again not to do that.* (regional speech from the city of Tetovo)

Note: On the synchronic plane, this is not a regular occurrence. It can be found among elderly speakers, though with the same irregularity, and only in certain contexts.

In the “Collection” of the brothers Miladinov, this linearisation of the first person singular is only found in one instance:

(28) *“Ako **ti sum** od Boga pisana,  
sama, ludo, doma kje ti dojdam.”*

*“... If I (to) you am by God written,  
Alone, silly, I'll come to your home.”*

*“... If God has made me your fate,  
Silly, I'll come to you myself.”*

(Poem 299)

The more frequent modern use of this kind of word order is a feature of the dialectal area that encompasses the dialects from the western part of Macedonia.

(29) *Jas **mu sum** komshija.*  
*I (to) him am neighbour.*  
*I am his neighbour.* (Ohrid)

(30) *Mi ja rasturi grubo kosata i znaev deka **mu sum** ubava.*  
*Roughly he undid my hair and I knew that (to) him am beautiful.*  
*Roughly he undid my hair and I knew he found me beautiful.*  
(<http://fun.mnogoo.mk/mk/articles/Razonoda/pushkin-dojdi-vo-mojata-kada> –  
Ohrid)

(31) *Ti ne **mi si** vekje prijatel.*  
*You not (to) me are anymore friend.*  
*You're not my friend anymore.* (Bitola)

This type of linearisation can also be found in Albanian:

(32) *?Ty **të jam** mik. = (To) you am friend.\* = I am your friend.*

A lengthy discussion was led among Albanian native speakers, a part of which had a fully completed linguistic education, regarding Example (32). Despite the fact that the clitical order in this case is entirely correct, to some of them this was an acceptable construction, while to others it was a product of interlingual contact and an interference of Macedonian or another Slavic language where this is a regular construction. Those who

judged this case acceptable made the same judgement of all other variations in terms of substitution of clitics according to their person.

However, the problem of clitic order, especially in constructions with a verbal-nominal predicate, is not of the same kind as the problem of linearisation in general. Namely, when understood as borderline cases between affixation and independence, clitics should not be allowed to “roam”, that is, they have an absolutely fixed position. The exceptions that we note here and that belong to the western Macedonian dialectal area, supported by instances from other Balkan languages as well, pose the following query: can we consider them a certain type of **Balkanism**? Not even a different explanation will shed full light on their position [for example, if we consider the reverse case – the Slavic influence (with the full forms of “sum”, ergo – “jesam”) on non-Slavic Balkan languages]. If we consider the well-known views regarding grammatical structures as a reflection of the conceptual ones (Croft 1990 in Ivić 2002, 27), they can help us illuminate the shifts of the attributes in the syntagma, then, correspondingly, of the syntagmas in the sentence, of the clauses within the complex (communicative) sentences (see Topoljinska 1993, 205), but not the shifts of clitics, which do not bring about any major conceptual differences. In this respect, apart from the Balkan non-Slavic vs. Slavic influence, we are now to investigate the referential standpoint, or consider the factor of *person*. Hence we are faced with the significant question of hierarchisation of persons, speech acts, and even the subject vs. object relation, considering that the clitics occur in pronoun case forms (apart from the nominative), i.e. they belong to dependent noun phrases. Apparently, the third factor - whether “sum” is a copula or an auxiliary verb – does not give rise to any major differences: in the Macedonian West, the possibility for distributing the pronominal clitics both before and after “sum” is still present in both positions [compare Examples (27), (28), (30)].

