

Appendix One
CORE VOCABULARIES¹

Balkan Slavic Languages²

English No	Serbo-Croatian		Bulgarian		Macedonian	
	Serbian Cyrilic script	Croatian Latin script	Cyrilic script	Latin transcription	Cyrilic script	Latin transcription
001 all	сви	svi	всички	vsički	site	site
002 and	и	i	и	i	и	i
003 animal	животиња	životinja	животно	životno	животно	životno
004 arm	рука	ruka	ръка	rāka	рака	raka
005 ashes	пепео	pepeo	пепел	pepel	пепел	pepel
006 at	код	kod	при	pri	кај	kaj
007 back	леђа	leđa	гръб	grāb	грб	grb
008 bad	лош	loš	лош	loš	лош	loš
009 bark	кора	kora	кора	kora	кора	kora
010 because	зато што	zato što	заштото	zaštoto	затоа што	zatoa što
011 belly	трбух	trbuh	корем	korem	мев	mev
012 berry	зрно	zrno	зрно	zrno	зрно	zrno
013 big	велики	veliki	голям	goljam	голем	golem
014 bird	птица	ptica	птица	ptica	птица	ptica
015 bite	ујести	ujesti	ухапвам	uxapvam	апе	ape
016 black	црн	crn	черен	čeren	црн	crn
017 blood	крв	krv	кръв	krāv	крв	krv
018 blow	дувати	duvati	духам	duxam	дува	duva
019 bone	кост	kost	кост	kost	коска	koska
020 breast	груди	grudi	гърди	grādi	гради	gradi
021 breathe	дисати	disati	диша	diša	дише	diše

¹ The Balkan Slavic, Romanian and Modern Greek vocabularies were compiled by Pepijn Hendriks (Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian and Macedonian), Jeroen Bakker (Romanian) and Bart de Vries (Modern Greek) – student interns at the University of Leiden, working in the framework of the Spinoza Project. The Tosk Albanian, Gheg Albanian, Aromanian, Megleno-Romanian and Balkan Romani vocabularies were elicited from native speakers of those languages: Agim Poloska (Tosk Albanian), Avzi Mustafa (Gheg Albanian), Kocca and Verula Nicea (Aromanian), Dionisie Papațafa (Megleno-Romanian), Bajrami Severdžan (Arli); all of them living in Macedonia.

Pepijn Hendriks, Jeroen Bakker and Bart de Vries have provided phonological and morphological analyses of the Slavic, Romance and Modern Greek vocabularies. These analyses have been entered into the Spinoza Project areal typological data base. (cf. <http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/spls>).

The citation form for verbs is the infinitive for Serbo-Croatian and Megleno-Romanian, the short (suffixless) infinitive Romanian, the 1st person singular present indicative form for Bulgarian, Aromanian, Tosk and Gheg Albanian and Modern Greek, the 3rd person singular imperfective present indicative form for Macedonian and the 3rd person singular active present indicative for Arli Balkan Romani.

² As pointed out in the introductory chapter (Chapter One), the term “Serbo-Croatian” refers to a language which has officially been dissolved and replaced by “Serbian”, “Croatian” or “Bosnian”. Since the relevant formal aspects of the latter languages are the same, the all-embracing label “Serbo-Croatian” has been used throughout the book, the terms “Serbian” and “Croatian” being used whenever reference to distinct uses are being made. In this table the Serbian usage has been represented in the Cyrilic script; the Croatian usage in the Latin script. Note, however, that in Serbia both the Cyrilic and the Latin alphabets are officially accepted and interchangeably used.

English No	Serbo-Croatian		Bulgarian		Macedonian		
	Serbian Cyrilic script	Croatian Latin script	Cyrilic script	Latin transcription	Cyrilic script	Latin transcription	
022	brother	брат	brat	брат	brat	брат	brat
023	burn	горети	gorjeti	горя	gorja	гори	gori
024	child	дете	djete	дете	dete	дете	dete
025	claw	канџа	kandža	нокът	nokāt	канџа	kandža
026	clothing	одећа	odjeća	дрехи	drexī	алишта	ališta
027	cloud	облак	oblak	облак	oblak	облак	oblak
028	cold	хладан	hladan	студен	studen	студен	studen
029	come	доћи	doći	идвам	idvam	доаѓа	doaĝa
030	cook	кувати	kuhati	готва	gotva	готви	gotvi
031	count	бројати	brojati	броя	broja	брои	broi
032	cry	плакати	plakati	плача	plača	плаче	plače
033	cut	сећи	sjeći	режа	reža	сече	seče
034	dance	играти	plesati	танцува	tancuvam	танцува	tancuva
035	dark	таман	taman	тъмен	tāmen	темен	temen
036	day	дан	dan	ден	den	ден	den
037	die	умрети	umrjeti	умирам	umiram	умира	umira
038	dig	копати	kopati	копая	kopaja	копа	kopa
039	dirty	прљав	prljav	мрџсен	mrāsen	насен	gnasen
040	dog	пас	pas	куче	kuče	куче	kuče
041	down	доле	dolje	долу	dolu	долу	dolu
042	drink	пити	piti	пия	pīja	пие	pie
043	dry	сув	suh	сух	sux	сув	suv
044	dull	туп	tup	тъп	tāp	тап	tap
045	dust	прашина	prašina	прах	prax	прав	prav
046	ear	уво	uvo	ухо	uxo	уво	uvo
047	earth	земља	zemlja	земя	zemja	земја	zenja
048	eat	јести	jesti	јада	jada	јаде	jade
049	egg	јаје	jaje	јйце	jajce	јайце	jajce
050	eight	осам	osam	осем	osem	осум	osum
051	eye	око	oko	око	oko	око	oko
052	fall	пасти	pasti	падам	padam	паѓа	paĝa
053	far	далек	dalek	далечен	dalečen	далечен	dalečen
054	fat	маст	mast	мазнина	maznina	маст	mast
055	father	отац	otac	баща	bašta	татко	tatko
056	fear	плашити се	plašiti se	страхувам се	straxuvam se	се плаши	se plaši
057	feather	перо	pero	перо	pero	перо	pero
058	few	мало	malo	малко	malko	малку	malku
059	fight	борити се	boriti se	боря се	borja se	се борги	se bori
060	fire	ватра	vatra	огън	ogān	огон	ogon
061	fish	риба	riba	риба	riba	риба	riba
062	five	пет	pet	пет	pet	пет	pet
063	float	пловити	ploviti	плавам	plavam	плива	pliva
064	flow	тећи	teći	тека	teka	тече	teče
065	flower	цвет	cvjet	цвете	cvete	цвеќе	cveķe
066	fly	летети	letjeti	лета	leta	лета	leta
067	fog	магла	magla	мъгла	māgla	магла	magla
068	foot	нога	noga	кгак	krak	нога	noga
069	four	четри	četri	четири	četipi	четри	četri
070	freeze	смрзнути	smrznuti	замрѓзвам	zamrāzvam	замрзнува	zamrznuva
071	full	пун	pun	пълен	pālen	полн	poln
072	give	дати	dati	давам	davam	дава	dava
073	good	добар	dobar	добър	dobār	добар	dobar
074	grass	трава	trava	трева	treva	трева	treva

English No	Serbo-Croatian		Bulgarian		Macedonian		
	Serbian Cyrilic script	Croatian Latin script	Cyrilic script	Latin transcription	Cyrilic script	Latin transcription	
075	green	зелен	zelen	зелен	zelen	зелен	zelen
076	guts	црева	creva	черва	červa	црева	creva
077	hair	коса	kosa	коса	kosa	коса	kosa
078	hand	рука	ruka	ръка	rāka	рака	raka
079	he	он	on	той	toj	тој	toj
080	head	глава	glava	глава	glava	глава	glava
081	hear	чути	čuti	чувам	čuvam	слуша	sluša
082	heart	срце	srce	сърце	sărce	срце	srce
083	heavy	тежак	težak	тежък	težāk	тежок	težok
084	here	овде	ovdje	тук	tuk	овде	ovde
085	hit	ударати	udariti	удрям	udrjam	удира	udira
086	hold	држати	držati	държа	dărža	држи	drži
087	horn	рог	rog	рог	rog	рог	rog
088	house	кућа	kuća	къща	kāšta	куќа	kuќa
089	how	како	kako	как	kak	како	kako
090	hundred	сто	sto	сто	sto	сто	sto
091	hunt	ловити	loviti	лова	lova	лови	lovi
092	husband	муж	muž	мъж	māž	маж	maž
093	I	ја	ja	аз	az	јас	jas
094	ice	лед	led	лед	led	мраз	mráz
095	if	ако	ako	ако	ako	ако	ako
096	in	у	u	в	v	во	vo
097	kill	убити	ubiti	убивам	ubivam	убива	ubiva
098	knee	колeно	koljeno	коляно	koljano	колeно	koleno
099	know	знати	znati	зная	znaja	знае	znae
100	lake	језеро	jezero	езеро	ezero	езеро	ezero
101	laugh	смејати се	smijati se	смея се	smeja se	се смее	se smee
102	leaf	лист	list	лист	list	лист	list
103	left (side)	леви	levi	ляв	ljav	лев	lev
104	leg	нога	noga	кгак	krak	нога	noga
105	lie	лежати	ležati	лежа	leža	лежи	leži
106	lip	усна	usna	устна	ustna	усна	usna
107	live	живети	živjeti	живея	živeja	живее	živee
108	liver	јетра	jetra	черен дроб	čeren drob	црн дроб	crn drob
109	long	дуг	đug	дълъг	dālāg	долг	dolg
110	louse	ваш	vaš	въшка	vāška	вошка	voška
111	man	мушкарац	muškarac	мъж	māž	маж	maž
112	many	много	mnogo	много	mnogo	многоу	mnogu
113	meat	месо	meso	месо	meso	месо	meso
114	milk	млеко	mljeko	мляко	mljako	млеко	mleko
115	moon	месец	mjesec	луна	luna	месечина	mesečina
116	mother	мајка	majka	майка	majka	мајка	majka
117	mountain	планина	planina	планина	planina	планина	planina
118	mouth	уста	usta	уста	usta	уста	usta
119	name	име	ime	име	ime	име	ime
120	narrow	узак	uzak	тесен	tesen	тесен	tesen
121	navel	пупак	pupak	пъп	pāp	папок	papok
122	near	близак	blizak	близък	blizāk	близок	blizok
123	neck	врат	vrat	врат	vrat	врат	vrat
124	new	нов	nov	нов	nov	нов	nov
125	night	ноћ	noć	нощ	nošt	ноќ	noќ
126	nine	девет	devet	девет	devet	девет	devet
127	nose	нос	nos	нос	nos	нос	nos

English No	Serbo-Croatian		Bulgarian		Macedonian	
	Serbian Cyrilic script	Croatian Latin script	Cyrilic script	Latin transcription	Cyrilic script	Latin transcription
128	не	ne	не	ne	не	ne
129	стар	star	стар	star	стар	star
130	један	jedan	едно	edno	еден	eden
131	други	drugi	друг	drug	друг	drug
132	човек	čovjek	човек	čovек	човек	čovек
133	играти	igrati	играя	igraja	игра	igra
134	вући	vući	дърпам	dărpam	влече	vleče
135	гурати	gurati	бутам	butam	бутка	butka
136	киша	kiša	дъжд	dăžd	дожд	dožd
137	црвен	crven	червен	červen	црвен	crven
138	прави	pravi	прав	prav	прав	prav
139	десни	djesni	дясен	djasen	десен	desen
140	зreo	zreo	зрял	zrjal	зрел	zrel
141	река	rjeka	река	reka	река	reka
142	пут	put	път	păt	пат	pat
143	корен	korjen	корен	koren	корен	koren
144	уже	uže	въже	văže	јаже	jaže
145	труо	truo	гнил	gnil	гнил	gnil
146	округао	okrugao	кръгъл	krăgăl	тркалезен	trkalezen
147	трљати	trljati	трия	trija	трие	trie
148	со	so	сол	sol	сол	sol
149	песак	pjesak	пясък	pjasăk	песок	pesok
150	гећи	reći	казвам	kazvam	вели	veli
151	гребати	grebati	драпам	drapam	гребе	grebe
152	море	more	море	more	море	more
153	видети	vidjeti	виждам	viždam	гледа	gleda
154	семе	sjeme	семе	seme	семе	seme
155	седам	sedam	седам	sedam	седум	sedum
156	шити	šiti	шия	šija	шие	šie
157	оштар	oštar	остър	ostăr	остер	oster
158	пуцати	pucati	стрелям	streljam	пука	puka
159	кратак	kratak	къс	kăs	кус	kus
160	певати	pjevati	пея	peja	пее	pee
161	сестра	sestra	сестра	sestra	сестра	sestra
162	седети	sedjeti	седа	seda	седи	sedi
163	шест	šest	шест	šest	шест	šest
164	кожа	koža	кожа	koža	кожа	koža
165	небо	nebo	небе	nebe	небо	nebo
166	спавати	spavati	спия	spija	спиe	spie
167	мали	mali	мальк	malăk	мал	mal
168	помирисати	pomirisati	помирисвам	pomirisvam	помирисува	pomirisuva
169	дим	dim	дим	dim	чад	čad
170	гладак	gladak	гладък	gladăk	мазен	mazen
171	змија	zmija	змия	zmija	змија	zmija
172	снег	snjeg	сняг	snjag	снег	sneg
173	неколько	nekoliko	няколко	njakolko	неколку	nekolku
174	говорити	govoriti	говоря	govorja	зборува	zboruva
175	копље	koplje	копие	kopie	копје	kopje
176	плювати	pljuvati	плюя	pljuja	плюка	pluka
177	расцепити	rascjepiti	разцепвам	razcepvam	расцепувам	rascerpuva
178	стиснути	stisnuti	стискам	stiskam	стиснува	stisnuva
179	убости	ubosti	промушвам	promušvam	прободува	proboduva
180	стајати	stajati	стоя	stoja	сстои	stoi

English No	Serbo-Croatian		Bulgarian		Macedonian		
	Serbian Cyrilic script	Croatian Latin script	Cyrilic script	Latin transcription	Cyrilic script	Latin transcription	
181	star	звезда	zvjezda	звезда	zvezda	свезда	dzvezda
182	stick	штап	štap	пгъчка	prăčka	стап	stap
183	stone	камен	kamen	камък	kamăk	камен	kamen
184	straight	усправан	uspravan	прав	prav	прав	prav
185	suck	сисати	sisati	смуча	smuča	шмука	šmuka
186	sun	сунце	sunce	слънце	slănce	сонце	sonce
187	swell	отећи	oteći	отичам	otičam	отекнува	oteknuva
188	swim	пливати	plivati	плувам	pluvam	плива	pliva
189	tail	реп	rep	опашка	opaška	опашка	opaška
190	ten	десет	desjet	десет	deset	десет	deset
191	that	тај/онај	taj/onaj	оня	onja	тој/оној	toj/onoj
192	there	тамо/онамо	tamo/onamo	там	tam	таму/онаму	tamu/onamu
193	they	они	oni	те	te	тие	tie
194	thick	дебео	debeo	дебел	debel	дебел	debel
195	thin	мршав	mršav	мъшав	măršav	слаб	slab
196	think	мислити	misлити	мисля	mislja	мисли	misli
197	this	овај	ovaj	тоя	toja	овој	ovoj
198	thou	ти	ti	ти	ti	ти	ti
199	three	три	tri	три	tri	три	tri
200	throw	бацити	baciti	хвърлям	xvărļjam	фрла	frla
201	tie	везати	vjezati	връзвам	vrăzvam	врзува	vrzuva
202	tongue	језик	jezik	език	ezik	јазик	jazik
203	tooth	зуб	zub	зъб	zăb	заб	zab
204	tree	дрво	drvo	дърво	dărvo	дрво	drvo
205	turn	окренути	okrenuti	обръштам	obrăštam	завртува	zavrtuva
206	twenty	двадесет	dvadeset	дваесет	dvaeset	дваесет	dvaeset
207	two	два	dva	две	dve	два	dva
208	up	горе	gore	горе	gore	горе	gore
209	vomit	бљувати	bljuvati	бълвам	bălvam	блуге	blue
210	walk	шетати	šetati	ходя	xodja	шета	šeta
211	warm	топао	topao	топъл	topăl	топол	topol
212	wash	прати	prati	мия	mija	мие	mie
213	water	вода	voda	вода	voda	вода	voda
214	we	ми	mi	ние	nie	ние	nie
215	wet	мокар	mokar	мокър	mokăr	мокар	mokar
216	what?	шта	što	какво	kakvo	што	što
217	when?	кад	kad	кога	koga	кога	koga
218	where?	где	gdje	къде	kăde	каде	kade
219	white	бео	beo	бял	bjal	бел	bel
220	who?	ко	tko	кој	koj	кој	koj
221	wide	широк	širok	широк	širok	широк	širok
222	wife	жена	žena	жена	žena	жена	žena
223	wind	ветар	vjetar	вятър	vjatăr	ветер	veter
224	wing	крило	krilo	крило	krilo	крило	krilo
225	wipe	брисати	brisati	бърша	bărša	брише	briše
226	with	са	sa	със	săs	со	so
227	woman	жена	žena	жена	žena	жена	žena
228	woods	шума	šuma	гора	gora	шума	šuma
229	work	радити	raditi	работя	rabotja	работи	raboti
230	worm	црв	crv	червей	červej	црвец	crvec
231	ye	ви	vi	вие	vie	вие	vie
232	year	година	godina	година	godina	година	godina
233	yellow	жут	žut	жълт	žălt	жолт	žolt

Balkan Romance Languages

No	English	Romanian	Aromanian	Megleno-Romanian
001	all	tot	tuts	toț
002	and	și	shi	și
003	animal	animal	pravdă	vită
004	arm	braț	brats	mână
005	ashes	scrum	cinushe	ciănușa
006	at	la	la	la
007	back	spate	păltare	gărb
008	bad	rău	arău	furisit
009	bark	scoarță	cuă	coaiă
010	because	pentru că	ti atsea	dintru că
011	belly	pântece	pântic	foali
012	berry	boabă	fructu	rod
013	big	mare	mare	mari
014	bird	pasăre	pulj	pulj
015	bite	mușca	mushcu	mucicari
016	black	negru	lai	negru
017	blood	sânge	sândze	sondzi
018	blow	sufila	sufiu	sufilari
019	bone	os	os	os
020	breast	piept	cheptu	cheptu
021	breathe	sufila	adilj	diiri
022	brother	frate	frate	frati
023	burn	arde	ardu	ardiri
024	child	copil	ficior	ficior
025	claw	gheară	cangea	unglja
026	clothing	îmbrăcăminte	stranje	rubi
027	cloud	nor	nior	nor
028	cold	rece	aratse	rați
029	come	vine	yin	viniri
030	cook	găti	măyiripsi	gutviri
031	count	socoti	numir	numirari
032	cry	plânge	plângu	plondziri
033	cut	tăia	talj	tăljari
034	dance	đansa	gioc	iucari
035	dark	întunecos	scutidos	timnicav
036	day	zi	dzuă	zuă
037	die	muri	mor	muriri
038	dig	săpa	asap	săpari
039	dirty	murdar	măryit	tăvălit
040	dog	câine	căne	căni
041	down	sub	pitu	ăn jos
042	drink	bea	beau	beari
043	dry	uscat	uscat	uscat
044	dull	tocit	tămpit	stricat
045	dust	praf	pulbire	pra

No	English	Romanian	Aromanian	Megleno-Romanian
046	ear	ureche	ureaclje	ureacljă
047	earth	pământ	loc	pimin
048	eat	mânca	măc	măncari
049	egg	ou	ou	ou
050	eight	opt	optu	optu
051	eye	ochi	oclju	oclju
052	fall	cădea	cad	cădeari
053	far	departe	dipărtos	dipărtos
054	fat	grăsime	ligdă	tuc
055	father	tată	tată	tată
056	fear	se teme	aspar	spăreari
057	feather	pană	peană	peană
058	few	puțin	putsân	neac
059	fight	se lupta	mi alumni	ămburari
060	fire	foc	foc	foc
061	fish	pește	pescu	peaști
062	five	cinci	tsintsi	cinci
063	float	pluti	amplăntescu	plivăiri
064	flow	curge	cur	curari
065	flower	floare	lilice	floari
066	fly	zbura	azboiru	prăiri
067	fog	ceață	negură	mogla
068	foot	picior	cicior	picior
069	four	patru	patru	patru
070	freeze	îngheța	ngljets	ănglitari
071	full	plin	nplin	plin
072	give	da	dau	dari
073	good	bun	bun	bun
074	grass	iarbă	iarbă	iarbă
075	green	verde	vearde	veardi
076	guts	maț	matsă	maci
077	hair	păr	per	per
078	hand	mână	mână	mână
079	he	el	năs	iel
080	head	cap	cap	cap
081	hear	auzi	avdzu	uzori
082	heart	inimă	inimă	inimă
083	heavy	greu	greu	greu
084	here	aici	aotse	ua
085	hit	lovi	agudescu	friguri
086	hold	ține	tsân	țâneari
087	horn	corn	cornu	corn
088	house	casă	casă	casă
089	how	cum	cum	cum
090	hundred	sută	sută	sută
091	hunt	vâna	avin	luviri
092	husband	soț	bărbat	bărbat

No	English	Romanian	Aromanian	Megleno-Romanian
093	i	eu	io	io
094	ice	gheață	gljets	gljeț
095	if	dacă	tsi cara	acu
096	in	în	tu	ău
097	kill	ucide	vătăm	tălciori
098	knee	genunchi	dzănuclju	zănuclju
099	know	ști	shtiu	știri
100	lake	lac	lac	balta
101	laugh	râde	arăd	rodiri si
102	leaf	frunză	frândză	frundză
103	left (side)	stâng	stâng	leav
104	leg	picior	cicior	picior
105	lie	s-întinde	escu băgat	ziciri
106	lip	buză	budză	usna
107	live	trăi	bănedz	giiri
108	liver	ficat	hicat lai	drob negru
109	long	lung	lungu	lungiu
110	louse	păduche	piduclju	piduclju
111	man	bărbat	om	om
112	many	mult	multsă	multu
113	meat	carne	carne	carni
114	milk	lapte	lapte	lapti
115	moon	lună	lună	lună
116	mother	mamă	dadă	mamă
117	mountain	munte	munte	munti
118	mouth	gură	gură	rot
119	name	nume	numă	numi
120	narrow	strâmt	strimtu	strimtu
121	navel	buric	buric	buric
122	near	aproape	aproape	proapi
123	neck	gât	gushe	gușa
124	new	nou	nău	nou
125	night	noapte	noapte	noapti
126	nine	nouă	nao	noauă
127	nose	nas	nare	nas
128	not	nu	nu	nu
129	old	vechi	veclju	veclju
130	one	un	un	un
131	other	alt	altu	lantu
132	person	om	om	om
133	play	juca	agioc	iucari
134	pull	trage	trag	trariri
135	push	împinge	pingu	pichiaști
136	rain	ploaie	ploaie	ploaiă
137	red	roșu	arosh	roși
138	right	corect	corect	direptu
139	right (side)	drept	dreapt	direapt

No	English	Romanian	Aromanian	Megleno-Romanian
140	ripe	copt	mătur	coptu
141	river	râu	arău	vali
142	road	drum	cale	cali
143	root	rădăcină	arădătsină	corni
144	rope	funie	funie	funjă
145	rotten	putred	putrid	putrid
146	round	rotund	arucutos	tărçulat
147	rub	freca	frec	fricari
148	salt	sare	sare	sari
149	sand	nisip	arină	pisoc
150	say	zice	dzăc	ziciri
151	scratch	zgâria	zgrăm	gârlăiaști
152	sea	mare	amare	mari
153	see	vedea	ved	videari
154	seed	sămânță	simnitsă	simință
155	seven	șapte	shapte	șapti
156	sew	coase	cos	coasiri
157	sharp	ascuțit	ntruyisit	scuțot
158	shoot	trage	plăscăneascu	giida
159	short	scurt	shcurtu	cus
160	sing	cânta	cântu	cântari
161	sister	soră	sor	soră
162	sit	ședea	shed	șideari
163	six	șase	shase	șasi
164	skin	piele	cheale	coajă
165	sky	cer	tser	țer
166	sleep	dormi	dormu	durmiri
167	small	mic	njic	mic
168	smell	mirosi	anjurdzescu	miruseaști
169	smoke	fum	fum	fum
170	smooth	neted	lustrusit	maznic
171	snake	șarpe	nipărtică	sarpi
172	snow	zăpadă	neao	neauă
173	some	niște	ndao	codjva
174	speak	vorbi	zburascu	lăliri
175	spear	suliță	sulitsă	măzdrak
176	spit	scuipa	ascuc	ocupiri
177	split	despica	disic	disicari
178	squeeze	strânge	stringu	strindjiri
179	stab	înjughia	ntsăp	ămbudari
180	stand	sta	stan	stăteari
181	star	stea	steao	steauă
182	stick	băț	ciumag	tuiagă
183	stone	piatră	chiatră	răpă
184	straight	drept	ndreptu	drept
185	suck	suge	sug	suziri
186	sun	soare	soare	soari