The following type of linearisation is found in Greek:

(33) *Εγώ είμαι ο φίλος σου* [*Ego ime o fillos SU.*] = *I am (the) friend you.\* = I am your friend.*

which is analogous to the Albanian:

(34) *Unë jam shoku yt.* = *I am the friend your.\* = I am your friend.*

Equivalent to Example (32) is the following construction:

(35)? *Εγώ σου είμαι φίλος* [*Ego su ime fillos*] = *I (to) you am friend.\* = I am your friend.*

In these cases the forms are more regarded as colloquialisms both in Albanian, Greek and Vlach, with a particular frequency of their Vlach counterparts:

(36) *Mini tsa escu sots.* = *I (to) you am friend.\* = I am your friend.* (Vlach)

While Examples (32) and (35) are debatable, the forms for the first and second person, where the clitic precedes the auxiliary *sum*, are fully acceptable in Greek non-

indicative constructions (the conjunctive and the prohibitive negation). Compare: Πώς να μη σου είμαι θυμωμένος. = Κακο да не ти сум лют. = *How to not (to) you am angry.\** = *How can I not be angry with you!;* Μη μου είσαι θυμωμένος! = Немој да ми си лют. = *Don't to me are angry.\** = *Don't be angry with me!*

Still, if we consider the verb *kam* (have) in Albanian, which has an accusative rection, then the meaning, or proposition, of the above statements, can be expressed in the following manner:

(37) *Të kam mik.* = *Te мам (за) нпујател.* = *I have you (for) a friend. i.e. You are my friend.*

Although we do not expect to encounter such a linearisation in Bulgarian, the corpus produces different results. Namely, the following example is found in the play “In the Foot of Vitosha” by the Bulgarian writer Peyo Yavorov<sup>2</sup>:

(38) *Mila. Nedej. Az iskam da pogledna oshte vednazh – njama lid a mi se stori pak t'j. Mnogo chudno. Mene dnes vse mi se struvashe, che Hristoforov e tuk, pri nas, i pris'stvuva na vsichko... Dori oshte ot sutrinta az mu s'm i njakak s'rdita – s edna potajna umisl'l, che toj shte go pochuvstvuv. Eto – i sega...*

*Mila. Don't. I want to look right now – perhaps I'll think it is him again. Most odd. All day I've felt his presence, as if Hristoforov was here, with us... Since this morning I (to) him am\*/have even been somewhat cross at him – secretly thinking that he will sense it. There – just now...*

There is a similar example in Ivan Vazov's<sup>3</sup> “Under the Yoke”:

(39) *Ti mu si uchitel I nastacvitel...*

*You (to) him are master and teacher.*

*You are his master and teacher.*

The confirmation of the existence of such cases at the dialectal, colloquial or (almost) standard plane in Albanian, Vlach, Bulgarian and Macedonian, with partial or total acceptability, points to our assumption that this kind of order has got a Balkan source, particularly considering the fact that these languages assume a thread wherein the pronominal clitic is positioned before the verb.

On the plane of the South Slavic languages, apart from the registered cases in Bulgarian, shown in Examples (38) and (39), we can also expect this type of linearisation with the auxiliary verb in Serbian, if we consider the full form of the verb *jesam*.

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<sup>2</sup> Peyo Yavorov, a Bulgarian Symbolist poet and a revolutionary, born in 1878 in Chirpan, the region of Stara Zagora in Thrace. Died in Sofia in 1914. One of the leaders (voivodes, translator's note) of VMORO. A member of Jane Sandanski's rebel group and Goce Delchev's first biographer. Considered to be one of the greatest Bulgarian poets. Wrote the play “In the Foot of Vitosha” in 1910.

<sup>3</sup> Ivan Vazov, a Bulgarian poet and writer. Born in 1850 in Sopot, in the Plovdiv region, died in Sofia in 1921. Named “the patriarch of Bulgarian literature”. Member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and a minister. Wrote the novel “Under the Yoke” in Odessa, Russia, in 1887 and 1888. The novel was first published in 1894.

(40) *Ja ti jesam rekao.* = (literally) *I (to) you am said.* = *I did tell you.*

From a broader perspective, in the Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian-Montenegrin diasystem<sup>4</sup>, such examples can be found particularly on non-Serbian ground:

(41) *Ma ja ti jesam dosta razumna i realna ženska u sagledavanju tog našeg braka i situacije u kojoj sam sada...* = *Well, I (to) you am a fairly reasonable and realistic girl in viewing that marriage of ours and the situation I'm in now...* = *Well, I really am a fairly reasonable and realistic girl in viewing that marriage of ours and the situation I'm in now...*

(<http://www.forum.hr/showthread.php?p=37895742>, cro.)

(42) *Ja ti jesam rekao da ja nisam nikakva "vertikala", već sam vjerovatno najgori od svih* = *I (to) you am told that I am no "vertical line", but I'm probably the worst of all of them* = *I have already told you that I am no "vertical line", but I'm probably the worst of all of them.* (<http://www.chicagoraja.net/2012/04/30/kapital-zrtve-ulozen-mrznju-lazima-se-obraz-ne-pere/>, bos.)

It is clear that the above constructions are marked, serve for emphasis and there is a need of a pronoun (or a different word) in initial position, because, as it is well known, unlike the Balkan proclisis of the pronominal clitics in initial position, the Slavic situation requires them to function as enclitics.

Considering the fact that the third person, in fact, does not deviate from, but rather follows the distributive practice of the other verb forms, while in the first and second person there is a pronominal clitic preceding the verbal one, a question arises of whether there is a difference (a phonetic-phonological one) between the verbal forms for these persons. We have already provided an overview of the Macedonian verbal clitics and noted that the present tense forms of *sum* exhibit the same behaviour in terms of being able to be found both in proclisis and enclisis, especially when in initial position, which serves as evidence of the Balkan influence. Still, it is not entirely so. Let us compare:

(43) *Tezhok mu e.*

*Heavy (to) him is.*

*It is heavy for him.*

(43a) *\*E mu tezhok.*

*\*Is (to) him heavy.*

(44) *Tezhok sum mu.*

*Heavy am (to) him.*

*I am heavy for him.*

(44a) *Sum mu tezhok.*

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<sup>4</sup> These languages constitute a unique diasystem. In this respect we refer to Brozovikj's claim ((Brozović: Hrvatski jezik 1998, Opole, also see <http://ihjj.hr/page/iz-povijesti-hrvatskoga-jezika/15/>).

*Am (to) him heavy.*

(44b)? *Mu sum tezhok.*

?*(To) him am heavy.* (dialectal)

(45) *Teshka si mu.*

*Heavy are (to) him.*

*You are heavy to him.*

(45a) *Si mu teshka.*

*Are (to) him heavy.*

(45b)? *Mu si teshka.*

?*(To) him are heavy.* (dialectal)

As we can see, it is impossible for the third person verbal clitic to occupy the initial position in constructions like these, as opposed to others. In fact, this is the most common in the case of the first person, while being less acceptable for the second and completely unacceptable for the third. In this respect, one of the possible interpretations is the frequency of occurrence, if we assume that we speak more in the first, rather than in the third person.

As a marginal case in this context, we would also like to mention the ellipsis of the verbal clitic in the third person of the perfect tense, which plays the role of an auxiliary verb. As opposed to the old situation where *sum* + a verb form had been used in all persons, the form of the verbal clitic has disappeared altogether in Macedonian, Czech and Slovak. As for Ukrainian, Belorussian and Russian, “esse” has been lost both as an independent and as a *verbum auxiliare*. So, two questions arise: when did this happen in historical terms and what are the reasons for this loss. Although these questions are not fully part of the context of the topic at hand, we will also cite Maresh’s opinion: “In my view, the course of this development (during which *verbum auxiliare* has disappeared from the third person, author’s note), refers to a more complex understanding of the shape: the congruent 3<sup>rd</sup> p. sg. formally becomes an unmarked base of the preterit conjugation; the 3<sup>rd</sup> p. pl. of this structure is organically adjusted, made equal to the 3<sup>rd</sup> p. sg. only with a common mark for the plural...” (Mapem 2008, 211).

In terms of when the distribution of the third person verbal clitic is lost, or ceases, we can find some examples in the “Codex Suprasliensis”<sup>5</sup>: *nesl7 jest* as opposed to *nesl7 ø*; *izvolil7 jest*: *izvolil7 ø*.