No	English	Romanian	Aromanian	Megleno-Romanian
187	swell	umfla	unflu	ănflari
188	swim	ânota	anot	plivăiri
189	tail	coadă	coadă	coada
190	ten	zece	dzatse	zeați
191	that	acel	atsel	țela
192	there	acolo	aclo	cola
193	they	ei	năshi	ielj
194	thick	gros	gros	gros
195	thin	slab	slab	slab
196	think	gândi	minduescu	slăgăiri
197	this	acest	aislu	țista
198	thou	tu	tine	tu
199	three	trei	trei	trei
200	throw	arunca	aruc	turiri
201	tie	lega	leg	ligari
202	tongue	limbă	limbă	limbă
203	tooth	dinte	dinte	dinti
204	tree	copac	lemn	lemn
205	turn	întoarce	shuts	zănvertiri
206	twenty	douăzeci	yinyits	doauzoț
207	two	doi	dao	doi
208	up	sus	ningă	ân sus
209	vomit	vărsa	vom	vumari
210	walk	plimba	mi primnu	șătăiri
211	warm	cald	caldu	caldu
212	wash	spăla	lau	spilari
213	water	apă	apă	apă
214	we	noi	noi	noi
215	wet	ud	ud	ud
216	what?	care	tsi	ți
217	when?	când	cândă	con
218	where?	unde	iu	iu
219	white	alb	albu	albu
220	who?	cine	care	cari
221	wide	lat	largu	lărgu
222	wife	soție	muljare	muljari
223	wind	vânt	vintu	boari
224	wing	aripă	areapită	peană
225	wipe	șterge	ashtergu	șteardziri
226	with	cu	cu	cu
227	woman	femeie	muljare	muljari
228	woods	pădure	pădure	orman
229	work	lucra	lucredz	sirbiri
230	worm	vierme	yermu	ghiarmi
231	ye	voi	voi	voi
232	year	an	an	an
233	yellow	galben	galbin	galbin

Albanian

No	English	Gheg	Tosk
001	all	gjith	gjithë
002	and	ene	e
003	animal	gjë	kafshë
004	arm	dora	krah
005	ashes	hej	hi
006	at	pran	te
007	back	stema	kurriz
008	bad	keq	keq
009	bark	kore	kore
010	because	pse	sepse
011	belly	bark	bark
012	berry	fryt	frutë
013	big	madh	madh
014	bird	zog	zog
015	bite	kafshan	kafshon
016	black	zi	zi
017	blood	gjak	gjak
018	blow	goditje	fryn
019	bone	aasht	kockë
020	breast	ndreq	kraharor
021	breathe	marr frymë	merr frymë
022	brother	vlla	vëlla
023	burn	digjet	digjet
024	child	fëmij	fëmijë
025	claw	thundra	kthetër
026	clothing	tesha	veshje
027	cloud	re	re
028	cold	ftohtë	ftohtë
029	come	vjen	vjen
030	cook	gati	gatuan
031	count	njef	numëron
032	cry	qa	qan
033	cut	pret	pret
034	dance	luin	kërcen
035	dark	errtë	errët
036	day	ditë	ditë
037	die	vdes	vdes
038	dig	gropon	gërmon
039	dirty	papastër	ndyrë
040	dog	qenë	qen
041	down	posht	teposhtë
042	drink	pi	pi
043	dry	that	tharë
044	dull	pa preft	topitur

No	English	Gheg	Tosk
045	dust	drejt	pluhur
046	ear	vesh	vesh
047	earth	dhë	tokë
048	eat	ha	ha
049	egg	voe	vezë
050	eight	tetë	tetë
051	eye	sy	sy
052	fall	bi	bie
053	far	largt	largt
054	fat	tlynë	majmë
055	father	baba	atë
056	fear	frigohet	ka frikë
057	feather	pendel	pendë
058	few	pak	pak
059	fight	luftan	lufton
060	fire	zjarr	zjarr
061	fish	peshk	peshk
062	five	pes	pes
063	float	noton	plivit
064	flow	rrjedh	rrjedh
065	flower	lule	lule
066	fly	fluturon	fluturon
067	fog	njegiel	mjegull
068	foot	kumba	këmbë
069	four	katr	katër
070	freeze	ngri	ngrin
071	full	flot	plot
072	give	jelo	jep
073	good	mirë	mirë
074	grass	borë	bar
075	green	jeshil	gjelbër
076	guts	zorr	të përbrendshme
077	hair	kosa	flok
078	hand	dora	dorë
079	he	ai	ai
080	head	kryj	kokë
081	hear	dëgjon	dëgjon
082	heart	zemër	zemër
083	heavy	rand	rëndë
084	here	vitu	këtu
085	hit	me I ra	rreh
086	hold	mban	mban
087	horn	bri	bri
088	house	sitpi	shtëpi
089	how	si	si
090	hundred	njiqindë	njëqind
091	hunt	gjun	gjuan
092	husband	burr	burrë

No	English	Gheg	Tosk
093	i	unë	unë
094	ice	akull	akull
095	if	ani	nëse
096	in	në	në
097	kill	mbyt	vras
098	knee	gjuni	gju
099	know	di	di
100	lake	liqen	liqen
101	laugh	qeshet	qesh
102	leaf	fletë	gjethe
103	left (side)	majt	majtë
104	leg	kamba	shalë
105	lie	shtriket	rri shtrirë
106	lip	buza	buzë
107	live	jeton	jeton
108	liver	mëlçiu e zeze	mëlçi
109	long	gjat	gjatë
110	louse	thënej	morr
111	man	burr	burrë
112	many	shumë	shumë
113	meat	mish	mish
114	milk	qumsit	qumësht
115	moon	haana	hënë
116	mother	nana	nënë
117	mountain	mali	mal
118	mouth	goja	gojë
119	name	emni	emër
120	narrow	ngusit	ngushtë
121	navel	krthiz	kërthizë
122	near	afër	afërm
123	neck	qaf	qafë
124	new	ri	ri
125	night	natë	natë
126	nine	neritë	nëntë
127	nose	hunol	hundë
128	not	jo	nuk
129	old	vjetër	vjetër
130	one	nji	një
131	other	tjetër	tjetër
132	person	njeri	njeri
133	play	loj	luan
134	pull	hek	tërheq
135	push	me sity	shtyn
136	rain	shi	shi
137	red	kuq	kuq
138	right	drëjt	drejtë
139	right (side)	djatht	djathtë
140	ripe	pjekun	pjekur
141	river	lum	lumë

No	English	Gheg	Tosk
142	road	rrugë	udhë
143	root	rresyë	rrënjë
144	rope	litar	litar
145	rotten	kolbët	kalbur
146	round	rrumbullakt	rrumbullakët
147	rub	fërkan	fërkon
148	salt	kryp	kripë
149	sand	zall	rërë
150	say	thot	thotë
151	scratch	gervish	gërvisht
152	sea	det	det
153	see	shiqon	sheh
154	seed	forë	farë
155	seven	srtatë	shtatë
156	sew	qep	mbjell
157	sharp	mpreftë	mprehtë
158	shoot	shigjeta	qëllon
159	short	skurt	shkurtër
160	sing	kendon	këndon
161	sister	matra	motër
162	sit	rri	rri
163	six	gjasrtë	gjashtë
164	skin	lekur	lëkurë
165	sky	qiell	qiell
166	sleep	fle	fle
167	small	vogel	vogë
168	smell	merr erë	ndien erë
169	smoke	tym	tym
170	smooth	limutë	lëmuar
171	snake	gjorpen	gjarpër
172	snow	vdorë	dëborë
173	some	disa	ca
174	speak	fol	flet
175	spear	kopje	heshtë
176	spit	psrtynë	pështyn
177	split	nda	çan
178	squeeze	shtërngon	pickon
179	stab	shpon	shpon
180	stand	rrinë	qëndron
181	star	yll	yll
182	stick	shviop	shkop
183	stone	gur	gur
184	straight	drejt	drejtë
185	suck	thith	thith
186	sun	diell	diell
187	swell	anjenjet	fryhet
188	swim	noton	noton

No	English	Gheg	Tosk
189	tail	besht	bisht
190	ten	dhetë	dhjetë
191	that	aif	ai
192	there	atjef	aty
193	they	ata	ata
194	thick	trasië	trashë
195	thin	dobet	hollë
196	think	mendon	mendon
197	this	kaj	ky
198	thou	ti	ti
199	three	tre	tre
200	throw	gjuan	hedh
201	tie	lidh	lidh
202	tongue	gjuhë	gjuhë
203	tooth	dhaamb	dhëmb
204	tree	dru	dru
205	turn	kthen	rrotullon
206	twenty	nizet	njëzet
207	two	dy	dy
208	up	nalt	përpjetë
209	vomit	vjell	vjell
210	walk	shetitë	ecën
211	warm	nxentë	ngrohtë
212	wash	la	lan
213	water	riqë	ujë
214	we	ne	ne
215	wet	lagtë	lagur
216	what?	çka	çfarë
217	when?	Kur	kur
218	where?	Ku	ku
219	white	borde	bardhë
220	who?	Kush	kush
221	wide	gjaanë	gjerë
222	wife	gru	shoqe
223	wind	erë	erë
224	wing	kruh	krah
225	wipe	fshin	fshin
226	with	me	me
227	woman	gru	grua
228	woods	morl	pyll
229	work	punë	punon
230	worm	krumb	krimb
231	ye	ju	ju
232	year	vjet	vit
233	yellow	verdhë	verdhë

Modern Greek

No	English	Greek alphabet	Latin transcription
001	all	όλος	ólos
002	and	και	ke
003	animal	ζώο	zoo
004	arm	χέρι	xéri
005	ashes	στάχτη	stáxti
006	at	σε	se
007	back	πλάτη	pláti
008	bad	κακός	kakós
009	bark	φλοιός	fliós
010	because	γιατί	jati
011	belly	κοιλιά	kiliá
012	berry	μούρο	múro
013	big	μεγάλος	meghálos
014	bird	πουλί	pulí
015	bite	δαγκώνω	dhangóno
016	black	μαύρος	mávros
017	blood	αίμα	éma
018	blow	φυσάω	fisáo
019	bone	κόκαλο	kókalo
020	breast	στήθος	stíthos
021	breathe	αναπνέω	anapnéo
022	brother	αδερφός	adherfós
023	burn	καίγομαι	kéghome
024	child	παιδί	pedhí
025	claw	νύχι	níxi
026	clothing	ρούχα	rúxa
027	cloud	σύννεφο	sínefo
028	cold	κρύος	krios
029	come	έρχομαι	érxome
030	cook	μαγειρεύω	majirévo
031	count	μετρώ	metró
032	cry	κλαίω	kléo
033	cut	κόβω	kóno
034	dance	χορεύω	xorévo
035	dark	σκοτεινός	skotinós
036	day	ημέρα	iméra
037	die	πεθαίνω	pethéno
038	dig	σκάβω	skávo
039	dirty	βρόμικος	vrómikos
040	dog	σκυλί	skilí
041	down	κάτω από	káto apó
042	drink	πίνω	píno
043	dry	στεγνός	steghnós
044	dull	αμβλύς	amvlís
045	dust	σκόνη	skóni
046	ear	αυτί	aftí
047	earth	γη	ji
048	eat	τρώω	tróo
049	egg	αυγό	avghó
050	eight	οχτώ	oxtó
051	eye	μάτι	máti

No	English	Greek alphabet	Latin transcription
052	fall	πέφτω	péfto
053	far	μακριά	makriá
054	fat	λίπος	lípos
055	father	πατέρας	patéras
056	fear	φοβάμαι	fováme
057	feather	φτερό	fteró
058	few	λίγοι	líji
059	fight	μάχομαι	máxome
060	fire	φωτιά	fotiá
061	fish	ψάρι	psári
062	five	πέντε	pénde
063	float	επιπλέω	epipléo
064	flow	τρέχω	tréxo
065	flower	λουλούδι	lulúdhí
066	fly	πετώ	petó
067	fog	ομίχλη	omíxli
068	foot	πόδι	pódhi
069	four	τέσσερα	tésera
070	freeze	παγώνω	paghóno
071	full	γεμάτος	jemátos
072	give	δίνω	dhíno
073	good	καλός	kalós
074	grass	γρασίδι	ghrasidhi
075	green	πράσινος	prásinos
076	guts	σπλάχνα	spláxna
077	hair	μαλλιά	maliá
078	hand	χέρι	xéri
079	he	αυτός	aftós
080	head	κεφάλι	kefáli
081	hear	ακούω	akúo
082	heart	καρδιά	kardhiá
083	heavy	βαρύς	varís
084	here	εδώ	edhó
085	hit	χτυπώ	xtipó
086	hold	κρατώ	krató
087	horn	κέρατο	kérato
088	house	σπίτι	spíti
089	how	πώς	pós
090	hundred	εκατό	ekató
091	hunt	κυνηγώ	kinighó
092	husband	άντρας	ándras
093	I	εγώ	eghó
094	ice	πάγος	pághos
095	if	αν	an
096	in	σε	se
097	kill	σκοτώνω	skotóno
098	knee	γόνατο	ghónato
099	know	ξέρω	kséro
100	lake	λίμνη	lími
101	laugh	γελάω	jeló
102	leaf	φύλλο	filo
103	left (side)	αριστερά	aristerá
104	leg	πόδι	pódhi
105	lie	ξαπλώνω	ksaplóno

No	English	Greek alphabet	Latin transcription
106	lip	χείλι	xíli
107	live	ζω	zo
108	liver	συκώτι	sikóti
109	long	μακρύς	makrís
110	louse	ψείρα	psíra
111	man	άντρας	ándras
112	many	πολλοί	polí
113	meat	κρέας	kréas
114	milk	γάλα	ghála
115	moon	φεγγάρι	fengári
116	mother	μητέρα	mitéra
117	mountain	βουνό	vunó
118	mouth	στόμα	stóma
119	name	όνομα	ónoma
120	narrow	στενός	stenós
121	navel	αφαλός	afalós
122	near	κοντά	kondá
123	neck	λαιμός	lemós
124	new	καινούριος	kenúrios
125	night	νύχτα	níxta
126	nine	εννιά	eniá
127	nose	μύτη	míti
128	not	δεν	dhen
129	old	παλιός	paliós
130	one	ένα	éna
131	other	άλλος	álos
132	person	άνθρωπος	ánthros
133	play	παίζω	pézo
134	pull	τραβώ	travó
135	push	σπρώχνω	sbróchno
136	rain	βροχή	vVroxí
137	red	κόκκινος	kókinos
138	right	σωστός	sostós
139	right (side)	δεξιά	deksiá
140	ripe	ώριμος	órimos
141	river	ποτάμι	potámi
142	road	δρόμος	dhrómos
143	root	ρίζα	ríza
144	rope	σκοινί	skini
145	rotten	σάπιος	sápios
146	round	στρογγυλός	strongilós
147	rub	τριβώ	trívo
148	salt	αλάτι	aláti
149	sand	άμμος	ámos
150	say	λέω	léo
151	scratch	ξύνω	ksíno
152	sea	θάλασσα	thálasa
153	see	βλέπω	vlépo
154	seed	σπόρος	spóros
155	seven	εφτά	eftá
156	sew	ράβω	rávo
157	sharp	κοφτερός	kofterós
158	shoot	πυροβολώ	pirovoló
159	short	κοντός	kondós

No	English	Greek alphabet	Latin transcription
160	sing	τραγουδώ	traghudhó
161	sister	αδρεφή	adherfi
162	sit	κάθομαι	káthome
163	six	έξι	éksi
164	skin	δέρμα	dhérma
165	sky	ουρανός	uranós
166	sleep	κοιμάμαι	kimáme
167	small	μικρός	mikrós
168	smell	μυρίζω	mirizo
169	smoke	καπνός	kapnós
170	smooth	λείος	lios
171	snake	φίδι	fídhí
172	snow	χιόνι	xióni
173	some	μερικοί	merikí
174	speak	μιλώ	miló
175	spear	ακόντιο	akóndio
176	spit	φτύνω	ftino
177	split	χωρίζω	xorizo
178	squeeze	σφίγγω	sflingo
179	stab	μαχαρώνω	maxeróno
180	stand	στέκομαι	stékome
181	star	αστέρι	astéri
182	stick	ξύλο	ksílo
183	stone	πέτρα	pétra
184	straight	ίσιος	ísios
185	suck	ρουφώ	rufó
186	sun	ήλιος	ílios
187	swell	φουσκώνω	fuskóno
188	swim	κολυμπώ	kolimbó
189	tail	ουρά	urá
190	ten	δέκα	dhéka
191	that	εκείνο	ekíno
192	there	εκεί	ekí
193	they	αυτοί	aftí
194	thick	χοντρός	xondrós
195	thin	αδύνατος	adhínatos
196	think	σκέφτομαι	skéftome
197	this	αυτό	aftó
198	thou	εσύ	esí
199	three	τρία	tría
200	throw	ρίχνω	ríchno
201	tie	δένω	dhéno
202	tongue	γλώσσα	glósa
203	tooth	δόντι	dhóndi
204	tree	δέντρο	dhéndro
205	tum	στρίβω	strívo
206	twenty	είκοσι	íkosi
207	two	δύο	dío
208	up	πάνω από	páno ápó
209	vomit	ξερνώ	ksernó
210	walk	περπατώ	perpató
211	warm	ζεστός	zestós
212	wash	πλένω	pléno
213	water	νερό	neró

No	English	Greek alphabet	Latin Tanscription
214	we	εμείς	emis
215	wet	βρεγμένος	vreghménos
216	what?	τι	ti
217	when?	πότε	póte
218	where?	πού	pu
219	white	άσπρος	áspros
220	who?	ποιος	pjos
221	wide	πλατύς	platís
222	wife	σύζυγος	jinéka
223	wind	αέρας	aéras
224	wing	φτερό	fteró
225	wipe	σκουπίζω	skupízo
226	with	με	me
227	woman	γυναίκα	jinéka
228	woods	δάσος	dhásos
229	work	δουλεύω	dhulévo
230	worm	σκουλήκι	skulíki
231	ye	εσείς	esis
232	year	χρόνος	xrónos
233	yellow	κίτρινος	kítrinos

ARLI BALKAN ROMANI

No	English	Arlí
001	all	sárine
002	and	thaj
003	animal	džangvarí
004	arm	vas
005	ashes	pravó
006	at	ki
007	back	dumó
008	bad	džungaló
009	bark	kóra
010	because	sóske
011	belly	vogí
012	berry	plod
013	big	baró
014	bird	čiriklí
015	bite	kicinéla
016	black	kaló
017	blood	rat
018	blow	phudéla
019	bone	kokaló
020	breast	kolín
021	breathe	dišinéla
022	brother	phral
023	burn	thabljóra
024	child	čhavoró
025	claw	kandžá
026	clothing	šejá
027	cloud	badaló
028	cold	badól
029	come	avéla
030	cook	ciravól
031	count	ginél
032	cry	rovéla
033	cut	čhinéla
034	dance	kheléla
035	dark	kaló
036	day	divé
037	die	meréla
038	dig	hanéla
039	dirty	melaló
040	dog	dzukél
041	down	telál
042	drink	pijél
043	dry	šukó
045	dust	právo
046	ear	kan

No	English	Arli
047	earth	phuv
048	eat	hába
049	egg	anró
050	eight	ohtó
051	eye	jakh
052	fall	peréla
053	far	durutnó
054	fat	khil
055	father	dad
056	fear	darála
057	feather	peró
058	few	harí
059	fight	maréla pes
060	fire	jag
061	fish	mačhó
062	five	pančo
063	float	plivinéle
064	flow	thavdéla
065	flower	luludzí
066	fly	ujrála
067	fog	mágla
068	foot	punró
069	four	štar
070	freeze	smrzninéla
071	full	pherdó
072	give	déla
073	good	šukár
074	grass	čhar
075	green	harjaló
076	guts	pojrá
077	hair	bal
078	hand	vast
079	he	vov
080	head	šeró
081	hear	šunéla
082	heart	viló
083	heavy	pharó
084	here	akaté
085	hit	kuvéla
086	hold	ikerél
087	horn	šing
088	house	kher
089	how	sar
090	hundred	šel
091	hunt	lovizéla
092	husband	rom
093	I	me
094	ice	baráf

No	English	Arli
095	if	te
096	in	ko
097	kill	mudaréla
098	knee	kočár
099	know	džanéla
100	lake	devriál
101	laugh	asóla
102	leaf	patrín
103	left (side)	lévo
104	leg	punró
105	lie	pašljóla
106	lip	vušt
107	live	dživínéla
108	liver	kaló bukó
109	long	lungó
110	louse	džuv
111	man	rom
112	many	but
113	meat	mas
114	milk	thud
115	moon	lúna
116	mother	doj
117	mountain	planína
118	mouth	muj
119	name	anáv
120	narrow	tang
121	navel	púpkó
122	near	pašé
123	neck	men
124	new	nevó
125	night	rat
126	nine	enjá
127	nose	nakh
128	not	na
129	old	puró
130	one	jekh
131	other	avér
132	person	manúš
133	play	kheléla
134	pull	cidéla
135	push	bucíl
136	rain	bršínd
137	red	loló
138	right	hakó
139	right (side)	désno
140	ripe	pekhardó
141	river	len
142	road	drúmo

No	English	Arlí
143	root	dárhi
144	rope	šoló
145	rotten	kernó
146	round	rotaló
147	rub	moréla
148	salt	lon
149	sand	peséko
150	say	vakeréla
151	scratch	harovóla
152	sea	denízi
153	see	dikhela
154	seed	seme
155	seven	eftá
156	sew	sivéla
157	sharp	óštro
158	shoot	stréla
159	short	tiknó
160	sing	giljavéla
161	sister	phen
162	sit	bešéla
163	six	šov
164	skin	morči
165	sky	haváj
166	sleep	sovéla
167	small	tiknó
168	smell	khandéla
169	smoke	dimáni
170	smooth	mázno
171	snake	sap
172	snow	iv
173	some	nísare
174	speak	kheréla láfi
175	spear	kópje
176	spit	čhungaréla
177	split	pharavéla
178	squeeze	khedéla
179	stab	posavéla
180	stand	tergióla
181	star	čeréni
182	stick	kašt
183	stone	bar
184	straight	ispravimó
185	suck	šmúka
186	sun	kham
187	swell	šuvljóla
188	swim	nangjóla
189	tail	porík
190	ten	deš

No	English	Arlí
191	that	oková
192	there	odorí
193	they	olá
194	thick	thuljardó
195	thin	kišló
196	think	gindinéla
197	this	oikará
198	thou	tu
199	three	trin
200	throw	fordéla
201	tie	phandéla
202	tongue	čhib
203	tooth	dand
204	tree	kašt
205	turn	iranéla pes
206	twenty	biš
207	two	duj
208	up	trujál
209	vomit	čhadéla
210	walk	phiréla
211	warm	tató
212	wash	thovéli
213	water	paní
214	we	amén
215	wet	sopanó
216	what?	so
217	when?	kéda
218	where?	koté
219	white	parnó
220	who?	ko
221	wide	buvló
222	wife	romní
223	wind	bavlál
224	wing	phak
225	wipe	khoséla
226	with	thaj
227	woman	romní
228	woods	veš
229	work	kerelabutí
230	worm	kirmó
231	ye	túmen
232	year	berš
233	yellow	gálbeno

Appendix Two
SAMPLES TEXTS¹

Македонски (Macedonian)

Старецот го избриша сечивото од ножот и го остави веслото. Потоа го оптегна едрото и чунот пак заплови по поранешниот правец.

‘Сигурно изеле една четвртина од рибата, и тоа од најубавото месо,’ рече гласно. ‘Би сакал сето тоа да е само сон и никогаш да не ја уловев. Жал ми е за сето ова, риба. Сè испадна наопаку.’ Замолче и сега повеќе не сакаше да гледа во рибата. Искрвавена и измиена, сега таа имаше боја како на сребрена подлога од огледало, но нејзините линии сèуште се гледаа.

‘Не требаше да одам толку далеку, риба,’ рече тој. ‘Како заради мене, така и заради тебе. Се извинувам, риба.’

А сега, си рече сам на себе, види дали е добро врзан ножот и дали сече. Потоа подготви ги рацете, бидејќи ќе се појават уште многу морски кучиња.

‘Би сакал да имам камен наместо нож,’ рече старецот, откоги ги провери врзалките на веслото. ‘Требаше да понесам камен.’ Требаше да понесеш многу работи, помисли тој. Но, не ги понесе, старче. Сега не е време да мислиш за она што намаш. Мисли што можеш да направиш со она што го имаш.

‘Ми даваш многу добри совети,’ рече гласно. ‘Уморен сум од нив.’

Држејќи ја рачката од кормилото под мишка, ги кладе двете раце во вода, додека се движеше чунот напред.

‘Господ знае колку зеде она последното,’ рече тој. ‘Но сега е многу полесна.’ Не сакаше да мисли за искасапената долна страна на рибата. Знаеше дека секое тресење на морското куче значи кинење месо, и дека рибата сега остава широка трага за сите морски кучиња, широка како морски автопат.

Тоа беше риба од која човек би можел да живее цело лето, помисли тој. Не мисли за тоа. Сега одморај се и обиди се пак да ги оспособиш рацете за да го бранат она што остана од рибата. Мирисот на крвта од моите раце не значи ништо во споредба со сета смрдеа во водата. Освен тоа, тие и не крварат многу. Не се толку многу исечени. Крварењето можеби ќе и помогне на левата рака да се отпушти.

За што можам да мислам сега?, помисли тој. За ништо. Не смеам да мислам на ништо, туку да ги чекам другите морски кучиња. Би сакал навистина тоа да беше сон, помисли тој. Но, кој знае? Можеби ќе тргне на подобро.

Следното морско куче имаше лопатеста муцка. Дојде како што доаѓа свиња на корито, само што свињата нема толку широка уста, за да може човек да ја стави главата во неа. Старецот го пушти да ја загризе рибата, а потоа му го забодеше ножот в мозок. Но, кучето се тргна наназад свиткувајќи се како рулет и го скрши ножот.

Старецот се смести кон кормилото. Тој дури и не гледаше како полека тоне големото марко куче, покажувајќи се првин целото, а потоа помало и најпосле

¹ The texts of the languages that use the Latin alphabet are represented with the alphabet currently used in those languages. The Macedonian and Bulgarian texts are rendered in their original Cyrillic scripts and transcribed with the symbols of the Serbo-Croatian Latin alphabet (with some additions for the phonemes for which there are no corresponding symbols). The Modern Greek text is rendered in the Greek alphabet and transcribed in the Latin alphabet (with symbols that are used in English). Some orthographic changes in compliance with the orthography adopted officially after the text was published have been introduced.

сосема sitno. Тоа секогаш го фасцинираше старецот. Но сега дури не го ни погледна.

Ернест Хемингвеј, *Старецот и морето*. Превод: Душко Црвенковски and Саве Цветановски. Скопје: Култура, 1961. 65-66.

Macedonian - Latin transcription

Starecot go izbriša sečivoto od nožot i go ostavi vesloto. Potoa go optegna edroto i čunot pak zaplovi po poranešniot pravac.

‘Sigurno izele edna četvrtina od ribata, i toa od najubavoto meso’, reče glasno. ‘Bi sakal seto toa da e samo son i nikogaš da ne ja ulovev. Žal mi e za seto ova, ribo. Sé izpadna naopaku.’ Zamolče i sega poveќе ne sakaše da gleda vo ribata. Iskravena i izmiena, sega taa imaše boja kako na srebrena podloga od ogledalo, no nejinite linii séušte se gledaa.

‘Ne trebaše da odam tolku daleku, ribo,’ reče toj. ‘Kako zaradi mene, taka i zaradi tebe. Se izvinuvam, ribo.’

A sega, si reče sam na sebe, vidi dali e dobro vrzan nožot i dali seče. Potoa podgotvi gi racete, bidejќi ќе se pojavat ušte mnogu morski kučinja.

‘Bi sakal da imam kamen namesto nož,’ reče starecot, otkoga gi proveri vrzalkite na vezloto. ‘Trebaše da ponesam kamen.’ Trebaše da poneseš mnogu raboti, pomisli toj. No, ne gi ponese, starče. Sega ne e vreme da misliš za ona što nemaš. Misli što možeš da napraviš so ona što go imaš.

‘Mi davaš mnogu dobri soveti,’ reče glasno. ‘Umoren sum od niv.’

Držejќi ja račkata od kormiloto pod miška, gi klade dvete race vo voda, dodeka se dvizeše čunot napred.

‘Gospod znae kolku zede ona poslednoto,’ reče toj. ‘No sega e mnogu polesna.’ Ne sakaše da misli za iskasapenata dolna strana na ribata. Znaeše deka sekoe tresenje na morskoto kuće znači kinenje meso, i deka ribata sega ostava široka traga za site morski kučinja, široka kako morski avtopat.

Toa beše riba od koja čovek bi možel da živee celo leto, pomisli toj. Ne misli na toa. Sega odmoraj se i obidi se pak da gi osposobiš racete za da go branat ona što ostana od ribata. Mirisot na krvta od moite race ne znači ništo vo sporedba so seta smrdea vo vodata. Osven toa, tie i ne krvarat mnogu. Ne se tolku mnogu isečeni. Krvarenjeto možebi ќе i pomogne na levata raka da se otpušti.

Za što možam da mislam sega?, pomisli toj. Za ništo. Ne smeam da mislam na ništo, tuku da gi čekam drugite morski kučinja. Bi sakal navistina toa da beše son, pomisli toj. No, koj znae? Možebi ќе trgne na podobro.

Slednoto morsko kuće imaše lopatesta mucka. Dojde kako što doaѓa svinja na korigo, samo što svinjata nema tolku široka usta, za da može čovek da ja stavi glavata vo nea. Starecot go pušti da ja zagriže ribata, a potoa mu go zabode nožot v mozok. No, kućeto se trгна nanazad svitkuvajќi se kako rulet i go skrši nožot.

Starecot se smesti kon kormiloto. Toj duri i ne gledaše kako poleka tone golemoto morsko kuće, pokažuvajќi se prvin celoto, a potoa pomalo i najposle sosema sitno. Тоа секogaš го фасцинираше старецот. Но сега дури не го ни погледна.

Български (Bulgarian)

Старецът обърса острието на ножа и положи греблото. После натегна шкота, улови вятъра и върна лодката по курса.

– Отнесоха ми една четвърт от марлина, и то най-хубавото месо – каза той на глас. – По-добре да беше сън и никога да не го бях улавял! Жалко, че стана така с теб, приятелю. Всичко се обърка.

Замълча, не му се поглеждаше към рибата. Тя се носеше по водата обезкървена, сребриста като огледална амалгама, но ивиците и още личаха.

– Не трябваше да влизам толкова навътре – каза той на марлина. – Лошо и за тебе, и за мене. Прощавай.

Стегни се! – заповяда си. Провери здраво ли е завързан ножът, не се ли е срязало въженцето. И си оправи ръката, защото има още много да става.

– Жалко, че нямам брус за ножа – каза старецът, след като провери въженцето, с което бе пристегнал ножа към ръкохватката на греблото. – Трябваше да взема брус за ножа.

Много работи трябваше да вземеш, старче. Ала нищо не взе. Сега не му е времето да мислиш какво нямаш. Помисли какво можеш да направиш с каквото имаш.

– Все добри съвети ми даваш – възропта гласно. – Омръзнаха ми.

Взе румпела под мишница и потопи двете си ръце във водата; лодката се носеше по курса.

– Един бог знае, колко ми отнесе тая последната. Но сега имам много по-лек ход.

Не му се мислеше как ли е наяден коремът на рибата. Знаеше – всеки остър тласък бе парче откъснато месо и сега рибата оставя в океана за всички акули кървава дия, широка като магистрала.

С тоя марлин човек можеше да се препитава цяла зима. Не мисли за това. Почивай и гледай ръцете ти да са в ред, та да запазиш колкото е останало от него. Сега с тая голяма дия във водата няма значение, че ръцете ми кървят. Пък и не кървят много. Само са ожулени. Кръвопускането можа да предпази лявата да не се схване пак.

Ами сега за какво да мисля? За нищо, само да изчакам да надойдат следващите. Де да беше сън. Пък кой знае? Може и добре да мине.

Новодошлата бе акула-чук. Нахвърли се като прасе на копаня, само че прасето няма такава паст, която да може да ти налага главата. Старецът я остави да ухапе, после заби ножа на греблото в мозъка и. Но акулата се дръпна, превъртайки се, и острието се счупи.

Старецът се настани при руля. Дори не погледна акулата, която потъваше бавно – отначало тя се виждаше в истинските си размери, после се смали, докато стана съвсем мъничка. На това той все не се начудваше. Но сега дори не погледна.

Ърнест Хуемингвей, “Старецът и морето”. Ърнест Хуемингвей, *Избрани творби в три тома*, Том III: *Романи. Повести*. Преводач: Димитри Иванов. София: Народна култура. 1990. 487-546 (ексцерпт: 538-539).

Bulgarian – Latin transcription

Starecăt obârsa ostrieto na noža i položi grebloto. Posle nategna škota, ulovi vjatära i vărna lodkata po kursa.

– Otnesoxa mi edna četvärt ot marlina, i to naj-xubavoto meso – kaza toj na glas. – Po-dobre e da beše sän i nikoga da ne go bjax ulavjal! Žalko, če stana taka s teb, prijatelju. Vsičko se obârka.

Zamälča, ne mu se pogleždaše kām ribata. Tja se noseše po vodata obezkārvena, srebrista kato ogledalna amalgama, no ivicite i ošte ličaxa.

– Ne trjabvaše da vlizam tolkova navätre – kaza toj na marlina. – Lošo i za tebe, i za mene. Proštavaj.

Stegni se! – zapovjada si. Proveri zdravo li e zavärzan nožät, ne se li e srjazalo väženceto. I si opravi räkata, zaštoto ima ošte mnogo da stava.

– Žalko, če njamam brus za noža – kaza starecăt, sled kato proveri väženceto s koeto be pristegnal noža kām räkoxvata na grebloto. – Trjabvaše da vzema brus za noža.

Mnogo raboti trjabvaše da vzemeš, starče. Ala ništo ne vze. Segä ne mu e vremeto da misliš kakvo njamaš. Pomisli kakvo možeš da napraviš s kakvoto imaš.

– Vse dobri säveti mi davaš – väzropta glasno. – Omräznaxa mi.

Vze rumpela pod mišnica i potopi dvete si räce väv vodata; lodkata se noseše po kursa.

– Edin bog znae kolko mi otnese taja poslednata. No segä imam mnogo po-lek xod.

Ne mu se misleše kak li e najaden koremät na ribata. Znaeše – vseki ostär tlasäk be parče otkäsno meso i segä ribata ostavja v okeana za vsički akuli kārjava dirja, široka kato magistrala.

S toja marlin čovek možeše da se prepitava cjala zima. Ne misli za tova. Počivaj i gledaj räcete da sa v red, ta da zapaziš kolkoto e ostanalo ot nego. Segä s taja goljama dirja väv vodata njama značenje, če räcete mi kārvtat. Päk i ne kārvtat mnogo. Samo sa ožuleni. Krävopuskaneto moža da predpazi ljavata da ne se sxvane pak.

Ami segä za kakvo da mislja? Za ništo, samo da izčakvam da nadojdat sledvaštite. De da beše sän. Päk koj znae? Može i dobre da mine.

Novodošlata be akula-čuk. Naxvärli se kato prase na kopanja, samo če praseto njama takava past, kojato da može da nalapa glavata. Starecăt ja ostavi da zaxape, posle zabi noža na grebloto v mozäka i. No akulata se dräpna, prevärtajki se, i ostrieto se sčupi.

Starecăt se nastani pri rulja. Dori ne pogledna akuata, kojato potävaše bavno – otnačalo tja se viždaše v istinskite si razmeri, posle se smali, dokato stana sävsem mänička. Na tova toj ne se načudvaše. No segä dori ne pogledna.

Srpskohrvatski (Serbo-Croatian)²

Starac obrisa oštricu noža i ostavi veslo u stranu. Zatim nađe ručicu i jedra se zategoše i čamac je ponova plovio ranijim pravcem.

‘Mora da su joj pojele četvrtinu tela i najbolji deo mesa’, reče glasno. ‘Kamo sreće da je sve ovo samo san i da je nisam nikada ulovio. Žao mi je, ribo. Sad je sve propalo.’ On učuta i više nije hteo ni da pogleda u ribu. Iskrvavljena i oprana vodom, sad je ona imala boju srebrne podloge ogledala ali su se njene pruge još mogle videti.

‘Nisam se smeo otisnuti tako daleko, ribo’, reče on ‘i zbog sebe i zbog tebe. Žao mi je, ribo.’

‘Pa, eto’, reče samom sebi. ‘Pogledaj sad kako je nož vezan. Da li su veze još čitave. Potom ruku dovedi u red, jer će se još mnoge ajkule pojaviti.’

‘Bolje bi bilo da umesto noža imaš kamen’, reče starac, pošto je ispitao veze na dršci od vesala. ‘Trebalo je da sobom ponesem bar jedan kamen.’ Trebalo je poneti mnogo što-šta, pomisli on. Ali nisi poneo, starče. Sada nije vreme da misliš o onome što nemaš. Misli šta možeš učiniti sa ovim čime sada raspolažeš.

‘Daješ mi mnogo dobrih saveta’, reče glasno ‘umorio sam se od njih.’

Držao je ručicu od krme pod miškom i kvasio je obe ruke u vodi dok je čamac odmicao napred.

‘Sam Bog zna koliko je ova poslednja odgrizla’, reče on. ‘Sada je mnogo lakša.’ Nije želeo da misli o iskasapljenoj donjoj strani ribe. Znao je da je svaki ajkulin trzaj značio kidanje mesa, i da riba ostavlja sada za sobom trag svim ajkulama, širok kao drum preko mora.

Bila je to riba, dovoljna da ishrani čoveka preko cele zime. Ne misli o tome. Samo se odmaraj i trudi se da opet osposobiš ruku da brani ono što je ostalo. Miris krvi s moje ruke ne znači ništa prema ovoj silnoj masi u vodi. Osim toga, one i ne krvare mnogo. Ozlede nisu tako strašne. Krvavljenje će možda onemogućiti da mi se leva ruka ponovo zgrči.

O čemu sada da razmišljam?, pomisli on. Ni o čemu. Hajde da ne mislim, pa tako da sačekam druge ajkule. Zašto sve to nije bio san? Ali ko zna? Može se okrenuti i nabolje.

Sledeća ajkula imala je štapastu njušku. Prišla je kao svinja valovu, ako uopšte ijedna svinja ima usta tako široka da bi se kroz njih mogla provući glava. Starac je pusti da zagrije u ribu a onda joj zabi u mazak onaj nož sto je bio na veslu. Ali, ajkula se trže unazad i nož se prelomi.

Starac se namesti kraj krme. Nije čak ni pratio kako velika ajkula tone polako u vodu, ispočetka u svoj svojoj veličini, zatim nešto manja i onda sasvim sitna. Taj prizor je uvek fascinirao starca. Ali, sada je bio slep za sve to.

Ernest Hemingvej, *Starac i more*. Prevod sa engleskog: Karlo Ostojić. Novi Sad: Matica Srpska. 1961. 263-264.

² The text was translated into what was at the time referred to as the “Eastern variant” of Serbo-Croatian. At the present, this variant would be referred to as “Serbian language”.

Român (Romanian)

Șterse lama cuțitului și lăsă vîsla jos. După aceea găsi scota, puse pînza în vînt și aduse iarăși barca pe drumul ei.

‘Cu siguranță că a luat un sfert din el, și încă din carnea cea mai bună’, vorbi el tare. ‘Aș vrea să fi fost doar un vis și să nu-l fi pescuit niciodată. Îmi pare rău, măi pește! Asta strică tot.’ Tăcu și nu vru să se mai uite la pește, în halul în care era acum. Fără sînge și spălat de valuri, avea culoarea argintului de pe spatele unei oglinzi, dar dungile tot i se mai vedeau.

‘N-ar fi trebuit să ies atît de departe în larg, măi pește’ – grăi el. ‘N-a fost bine nici pentru tine, nici pentru mine. Îmi pare rău, măi pește!’

‘Acum’ – făcu el în gînd – ‘uită-te la legătura cuțitului și vezi dacă n-a fost cumva tăiată. Pe urmă ai grijă de mîină, căci mai ai încă destule de tras.’

‘Ce bine ar fi fost să fi avut o piatră pentru cuțit’ – spuse el, după ce cercetă dacă legase bine cuțitul de vîslă. Ar fi trebuit să iau o piatră. ‘Multe ar fi trebuit să iei’ – își zise în sinea lui. Numai că nu le-ai luat, moșule! Nu-i vreme acum să te gîndești la ce n-ai. Gîndește-te ce poți face cu ceea ce ai la tine!

‘Multe sfaturi bune mai îmi dai’ – zise el tare. ‘Mi-e lehamite de ele!’

Ținu echea cîrmei sub braț și își muie amîndouă mîinile în apă, în timp ce barca își vedea de drum.

‘Dumnezeu știe cît o mai fi luat și ăsta din urmă’ – spuse el. ‘Dar e cu mult mai ușoară acum.’

Nu-i venea să se gîndească la acea parte din trupul peștelui ce stătea cufundată în apă și care era mutilată. Știa că fiecare zguduire a bărcii însemna că rechinul smulge carne din trupul peștelui, care lăsa acum în urma lui, prin mare, pentru toți rechinii, o dîră lată cît o șosea.

Era un pește din care un om s-ar fi putut hrăni o iarnă întregă – își zise bătrînul. Nu te mai gîndi la asta! Odihnește-te și tu și lasă și mîinile să se odihnească, ca să aperi ce a mai rămas din el! Mirosul sîngelui de pe mîini nu înseamnă nimic pe lîngă tot mirosul acela din apă. Și-apoi, nici nu sîngerează prea tare. N-am nici o tăietură care să merite s-o iau în seamă. Poate că din pricina tăieturilor n-o să mai mi se pună cîrcei la sînga. La ce m-aș putea gîndi acum? se întrebă în sinea lui. La nimic. Nu trebuie să mă gîndesc la nimic, ci doar să-i aștept pe-ăi de-au să vină. Mai bine ar fi fost un vis ! își spuse în gînd. Dar cine știe! Putea să iasă și bine!

Rechinul următor, unul din cei cu botul ca lopata, se ivi de unul singur. Veni ca un porc la troacă, dacă porcul ar putea să aibă o gură atît de mare, încît să-ți poți vîrî capul în ea. Bătrînul îl lăsă s-atace peștele, apoi îi înfipse cuțitul prins în vîslă drept în creier. Rechinul se dădu înapoi, rostogolindu-se, iar lama cuțitului plesni.

Bătrînul se așeză la cîrmă. Nici nu se uită la rechinul cel mare ce se scufunda încet în apă, arătîndu-se mai întîi în mărimea lui firească, apoi mai mic și, în sfîrșit, mic de tot. Priveliștea aceasta îl vrăjea totdeauna pe bătrîn, dar acum nici măcar nu-l învrednici cu o privire.

Ernest Hemingway, *Bătrînul și marea*. Trad.: M. Alexandrescu & C. Popa. București: Editura Tineretului. 1960. 76-78.

Meglenit (Megleno-Romanian)³

Moșu au ștearsi tăiătura di cuțot și-u lăso lupata. Napcum au stigni pondza la varcă și varca chinisi pri dumu di mai ăninti. Măncară un cirec di peaști și țeă mai buna carni, ași zisi cu glas. Țer si iiă saldi vis și mai bun ici s-nu la cătsam. Mult nju jui di țista lucru, bra peaști. Nu vrea vichim si zăpucată cutru peaști. Săndzirat si spilat, buiau lui licia, la buia di glindală, ama lui față anca si videă.

Nu trăbuia s-mi duc cota diparti bra peaști, zisi el. Cum di mini șă și di tini. Aț mi rog s-mi ierț bra peaști. Ama, a-ș zisi singur, vez dali ai bun ligat cuțotu și dali taiă. Napcum foli azor monjli, dintru ca si iăviască muljț conj di mari. Mai bun ra si am răpă di cot cuțot, zisi moșu, di ca vizu, dali ai bunligată lupata. Trăbuia si port și răpă. Trăbuia si portu, si slăgăes bun zisi el. Ama nu li purtaș moșuli. Mo nu-i văcotusi slăgăes la țeă ți nu ăi.

A-nj dai multi buni anvițatur, aș zisi cu glas. Umărot sam di ialı. Au țănea mănuașă di cormilo suptăsoară, li pusi duauli monj ăn apu a varca fuzea ănainti.

Domnu știa cot lo dila dinăpoia parti, zisi el, ama mo ai mai licșoară. Nu vrea si slăgăiască la partea măncată di dijos la peaști. Știa că la sfaca zătrimurari, coinili di mari rupea căti un cumat di carni și ca lăsa bileac mari, di tot lanjtsii conj, lorg ca drumu di pri mari.

Țela ra peaști cu cari uămu putea si ghiiască toată veară , si ciudea el. Nu slăgăia la țeă. Mo dăzmurati si cota, ară s-li faț azor monjli, ca si veagli țeă ți vea rămas di peaști. Sirudia di sondzi din monjli meali nu-i țivagodea pri langa ămpuțătura din apu. Saldi țeă, din monj nu-nj cură multu sondzi. Nu sa cota mult tăiati. Curărea di sondzi poati si jută, la leava monă, si-nj ți lăbăvească. Di țeă pot mo si slăgăes? si zăciudi el. Di tiva nu trăbuiăști si slăgăies di țiva, tucu si ștet si vină lanjt conj din mari. Istina țer ca țela lucru s-iă vis, aș zisi el. Ama cari stiă? Poati ca si chinisească la mai bun.

Lantu coinı di mari vea ună mutcă ca lupată. Vini ca cum vini porcu la cupanjă, saldi ca porcu nu ari tari lorgu rostu, ca si poată oumu s-la pună capu ăn el. Moșu, pișim la lăso s-la mucică peăștili, napcum ăi la ănțapo cuțotu ăn măduă. Ama coinili si trăgni năpoi ai la zănvii cuțotu și-i la fronsi. Moșu si nămistı la cromilo, el nu căta cum cătilin si ștuknea peăștli ăn mari, coinili di mari si videă prima ăntreg, napcum si videă mai unec. Țea daima la zăciudea moșu. Ama mo vichim nu la ni pucuto.

³ The text is a translation of the Macedonian text. The translation was done by Dionisie Papațafa.

Armăn (Aromanian)⁴

Aushlu u ashciarse tãljitura di cãtsul shi u alãsã canota. Dupu atse u lãrdzi pãndza shin cãica iara trapse ti ninte.

‘Sigura cã mãcarã un cirec di pescu, shi atse di nai ma mushatã carne’, dzãse cu boatse. ‘Vream tutã aistã s-hibã mash un yis, shi pute s-nu u avera acãtsatã. Amãrtie ni iaste ti tute aiste, pescu. Tutã inshi di anapuda. ‘Amutsã shi tora nu vrea cama s-mutrescã tu pescul. Sãndzinstã shi spilatã tora nãsã ave boe ca fundul di asime di yilia, ma aljei iure ninga s-videa.

‘Nu lipsea s-neg ahãt diparte, pescu’, dzãse nãs. ‘Cum ti mine ashì shi ti tine. Ljartã me, pescu’.

A tora shi dzãse singur. Vedz disi iaste cãtsutlu bun ligat shi disi talje. Dupu atsea ndreadzãle mãnjele cã va s-seasã ninga multsã canj di amare.