Along with Maresh’s view, we can also assume that this loss originates from the dysfunctionality of the auxiliary verb in the third person. Yet, we must be aware of the fact that the factor of person is a linguistic universal and its concept is the same everywhere, so it is not entirely plausible to ascribe the loss of this form solely to this factor, because, if the motive is found in the person and the form, then the same will be expected when it

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<sup>5</sup> In order to meet the demand of our investigation of the issue, Prof. Mito Miovski, PhD., managed to find the above examples from the said manuscript.

comes to other languages, or at least, other Slavic languages, which exhibit the same formalisation when expressing the perfect tense.

The reasons for the loss of the verbal clitic are especially significant, although we have only awarded them a marginal treatment, because, if we conclude that the form is the reason behind the loss, narrower or broader parallels can be drawn with the distribution of the pronominal clitics in relation to the verbal ones and their position vis-à-vis person.

#### 4. Case 2: Combination of Dative and Accusative Clitics

The short pronominal forms for the dative and the accusative are the subject of our further analysis, although, as we will see, they do not correspond invariably to the structure of the deep cases. In this respect we distinguish Bugarski's thesis as especially important (Bugarski 1993, 146-47), since he, according to Fillmore, illustrates surface and deep cases with the following examples:

(46) *Petar ja otvori vratata so kluchot. (Petar je otvorio vrata ključem.)*  
*Petar opened the door with the key.*

and

(47) *Kluchot ja otvori vratata. (Ključ je otvorio vrata.)*  
*The key opened the door.*

The instrument in Example (46) in Serbian/Croatian also has a formal exponent found in the instrumental, while the instrument in Example (47) is expressed by the nominative<sup>6</sup>.

This case plays the role of a small prelude to Examples (48) and (49), which, although systemically and logically possible, have not been activated in practice. This is the second case we refer to that, in a narrow sense, can be dealt with as a combination of dative and accusative clitics, while in a wider sense, it can be treated in the context we tackled above.

(48) \**Sakam da vi nè pretstavam.*  
*\*I wish to (to) you us present.*  
*I would like to introduce us to you.*

(49) *Toj mi ve predade.*  
*He (to) me you betrayed.*  
*He was the one who betrayed you.*  
(a) *mi – dativus ethicus;*  
(b) *?mi – pronominal dative clitic, singular, indirect object*

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<sup>6</sup> "Sometimes, deep case distinctions are retained in the surface structure, and sometimes not. If they are, then, depending on the structure of each individual language a deep case might come to the surface in the form of a surface case, an affix of some other kind, an adverb, a clitic, a suppletive or a limitation on the word order." (Bugarski 1993, 147)

Obviously, there are certain restrictions in operation in terms of combining clitics in a single statement. In general, these restrictions are due to person: the first and second can be combined with the third, but not with one another. The reasons for the latter can be found on multiple levels:

- hierarchisation of persons;
- pragmatic factors;
- specificity of the statements regarding semantics and their low frequency.

Let us consider Example (48) and try and render it subject of interpretation. The first person is the doer of the action, the action is directed towards the second (vi – dative, indirect object), and the action is transferred to the first person plural (nè – accusative, direct object), which is inclusive, that is, it also refers to the speaker. In actuality, a problem arises in the fact that the first person is both the doer of the action and affected by the doing, though it is an element of a set that includes an additional member. Ex definitione, such a situation would require reflexiveness, yet this case is an exception because the subject and the object of the action do not have the same referent, but the subject is simultaneously part of the object.

Notwithstanding, this problem does not necessarily have to be the reason for the lack of combination of these forms. If, in Example (49), we treat the pronominal clitic *mi* as *dativus ethicus*, then the sentence is possible and acceptable. However, such constructions are outside our current focus, because they only involve a formal combination of these clitics, as opposed to a substantive, i.e. referential one, because the forms of *dativus ethicus* imply a subjective attitude which, as stated above, does not alter the factual propositional content of the utterance.