‘Voi s-am chiatrã tu loc di cãtsul’, dzãse aushlu, di cara featse controlã pi ligãturle di canotã. ‘Lipsea cu mie s-lau chiatrã.’ Lipsea s-portu multe lucre, mindui nãs. Ma nu li luoash aush. Tora nu iaste chiro s-mindueshci ti atse tsi nu ai luatã. Minduia tsi pot s-fats cu atse tsi ai.

‘Nji dai multe bune minduir’, dzãse boatse. ‘Curmat escu di nãse.’

U bãgã mãnusha di comandã sum soarã shi daule mãnje li bãgã tu apã pãnã cãica s-dutsea ninte.

‘Dumnidzã shcie cãt lo nãsã tu sone’, dzãse nãs. ‘Ma tore iaste multu ma lishor.’ Nu vrea s-munduiascã ti discata parte di pescu di prighiot. Shcia cã cu cathi trimburare cã cu cathi trimburare cãnle di amare arupe carne shi cã tora pescul alasã largã urmã ca stradã dupu care yin tuts alantsã cãnje di amare.

Astea ira pescu di care omlu putea s-bãneadzã tutã veara, mindui nãs. Nu minduia pi atsea. Tora discurmãte shi discurmãle mãnjele ta s-pots su apãr atsea tsi armase di pescul. Anjurizma di sãndzi pi ameale mãnje nu ir tsiva analoghie cu tutã anputsãturã di tu apã. Shi deposia atseale nu sãndzãneadzã multu. Nu suntu ahãt multu tãljate. Sãndzinarea poate s-a utã stãnga mãnã s-nji lishureadzã.

Tu tsi tora s-minduescu? mindui nãs. Ti tsiva. Nu lipseashce s-minduescu pi tsiva di cãt s-lji ashceptu alansã cãnje di amare. Vream aistã s-hibã yis, mindui nãs. Ma care shcie? Poate s-hibã ma bunã.

Alantu cãne di amare avea mutscã ca lupatã. Vine ca cum yine porcul pi cupanje, sade tsi porcul nu are ahãrã largã gurã ta s-postã omlu s-lu bagã caplu tu nãsã. Aushlu lu sãlagi s-lu mushcã pescul, adupu atse I lu ndisã cãtsutlu tu mãduã. Ma cãndu s-trapse ma nãpoe sã shutsã ca rulet shi lu frãmse cãtsutlu.

Aushlu u lo comanda. Nãs nitsi s-shutsã s-mutrescã cum marle pesk di amare penarga chire tu apã, prota s-videa ntreg, dupu atsea ma njic shi tu sone multu minut. Di aistã aushlu totãna armãnea spurisit, ma aistã oarã nitsi cãlu mutri.

⁴ The text is a translation of the Macedonian text. The translation was done by Kocea Nicea.

Shqip (Albanian)

Fshiu faqen e thikës dhe e la lopatën në varkë. Pastaj rregulloi pëlhurën dhe, kur ajo gufoi nga era, e ktheu varkën në drejtimin e mëparshëm.

– Ata kanë marrë me vete sigurisht një të katërtën e peshkut, madje edhe mishin më të mirë, – tha me zë të lartë. – Sa mirë do të qe sikur kjo të ishte vetëm një ëndërr dhe të mos e kisha zënë këtë peshk! Keq më vjen, o peshk, që na ngjau kjo gjë. Na prishi shumë punë. Plaku pushoi; ai s’kishte qejf ta vështronte peshkun tani. Ngjyra e tij i shëmbëllente ngjyrës së amalgamit me të cilën mbulojmë pasqyrën, por vijat e tij dukeshin ende.

– S’duhej të shkoja kaq larg në det, o peshk, tha. – Keq më doli, edhe mua edhe ty. Keq më vjen shumë, o peshk.

“Hajde, mos u huto!” i tha vetes. “Shiko se mos është prerë litari me të cilin ke lidhur thikën. Rregulloje edhe dorën se ke ende punë.”

– Keq më vjen që s’kam gurin për të mprehur thikën, – tha plaku duke kontrolluar litarin në bisht të lopatës. Duhej të kisha marrë gurin me vete. “Shumë gjëra duhej të kishe marrë me vete, more plak”, mendoi. “Po ja që s’i more. Kot e ke që rri e mendohesh se ç’nuk ke marrë. Mendohu si mund të mbarosh punë me ato që ke.”

– Uf, më mërzi me këto këshillat e tua, – tha me zë të lartë. Mjaft i dëgjova.

Vuri timonin nën sqetull dhe i futi duart në ujë. Varka shkante përpara.

– Zoti e di sa mori ai peshkaqeni i fundit – tha. – Por peshku është lehtësuar shumë.

Nuk donte ta sillte ndërmend barkun e tij të sakatuar. Ai e dinte se peshkaqeni kishte këputur nga një copë mish sa herë që e kish goditur varkën dhe se peshku linte tani në det një gjurmë të gjerë, posi një rrugë e madhe, ku mund të vinin të gjithë peshkaqenët e botës.

“Një peshk i tillë mund ta ushqente njerinë një dimër të tërë. Mos mendo për këtë, more plak! Çlodhu dhe mundohu t’i rregullosh duart, që të mbrosh ç’të ka mbetur. Era e gjakut e duarve të mia nuk është asgjë, në krahasim me erën që lëshon peshku në det. Tani duart thuajse nuk kullojnë më gjak. Atje s’ka të prera të thella. Vërtet më shkoj ca gjak nga dora e majtë, por kjo më bëri mirë se shpëtova nga ngërçi.”

E përse të rri e të mendoj tani? Për asgjë. Më mirë të mos mendoj për asgjë dhe të pres peshkaqenët e tjerë. Sa mirë do qe, sikur të gjitha këto të ishin ëndërr. Po ku ta dish? Ndofta më del mirë.”

Peshkaqeni tjetër u duk vetëm; edhe ky ishte nga raca e atyre hundështypurve. Ai u afrua ashtu siç i afrohet derri koritës, vetëm se derri nuk ka një gojë kaq të madhe për ta kollofitur përnjëherësh kokën e njeriut! Plaku e la ta kafshonte peshkun dhe pastaj e goditi në tru me thikën që kishte lidhur te lopata. Por peshkaqeni u praps përnjëherë duke bërë kollotumba dhe thika u thye.

Plaku u ul te timoni. Ai as që vështroi si fundosej ngadalë peshkaqeni duke u bërë gjithnjë më i vogël dhe pastaj fare i vogël. Ai shkrihej kur shihte një gjë të tillë. Por tani nuk i pëlqente të vështronte.

Ernest Hemingvej, *Plaku dhe Deti*. Përktheu nga origjinali: Vedat Kokona. Tiranë: Çabej. 1997. 70-72.

Shqip (Geg Albanian)⁵

Plaku pastroi thikën dhe me gëzim e leshoi në barkë. Mandej ngrehu velat dhe e shtyni barkën në drejtimin e përparshëm.

‘Padyshim kanë hangër një të katërtën e peshkut, madje të mishit mâ të mirë,’ tha me zâ. ‘Ku me marrë me qenë adërr tanë kjo ngjarje dhe të mos e disha zanë kurrnjisherë. Më vjen keq, o peshk, që ngjau kështu. Tanë puna shkoi mbrapshtë’. Heshti dhe nuk deshti mâ me shique peshkun I përgjakun, shtrihej n’ujë dhe kishte marrë ngjyrë t’argjentë si shpina e pasqyrës, por megjithatë i shifshin shokat.

‘Nuk është dashtë të shkoj aq larg me peshkue’, tha. ‘As për ty, as për vedi. Më vjen keq, o peshk’.

Hajt, i tha vtvedit, Shiqo tash se si është lidhë thika. Mandej bëni gadi duert, se ke me pasë edhe shumë punë.

‘Mâ mirë do t’ishte me pasë thikë guri’, tha plaku, mbasi shiqoi litarin me të cilin kishte lidhë thikën në lopatë. ‘Asht dashtë të marr sëpaku një gur’. Padyshim ka qenë nevojshme të marr edhe shumë gjana tjera, mendoi, Por, nuk i ke marrë, o plak. Tash s’është koha me mendue për gjanat që s’i ke.

‘Shum këshilla të mira je tue më dhanë,’ i tha më zâ vervedit. ‘Më mërzite mâ’.

Dorzën e timonit e mbante nën sjetull e të dyja duert i lagu n’ujë, e kështu lundrojshin.

‘Zoti e din sa ka kafshue peshkaqeni i fundit,’ tha. ‘Tash është shumë mâ lehtë.’ Nuk donte me mendue për pjesën e poshtme, të sakatueme, të peshkut. Sa herë dridhej barka, plaku e dinte se peshkaqeni shkulte nga një copë mish dhe se peshku është tue lanë gjurmë të gjanë gjaku, të gjanë si xhade.

Ky ishte peshk, me të cilin njeriu do të mundte me kalue tanë dimnin, mendoi. Por, mos mendo për këtë gjâ! Pusho dhe përpiku t’i aftsojsh duert për të mbrojtë pjesën që teproi. Duhma e gjakut të duerve të tija, s’a sht gjâ në krahasim me gjurmën e madhe të gjakut n’ujë. Madje, as që është tue më shkue shumë gjak prej tyne. Varrët nuk janë gjithë të rrezikshme. Rrjedhja e gjakut në dorën e majtë, ndoshta do ta ndihmojë mos me ia zane perseri gërçi.

Pâr çka të medoj tash? Pyeti vetvidin. Për asgjâ. Nuk guxoj me mendue për asnjë send. Por duhet të pres derisa të vijne peshkaqejt tjerë. Vertet do të dëshirojsha të kishte qene anderr, mendoi. Por, kush e di? Ndoshta do të m’ipet e mbara.

Pashkaqeni tjetër që mbërrini, ishte i vetëm. Erdhi si derri në koritë, por pa at gojë të madhe të tij, sa njeriu të mundite me futë kryet në të. Plaku e lëshoi me kafshue peshkum e mandej ia nguli thiken në trû. Peshkaqeni u tërhog mbrapa me të shpejtë, u rrotullue dhe theu thikën.

Plaku zuni vend afër timonit. As nuk e këyri fundosjen e ngadalshme të eshkaqenit të madh: në fillim shifer i tanë, mandej mâ i vogël dhe mâ në fund krejt i imtë. Nji pamje e tillë kurdoherë e ka magjepsë plakum. Por, këtë herë as që e shiqoi.

Ernest Hemingvej, *Plaku e deti (dhe novela tjera)*. Transl.: Masar Murtezai & Ramiz Kelmendi. Pristina: Miladin Popoviq. 1957. 67-69.

⁵ This text was published in Prishtina during the period when the official language of the Kosovo Albanians was Geg Albanian.

Ελληνικά (Modern Greek)

Ο γέρος σφούγγισε τώρα το μαχαίρι κι άφησε κάτω το κουπί. Ύστερα μάζεψε τη σκότα, το πανί πήρε αέρα κι η βάρκα ξαναμπήκε στη ρότα της.

– Θα μου φάγανε το ένα κάρτο απ’ το ψάρι κι απ’ το καλύτερο μέρος μάλιστα! είτε δυνατά. Κάλλιο νά ‘ταν όνειρο και ποτέ να μην τό ‘χα καμακώσει. Μετάνοιωσα, ψάρι. Όλα στραβά πάνε τώρα.

Σώπασε και πήρε το βλέμμα του απ’ το ψάρι και δεν ήθελε να το ξανακοιτάξει. Στραγγισμένο απ’ όλο του το αίμα τώρα και ξεπλυμμένο, είχε το χρώμα της ράχης του καθρέφτη, μόνο που ξεχώριζαν ακόμα οι φαρδιές ρίγες του.

– Δεν έπρεπε ν’ ανοιχτώ τόσο πολύ, ψάρι μου, είπε. Μήτε για σένα ήτανε καλό, μήτε για μένα. Πικρά τό ‘χω μετανοιώσει, ψάρι.

Έλα, άσ’ τα αυτά τώρα, είπε στον εαυτό του. Κοίτα μην έχει λασκάρει το δέσιμο του μαχαιριού και μην πάει να κοπεί το σκοινί. Κοίτα να δεις μετά τι θα κάνεις με το χέρι σου, γιατί είναι κι’ αλλη συμφορά νά ‘ρθει ακόμα.

– Καλύτερα νά ‘χα κανένα κοτρόνι, παρά το μαχαίρι, είπε ο γέρος σαν εξέτασε τα δεσίματα του μαχαιριού στο κουπί. Έπρεπε νά ‘χα φέρει μαζί μου κοτρόνια. Πολλά έπρεπε νά ‘χες φέρει, γέρο, σκέφτηκε. Δεν τά ‘φερεις όμως καημένε. Δεν είν’ ώρα τούτη να λογαριάζεις το τι δεν έχεις. Σκέψου τι μπορείς να κάνεις μ’ ό,τι έχεις.

– Πολλές σοφές ορμήνεις μου δίνεις, βλέπω! είπε δυνατά στον εαυτό του. Φτάνει, τις βαρέθηκα.

Κράτησε το διάκι στη μασχάλη και βούτηξε και τα δυο του χέρια στο νερό και τ’ άφησε κάμποσο εκεί, ενώ η βάρκα συνέχιζε το ταξίδι της.

– Ένας θεός ξέρει πόσο μου πήρε τούτος ο τελευταίος, είπε. Είμαι πιο αλαφρύς όμως τώρα.

Δεν ήθελε καθόλου να σκεφτεί το καταφαγωμένο κάτω μέρος του ψαριού. Ήξερε πως το κάθε κουτούλημα του καρχαρία κάτω από τη βάρκα σήμαινε κι από ένα κομμάτι που χανόταν από το ψάρι του κι ότι τόσο αίμα που έτρεξε σημάδευε το δρόμο της βάρκας στη θάλασσα για χατίρι όλων των καρχαριών της περιοχής, μ’ ένα αυλάκι πλατύ σαν δημοσιά.

Κι ήταν ένα ψάρι που έφτανε να ζήσει έναν άνθρωπο ολάκερο χειμώνα, συλλογίστηκε με παράπονο. Καλά, μην το σκέφτεσαι, είπε αμέσως στον εαυτό του. Ξεκουράσου μόνο και κοίτα να συνεφέρεις τα χέρια σου για να φυλάξεις όσο σου απόμεινε. Η μυρωδιά που αφήνει στο νερό το αίμα των χεριών μου, τώρα, δεν είναι τίποτα μπροστά σ’ όλη τούτη τη μυρωδιά που έχει απλωθεί γύρω. Κι ύστερα, δεν τρέχει και πολύ αίμα. Δεν έχω κοπεί και πολύ άσκημα. Το ξεμάτωμα μπορεί και να μου φυλάξει τ’ αριστερό να μη μου πιαστεί.

Σαν τι έχω να σκεφτώ τώρα; είπε μέσα του. Τίποτα. Δεν πρέπει τίποτα να σκέφτομαι, μόνο να καρτερώ τους άλλους. Μωρέ είχα χίλιες φορές καλύτερα νά ‘ταν όνειρο, συλλογίστηκε. Μα, πάλι, που ξέρεις; Μπορεί και να πάνε όλα καλά.

Ο επόμενος καρχαρίας που ήρθε ήταν ένας μοναχικός πλακουτσομούρης, σαν τους άλλους δυο. Ήρθε όπως τρέχει το γουρούνι στη σκάφη, αν ένα γουρούνι μπορεί ποτέ νά ‘χει τέτοια στοματάρα που να χωράει το κεφάλι σου μέσα. Ο γέρος τον άφησε να δαγκώσει το ψάρι, και του κάρφωσε το μαχαίρι ίσια στο μυαλό. Μα ο καρχαρίας έδωσε ένα τίναγμα κατά πίσω καθώς κατακύλησε κι η λεπίδα του μαχαιριού έσπασε.

Ο γέρος, χωρίς να χάνει καιρό, κάθησε στο τιμόνι. Ούτε γύρισε να δει τον πελώριο καρχαρία που αργοβούλιαζε, δείχνοντας πρώτα σε φυσικό μέγεθος, ύστερα όλο πιο μικρός και τέλος σαν μια κουκίδα. Πάντα του άρεσε να το παρατηρεί αυτό. Τώρα όμως μήτε ήθελε να κοιτάξει.

Έρνεστ Χεμινγκουαίη, *Ο Γέρος και η Θάλασσα*. Μετάφραση: Μανώλη Κορνηλίου. Αθήνα: Μίνωας. 1983. 99-101.

Modern Greek – Latin transcription

O jeros sfúnghise tóra to maxéri ki áfise káto to kupí. Ísterá mázepse ti skóta, to paní píre aéra ki i várka ksanabíke sti róta tis.

– Tha mu fágghane to éna kárto ap’ to psári ki ap’ to kalítero méros málista! ípe dhi-natá. Kálio na ‘tan óniro ke poté na min tó ‘xa kamakósi. Metániosa, psári. Ola stravá páne tóra.

Sópase ke píre to vléma tu ap’ to psári ke dhen íthele na to ksanakitáksi. Strangis-méno ap’ ólo tu to éma tóra ke ksepliméno, íxe to xróma tis ráxis tu kathréfti, móno pu ksexórizan akóma i fardhiés rijes tu.

– Dhen éprepe n’ anixtó tóso polí, psári mu, ípe. Míte ja séna ítane kaló, mítte ja ména. Píkrá to ‘xo metaniósi, psári.

Éla, ás’ ta aftá tóra, ípe ston eaftó tu. Kíta min éxi laskári to dhésimo tu maxeriú ke min pái na kopí to skiní. Kíta na dhis metá ti tha kánis me to xéri su, jatí íne ki’ ali simforá ná ‘rthi akóma.

– Kalítera ná ‘xa kanéna kotróni, pará to maxéri, ípe o jeros san eksétase ta dhésimata tu maxeiriú sto kupí. Éprepe ná ‘xa féri mazí mu kotrónia. Polá éprepe ná ‘xis féri, jéro, skéftike. Dhen tá ‘feres ómos kaiméne. Dhen ín’ óra túti na loghariázis to tí dhen éxis. Sképsu tí borís na kánis m’ óti éxis.

– Polés sofés ormínies mu dhínis, vlépo! ípe dhinatá ston eaftó tu. Ftáni, tis varéthika.

Krátise to dhiáki sti masxáli ke vútikse ke ta dhió tu xéria sto neró ke t’áfise kámbose ekí, enó i várka sinéxize to taksídhí tis.

Énas theós kséri póso mu píre tútos o teleftéos, ípe. Íme pjo alafrís ómos tóra.

Dhen íthele kathólu na skeftí to katafaghoméno káto méros tu psariú. Íksere pos to káthe kutúlíma tu karxaría káto apó ti várka símene ki’ apó éna komáti pu xanótan apó to psári tu ki óti tóso éma pu étrekse simádheve to dhrómo tis várkas sti thálasa ja xatíri ólon ton karxarión tis perioxís, m’ éna avláki platí san dhimosiá.

Ki ítan éna psári pu éftane na zísi énan ánthropo olákero ximóna, silojístike me parápono. Kalá, min to skéftese, ípe amésos ston eaftó tu. Ksekurásu móno ke kíta na sineféris ta xéria su ja na filáksis óso su apómíne. I mirodhiá pu afíni sto neró to éma ton xerión mu, tóra, dhen íne típota brostá s’ óli túti ti mirodhiá pi éxi aplotí jíro. Ki ísterá, dhen tréxi ke polí éma. Dhen éxo kopí ke polí áskima. To ksemátoma borí ke na mu filáksi t’ aristeró na mi mu piastí.

– San ti éxo na skeftó tóra? ípe méssa tu. Típota. Dhen prépi típota na skéftome, móno na karteró tus álus. Moré íxa xílies forés kalítera ná ‘tan óniro, silojístike. Ma, páli, pú kséris? Borí ke na páne óla kalá.

O epómenos karxarías pu írthe ítan énas monaxikós plakutsomúris, san tus álus dhió. Írthe ópos tréxi to ghurúni sti skáfi, an éna ghurúni borí poté ná ‘xi tétia stomatára pu na xorái to kefáli su méssa. O jeros ton áfise na dhangósi to psári ke tu kárfose to maxéri ísia sto mialó. Ma o karxarías édhose éna tínaghma katá píso kathós katrakílise ki i lepídha tu maxeriú éspase.

O jeros, xorís na xáni keró, káthise sto timóni. Ute jírise na dhi ton pelório karxaría pu arghovúliaze, díxnondas próta se fisikó méjethos, ísterá ólo pjo mikrós ke télos san mia kukídha. Pánda tu árese na to paratírí aftó. Tóra ómos mítte íthele na kitáksi.

Arli (Arli Balkan Romani)⁶

O bhuro koslja i čhurik thaj muklja o veslo. Pali adova gerdingja o edro thaj i paj-džala palem cidingja ko isto pravcu.

‘Siguro hale jek četvrtina kotar o mačo, hem odova taro najsužo mas, penda glasno. ‘(Bi) mangava sa odova te dvel samo suno thaj nikheda te na astaravla sine. Žal mange saakaleske, mačea. Sa ikliło tersene.’ Čutindža, hem akana na manglja te ikhel ko macho. Ratvali thaj thovdi akana ole sinele renki sar ko srebreno ogledalo ama leskere linie panda dičhoveva sine.

‘Na trubulasine te dzaf doborom dur, machea,’ vakhergja ov. ‘Sar baši mange, agjaar thaj baši tuke. Izvini, machea.’

A akana, vakergja korkoripeske, dik dali i pangli šukor i čurik hem dali čhanela. Pale odova spremin te vasta soske ka pojavinemp panda but morsko džukela. Bi mangava sine te ovelma bar mesto čhurik, vakergjao phuro.

‘Trebelasine te phiravav bar. Trebelasine te phirave but buča,’ gndisarda ov. Ama ni lejjan phurea. Akana naj o vakti te gudi golese so najtut. Gudi so šaj te khere o koleja so situt. ‘Sikaveaman but šukar bukja,’ vakergja glasno. ‘Čhindo sijum o lenda.’

Ikherindaj i račka kotor o kormilo teli khak, čhuta pe solduj vasta ako pai džikai dzalasa o pajdžala anglal.

‘O devel džanela kobor lelja okova o poluno,’ vakhergha ov. Ama akana i but polokhi. Na manglja te gudinel baši but čhindi teluni rig e mačeskiri. Džanglja kai svako tresiba e morsko džukeleskoro džanelapesine čhimbe mas, hem kaj o mačo akana mukhela buvli traga sa e morsko džukeling, buvli sar morsko drumo.

Odova sine mačo kotor manuš bi šaj te dživdinelo celo milaj, gudinjgja ov. Ma gudin baši odova. Akana drin thaj probin palem te spremine te vasta te šaj te braninen okova so ačhilo taro mačo. O miris e rateskoro kotor nile vasta na značinel kanči ki sporedba sa akale khandunavale panjea. Ama o lada na ratvorkherena but. Na ne but čhinde. O tavdibe but rateskoro šaj ka pomožinel e bojanolo vas te mukljavael.

So šaj te gudinav akana?, gndingja ov. Bašo khanči. Na ljazimi te gudinav bašo anči, ama ka adžikherav okolen morsko džukeleu. Bi mangavasine odova te ovelsine suno, gudingja ov. Ama ko džanela.

Šaj ka cidel ano pošukar. Ovaver morsko džukel sinele muj sar lopata. Alo sar so avela balo ki balaja, ama e bale mane doborom buvlo muj, te šaj manuš te čhivol po šero ondre. O phuro mukljale te kicinel e mače a palem odova posangjale čhurikaja ki godi.

Ama o phuro mestingjape ko kormilo. Ov na dikhelasine sar pohari batinela o boro morsko džukel, sikavdindoj anglal celo a palem odova potikno thaj najpalal hem tikno. Odova but e phureske sine čudno. Ama akhana niti na dikljale.

⁶ The text is a translation of the Macedonian text. The translation was done by Bajrami Severdžan.

The English text from which translations have been made

The old man wiped the blade of his knife and laid down the oar. Then he found the sheet and the sail filled and he brought the skiff on to her course.

‘They must have taken a quarter of him and of the best meat,’ he said aloud. ‘I wish it were a dream and that I had never hooked him. I’m sorry about it, fish. It makes everything wrong.’ He stopped and he did not want to look at the fish now. Drained of blood and awash he looked the color of the silver backing of a mirror and his stripes still showed.