If we interpret Example (49) outside the limits of the ethical dative, then its interpretation is found in the sense that the third person committed treason against a group of elements that constitute a set of interlocutors (second person plural), who have been betrayed to the first person (the speaker). Within the frame of logical relations, this sentence is absolutely acceptable and it expresses a viable and factual relation in reality, yet, interpreted in this manner, the example is not frequently encountered and is not entirely acceptable among native speakers. Still, unlike the totally hypothetical Example (48), which is non-existent in reality and implausible, Example (49) does have the ability, under certain conditions and circumstances, to be uttered in colloquial speech<sup>7</sup>.

Let us consider a few more sentences of the same type:

(50) ?*Toj mu ve prodade za sitno.*

*He (to) him you sold for a few coins.*

*He sold you down the river.*

(51) ??*Marko ni ve (na)kazha.*

*Marko (to) us you told on.*

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<sup>7</sup> This is why we use marks, such as \* and? – according to the demands of the practice of linguistic description, we use the asterisk (\*) to mark the instances that are non-existent in reality, the single question mark (?) to mark the partially acceptable ones, and the double question mark (??) to mark the instances whose realisation is highly dubious.

*Our Marko told you on.*

As we can see in Example (50), a certain restriction, which refers to acceptability, also exists in some constructions that involve the use of forms belonging to the range of both the second and the third person. If *mu* functions anaphorically, or belongs to the realm of situational determination, then far more frequent will be the construction with a prepositional syntagma:

- (50a) *Toj ve prodade na sosedot/na stopanot/na dushmanite za sitno.*  
*He you sold to the neighbour/to the master/to the foes for a few coins.*  
*He sold you out to the neighbour/to the master/to the foes for a song.*

The above solution cannot be applied to the following example without changing the proposition.

- (51a) *Marko ve (na)kazha.*  
*Marko you told on.*  
*Marko told you on. – missing information about to whom the action is directed.*
- (51b) *Marko ve (na)kazha kaj nas.*  
*Marko you told on to us.*  
*Marko told us on you. – the primary information should be of the spatial kind.*

With a secondary meaning, this sentence can also embed the proposition of Example (51), only because the basic verb has been metaphorised. No other cases will yield a counterpart of the entirely logical clitic order.

Yet, the question of why this restriction occurs remains unanswered. Most certainly, the reasons are neither phonetic, nor semantic. According to Misheska-Tomikj (Мишеска-Томиќ 2008, 41) other Balkan languages feature even greater restrictions than Macedonian. Namely, Albanian and Greek, for instance, only allow for accusative clitics in the third person to follow the dative clitic in any person. It is clear that, from the perspective of linearisation, the Macedonian order of clitics will also put the dative clitic first, and the accusative one second.

Locating the reasons for the unacceptability or the partial acceptability of the statements that are the subject of interest of our pragmatics and united under the title “Case 2”, or in the fact that “often, the speaker and the addressee do not point at one another” (Мишеска-Томиќ 2008, 42), does not seem entirely acceptable, because exactly the “I-you” relation is one of the basic pragmatic relations, so the (cor)relation between the addressor and the addressee should be a primary one and serve as an incentive towards the realisation of such potential examples, instead of being an obstacle to their frequency.

**5. Case 3:** *Kje ni svaram kafe./Will (to) us make coffee. (I will make us some coffee. TN)*

In our third case of distributive deviations or contentious statements and examples regarding pronominal clitics, we focus on a range of uses that stand on the borderline of acceptability among the native speakers of the language, but have been exhibiting an increase in frequency. Namely, it is the use of pronominal clitics for the first person singular – *ni* and *nè* in first person singular verbal constructions of the following kind:

(52) ?*Kje ni svaram kafe.*  
?Will **(to) us** make coffee.  
*I will make us some coffee.*

The first person is the doer of the action, but, simultaneously, it is the object, along with someone else. Thus interpreted, to a certain extent, this example approaches Example (53).