‘I shouldn’t have gone out so far, fish,’ he said. ‘Neither for your nor for me. I’m sorry, fish.’

Now, he said to himself. Look to the lashing on the knife and see if it has been cut. Then get your hand in order because there still is more to come.

‘I wish I had a stone for the knife,’ the old man said after he had checked the lashing on the oar butt. ‘I should have brought a stone.’ You should have brought many things, he thought. But you did not bring them, old man. Now is no time to think of what you do not have. Think of what you can do with what there is.

‘You give me much good counsel,’ he said aloud. ‘I’m tired of it.’

He held the tiller under his arm and soaked both his hands in the water as the skiff drove forward.

‘God knows how much that last one took,’ he said. ‘But she’s much lighter now.’ He did not want to think of the mutilated under-side of the fish. He knew that each of the jerking bumps of the shark had been meat torn away and that the fish now made a trail for all sharks as wide as a highway through the sea.

He was a fish to keep a man all winter, he thought. Don’t think of that. Just rest and try to get your hands in shape to defend what is left of him. The blood smell from my hands means nothing now with all that scent in the water. Besides they do not bleed much. There is nothing cut that means anything. The bleeding may keep the left from cramping.

What can I think of now? he thought. Nothing. I must think of nothing and wait for the next one. I wish it had really been a dream, he thought. But who knows? It might have turned out well.

The next shark that came was a single shovel-nose. He came like a pig to the through if a pig had a mouth so wide that you could put your head in it. The old man let him hit the fish and then drove the knife on the oar down into his brain. But the shark jerked backwards as he rolled and the knife blade snapped.

The old man settled himself to steer. He did not even watch the big shark sinking slowly in the water, showing first life-size, then small, then tiny. That always fascinated the old man. But he did not even watch it now.

Ernest Hemingway, *The Old Man and the Sea*. London: Jonathan Cape. 1952. 110-112.

Appendix Three

LANGUAGES SPOKEN ON THE BALKANS¹

INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

1. Slavic

1.1 South Slavic

1.1.1 Serbo-Croatian (Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian)

1.1.1.1 Approximately 16 400 000 speakers on the Balkans speak Serbo-Croatian/Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian as their mother tongue, of which 10,000,000 in Serbia and Montenegro, 4,800,000 in Croatia and 4,000,000 in Bosnia and Herzegovina (based on Bugarski 1992; Škiljan 1992; the Yugoslav 1982 census). Serbo-Croatian is also spoken as a mother tongue by Serbian and Croatian national minorities in Romania (80,000 speakers, according to SIL), Albania (data lacking), Macedonia (180,000 speakers, according to the 1994 Macedonian census), Slovenia (cca. 200,000 speakers by extrapolation), Bulgaria (9,000 speakers, according to SIL), Turkey (20,000 speakers, according to SIL; no data on the number of speakers in Balkan Turkey, however); it is also spoken as a second language by the native speakers of Hungarian, Albanian (Geg and Tosk), Arbanasan, Armenian, Aromanian, Bulgarian, Circassian, Czech, German, Greek, Hungarian, Istro-Romance, Istro-Romanian, Italian, Judeo-German, Judeo-Spanish, Macedonian, Polish, Romanian, Romany, Russian, Rusyn, Slovak, Turkish, Ukrainian, Vlach, Venetian, Yiddish, Yurukh – all of them living in present-day Serbia and Montenegro, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. In pre-1990 Yugoslavia, Serbo-Croatian was used as a *lingua communis* by native speakers of all the other languages in the country (*cf.* Radovanović 1992) and continues to be so used by native speakers of Slovenian and Macedonian in non-official communication with people from the area who do not speak their language.

1.1.1.2 Serbo-Croatian was standardized in the middle of the nineteenth century – following the Vienna Literary Agreement of 1850 between Serbian and Croatian men of letters (*cf.* Herrity 1992). It was based on a dialect in Hercegovina – a region at the cross-section of the areas populated by Serbs and Croats. The Serbs, who had fought their freedom from the Turkish Empire, embraced it as a replacement for the Slavenoserbski literary language, which had many Old Church Slavonic and Russian features, making it usable only to the literary elite. The Croats saw in it a powerful tool in their strife for independence from the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

1.1.1.3 Traditionally, there are three Serbo-Croatian dialect groups: Štokavian, Kajkavian and Čakavian, the labels deriving from the words for ‘what’ – *što*, *kaj* and *ča*, respectively. The Štokavian dialects are most widespread. The Herzegovina dialect that served as a basis for Serbo-Croatian, is Štokavian. Serbo-Croatian itself has been qualified as “Neoštokavian”. Kajkavian and Čakavian are more restricted groups of dialects spoken in Croatia – the former in its North-Western part, bordering with Slovenia; the latter in Dalmatia, in and around the city of Split.

¹ Only languages spoken by majority or minority communities on the Balkans are listed. No data are given about the minority languages spoken in Turkey (36 languages, in addition to (Osmanli) Turkish, according to SIL), unless these languages are spoken on the Balkans.

The ordering of groups and of languages within a group is according to number of speakers.

1.1.1.4 There are also three major phonologically distinguished variants of Serbo-Croatian – Jekavian, Ijekavian and Ikavian, reflecting the three distinct developments of the Old Church Slavonic phoneme referred to as “jat”. The Jekavian variant is spoken in Serbia, the Ikavian in Croatia, whereas the Ijekavian variant is spoken in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and parts of Serbia and Croatia – more precisely, in Western Serbia and Eastern, South-Eastern and Northern Croatia.

1.1.1.5 The communicative load of the regional dialects is considerable (*cf.* Kalogjera 1992). This is most evident in the regions where the Kajkavian, Čakavian and South-Eastern Serbian (Torlak) dialects are spoken. Note that the South-Eastern Serbian dialects are Štokavian, but have many features that distinguish them from Standard Serbian or Standard Croatian, which have been referred to as “Neoštokavian”.

1.1.1.6 Political developments during the last decade of the 20th century have led to the replacement of Serbo-Croatian by three languages: Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian. There are no significant structural differences between the Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian standard languages, however (at least not yet). While socio-linguistically we definitely have three distinct languages, from the point of view of structural linguistics we are dealing with one language system.

1.1.2 Bulgarian

1.1.2.1 The majority of the people living in Bulgaria speak Bulgarian as their mother tongue (7,986,000 speakers or 85% of the total population, according to SIL). Bulgarian is also spoken as a mother tongue by Bulgarian national minority groups in Turkey (270,000 native speakers in Turkey, according to SIL; no data on the number of speakers in Balkan Turkey, however), Serbia (36,189 speakers, according to the Yugoslav 1982 census), Greece (30,000 speakers, according to SIL), and Romania (10,439 speakers, according to SIL).² It is spoken as a second language by the Turkic minorities in Bulgaria, as well as by the Macedonians living in Bulgaria.³

1.1.2.2 Bulgarian was standardized during the seventh and eighth decades of the 19th century. It was based on the Eastern dialects of the language.

1.1.2.3 There is a dialect of Bulgarian referred to as “Palityan” or “Bogomil”, which is substantially different from Standard Bulgarian. It is spoken in Bulgaria, Romania and Serbia (*cf.* SIL; no data about number of speakers are given).

1.1.3 Slovenian⁴

1.1.3.1 Slovenian is spoken as a mother tongue in Slovenia⁵ (1,760,000 speakers, according to the 1982 Yugoslav census). It is also spoken as a second language by the speakers of Hungarian, Serbian, Croatian, Italian and Venetian living in Slovenia.

² It is also spoken by a substantial community of 18th century immigrants in Moldova – a former Soviet republic, which since the last decade of the 20th century is an independent state. Since Moldova is not on the Balkans, no data about number of speakers are given here. As pointed out by Dyer (2001), the Bulgarian in Moldova “for the most part retains its “Balkanness”, while at the same time acquiring a new Moldovan face”.

³ The mother tongue of the Macedonians living in Western Bulgaria is hardly distinguishable from the Bulgarian dialects of their next-door neighbours. Standard Bulgarian is, however, distinct, from it.

⁴ Slovenia is at the margins of the Balkan peninsula.

⁵ It is also spoken as a mother tongue by the Slovenian national minorities in Austria and Italy – but that is completely outside the Balkans.

1.1.3.2 Slovenian was standardized in the eighties of the 19th century. The standard was based on the dialects spoken in Central Slovenia.

1.1.4 Macedonian

1.1.4.1 Macedonian is spoken as a mother tongue by the Macedonians in Macedonia (1,332,983 speakers in the Republic of Macedonia, according to the 1994 Macedonian census), as well as by substantial Macedonian minority communities in Greece, Bulgaria and Albania. (SIL quotes 41,017 for Greece 30,000 for Albania and none for Bulgaria, but the numbers are much higher) and a very restricted minority community in the Serbian province of Vojvodina. It is also spoken as a second language by the Albanian, Turkic, Romance and Romany communities in Macedonia.

1.1.4.2 Macedonian was codified during the ten years following the constitution of the Macedonian state (towards the end of World War Two), though the principles of the standard were laid out at the turn of the 20th century. For historical and geographic reasons, the Central Western Macedonian dialects were chosen as a core for the standard. In accordance with the tradition of standardization obtaining throughout the Slavic world, the choice was substantially influenced by the fact that the Western dialects exhibit features that distinguish Macedonian from the neighbouring Slavic languages (*cf.* Korubin 1984; Tomić 1992).

1.1.5 South Slavic Sinte

1.1.5.1 South Slavic Sinte is spoken by limited Gypsy communities in Serbia and Montenegro (31,000 speakers, according to SIL), Croatia and Slovenia (a total of 10,000 speakers in the latter two countries, according to SIL).

1.1.5.2 The South Slavic Sinte is a language with South Slavic structure, strongly influenced by Romani.

1.2 West Slavic

1.2.1 Slovak

1.2.1.1 On the Balkans, Slovak is spoken as a mother tongue by Slovak minority communities in the Serbian province of Vojvodina and in Croatia (76,114 speakers, according to the 1982 Yugoslav census, of which 69,581 in the Serbian province of Vojvodina and 6,533 in Croatia).

1.2.1.2 The Slovak spoken in Vojvodina is structurally undistinguishable from Standard Slovak, though there are numerous instances of interference of Serbo-Croatian in the form of loan-words, loan translations and semantic loans (*cf.* Mikeš 1992).

1.2.2 Rusyn/Ruthinian

1.2.2.1 Rusyn/Ruthinian is the mother tongue of the Rusyns living in the Serbian province of Vojvodina and in Croatia (19 307 in the former and 3 500 in the latter, according to the 1982 Yugoslav census). Thus, it is at the same time a majority and a minority language.

1.2.2.2 Rusyn is the youngest Slavic standard language – its standardization took place in the 1960s (*cf.* Kočiš 1978). Its relationship with other Slavic languages and/or dialects has been a much discussed issue. It has been qualified as (i) a standardized Ukrainian dialect, (ii) a standardized Slovak dialect or (iii) a standardized idiom based on both Ukrainian and Slovak. Gustavsson (1984) applied to it criteria for drawing the demarcation line between the Eastern and the Western Slavic languages and concluded that it is a West Slavic language.

1.2.3 Czech

1.2.3.1 On the Balkans, Czech is spoken as a mother tongue by Czech minority groups in Croatia (19,642 speakers, according to the 1982 Yugoslav census), the Serbian province of Vojvodina (2,012 speakers, according to the 1982 Yugoslav census), Bulgaria (9,000 speakers, according to SIL).

1.2.4 Polish

1.2.4.1 On the Balkans, Polish is spoken as a mother tongue by minority communities in Romania (10,000 speakers, according to SIL) and by scattered minority groups in Croatia, the Serbian province of Vojvodina and in Bosnia and Herzegovina (a total of 3,043 speakers, according to the 1982 Yugoslav census).

1.3 East Slavic

1.3.1 Ukrainian

1.3.1.1 Ukrainian is spoken as a mother tongue by small minority groups in the Serbian province of Vojvodina (5,001 speakers, according to the 1982 Yugoslav census), Bosnia and Herzegovina (4,502 speakers, according to the 1982 Yugoslav census) Croatia (2,000 speakers, according to the 1982 Yugoslav census) and Romania (no data).

1.3.2 Russian

1.3.2.1 As a mother tongue Russian is spoken by scattered minority groups in the town of Northern Serbia (a total of 3,880 speakers, according to the 1982 Yugoslav census) and Bulgaria (11,000 speakers, according to SIL).

2. Romance

2.1 Romanian

2.1.1 (Daco-)Romanian

2.1.1.1 (Daco-)Romanian is spoken as a mother tongue by 90% of the population of Romania (20,520,000 speakers, according to the 1986 Romanian census). It is spoken as a mother tongue by a substantial minority community in the Banat region of the Serbian province of Vojvodina (54,955 speakers, according to the 1982 Yugoslav census).⁶ The native speakers of Bulgarian, German, Greek, Hungarian, Polish, Romani, Serbo-Croatian, and the Turkic languages, who live in Romania, speak it as a second language.

2.1.1.2 (Daco-)Romanian was standardized in the second half of the 19th century. The Banat dialect spoken in Serbia differs from Standard Romanian, but is constantly influenced by it. Standard Romanian is used in education, public life and the mass media in Banat, so that, among educated people, a high degree of diglossia has been perceived (*cf.* Mikeš 1992).

⁶ (Daco-)Romanian is also spoken as a mother tongue in Moldova – a former Soviet republic but an independent state since the last decade of the 20th century. Moldova is, however, outside the outer limits of the Balkans.

2.1.2 Vlach⁷

2.1.2.1 Vlach is spoken in Eastern Serbia (25,535 speakers, according to the 1982 Yugoslav census).

2.1.2.2 Structurally, Vlach is not very different from Romanian.

2.1.3 Aromanian

2.1.3.1 Aromanian is spoken in Albania (60,000 speakers, according to SIL), Greece – in an area of 30 to 40 kilometers between Epirus and Thessaly (50,000 speakers, according to SIL; 100,000 speakers, according to Golab 1984), Macedonia (cca. 30,000 speakers, according to Kovačec 1992, but after Macedonia became an independent state (1992) the number of its citizens who declare themselves as Aromanians has drastically increased).

2.1.3.2 Structurally, Aromanian is distinct from Romanian, Megleno-Romanian and Istro-Romanian.

2.1.4 Megleno-Romanian

2.1.4.1 Megleno-Romanian is spoken only in Northern Greece (12,000 speakers, according to SIL) and Macedonia (more than 2000 speakers, according to Kovačec 1992).

2.1.4.2 Structurally, Megleno-Romanian is distinct from Romanian, Aromanian and Istro-Romanian.

2.1.5 Istro-Romanian

2.1.5.1 Istro-Romanian is spoken only in the North-Eastern part of the Istrian Peninsula (1,200 to 1,500 speakers, according to Kovačec 1992).

2.1.5.2 Structurally, Istro-Romanian is distinct from Romanian, Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian.

2.2 Italic

2.2.1 Italian

2.2.1.1 On the Balkans, Italian is spoken as a minority language in Croatia (11,661 speakers, according to Kovačec 1992) and Slovenia (2,187 speakers, according to Kovačec 1992).

⁷ The word *Vlach* is a cognate to the German word *welsch* and the English word *Welsh*, both meaning ‘Roman’, whatever the language of “the Romans”. Accordingly, it is plausible to assume that this word was “left behind” by the German tribes that had invaded Eastern Europe and the Balkans before the Slavs settled there (*cf.* The Vlach Connection).

For the Balkan Slavs, a “Vlach” is a speaker of one of the Balkan Romance languages; though the word is also used with the general meaning ‘stranger’. For the Croats along the Dalmatian coast, “Vlachs” are the Serbs behind the mountain ranges. For the Burgenland Croats “Vlachs” are the people across the river from where they lived before they moved to a region which is now in Eastern Austria. The Poles, on the other hand, use a variant of this word, *Wlochy*, to refer to Italy and the Italians. In Balkan linguistics, the word is used as a technical term for reference to the speakers of the Daco-Romanian dialect in Eastern Serbia.

With appropriate case endings, the word *Vlach* turns up in mediaeval Latin (*blachi*) and Greek (*blakhoi*) – words which are also used to refer to the speakers of the Balkan Romance languages.

2.2.2 Venetian

2.2.2.1 Venetian is spoken in Croatia and Slovenia. (SIL quotes 100,000 speakers in the two countries, but the data are very unreliable).

2.2.2.2 Structurally, Venetian is very different from Standard Italian.

2.3 Istro-Romance

2.3.1 Istro-Romance is spoken only on the Western coast of the Istrian Peninsula, Croatia (1,000 or fewer speakers, according to SIL).

2.3.1.1 Istro-Romance is reported to be an archaic Romance language, close to Friulian and the already extinct Dalmatian.

2.4 Judeo-Spanish (Ladino)

2.4.1 Judeo-Spanish is spoken in Turkey (8,000 first language speakers in Turkey, according to SIL; no data on the number of speakers in Balkan Turkey) Serbia and Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia (a few dozen speakers in the latter three countries, according to Kovačec 1992).

3. Germanic

3.1 German

3.1.1 On the Balkans, German is spoken as a mother tongue by German minority communities in Romania (150,000 speakers in 1993, according to SIL),⁸ the Serbian province of Vojvodina (3,808 speakers, according to Kovačec) and Croatia (2,175 speakers, according to Kovačec).

3.1.2 The German dialect spoken in Romania is referred to as Transylvanian; the German dialect spoken in Serbia and Croatia – as Panonian.

3.2 Judeo-German

3.2.1 Judeo-German is spoken by very few speakers in the Serbian province of Vojvodina and in Croatia.

3.2.2 Judeo-German is actually a mixture of Yiddish and German.

3.3 Yiddish

3.3.1 Yiddish is spoken by very few speakers in the Serbian province of Vojvodina and in Croatia.

4. Greek

4.1 (Modern) Greek

4.1.1 (Modern) Greek is the language spoken as a mother tongue by the majority of the population of Greece (9,859,850 speakers or 98% of the population, according to SIL, but the data are doubtful in view of the fact that there are substantial numbers of native speakers of Macedonian and Albanian in the country). Modern Greek language is also spoken as a minority

⁸ In 1988 there were 500,000 speakers. Over 70% of them have emigrated to Germany since 1988, according to SIL.

language in Albania (60,000 speakers or 1.8 of the population, according to SIL), Turkey (4,000 speakers in Turkey, according to SIL; no data on the number of speakers in Balkan Turkey, however), Bulgaria (11,000 speakers, according to SIL), Romania (no data), Serbia and Macedonia (1,832 speakers in the latter two countries, according to Kovačec 1992). It is also spoken as a second language by speakers of Macedonian, Bulgarian, Aromanian, Megleno-Romanian, Romani and Turkish living in Greece.

4.1.2 Modern Greek has two standards: the archaic high-style Katharevusa ‘purified’ and the popular low-style Demotiki. A distinction between a high-style variety and a low style variety has existed from the Middle Ages. In Medieval Greek, however, this distinction was manifested in a distinction between a consciously archaizing style, which attempted to emulate the prestigious Attic dialect of Ancient Greek and the colloquial language, which represented the natural development from the Hellenistic Koine ‘common’. In the modern period, since the founding of the Greek national state (1867) “the desire for a unified national language led to the institutionalization of the historical distinction of style (*cf.* Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton 1987:2).

4.1.3 Up to the 1970s, Katharevusa was the language of the administration, science, education, the media. Nevertheless, men of letters have been using the popular Demotiki since the 18th century. In the early 1980s Demotiki underwent a spelling reform. Nowadays, Demotiki (with a varied number of Katharevusa elements) is used at all levels of public life.

4.1.4 The nomadic shepherds of northern Greece, referred to as Saracatzans, speak a distinct dialect of Greek – Saracatzan. A related dialect, Karakachan, is spoken by nomadic shepherds in Romania.

4.2 Pontic Greek

4.2.1 Until World War 1, Pontic Greek was spoken in Asia Minor. After the exchange of population between Greece and Turkey, it is spoken throughout Greece by the descendants of the Pontic Greeks. (There are some 200,000 speakers in various suburbs of Athens and Piraeus, according to SIL).

4.2.2 Speakers of Standard Greek are reported not to understand Pontic Greek.

4.3 Tsakonian Greek

4.3.1 Tsakonian Greek is spoken as a mother tongue by a limited number of shepherds on the eastern coast of Peloponnesus. (There are no reliable data on number of speakers – 300 in 1981 by one source in SIL and 10,000 in 1977, by another source in SIL.)

4.3.2 Tsakonian Greek is derived from a Doric dialect spoken in Laconia by ancient Spartans. It is inherently intelligible by speakers of Modern Greek.

5. Albanian

5.1 Tosk Albanian (Arnaut, Shkip)

5.1.1 Tosk Albanian is spoken as a mother tongue by the majority of the population of Albania (2,900,000 speakers, according to SIL), as well as in Greece (no data about number of speakers) and Turkey (15,000 native speakers in Turkey, according to SIL; no data on the number of speakers in Balkan Turkey, however). It is also spoken as a second language by the native speakers of Geg Albanian in North Albania and the Serbian province of Kosovo and

Metohia, as well as by native speakers of Greek, Macedonian, Serbo-Croatian, Aromanian and Romani living in Albania.

5.1.2 Tosk Albanian has been the basis for Standard Albanian (codified after 1945).

5.2 Geg⁹ Albanian (Shkip)

5.2.1 Geg Albanian is spoken as a mother tongue in Northern Albania (300,000 speakers, according to SIL) and by the majority of the population in the Serbian province of Kosovo and Metohia (1,372,750 speakers, according to SIL). It is also spoken by Albanian minority communities in Macedonia (242,000 speakers, according to the 1994 Macedonian census), Bulgaria (1,000 speakers, according to SIL) and Romania (no data). Some Gypsy community in Macedonia, referred to as “Gjupci” “Egjupci” or “Egijptjani” ‘Egyptians’, also uses Geg Albanian as their mother tongue.

5.2.2 Geg Albanian is inherently unintelligible to Tosk Albanian speakers. It was standardized after World War 2 as the language of the Albanians in the Serbian province of Kosovo and Metohia. Subsequently, the standard language based on Tosk became the standard language of all Albanians.

5.3 Arvanitika

5.3.1 Arvanitika is spoken as a mother tongue by the Arvanites in Southern Greece, specifically on the island of Attica. (There are no reliable data on number of speakers – 50,000 speakers, according to one SIL source and 140,000 speakers, according to another.)

5.3.2 Arvanitika is partially intelligible to (Tosk) Albanian speakers. It is heavily influenced by Greek.

5.4 Arbanassian

5.4.1 Arbanassian is spoken in Dalmatia – in and around the city of Zadar (several hundred speakers, according to Kovačec 1992).

5.4.2 Arbanassian is mutually intelligible with Tosk.

6. Romani

6.1 Vlax Romani¹⁰

6.1.1 Vlax Romani is spoken as a mother tongue in Romania (200,000-250,000 speakers, according to SIL) and Albanian (60,000 speakers, according to SIL). It is also spoken in Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Bulgaria (500 speakers, according to SIL) and Greece (1,000 speakers, according to SIL).

6.1.2 On the Balkans, the Kalderash and Lovari dialects of Vlach Romani are spoken; the former in Greece, the latter in Serbia and Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Bulgaria. All the dialects have pronounced superstrata of the majority languages spoken in the area.

⁹ “Geg” has an alternative spelling – “Gheg”. “Geg” is the spelling used by native speakers of the dialect and linguists who work with Albanian.

¹⁰ The label “Vlach” most probably reflects the fact that the presence of the Romi was first registered in Romania. Note that the name *Romania* is of relatively recent origin; before World War One, what is now Romania was referred to as “Wallachia”.

6.2 Balkan Romani¹¹

6.2.1 Balkan Romani is spoken as a mother tongue in Bulgaria (187,000 speakers or 2% of the population, according to SIL), Turkey (25,000-40,000, according to SIL; no data on the number of speakers in Balkan Turkey, however), Serbia and Montenegro and Macedonia (a total of 100,000 in the latter two countries, according to SIL, but the data are unreliable). It is also spoken in Greece and Romania.

6.2.2 There are many mutually understandable dialects of Balkan Romani. Arli – the dialect spoken in Central and Northern Macedonia and in Kosovo and Metohia – has the greatest number of speakers. Related to Arli is the Erli Balkan Romani dialect spoken in Bulgaria.

6.2.3 In addition to Arli, in Northern Macedonia and Kosovo and Metohia there are speakers of Burgundži and Džambazi.¹² The Romas living in Southern Macedonia speak the Kovači Balkan Romani dialect. In central and northwest Bulgaria, Tinsmiths and “East Bulgarian” Balkan Romani are spoken; in Greece – “Greek” Balkan Romani.

7. Armenian

7.1 On the Balkans, Armenian is spoken as a minority language in Turkey (40,000 first language speakers in Turkey as a whole, according to SIL; no data on the number of speakers in Balkan Turkey, however) Bulgaria (27,000 speakers, according to SIL), Macedonia and Serbia and Montenegro (several dozen speakers in the latter two countries, according to Kovačec 1992).

NON-INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

8. Turkic

8.1 (Osmanli) Turkish

8.1.1 The language is spoken by 90% of the population in Turkey (46,278,000 speakers, according to SIL). There are no data about number of native speakers in the Balkan part of Turkey.

8.1.1.2 On the Balkans, apart from the area which is part of Turkey, Turkish is spoken as a minority language in Bulgaria (845,550 speakers or 9% of the population, according to the 1986 Bulgarian census), Romania (150,000 speakers, according to SIL), Greece (128,380 speakers, according to SIL), Macedonia (86,691 speakers, according to Kovačec 1992), and the Serbian province of Kosovo and Metohia (12,513 speakers, according to Kovačec 1992).

8.1.1.3 The Turkish dialect spoken in Romania is referred to as Danubian Turkish; the one spoken in Macedonia is referred to as Macedonian Turkish.

¹¹ While the Vlach Romani are nomadic, the Balkan Romani are sedentary. “Arli” – the name of the Balkan Romani language spoken in Macedonian and Kosovo and Metohia – is the Turkish word for ‘settlers’.

¹² The Džambazi dialect is actually a Balkanized Vlach Romani dialect. Its speakers were originally nomadic horse dealers who subsequently settled in Skopje.

8.2 Gagauz (Gagauzi)

8.2.1 Gagauz is spoken as a minority language in Bulgaria (12,000 speakers, according to SIL), Romania (no data about number of speakers) and Macedonia (4,000 speakers, according to SIL; several thousand speakers, according to Kovačec 1992).¹³

8.2.2 Gagauz is close to Turkish, but uses Orthodox Christian religious vocabulary in contrast to the Islamic vocabulary of Turkish.

8.2.3 In Bulgaria, the Bulgar Gagauz dialect is spoken; in Romania – the Maritime Gagauz; in Macedonia – Yurukh.

8.3 Crimean Turkish (Crimean Tatar)

8.3.1 Crimean Turkish is spoken as a minority language in Romania (25,000 speakers, according to SIL) and Bulgaria (6,000 speakers, according to SIL).

8.3.2 The language is distinct from both Turkish and Tatar.

9. Hungarian

9.1 On the Balkans, Hungarian is spoken as a minority language in Romania (2,004,300 speakers, according to SIL), the Serbian province of Vojvodina (383,715 speakers, according to Mikeš 1992), Croatia (26,439 speakers, according to Kovačec 1992) and Slovenia (9,456 speakers, according to Kovačec 1992).

9.2 Until 1918, Hungarian was the state language in Romania, Croatia and Vojvodina; so it was extensively used by non-native speakers, as well.

¹³ Gagaus is also spoken as a minority language in Moldova – a former Soviet republic; an independent state since the last decade of the 20th century. But Moldova is outside the Balkans.

REFERENCES

Books and papers referred to in the text

- Akan Ellis, Burku. 2000. *Shadow Genealogies: Memory and Identity among Urban Muslims in Macedonia*. Ph.D. Dissertation. The American University.
- Alboiu, Gabriela and Virginia Motapanyane. 2000. "The generative approach to Romanian grammar: An overview". In Motapanyane ed. *Romanian Syntax*. Amsterdam: North Holland.1-48.
- Alexander, Ronelle. 2001. "Bridging the descriptive chasm: The Bulgarian "generalized past". In Friedman and Dyer eds. 2001. 13-42.
- Alexiadou, Artemis. 2001a. *Functional Structure in Nominals: Nominalization and Ergativity*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Alexiadou, Artemis and Elena Anagnostopoulou. 2000. "Asymmetries in the distribution of clitics". In Beukema and den Dikken eds. 2000. 47-70.
- Alexiadou, Artemis and Melita Stavrou. 2000. "Adjective-clitic combinations in the Greek DP". In Brigit Gerlach and Janet Grijzenhout eds. *Clitics in Phonology, Morphology and Syntax*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Alexiadou, Artemis, Melita Stavrou and Lilianne Haegeman. 2000. "Functional projections in the DP: (noun) morphology, movement and ellipsis." *Studies in Greek Linguistics 21*. Thessaloniki: University of Thessaloniki.
- Ammann, Andreas and Johan van der Auwera. 2004. "Complementizer-headed main clauses for volitional moods in the languages of South-Eastern Europe: a Balkanism?" In Tomić ed. 2004c. 293-314.
- Anagnostopoulou, Elena. 1994. *Clitic Dependencies in Modern Greek*. Ph.D. dissertation. Universität Salzburg.
- Anagnostopoulou, Elena and Anastasia Giannakidou. 1995. "Clitics and prominence, or why specificity is not enough". *CLS 31 – Papers from the 31st Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*; Volume 2: *The Parasession on Clitics*. Chicago: The Chicago Linguistic Society. 1-14.
- Andrejčin, Ljubomir. 1978/[1944]. *Osnovna bālgarska gramatika* [Basic Bulgarian Grammar]. Sofija.
- Andriotes, Nikolaos. 1979. "The language and the Greek origin of the Ancient Macedonians". *Balkan Studies 19*. Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies. 3-33.
- Androutsopoulou, Antonia 1995. "The licensing of adjectival modification". Paper presented at the 13th West Coast Conference of Formal Linguistics.
- Androutsopoulou, Antonia. 2001. "Adjectival determiners in Albanian and Greek". In Rivero and Ralli eds. 2001. 161-199.
- Arnaudova, Olga. 1996. "The Bulgarian noun (adjective) movement to D." In Mila Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Lars Hellan eds. *University of Trondheim Working Papers in Linguistics 28: Papers from First Conference on Formal Approaches to South Slavic and Balkan Languages*. 1-29.
- Arnaudova, Olga. 2003a. *Focus and Bulgarian Clause Structure*. Doctoral dissertation. University of Ottawa.
- Arnaudova, Olga. 2003b. "Clitic left dislocation and argument structure in Bulgarian". In Jindřich Toman ed.. *Proceedings of FASL X: The Second Ann Arbor Meeting*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan. 23-46.
- Aronson, Howard. 1977. "Interrelationships between aspect and mood in Bulgarian". *Folia Slavica 1* (1). 19-32.
- Asan Finuta et al. 1966. *Gramatica limbii române* [A Grammar of Romanian]. Ed II. București: Editura Academiei RSR.
- Asenova, Petja. 1977. "La notion de l'interference et l'union linguistique balkanique". *Balkansko ezikoznanie 20*. Sofija: Izdatelstvo na Bālgarskata akademija na naukite. 23-31.
- Asenova, Petja. 2002/[1989]. *Balkansko ezikoznanije* [Balkan Linguistics]. Veliko Trnovo: Faber.
- Atanasov, Petar. 1990. *Le mégléno-roumain de nos jours*. *Balkan-Archiv*. Hamburg: H. Buske.
- Auwera, Johan and Dubravko Kučanda. 1985. "Pronoun or conjunction – the Serbo-Croatian invariant relativizer *što*". *Linguistics 23*. 917-962.
- Avgustinova, Tania. 1994. "On Bulgarian verbal clitics", *Journal of Slavic Linguistics 2*. 29-47.
- Avram, Larisa. 1997. *Gramatica pentru toții* [Grammar for Everybody]. București: Humanitas.
- Avram, Larisa and Martine Coene 2001. "Genitive/dative clitics as last resort". *University of Trondheim Working Papers in Linguistics: Papers from the Third Conference on Formal Approaches to South Slavic and Balkan Languages*. 157-169.
- Baker, Mark. 1996. *The Polysynthesis Parameter*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- BAN (Bālgarska Akademija na naukite [Bulgarian Academy of Sciences]). 1989/[1982-1983]. *Gramatika na sāvremenen bālgarski knižoven ezik* [Grammar of the Contemporary Bulgarian Literary Language]. Sofija: Izdatelstvo na bālgarskata akademija na naukite.
- Barić, Eugenija et al. 1997. *Hrvatska gramatika* [Croatian Grammar]. 2nd modified edn. Zagreb: Školska knjiga.
- Belić, Aleksandar. 1936. "La linguistique balkanique aux congrès internationaux des linguistes". *Revue Internationale des Etudes Balkaniques*. II-ème année. Tom I-II (3-4). Beograd: Minerva. 167-171.

- Berent, Gerald. 1980. "On the realisation of trace: Macedonian clitic pronouns". In Catherine Chvany and Richard Brecht eds. *Morphosyntax in Slavic*. Columbus, Ohio: Slavica. 150-186.
- Bernstein, Judy. 1993. *Topics in the Syntax of Nominal Structure Across Romance*. Doctoral dissertation. City University of New York.
- Beukema, Frits and Marcel den Dikken eds. *Clitic Phenomena in European Languages* [Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today]. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bibović Ljiljana. 1971. "Some remarks on the factive and non-factive complements in English and Serbo-Croatian." In Rudolf Filipović ed. *The Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian – English Contrastive Project. Studies 3*. Zagreb: Institute of Linguistics. 37-48.
- Bimbaum, Henrich. 1965. "Balkanslavisch und Südslavisch. Zur Reichweite der Balkanismen im südslavischen Sprachraum". *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie* III. 12-65.
- Bimbaum, Henrich. 1983. "Tiefen- und Oberflächstrukturen balkanlinguistischer Erscheinungen". In Norbert Reiter ed. *Ziele und Wege der Balkanlinguistik. Beiträge zur Tagung vom 2.-6. März 1981 in Berlin*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz. 40-58.
- Bogdanvić, Nedeljko. 1992. *Izoglose Jugoistočne Srbije* [The Izoglosses of South-Eastern Serbia]. Niš: Prosveta.
- Bojadžiev, Todor, Ivan Kucarov and Jordan Penčev. 1999. *Sāvremenen bālgarski ezik* [Contemporary Bulgarian]. Sofija: Petār Beron.
- Boretzky, Norbert. 1996. "Arli. Materialien zu einen südbalkanischen Romani-Dialekt". *Grazer Linguistische Studien* 46 (Herbst 1996). 1-30.
- Bošković, Željko. 2000. "Second position cliticization: Syntax and/or phonology?" In Beukema and den Dikken eds. 2000. 71-119.
- Bošković, Željko. 2001. *On the Nature of the Syntax-Phonology Interface: Cliticization and Related Phenomena*. Amsterdam: Elsevier Science.
- Bošković, Željko. 2004. "On the clitic switch in Greek imperatives". In Tomić ed. 2004c. 269-291.
- Broch, Olaf. 1903. *Südslavische Dialektstudien, III: Die Dialekte des südlichsten Serbiens*. [Keiserliche Akademie de Wissenschaften. Schriften der Balkancommission, Linguistische Abteilung. 1:3.] Wien: Alfred Hölder.
- Browne, Wayles. 1981/1986. *Relativna rečenica u hrvatskom ili srpskom jeziku u poređenju s engleskom situacijom*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Zagreb, 1981. Published as Browne, Wayles. *Relative Clauses in Serbo-Croatian; The Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian - English Contrastive Project; New Studies 4*. [ed. Rudolf Filipović] Zagreb: Institute of Linguistics, 1986. [English translation by the author.]
- Browning, Robert. 1983/[1969]. *Mediaeval and Modern Greek*. London.
- Bugarški, Ranko. 1992. "Language in Yugoslavia: Situation, policy, planning". In Bugarški and Hawkesworth eds. 1992. 9-26.
- Bugarški, Ranko and Celia Hawkesworth eds. 1992. *Language Planning in Yugoslavia*. Columbus, Ohio: Slavica.
- Bužarovska, Eleni. 2002. "Svrznicite na zavisni rečenici so nadgraden predikat za vizuelna percepcija (vo tekstovite na Joakim Krčovski i Krninskiot Damaskin)" [Conjunctions in dependent clauses with a superimposed predicate for visual perception (in the texts by Joakim Krčovski and the Krn Damaskin)]. *Slavistički studii* 10. Skopje: Filološki fakultet "Blaže Koneski", Univerzitet "Sv. Kiril i Metodij". 95-111.
- Bužarovska, Eleni. 2004. "The distribution of subjunctive relatives in Balkan languages". In Tomić ed. 2004c. 377-404.
- Bužarovska, Eleni and Olga Mišeska Tomić. To appear. "Subjunctive relatives in Bulgarian and Macedonian". In Mila Dimitrova-Vulchanova, Olga Mišeska Tomić and Suzanna Topolinjska eds. *The Structure of the Bulgarian and Macedonian Nominal Expression*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Campbell, Lyle. 1998. *Historical Linguistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Campos, Hector and Melita Stavrou. 2004. "Polydefinite constructions in Modern Greek and Aromanian". In Tomić ed. 2004c. 137-173.
- Carter, Frederick. 1977. *A Historical Geography of the Balkans*. London/New York: Academic Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1999. *Derivation by Phase* [MIT Occasional Papers in Linguistics]. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT.
- Cinque, Giulio. 1984. "Clitic Left Dislocation in Italian and the 'Move- α ' parameter." Ms. Università di Venezia.
- Cinque, Giulio. 1990. *Types of A'-Dependencies*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.
- Civjan, Tatjana. 1965. *Imja suščestviteljnoje v balkanskih jazykax* [The Noun in the Balkan Languages]. Moskva: Nauka.
- Civjan, Tatjana. 1979. *Sintaktičeskaja struktura balkanskogo jazykovogo sojuza* [The Syntactic Structure of the Balkan Language Union]. Moskva.
- Civjan, Tatjana. 1990. *Lingvističeskije osnovy balkanskoj modeli mira* [The Linguistic Basis of the Balkan Model of the World]. Moskva.
- Civjan, Tatjana. 1999. *Dviženije i put' v balkanskoj modeli mira*. [The Movement and Direction of the Balkan Model of the World]. Moskva.

- Comrie, Bernard. 1976. *Aspect*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cornilescu, Aleksandra. 1992. "Remarks on the determiner system of Romanian: The demonstratives *al* and *cel*." *Probus* 4. 188-260.
- Cornilescu, Aleksandra. 2000a. "The double subject construction in Romanian". In Motapanyane ed. 2000a. 83-134.
- Cornilescu, Aleksandra. 2000b. "Rhematic focus at the Left Periphery: The case of Romanian". Paper presented at the *Going Romance* conference. Utrecht. December 2003.
- Culicover, Peter and Michael Rochemont. 1983. "Stress and focus in English." *Language* 59. 123-165.
- Cvijić, Jovan. 1918. *La Péninsule Balkanique*. Paris.
- Darden, Bill. 2001. "Macedonian as a model for the development of Indo-European tense and aspect". In Friedman and Dyer eds. 2001. 85-102.
- Dejanova, Marija. 1966. *Imperfect i aorist v slavjanskite ezici*. Sofija.
- Demiraj, Shaban. 1994/[1969]. *Gjuhësi ballkanike* [The Balkan Languages]. Shkup.
- D'Hulst, Yves, Martine Coene and Liliane Tasmowski. 2000. "Last resort strategies in DP: Article reduplication in Romanian and French". In Motapanyane ed. 2000a. 135-175.
- D'Hulst, Yves, Martine Coene and Larisa Avram. 2004. "Synthetic and analytic tenses in Romanian: The Balkan setting of Romance". In Tomić ed. 2004c. 355-374.
- Dimitriadis, Alexis. 1999. "On clitics, prepositions and case licensing in Standard and Macedonian Greek". In Artemis Alexiadou, Geoffrey Horrocks and Melita Stavrou eds. 1999. *Studies in Greek syntax* [Studies in Natural Language and Linguistic Theory, volume 43]. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers. 95-112.
- Dimitriu, C. 1979. *Gramatica limbii române explicată*. [An Explanatory Grammar of Romanian]. Iași: Junimea.
- Dimitrova-Šmiger, Nina and Roland Šmiger. 2001. "Nečlenovani predložki sintagmi vo makedonskiot jazik vo balkanski kontekst" [Non-articled prepositional phrases in Macedonian in a Balkan context]. In Maksim Karanfilovski ed. *XXVII naučna diskusija na XXXIII međunaroden seminar za makedonski jazik, literatura i kultura*, Skopje: Univerzitet "Sv. Kiril i Metodij". 45-52.
- Dimitrova-Vulchanova, Mila. 1995. "Clitics in Slavic". *Studia Linguistica* 49. 54-92.
- Dimitrova-Vulchanova, Mila. 1996. "Clitics and Bulgarian clause structure". In Mila Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Lars Hellan eds. *University of Trondheim Working Papers in Linguistics* 28: *Papers from the First Conference on Formal Approaches to South Slavic Languages*. 363-409.
- Dimitrova-Vulchanova, Mila. 1999. *Verb Semantics, Diathesis and Aspect* [Lincom Studies in Theoretical Linguistics]. München: Lincom Europa.
- Dimitrova-Vulchanova, Mila. 2000. "Possessive constructions and possessive clitics in the English and Bulgarian DP". In Beukema and den Dikken eds. 2000. 121-146.
- Dimitrova-Vulchanova, Mila. 2003. "Modification in the Balkan nominal expression: an account of the (A)NA:AN(*A) order contrast". In Martina Coene and Yves D'Hulst eds. *From NP to DP*. Volume I: *The Syntax and Semantics of Noun Phrases* [Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today]. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 91-117.
- Dimitrova-Vulchanova, Mila and Giuliana Giusti. 1998. "Fragments of Balkan nominal structure". In Artemis Alexiadou and Chris Wilder eds. *Possessors, Predicates and Movement in the Determiner Phrase* [Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today]. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 333-360.
- Dimitrova-Vulchanova, Mila and Giuliana Giusti. 1999. "Possessors in the Bulgarian DP". In Mila Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Lars Hellan eds. *Topics in the South Slavic Syntax* [Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today]. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 163-192.
- Dimitrova-Vulchanova, Mila and Lars Hellan. 1999. "Clitics and Bulgarian clause structure". In Henk van Riemsdijk ed. *Clitics in the European languages*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 469-514.
- Dobrovie-Sorin, Carmen. 1987. *Syntax du roumain: Chaines thématiques*. Thèse de Doctorat d'État, Université de Paris 7.
- Dobrovie-Sorin, Carmen. 1994. *The Syntax of Romanian* [Studies in Generative Grammar 40]. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Dobrovie-Sorin, Carmen. 2004. "Clitic Doubling, Clitic Left Dislocations and Wh-Movement". Paper presented at the workshop on *Clitic Doubling in the Balkan Languages*. Brussels. December 2004.
- Dozon, August. 1879. *Manuel de la langue chkepe ou albanaise*. Paris: Société asiatique de Paris.
- Elson, Mark. 2001. "The Case of agglutinative structure in East Balkan Slavic verbal inflection". In Friedman and Dyer eds. 2001. 139-154.
- Enç, Mürvet. 1991. "The semantics of specificity". *Linguistic Inquiry* Vol. 22, Number 1. 1-25.
- Eversley, Lord. 1967 [1917]. *The Growth of Empire*. Lahore, Pakistan: Premier Book House.
- Ewen, Robert. 1979. *A Grammar of Bulgarian Clitics*. Ph.D. thesis. Seattle: University of Washington.
- Farkas, Donka. 1992. "The semantics of subjunctive complements". In Paul Hirschbühler and Konrad Koerner eds. *Romance Languages and Modern Linguistic Theory*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 69-105.

- Feuillet, Jack. 1986. *La linguistique balkanique*. [Cahiers balkaniques 10]. Paris.
- Fielder, Grace. 1999. "The origin of evidentiality in the Balkans: Linguistic convergence or conceptual convergence?" *Mediterranean Language Review* 11: 59-89.
- Fielder, Grace. 2000. "The perfect in Eastern Macedonian dialects". Paper delivered at the 4th North-American-Macedonian Conference, Ohrid, Macedonia, 5-7 August, 2000.
- Fielder, Grace. 2001. "Questioning the dominant paradigm: An alternative view of the grammaticalization of the Bulgarian evidential". In Friedman and Dyer eds. 2001. 171-201.
- Fine, John. 1990 [1987]. *The Late Medieval Balkans*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Fine, John. 1991 [1983]. *The Early Medieval Balkans*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Firbas, František. 1992. *Functional Sentence Perspective in Written and Spoken Communication*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Franks, Steven. 1998. "Clitics in Slavic". Paper presented at the *Comparative Slavic Morphosyntax Workshop*. Indiana University, Bloomington, June 1998. (downloadable at <http://www.indiana.edu/~slavconf/linguistics/index.html>)
- Franks, Steven. 2000. "Clitics at the interface: An introduction to clitic phenomena in European Languages". In Beukema and den Dikken eds. 2000. 1-46.
- Franks, Steven and Tracy Holloway King. 2000. *Clitics in Slavic*. Oxford University Press.
- Franks, Steven and Ljiljana Progovac. 1995. "On the placement of Serbo-Croatian clitics." *Indiana Slavic Studies* 7. 1-10.
- Fried, Miriam. 1999. "From interest to ownership". In Paine and Barshi eds. 1999. 473-504.
- Friedman, Victor. 1982. "Admirativity in Bulgarian compared with Albanian and Turkish". In D. Kosev ed. *Bulgaria Past and Present*, vol. 2. Sofia: Bălgarska Akademija na naukite. 63-67.
- Friedman, Victor. 2000. "Confirmative/nonconfirmative in Balkan Slavic, Balkan Romance, and Albanian with additional observations on Turkish, Romani, Georgian, and Lak". In Lars Johanson and B. Utas eds. *Evidentials: Turkic, Iranian and Neighboring Languages* [Empirical Approaches to Language Typology 24]. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 329-366.
- Friedman, Victor. 2001. "Hunting the elusive evidential: The third-person auxiliary as a boojum in Bulgarian". In Friedman and Dyer eds. 2001. 203-230.
- Friedman, Victor. 2003/[1993]. "An Outline of Macedonian Grammar". In Ljudmil Spasov, *Dve amerikanski gramatiki na sovremeniot makedonski standarden jazik*. Skopje: Makedonska Akademija na naukite i umetnostite. 2003. 173-262. [First published in Bernard Comrie and Grenville Corbett eds. *Guide to the Slavonic Languages*. London: Routledge. 245-305.]
- Friedman, Victor. 2004. "The typology of Balkan evidentiality and areal linguistics". In Tomić ed. 2004c. 101-134.
- Friedman, Victor and Donald Dyer eds. 2001. *Of All the Slavs My Favorites: Studies in Balkan and South Slavic Linguistics Presented to Howard I. Aronson in Honor of His 66th Birthday*. Bloomington, IN: Slavica.
- Genadževa-Mutafčeva, Zara. 1970. *Podčinitelnija sâjuz da v sâvremennija bălgarski ezik*. [The Subjunctive Conjunction *da* in Contemporary Bulgarian]. Sofija.
- Genčeva, Zlatka. 2004. "Redoublement clitique en bulgare". Paper presented at the *Workshop on Clitic Doubling in the Balkan Languages*. Brussels. December 2004.
- Geredžikov, Georgi. 1984. *Preizkazvaneto na glagolnoto dejstvie v bălgarskija ezik*. [Reportedness of the Action of the Verb in Bulgarian]. Sofija: Nauka i izkustvo.
- Giannakidou, Anastasia. 1998. *Polarity Sensitivity as (Non)veridical Dependency* [Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today]. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Gierling, Diana. 1998. "Clitic doubling, specificity and focus in Romanian". In James Black and Virginia Motapanyane eds. *Clitics, Pronouns and Movement* [Current Issues in Linguistic Theory]. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 63-85.
- Gilsenbach, Reimar. 1997. *Weltchronik der Zigeuner – 2000 Ereignisse aus der Geschichte der Roma und Sinti, der Gypsies und Citanos, und aller anderen minderheiten, die "Zigeuner" genannt werden. Teil 1: Von den Anfängen bis 1599*. Frankfurt am Mein: Peter Lang.
- Giusti, Giuliana. 1993. "Enclitic articles and double definiteness: A comparative analysis of nominal structure in Romance and Germanic". *The Linguistic Review* 11. 103-126.
- Giusti, Giuliana. 1995. "Heads and modifiers among determiners: Evidence from Rumanian". In Giulielmo Cinque and Giuliana Giusti eds. *Advances in Rumanian Linguistics* [Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today]. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 231-255.
- Giusti, Giuliana. 2002. "The functional structure of noun phrases: a bare phrase structure approach". In Giulielmo Cinque ed. *Functional Structure in DP and IP*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 54-90.
- Gołąb, Zbigniew. 1964. *Conditionalis typu bałkańskiego w językach południowosłowiańskich ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem macedońskiego* [Conditionalis of the Balkan Type in the South-Slavic Languages, with a special attention to Macedonian] [Prace Komisji Językoznawstwa Nr. 2]. Wrocław/Kraków/Warszawa: Polska Akademia Nauk – Oddział w Krakowie.