Let us consider a similar example:

(53) ?*Kade da nè vozam?*  
?Where to **us** drive?  
*Where should I drive (us)?*

While there is an equivalent for Example (52) in Example (52a),

(52a) *Kje svaram kafe za nas.*  
*Will make coffee for us.*  
*I will make coffee for us.*

Example (53) does not allow for such a variation, or, there is no possibility for a construction where an adverbial object would replace the accusative one, unless we decompose it first, and then find its equivalent in the sentence:

(53a) ?? *Kade da te vozam tebe i sebe/mene.*  
??Where to **you** drive **you and myself/me.**  
*Where should I drive you and me?*

Example (53a) sounds so artificial, that it is borderline acceptable, because *you and myself/me* again requires a short pronominal form in the first person plural, that is, *nè*.

(54) ?*Kje ni napravam torta.*  
?Will **(to) us** make a cake.  
*I will make us a cake.*

(55) *Kje vi svitkam palachinka.*  
Will **(to) you** roll a pancake.  
*I will make you a pancake.*

(56) *Kje im svaram chorba.*  
Will **(to) them** make some stew.  
*I will make them some stew.*

(57) ?*Ni nosam pari.*  
? **(To) us** bring money.  
*I've brought us some money.*

Examples (54) and (57) are identical with Example (52). Two indicators show that the problem does not lie in the valence of the verb: the possibility to use the same verbs with other pronominal clitics [see E.g. (55) and (56)] and the Intentional-syntactic Dictionary of Macedonian Verbs. Namely, in Volume 1 of the Dictionary, the verb “vari” (cook, TN) is explained as follows:

Vari<sub>i</sub> (...) 2, cook, prepare food (by cooking it) (to be eaten or drunk) – N (S), N (Od), ± of N (Oind) / for N (Oadv), ± of N (Oadv)<sub>i</sub> / in N (Oadv) (...)  
N (Oind) / N (Oadv) → a man or an animal

Where N stands for noun, S for subject, Od for direct object, Oind for indirect object and Oadv for adverbial object.

(58) *Sekretarkata ni vareshe/vareshe za nas kafe (chaj, mleko itn.) na edno staro resh.*

*The secretary (to) us was making/was making for us coffee (tea, milk etc.) on an old hotplate.*

*The secretary was making us/was making some coffee (tea, milk etc.) for us on an old hotplate.*

Apparently, the valence is constant and allows an alternation between the indirect and adverbial object. From the verbal aspect, however, this does not apply to “vozi” (drive, TN), which requires a direct object, while still demonstrating a certain restriction as regards the use of the pronominal accusative clitic for the first person plural.

Taking into consideration the application of the same criteria to other verbs, our conclusion tends towards the fact that the limitation in the use of this form only stems from the form’s inclusion of the first person singular as a subject. As seen in Example (58), this limitation is absent when another person has the function of the subject. Practically, the use of *ni* and *nè* in such constructions suggests that the doer is part of the set of recipients of the action, and that, to an extent, the set is reflexive, though only a portion of it, related to the subject. Thus, the general concept of syntactic elements and person is destroyed, or rather transformed into a new dimension, in the sense that the subject can appear as an object not only in reflexive constructions, but also in sentences where it constitutes an element of a more complex object.

On the other hand, the acceptability of these constructions among speakers, as well as their use in everyday speech, indicate that this concept only exists in the consciousness of the users of the language and that they do not defy the laws of logic.

Let us conclude: no phonetic-phonological causes influence the “oddity” in the use of this type of constructions. Semantically, the propositional content is entirely clear and acceptable in terms of describing the world around us, that is, the phenomena in reality. The reasons lie in the grammatical concepts, which do not always correspond to the real and logical ones – the conclusion at which Vendryes (Вандријес 1998, 114) had arrived, and which, in the introductory tenets of this paper, we referred to and established as one of the fundamental principles of our investigation.

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