- Golaž, Zbigniew. 1984. *The Arumanian Dialect of Kruševo in SR Macedonia, SFR Yugoslavia*. Skopje: Makedonska akademija na naukite i umetnostite.
- Grickat, Irena. 1952. "O jednom slučaju mešanja *da* i *što*" [A case of mixing *da* and *što*]. *Naš jezik* 3. Beograd. 196-207.
- Grickat, Irena. 1975. *Studije iz istorije srpskohrvatskog jezika* [Studies from the History of Serbo-Croatian]. Beograd.
- Grosu, Alexander. 1988. "On the distribution of genitive phrases in Rumanian". *Linguistics* 26. 931-949.
- Grosu, Alexander. 1994. *Three Studies in Locality and Case*. London: Routledge.
- Grosu, Alexander. 2004. "The Syntax-Semantics of Modal Existential 'wh' Constructions". In Tomić ed. 2004c. 405-438.
- Grosu, Alexander and Fred Landman. 1998. "Strange relatives of the third kind". *Natural Language Semantics* 6/2. 125-170.
- Grosu, Alexander and Julia Horvat. 1984. "The GB theory and Raising in Rumanian". *Linguistic Inquiry* 15. 345-353.
- Gustavsson, Sven. 1984. "Ruski jezik u Jugoslaviji" [The Rusyn Language in Yugoslavia]. *Tvorčosc*. Novi Sad.
- Hacking, Jane. 1998. *Coding the Hypothetical: A Comparative Typology of Russian and Macedonian Conditionals*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Hacking, Jane. 2001. "Attitudes to Macedonian conditional formation: The use of *dokolku* and *bi*". In Friedman and Dyer eds. 2001. 231-242.
- Haegeman, Liliane. 1994/[1992]. *Introduction to Government and Binding Theory*. 2nd edn. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Halpern, Aaron. 1992. *Topics in the Placement and Morphology of Clitics*. Doctoral dissertation. Stanford University.
- Halpern, Aaron. 1995. *On the Placement and Morphology of Clitics*. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Halpern, Aaron and Arnold Zwicky eds. 1996. *Approaching Second: Second Position Clitics and Related Phenomena*. Stanford, Calif.: CSLI. 429-448.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 1999. "External possession in a European areal perspective". In Paine and Barshi eds. 1999. 109-135.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 2002. "On understanding word order asymmetries" (Comments on John A. Hawkins' "Symmetries and asymmetries: their grammar, typology and parsing"). *Theoretical Linguistics* 28. 159-170.
- Hatzidakis, Georgiu. 1892. *Einleitung in die Neugriechische Grammatik*. Leipzig.
- Hauge, Kjetil Raa. 1976. *The Word Order of Predicate Clitics in Bulgarian*. Meddelelser, Slavisk-Baltisk Institutet, 10. Oslo: Universitetet i Oslo.
- Haugen, Einar. 1987. "The inferential perfect in Scandinavian: a problem of contrastive linguistics". *The Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 17. 132-139.
- Herrity, Peter. 1992. "Aspect of change and variation". In Bugarski and Hawkesworth eds. 1992. 163-175.
- Heusinger, Klaus von. 2002. "Specificity and definiteness in sentence and discourse structure". *Journal of Semantics* 19/3. 245-274.
- Hinrichs, Uwe. 1990. "Das Slavische und die sogenannten Balkanismen". *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie* 26 (1). Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz. 43-62.
- Hindrichs, Uwe ed. 1999. *Handbuch der Südeuropa-Linguistik*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Horrocks, Geoffrey. 1997. *Greek: a History of the Language and its Speakers* [Longman Linguistics Library]. London: Longman.
- Iatridou, Sabina. 1990. "Clitics and island effects". *UPenn Working Papers in Linguistics* 2. 11-38.
- Inkelas, Sharon. 1989. *Prosodic Constituency in the Lexicon*. Doctoral dissertation. Stanford University.
- Isac, Danijela. 1994. "Sentence negation in Romanian". *Revue Roumaine de linguistique* 29 (3/4). 371-393.
- Isac, Danijela. 2001. *The Force of Negative Moods*. Ms. Université de Quebec a Montréal.
- Isac, Daniela and Edit Jakab. 2004. "Mood and force in the languages of the Balkans". In Tomić ed. 2004c. 315-338.
- Ivančev, Svetoslav. 1984. "Minalite razkazvatelni sistemi v bälgarskija ezik [The past reported systems in Bulgarian]". *Bälgarski ezik* 1. Sofija. 27-32.
- Ivanova, Tanya. 2004. "Non-referential pronouns: The case of ethical dative in Macedonian and Bulgarian". Paper presented at the 14th *Biannual Conference on Balkan and South Slavic Linguistics, Literature and folklore*. April 15-17. Oxford, Mississippi.
- Ivić, Milka. 1970. "O upotrebi glagolskih vremena u zavisnoj recenici: Present u recenici s veznikom *da*" [On the use of the tenses in the [Serbo-Croatian] dependent clause: The present tense in sentences with the conjunction *da*]. *Zbornik za Filologiju i Lingvistiku* 13. Beograd. 43-54.
- Ivić, Milka. 1972. "Problematika srpskohrvatskog infinitiva" [Concerning the Serbo-Croatian infinitive]. *Zbornik za Filologiju i Lingvistiku* 15/2. Beograd. 115-138.
- Ivić, Milka. 1973. "Neka pitanja reda reči u srpskohrvatskoj zavisnoj recenici s veznikom *da*" [Concerning word order in the Serbo-Croatian dependent clause]. *Zbornik za Filologiju i Lingvistiku* 16/1. Beograd. 187-95.
- Izvorski, Roumyana. 1998. "Non-indicative wh-complements of existential/possessive predicates". In Pins Tamanji and Kiyomi Kusumoto eds. *NELS* 28. 159-173.

- Jacobsen, William. 1986. "The heterogeneity of evidentials in Makah". In Wallace Chafe and John Soicer Nichols eds. *Evidentiality: The Linguistic Coding of Epistemology*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex. 3-28.
- Jaeggli, Oswald. 1982. *Topics in Romance Syntax*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Jeffers, Robert and Ilse Lehiste. 1979. *Principles and Methods for Historical Linguistics*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Joseph, Brian. 1983. *The Synchrony and Diachrony of the Balkan Infinitive – A Study in Areal, General and Historical Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Joseph, Brian. 1992. "Balkan languages". In William Bright ed. *International Encyclopedia of Linguistics*, 4 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Vol. 1: 153-155.
- Joseph, Brian. 2001a. "On an odity in the development of weak pronouns in deictic expressions in the languages of the Balkans". In Friedman and Dyer eds. 2001. 251-268.
- Joseph, Brian. 2001b. "Is Balkan comparative syntax possible?". In Rivero and Rally eds. 2001. 17-43.
- Joseph, Brian and Irene Philippaki-Warbuton. 1987. *Modern Greek* [Croom Helm Descriptive Grammar series]. London: Croom Helm.
- Kallulli, Dalina. 1999. *The Comparative Syntax of Albanian: On the Contribution of Syntactic Types to Propositional Interpretation*. Doctoral dissertation. University of Durham.
- Kallulli, Dalina. 2000. "Direct object clitic doubling in Albanian and Greek". In Beukema and den Dikken eds. 2000. 211-248.
- Kallulli, Dalina. 2004. "An Account of Clitic Doubling in Albanian." Paper presented at the *Workshop on Clitic Doubling in the Balkan Languages*. Brussels. December 2004.
- Kalogjera, Damir. 1992. "Attitudes to dialects in language planning". In Bugarski and Hawkesworth eds. 1992. 212-222.
- Katičić, Radovan. 1976. *Ancient Languages of the Balkans*. Part one. [Trends in Linguistics. State of the Art Reports 4.] The Hague: Mouton.
- Kaufman, Terrence. 1973. "Gypsy wanderings and linguistic borrowing." Ms. University of Pittsburgh.
- Kayne, Richard. 1994. *The Antisymmetry of Syntax*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Kazazis, Kosta. 1966. "On a generative grammar of the Balkan languages". *Actes du premier congrès international des études balkaniques et sud-est européennes*. Vol. 4: *Linguistique*. Sofija: Bălgarska Akademija na naukite. 823-828.
- Kazazis, Kosta and J. Pantheroudakis. 1976. "Reduplication of indefinite direct objects in Albanian and Modern Greek". *Language* 52. 398-403.
- Kenesei, Istvan. 1997. "Focus is identification". Ms. Research Institute for Linguistics. Budapest.
- King, Tracy Halloway. 1995. *Configuring Topic and Focus in Russian*. Stanford: CSL Publications.
- Kiparsky, Paul and Carol Kiparsky. 1971. "Fact". In+ Deny Steinberg and Leon Jakobovits eds. *Semantics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kiss, Katalin. 1988. "Identification focus versus information focus". *Language* 74. 245-268.
- Kočiš Mikola. 1978. *Lingvistički roboti* [Linguistic Matters]. Novi Sad.
- Kolliakou, Dimitra. 1995. *Definites and Possessives in Modern Greek: an HPSG Syntax for Noun Phrases*. Doctoral dissertation. University of Edinburgh.
- Kolliakou, Dimitra. 1998. "A composition approach to Modern Greek 'weak form' possessives". In Gert Webelhuth, Jean-Pierre Koenig and Andreas Kathol eds. *Lexical and Constructional Aspects of Linguistic Explanation*. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Koneski, Blaže. 1967. *Gramatika na makedonskiot literaturni jazik* [Grammar of the Macedonian Literary Language]. Skopje: Kultura.
- Koneski, Blaže. 1986/[1965]. *Istorija na makedonskiot jazik* [History of the Macedonian Language]. Skopje: Kultura.
- Koneski, Kiril. 1997. *Za makedonskiot glagol* [On the Macedonian Verb]. Skopje: Detska radost.
- Kopitar, Jernej. 1829. "Albanische, walachische und bulgarische Sprache". *Jahrbücher der Literatur*, Band 46. Wien. 59-106.
- Korubin, Blagoja. 1984. "Iz dijalektike procesa nacionalnog i standardnojezičkog razvitka" [The process of development of the nation and the standard language]. *Jezik i nacionalni odnosi; Sveske Instituta za proučavanje nacionalnih odnosa* 5-6. Sarajevo. 39-47.
- Kostov, Kosta. 1973. "Zur Bedeutung des Zigeunerischen für die Erforschung Grammatischer Interferenzerscheinungen". *Balkansko ezikoznanie* 16 (2). Sofija. 99-113.
- Kovačec, August. 1992. "Languages of National Minorities and Ethnic Groups in Yugoslavia". In Bugarski and Hawkesworth eds. 1992. 42-58.
- Krahe, Hans. 1964/[1955]. *Die Sprache der Illyrien*. Teil 1: Hans Krahe, *Die Quellen* (1955); Teil 2: Carlo Di Simone, *Die Messapischen Inschriften*; Jürgen Untermann, *Die Messapischen Personennamen* (1964). Wiesbaden: Otto Harrowitz.
- Kramer, Christina. 1986. *Analytic Modality in Macedonian* [Slavistische Beiträge 198]. Munich: Sagner.

- Krapova, Iliyana. 2001. "Subjunctive in Bulgarian and Modern Greek". In Rivero and Rally eds. 2001. 105-126.
- Krapova, Iliyana. 2003. "Plans for a Balkan dialect syntax project". Ms. University of Venice.
- Krapova, Iliyana and Tcena Karastaneva. 2002. "On the structure of the CP field in Bulgarian." *Balkanistica* 15. 293-322.
- Kretschmer, Peter. 1896. *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*. Göttingen.
- Kucarov, Ivan. 1994. *Edno egzotično naklonenie na bālgarskija glagol* [An Exotic Conjugation of the Bulgarian Verb]. Sofija.
- Kurcová, Hana. 1966. "Zum Aussterben des Infinitivus im Griechischen". *Etudes balkaniques tchécoslovaques* I. Praha. 39-50.
- Lindstedt, Jouko. 1994. "On the development of the South Slavonic Perfect". *Three Papers on the Perfect. Eurotyp Working Papers*, Series VI, No 5. 32-53.
- Lindstedt, Jouko. 1998. "Torlak narrative systems as illustrated by Olaf Broch's material". In Jan Bjørnflaten, Geir Kjetsaa and Therkel Mathiassen eds. *A Centenary of Slavic Studies in Norway: The Olaf Broch's Symposium*. Oslo: The Norwegian Academy of Science and Letters. 178-185.
- Lindstedt, Jouko. 2000a. "Linguistic Balkanization: Contact-induced change by mutual reinforcement". Dicky Gilbers, John Nerbonne and Jos Schaeken eds. *Languages in Contact*. Amsterdam: Rodopi. 231-246.
- Lindstedt, Jouko. 2000b. "Is there a Balkan verb system?" Ms. University of Helsinki.
- Mallinson, Graham. 1987. *Rumanian* [Groom Helm Descriptive Grammar Series]. London: Groom Helm.
- Manolessou, Ioanna. 2000. *Greek Noun Phrase Structure: a Study in Syntactic Evolution*. Doctoral dissertation. University of Cambridge.
- Manoliu-Manea, Iordan. 1994. *Discourse and Pragmatic Constraints on Grammatical Choices: A Grammar of Surprises*. [North Holland Linguistic Series 57]. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Marelj, Marijana. 2004. *Middles and Argument Structure across Languages* (Ph.D. dissertation). Utrecht: LOT – The Netherlands Graduate School of Linguistics.
- Marković, Marjan. 1995. "Glagolskiot sistem vo makedonskiot i vo aromanskiot ohridski govor." [The verbal system in Macedonian and the Aromanian dialect of Ohrid]. M.A. Thesis. Univerzitet "Kiril i Metodij", Skopje.
- Matras, Yaron and Peter Bakker. 1997. *The typology and Dialectology of Romani*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Mazon, André. 1936. *Documents, contes et chansons slaves de l'Albanie du Sud*. Paris.
- Meier-Brügger, Michael. 1992. *Griechische Sprachwissenschaft*. Vol.1. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Meillet, Antoine. 1920. *Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque*. Paris.
- Meyer, E. 1892. *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte I*. Halle: Max Niemeyer.
- Mikeš, Melanie. 1992. "Languages of national minorities in Vojvodina". In Bugarski and Hawkesworth eds. 1992. 59-71.
- Miklosich, Franyo. 1861. "Die slavischen Elemente im Rumunischen". *Denkschriften der Wiener Akad. Phil.-hist. Cl.* Vol. 12.
- Minčeva, Angelina. 1994. *Razvoj na datelnija pritežatelen padež v bālgarskija ezik* [The Development of the Dative Possessive Case in Bulgarian]. Sofija: Izdatelstvo na Bālgarskata akademija na naukite.
- Mindak, Jolanda. 1988. "Prekažanost i perfektivnost. Za formata plusquamperfectum kaj Marko Cepenkov" [Reportedness and perfectivity. On the form of plusquamperfect in Marko Cepenkov's folk tales]. In *Jazičnite pojavi vo Bitola i bitolsko deneska i vo minatoto*. Skopje. 127-133.
- Minnis, Kate. 2004. "Variation in the Macedonian future tense". Paper presented at the 14th *Biennial Conference on Balkan and South Slavic Linguistics, Literature and folklore*. April 15-17. Oxford, Mississippi.
- Mirčev, Kiril. 1937. "Kām istorijata na infinitivnata forma v bālgarskija ezik" [A contribution to the history of the infinitive in Bulgarian]. GSU FIF XXIII. 12. Sofija. 3-34.
- Mirčev, Kiril. 1963. *Istoričeska gramatika na bālgarskija ezik* [Historical Grammar of the Bulgarian Language]. Sofija: Nauka i izkustvo.
- Mirkulovska, Milica. To appear. "Definiteness in Macedonian (with some parallels in Bulgarian)". In Mila Dimitrova-Vulchanova, Olga Mišeska Tomić and Suzanna Topolinska eds. *The Structure of the Bulgarian and Macedonian Nominal Expression*. Skopje: Makedonska akademija na naukite i umetnostite.
- Mitkovska, Liljana. 1995a. "Ekivalentite na makedonskite konstrukcii so se vo angliskiot jazik" [The English equivalents of the Macedonian constructions with se]. M.A. thesis. Univerzitet "Kiril i Metodij", Skopje.
- Mitkovska, Liljana. 1995b. "Za psevdopasivnite konstrukcii so se vo makedonskiot jazik" [Pseudo-passive constructions with se in Macedonian]. In Liljana Minova-G'jurkova et al. eds. *Vtor naučen sobir na mladi makedonisti*. Skopje: University of Skopje: Univerzitet "Kiril i Metodij". 31-38.
- Mitkovska, Liljana. 2001. "Za upotrebata na predlozite na i od vo posesivna funkcija vo makedonskiot standarden jazik" [On the use of the prepositions na and od in possessive phrases in the Macedonian standard language]. *Makedonski jazik*. Skopje: Institut za makedonski jazik. 123-136.

- Mitkovska, Liljana. 2002. "Za konstrukciji so nekonvencionalni edinici na mera vo makedonskiot jazik" [On constructions with nonconventional units of measure]. *Slavistični studii* 10. Skopje: Faculty of Philology. 265-281.
- Mitkovska, Liljana. To appear. "Izrazuvanje na posesivni relaciji vo ramkite na imenskata sintagma vo makedonskiot jazik" [The expression of possessive relationships in the Macedonian noun phrase]. In Mila Dimitrova-Vulchanova, Olga Mišeska Tomić and Suzanna Topolinjska eds. *The Structure of the Bulgarian and Macedonian Nominal Expression*. Skopje: Makedonska akademija na naukite i umetnostite.
- Mladenov, Maksim. 1969. *Govorāt na Novo Selo Vidinsko* [The Dialect of the Novo Selo in the district of Vidin]. Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bālgarskata akademija na naukite.
- Mladenov, Maksim and Klaus Steinke. 1978. "Die Ergebnisse der neueren bulgarischen Dialektforschung im Lichte der Balkanologie." *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie*. 14. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz. 68-82.
- Mladenov, Stefan. 1929. *Geschichte der bulgarischen Sprache*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter and Co.
- Montoliu, César and Johan van der Auwera. 2004. "Judeo-Spanish conditionals". In Tomić ed. 2000c. 461-474.
- Moskovsky, Christo. 2004. "Optional movement of Bulgarian possessive clitics to I: Some implications for Binding Theory". In Tomić ed. 2000c. 221-233.
- Motapanyane, Virginia. 1989. "La position du sujet dans une langue à l'ordre SVO/VSO". *Rivista di grammatica generativa* 14, 75-103.
- Motapanyane, Virginia. 1991. *Theoretical Implications of Complementation in Romanian*. Doctoral dissertation. University of Geneva.
- Motapanyane, Virginia. 1995. *Theoretical Implications of Complementation in Romanian*. Padova: Unipress.
- Motapanyane, Virginia ed. 2000a. *Comparative Studies in Romanian Syntax*. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- Motapanyane, Virginia. 2000b. "Parameters for Focus in English and Romanian". In Motapanyane ed. 2000a. 265-294.
- Mrazović, Pavica and Zora Vukadinović. 1990. *Gramatika srpskohrvatskog jezika*; I deo: *Sintaksa*; II deo: *Morfologija* [Grammar of Serbo-Croatian; Part 1: Syntax; Part 2: Morphology]. Novi Sad: Dobra Vest.
- Murzaku, Alex. 2004. "Is there a third-person personal pronoun in Albanian?" Paper presented at the 14th *Biennial Conference on Balkan and South Slavic Linguistics, Literature and folklore*. April 15-17. Oxford, Mississippi.
- Newmark, Leonard, Phillip Hubbard and Peter Prifti. 1982. *Standard Albanian*. Stanford University Press.
- Nicolova, Ruselina. 1986. *Bālgarskite mestoimenija* [The Bulgarian Pronouns]. Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bālgarskata akademija na naukite.
- Ortman, Albert and Alexandra Popescu. 2000b. "Romanian definite articles are not clitics". In Brigit Gerlach and Janet Grijzenhout eds. *Clitics in Phonology, Morphology and Syntax*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 295-324.
- Orzechowska, Hanna. 1976. *Procesy bāłkanizacji i slawizacji bułgarskiego języka literackiego XVII-XIXw. w świetle użycia klitycznych form zaimków*. [Processes of Balkanization and Slavicization of the Bulgarian Literary Language from the 17th to the 19th century, in the Light of the Forms of the Pronominal Clitics]. Warszawa.
- Paine, Doris and Immanuel Barshi eds. 1999. *External Possession*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Pancheva, Roumyana. 2004. "Balkan possessive clitics: The problem of case and category". In Tomić ed. 2004c. 175-219.
- Phillipaki-Warbuton, Irene. 1987. "The theory of empty categories and the pro-drop parameter in Modern Greek". *Journal of Linguistics* 23. 289-318.
- Phillipaki-Warbuton, Irene. 1998. "Functional categories and Modern Greek syntax." *The Linguistic Review* 15. 159-186.
- Progovac, Liljana. 1996. "Clitics in Serbian/Croatian: Comp as the second position". In Aaron Halpern and Arnold Zwicky eds. *Second Position Clitics*. Stanford: Stanford University Press 1996. 411-428.
- Progovac, Liljana. 1998. "Clitic-second and verb-second". Paper presented at the *Comparative Slavic Morphosyntax Workshop*. Indiana University, Bloomington, June 1998.
- Progovac, Liljana. 1999. "Eventive *to* and the placement of clitics". In Istvan Kenesei ed. 1999. *Crossing Boundaries: Advances in the Theory of Central and Eastern European Languages*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 33-44.
- Progovac, Liljana. 2000. "Where do clitics cluster?" In Beukema and den Dikken eds. 2000. 249-258.
- Radovanović, Milorad. 1992. "Standard Serbo-Croatian and the theory of language planning". In Bugarski and Hawkesworth eds. 1992. 93-100.
- Reinhart, Tanya. 2002. The Theta-System – An Overview. In W. Sternefeld ed. *Theoretical Linguistics* 28. Berlin: Mouton.
- Reiter, Norbert. 1994. *Grundzüge der Balkanologie. Ein Schritt in die EuroLinguistik*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Remetić, Slobodan. 1996. *Srpski prizrenski govor. I: Glasovi i Oblici* [The Prizren Serbian Dialect. I: Phonemes and Forms]. *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik* XLII. Beograd.
- Rivero, María Luisa. 1993. "Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian yes-no questions. V^o raising to *li* vs. *li*-hopping". *Linguistic Inquiry* 24. 567-575.
- Rivero, María Luisa. 1994. "Clause structure and V-movement in the languages of the Balkans". *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 12. 63-120.

- Rivero, María Louisa. 1995. "Balkan complementation." In Noel Vincent and Kersti Börjars eds. *Complementation*. [Empirical Approaches to Language Typology]. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter (Reference is made to the pre-print version).
- Rivero, María Louisa. 1997. "On two locations for complement clitic pronouns: Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian, and Old Spanish". In Ans van Kemenade and Noel Vincent eds. *Parameters of Morphosyntactic Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 170-206.
- Rivero, María Louisa. 2002. "Balkan complementation". In Ans van Kemenade and Noel Vincent eds. *Parameters of Morphosyntactic Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 170-206.
- Rivero, María Louisa. 2004. "Datives and the non-active voice: Reflexive clitics in Balkan languages". In Tomić ed. 2004c. 237-267.
- Rivero, María Louisa. 2005. "Topics in Bulgarian morphology and syntax: a minimalist perspective". *Lingua* 115/8. 1083-1128.
- Rivero, María Louisa and Angela Ralli eds. 2001. *Comparative Syntax of Balkan Languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. "The fine structure of the Left Periphery". In Liliane Haegeman ed. *Elements of Grammar*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Roberts, Ian. 1994. "Second position effects and agreement in Comp". Paper presented at the third *Annual Workshop on Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics*, University of Maryland.
- Rochemont, Michael. 1986. *Focus in Generative Grammar*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Rochemont, Michael and Peter Culicover. 1990. *English Focus Constructions and the Theory of Grammar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rosetti, Alexandru. 1987/[1964]. *Istoria limbii române* [The History of the Romanian Language]. București: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică.
- Rudin, Catherine. 1985. "Da-clauses, finiteness and opacity". *Folia Slavica* 7. 435-451.
- Rudin, Catherine. 1986. *Aspects of Bulgarian Syntax: Complementizers and wh Constructions*. Columbus: Slavica.
- Rudin, Catherine. 1987. "Finiteness and opacity: Evidence from the Balkans". In Michael Hammond, Edit Moravcsik and Jessica Worth eds. *Studies in Syntactic Typology*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Rudin, Catherine. 1993. "Topic and focus in Bulgarian". Ms. Wayne State College.
- Rudin, Catherine. 1994. "On focus position and focus marking in Bulgarian questions". In A. Davison et al. eds. *Papers from the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Formal Linguistics of Mid America*. Iowa City: University of Iowa. 252-265.
- Rudin, Catherine. 1996. "On pronominal clitics". In Mila Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Lars Hellan eds. *University of Trondheim Working Papers in Linguistics. 28: Papers from the First Conference on Formal Approaches to South Slavic Languages*. 229-246.
- Rudin, Catherine. 1997a. "Kakvo li e li: Interrogation and focusing in Bulgarian". *Balkanistica* 10. 335-346.
- Rudin, Catherine. 1997b. "AgrO and Bulgarian pronominal clitics". In Steven Franks and Marina Lindseth eds. *Proceedings of FASL V: The Indiana Meeting*. Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Slavic Materials.
- Rudin, Catherine. 2001. "Clitic Pronoun Ordering in the Balkan Languages". In Friedman and Dyer eds. 2001. 339-358.
- Rudin, Catherine, Christina Kramer, Loren Billings and Matthew Baerman. 1999. "Macedonian and Bulgarian li Questions: Beyond Syntax". *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 17. 541-586.
- Sandfeld, Kristian. 1930/[1928]. *Linguistique balkanique: problèmes et résultats*. Paris: Champion. [First published as *Balkanfilologien*. University of Copenhagen, 1928].
- Sandfeld, Kristian and Hedvig Olsen. 1936. *Syntaxe roumaine*. Paris.
- Scatton, Ernest. 1980. "On the shape of the Bulgarian definite article". In Catherine Chvany and Richard Brecht eds. *Morphosyntax in Slavic*. Columbus, Ohio: Slavica. 204-211.
- Schaller, Helmut Wilhelm. 1975. *Die Balkansprachen. Eine Einführung in die Balkanphilologie*. Heidelberg.
- Schick, Ivanka Petkova. 2000. "The phenomenon of possessive clitics in the Balkan Slavic languages". *University of Trondheim Working Papers in Linguistics: Papers from the Third Conference on Formal Approaches to South Slavic and Balkan Languages*. 183-195.
- Schürcks, Liliana and Dieter Wunderlich. 2000. "Determiner-possessor relation in the Bulgarian DP". In Martine Coene ed. *From NP to DP; Vol. 2: The Expression of Possession in Noun Phrases*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 121-139.
- Schwyzer, Eduard. 1939. *Griechische Grammatik*. München.
- Sedláček, Jaroslav. 1958. "Grmatické kategorie a otázka blízkostí jazyků" [Grammatical categories and the question of relatedness of languages]. *K historickosrovnávacímu studiu slovanských jazyků*. Praha.
- Sgall, Petr, Eva Hajičová and Eva Benešová. 1973. *Topic, Focus and Generative Semantics*. Kronberg/Taunus: Scriptor.

- Sgall, Petr, Eva Hajičová and Jarmila Panevová 1986. *The Meaning of the Sentence in Its Semantic and Pragmatic Aspects*. Prague: Academia/Dordrecht: Reidel.
- SIL International (downloadable from <http://www.ethnologue.com>).
- Simeonov, Boris. 1977. "Obščije čerty fonologičeskikh sistem balkanskih jazykov" [Basic traits of the phonological systems of the Balkan languages]. *Balkansko ezikoznanie*. XX. Sofija: Izdatelstvo na Bălgarskata akademija na naukite. 53-59.
- Škiljan, Dubravko. 1992. "Standard languages in Yugoslavia." In Bugarski and Hawkesworth eds. 1992. 27-42.
- Smyth, Herbert Weir. 1965. *Greek Grammar*. Harvard University Press.
- Sobolev, Andrej. 2004a. "On the areal distribution of syntactic properties in the languages of the Balkans". In Tomić ed. 2004c. 59-100.
- Sobolev, Andrej. 2004b. *Malyj dialektologičeskij atlas balkanskih jazykov* [Small Dialectological Atlas of the Balkan Languages]. Initial Volume. Marburg: Biblion.
- Solta, Georg Renatus. 1980. *Einführung in die Balkanlinguistik mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Substrats und des Balkanlateinischen*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Spencer, Andrew. 1991. *Morphological Theory*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Stateva, Penka. 2002. "Possessive clitics and the structure of nominal expressions". *Lingua* 112/8. 647-690.
- Stavrou, Melita. 2004. "Clitics and pronouns in the Greek DP: 'obligatory' doubling or dislocation?" Paper presented at the workshop on *Clitic Doubling in the Balkan Languages*. Brussels, December 2004.
- Stavrou, Melita and Geoffrey Horrocks 1989. "Engklitikes ke diktikes antonimies mesa stin OF". [Enclitic and demonstrative pronouns within NP]. In *Studies in Greek Linguistics*. Thessaloniki: Kyriakidis. 225-246.
- Steinke, Klaus and Arifton Vraciu. 1999. *Introducere în lingvistica balcanică* [Introduction to Balkan Linguistics]. Bucu-rești: Iași.
- Stojanović, Danijela and Marijana Marelj. 2004. "Interpreting empty subjects in nontensed complement clauses: Child and adult strategies". In Tomić ed. 2004c. 439-459.
- Swadesh, Morris. 1950. "Salish internal relationships." *IJAL* 16. 157-176.
- Swadesh, Morris. 1951. "Diffusional cumulation and archaic residue as historical explanations." *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 7. 1-21.
- Swadesh, Morris. 1952. "Lexico-statistic dating of prehistoric ethnic contacts." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 96. 452-463.
- Swadesh, Morris. 1955. "Towards greater accuracy in lexicostatistic dating". *International Journal of American Linguistics* 21. 121-137.
- Terzi, Arhonto. 1992. *PRO in Finite Clauses. A study of the Inflectional Heads of the Balkan Languages*. Ph.D. dissertation. City University of New York.
- The Vlach connection and further reflections on Roman history. (<http://www.friesian.com/decdene2.htm>)
- Thomason, Sarah Grey. 2001. *Language Contact*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Tomić, Olga Mišeska. 1991. "Contrastive reflexes in contact linguistics". In Vladimir Ivir and Damir Kalogjera eds. *Languages in Contact and Contrast*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 451-467.
- Tomić, Olga Mišeska. 1992. "Standard language, dialect and register in Macedonian". In Bugarski and Hawkesworth eds. 1992. 117-129.
- Tomić, Olga Mišeska. 1996a. "The Balkan Slavic nominal clitics". In Aaron Halpern and Arnold Zwicky eds. *Second Position Clitic*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 511-535.
- Tomić, Olga Mišeska. 1996b. "The Balkan Slavic clausal clitics". *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 14. 811-872.
- Tomić, Olga Mišeska. 1997. "Non-first as a default clitic position". *Journal of Slavic Linguistics* 5(2). 1-23.
- Tomić, Olga Mišeska. 2000. "Operator Clitics." In Gerlach, Birgit and Janet Grijzenhout eds. *Clitics in Phonology, Morphology and Syntax* [Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today]. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 387-404.
- Tomić, Olga Mišeska. 2000a. "On clitic sites". In Beukema and den Dikken eds. 2000. 293-317.
- Tomić, Olga Mišeska. 2000b. "The site and status of the South Slavic negative particle". In Peter Kosta and Jens Frasek eds. *Current Approaches to Formal Slavic Linguistics*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang. 99-107.
- Tomić, Olga Mišeska. 2001. "The Macedonian negation operator and cliticization". *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 19. 647-682.
- Tomić, Olga Mišeska. 2002-2003. "Subjunctive complements of intentional verbs in Serbian and Croatian". *Studia Romanica aet Anglica Zagrabienzia* XLII-XLVIII. 353-363.
- Tomić, Olga Mišeska. 2004a. "The syntax of the Balkan Slavic future tenses". *Lingua* 114. 517-542.
- Tomić, Olga Mišeska. 2004b. "The Balkan Sprachbund properties: Introduction". In Tomić ed. 2004c. 1-57.
- Tomić, Olga Mišeska ed. 2004c. *Balkan Syntax and Semantics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- Tomić, Olga Mišeska. 2004d. "Genesis of the Balkan Slavic future tenses". In Olga Arnaudova *et al.* eds. *Proceedings of FASL XII: The Ottawa Meeting 2003*. Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic Publications. 395-417.
- Tomić, Olga Mišeska. 2004e. "The South Slavic pronominal clitics". *Journal of Slavic Linguistics* 12/1-2. (Special issue *Pronominal Clitics in Slavic*, edited by Paul Law and Uwe Junghans). 215-250.
- Tomić, Olga Mišeska. 2005a. "The syntax of negative imperatives in South Slavic". In Mila Tasseva-Kurkchieva *et al.* eds. *Proceedings of FASL XIII: The Columbia Meeting 2004*. Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic Publications. 365-375.
- Tomić, Olga Mišeska. 2005b. "Mood, negation and pronominal clitics: Evidence from the Balkan languages". *Balkanistica*.
- Tomić, Olga Mišeska. 2006. "An integrated areal-typological approach: Local convergence of morphosyntactic features in the Balkan Sprachbund". In Pieter Muysken ed. *From Linguistic Areas to Areal Linguistics*. [Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today]. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Tomić, Olga Mišeska. To appear a. "Pronominal clitics and imperatives in South Slavic." In Vim van der Wurff ed. *Imperative Clauses in Generative Grammar* [Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today]. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Tomić, Olga Mišeska. To appear b. "Possessive clitics in Macedonian and Bulgarian." In Mila Dimitrova-Vulchanova, Olga Mišeska Tomić and Suzanna Topolinjska eds. *The Structure of the Bulgarian and Macedonian Nominal Expression*. Skopje: Makedonska akademija na naukite i umetnostite.
- Tomić, Olga Mišeska. To appear c. "Mood, negation and pronominal clitics: Evidence from the Balkan languages". *Balkanistica*.
- Topolinjska, Zuzanna. 1993. "Infinitive vs. *da*-subjunktiv u formuli *velle-futura*" [The infinitive vs. the *da*-subjunctive in the *velle*-future tense]. *Govori prizrensko-timočke oblasti i susednih dijalekata*. Niš: Filozofski fakultet/Centar za naučna istraživanja SANU.
- Topolinjska, Zuzanna. 1995. *Makedonskite dijalekti vo Egejska Makedonija*. [The Macedonian dialects in Aegean Macedonia]. Book 1: *Sintaksa* [Syntax]. Tom 1: *Mehanizmi na predikacija* [Mechanisms of Predication]. 1.1: *Konstrukcii so glagolskite predikati* [Constructions with Verbal Predicates]. Skopje: Makedonska akademija na naukite i umetnostite.
- Topolinjska, Zuzanna. 1996. *Studii od makedonsko-bugarskata konfrontacija*. [Macedonian-Bulgarian Contrastive Studies]. Skopje: Makedonska akademija na naukite i umetnostite.
- Topolinjska, Zuzanna. 1999. "O srpskim *neka*-konstrukcijama u funkciji izražavanja rečeničnih argumenata" [On the Serbian *neka*-constructions functioning as sentential arguments]. *Južnoslovenski filolog* LV. 21-28.
- Topolinjska, Zuzanna. 2001. "Izražavanje padežnih odnosa u srpskom prizrenskom govoru" [The expression of case relations in the Prizren Serbian dialect]. *Zbornik Matice srpske za filologiju i lingvistiku* XLIV/1-2. 211-234.
- Trubetzkoy, Nikolai. 1928. "Proposition 6". *Actes du premier congrès international des linguistes*. Leiden.
- Tsimpli, Iathi-Maria. 1990. "The clause structure and word order in Modern Greek". *UCL Working Papers in Linguistics* 2. 226-255.
- Vasiliev, Alexander. 1964. *History of the Byzantine Empire*. Medison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Veloudis, Yannis. 1982. *Negation in Modern Greek*. Ph.D. dissertation. University of Reading.
- Vermeer, Wilém. 1996. "Linguistics and Politics: The origin of the Albanian language". In G. Duijzings, D. Janjić and Sh. Maliqi eds. *Kosovo-Kosova: Confrontation or Coexistence*. Nijmegen: Peace Research Centre, University of Nijmegen. 123-132.
- Vrzić, Zvezdana. 1996. "Categorial status of the Serbo-Croatian 'modal' *da*". In Jiri Toman ed. *Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics: The College Park Meeting 1994*. Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic Publications. 291-312.
- Wackernagel, Jacob. 1892. "Über ein Gesetz der indogermanischen Wortstellung". *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1. 333-436.
- Weigand, Gustav. 1928. "Texte zur vergleichenden Syntax der Balkansprachen". *Balkan Archiv* IV. 53-70.
- Weinreich, Uriel. 1953. *Languages in Contact*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Weinreich, Uriel. 1958. "On the compatibility of genetic relationship and convergent development". *Word* 14. 374-379.
- Weinrich, Harald. 1964. *Tempus: Besprochene und erzählte Welt*. Stuttgart.
- Wendland, Paul. 1912. *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur in ihren Beziehungen zum Judentum und Christentum*. Tübingen.
- Wilder, Chris and Damir Čavar. 1994a. "Long head movement? Verb movement and cliticization in Croatian". *Lingua* 93. 1-58.
- Wilder, Chris and Damir Čavar. 1994b. "Word order variation, verb movement, and economy principles." *Studia Linguistica* 48. 46-86.
- Zeune, August. 1808. *Goea. Versuch einer wissenschaftlichen Erdbeschreibung*. Berlin.
- Zwicky, Arnold. 1985. "Clitics and particles". *Language* 61. 283-305.
- Zymberi, Isa. 1991. *Colloquial Albanian*. London: Routledge.

Reference Grammars

Macedonian

- Čašule, Ilija 1989. *Sintaksa na makedonskata imenka* [The Syntax of the Macedonian Noun]. Skopje: Studentski zbor.
- Friedman, Victor. 2003/[1993]. "An Outline of Macedonian Grammar". In Ljudmil Spasov, *Dve američanski gramatiki na sovremeniot makedonski standarden jazik*. Skopje: Makedonska Akademija na naukite i umetnostite. 2003. 173-262. [First published in Bernard Comrie and Grenville Corbett eds. *Guide to the Slavonic Languages*. London: Routledge. 245-305.]
- Kepeski, Krume. 1950. *Makedonska gramatika* [Macedonian Grammar]. Skopje: Državno knigoizdatelstvo na NR Makedonija.
- Koneski, Blaže. 1986a/[1967]. *Gramatika na makedonskiot literaturni jazik* [Grammar of the Macedonian Literary Language]. Skopje: Kultura.
- Koneski, Blaže. 1986b/[1965]. *Istorija na makedonskiot jazik* [History of the Macedonian Language]. Skopje: Kultura.
- Lunt, Horace. 2003/[1952]. *A Grammar of the Macedonian Literary Language*. In Ljudmil Spasov ed. *Dve američanski gramatiki na sovremeniot makedonski standarden jazik*. Skopje: Državno knigoizdatelstvo na Makedonija. [First published in 1952, Skopje: Makedonska akademija na naukite i umetnostite.]
- Mareš, František Václav. 1994. *Makedonská gramatika* [Macedonian Grammar]. Skopje: Makedonská akademie věd a umění.
- Topolinjska, Zuzana. 1995a. *Gramatika na imenskata fraza vo makedonskiot literaturni jazik* [The Grammar of the Noun Phrase in the Macedonian Literary Language]. Skopje: Makedonska Akademija na naukite i umetnostite.
- Topolinjska, Zuzanna. 1995. *Zarys grammatyki jezika macedońskiego* [An Outline of Macedonian Grammar]. Kraków: Nakładem uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.

Bulgarian

- BAN (Balgarska Akademija na naukite [Bulgarian Academy of Sciences]. 1989/[1982-1983]. *Gramatika na savremen balgarski knižoven ezik* [Grammar of the Contemporary Bulgarian Literary Language]. Sofija: Izdatelstvo na balgarskata akademija na naukite.
- Bojadžiev, Todor, Ivan Kucarov and Jordan Penčev. 1999. *Savremen balgarski ezik* [Contemporary Bulgarian]. Sofija: Petar Beron.
- Maslov, Jurij. 1981. *Gramatika bolgarskogo jazyka: dlja studentov filologičeskich fakul'tetov universitetov*. [Grammar of the Bulgarian Language: for University Students of the Philological Faculties]. Moskva: Vysšaja škola.
- Mirčev, Kiril. 1963. *Istoričeska gramatika na balgarskija ezik* [Historical Grammar of the Bulgarian Language]. Sofia: Nauka i Iskustvo.
- Mladenov, Stefan. 1929. *Geschichte der bulgarischen Sprache*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter and Co.
- Penčev, Jovan. 1993. *Balgarski sintaksis. Upravljenie i svärzvanie* [Bulgarian Syntax. Government and Binding]. Plovdiv: Plovdivsko Universitetsko Izdatelstvo.
- Scatton, Ernest. 1983. *A Reference Grammar of Modern Bulgarian*. Columbus, Ohio: Slavica.

Serbo-Croatian

- Barić, Eugenija et al. 1997. *Hrvatska gramatika* [Croatian Grammar]. 2nd modified edn. Zagreb: Školska kniga.
- Belić, Aleksandar, 1931. *Sintaksa srpskohrvatskog jezika* [Syntax of the Serbocroatian Language]. Beograd: Izdavačka knjižarnica Koste Vujkovića.
- Belić, Aleksandar, 1969. *Istorija srpskohrvatskog jezika II.2: Reči sa konjugacijom* [History of the Serbocroatian Language II.2: Words with conjugation]. Beograd: Naučna knjiga.
- Ivić, Pavle. 1958. *Die Serbokroatischen Dialekte: Ihre Struktur und Entwicklung. Erster Band: Allgemeines und die Stokavische Dialektgruppe*. [Slavistic Printings and Reprintings 18]. The Hague: Mouton.
- Leskien, A. 1914. *Grammatik der serbo-kroatischen Sprache; I. Teil: Lautlehre, Stammbildung, Formenlehre*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
- Meillet, Antoine and Antoine Vaillant. 1952. *Grammaire de la langue Serbo-croate*. Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion.
- Mrazović, Pavica and Zora Vukadinović. 1990. *Gramatika srpskohrvatskog jezika; I deo: Sintaksa; II deo: Morfologija* [Grammar of Serbocroatian; Part 1: Syntax; Part 2: Morphology]. Novi Sad: Dobra Vest.
- Panzer, Baldur. 1991. *Handbuch des serbokroatischen Verbs: Derivation* [Heidelberger slavistische Forschungen; Bd. 2]. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
- Stevanović, Mihajlo. 1989/[1969]. *Savremeni srpskohrvatski jezik. I: Sintaksa* [Contemporary Serbocroatian. I: Syntax]. Beograd: Naučna knjiga.

Tošović, Branko. 2001. *Korelaciona sintaksa* [Correlational Syntax]. Graz: Institut für Slavistik der Karl-Franzenz Universität.

Romanian

Avram, Larisa. 1997. *Gramatica pentru toții* [Grammar for Everybody]. București: Humanitas.
 Dimitriu, C. 1979. *Gramatica limbii române explicată* [Explanatory Grammar of the Romanian Language]. Iași: Junimea.
 Eeden, Frederik Willem van. 1994-1998. *Grammatica van het Roemeens*. 1.1 *Grammaticale morfologie*, 1994; 2.2 *Syntaxis van de samengestelde zin*, 1997; 1.3 *Morfofonologie* 1998. Amsterdam: Grammar Publications.
 Lombard, Alf. 1974. *La langue roumaine: une présentation*. Paris: Éditions Klincksieck.
 Mallinson, Graham. 1987. *Rumanian* [Groom Helm Descriptive Grammar Series]. London: Groom Helm.
 Sandfeld, Kristian and Hedvig Olsen. 1936. *Syntaxe Roumaine: I. Emploi des mots à flexion*. Paris: Librairie E.Droz.

Aromanian

Capidan, Th. 1932. *Aromânii, Dialectul Aromân* [The Aromanian Dialect]. București: Imprimeria Națională.
 Caragiu-Marioțeanu, Matilda. 1975. *Compendiu de Dialectologie Române* [A Handbook of Romanian Dialectology]. București: Ed. Științifică și enciclopedică.
 Golab, Zbignev. 1984. *The Arumanian dialect of Kruševo in SR Macedonia, SFR Yugoslavia*. Skopje: Macedonian academy of Sciences and Arts.
 Ianachieschi, Iancu. 1993. *Gramatică Armănească* [Aromanian Grammar]. Crushuva: Liga Armănjilor dit Machedonie. Scopia/Sutsata Armănjilor "Nicola Batsaria" di Crushuva.

Megleno-Romanian

Atanasov, Petar. 1990. *Le mégléno-roumain de nos jours*. *Balkan-Archiv*. Hamburg: H. Buske.
 Caragiu-Marioțeanu, Matilda. 1975. *Compendiu de Dialectologie Române* [A Handbook of Romanian Dialectology]. București: Ed. Științifică și enciclopedică.

Albanian

Buchholz, Oda and Wilfried Fiedler. 1987. *Albanische Grammatik*. Leipzig: WEB Verlag Enzyklopädie.
 Çeliku, Mehmet, Mustafa Karapinjalli and Ruzhdi Stringa. 1998. *Gramatika praktike e gjuhës shqipe* [Practical Grammar of the Albanian Language]. Tiranë: Botimeta Toena.
 Dami, Mahir ed. 1997. *Gramatika e gjuhës shqipe: Sintaksa*. [Grammar of the Albanian Language: Syntax]. Tiranë: Akademia e shkencave e republikës së shqipërisë: Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe i letërsisë.
 Demiraj, Shaban. 1988/[1985]. *Gramatikë Historike e gjuhës shqipe* [Historical Grammar of the Albanian Language]. Tiranë: Universiteti Tiranës "Enver Hoxha"; Fakulteti i historisë dhe i filologjisë.
 Demiraj, Shaban ed. 1995. *Gramatika e gjuhës shqipe: Morfologjia* [Grammar of the Albanian Language: Morphology]. Tiranë: Akademia e shkencave e republikës së shqipërisë: Instituti i gjuhësisë dhe i letërsisë.
 Desnickaja, Agnija. 1968. *Albanskij jazyk* [The Albanian Language]. Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Lenjingradskogo universiteta.
 Ejutrej, G. 1982. *Albanskij jazyk* [The Albanian Language]. Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Lenjingradskogo universiteta.
 Newmark, Leonard. 1957. *Structural Grammar of Albanian*. Bloomington, Indiana: The Indiana University Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore and Linguistics.
 Newmark, Leonard, Phillip Hubbard and Peter Prifti. 1982. *Standard Albanian*. Stanford University Press.
 Zymberi, Isa. 1991. *Colloquial Albanian*. London: Routledge.

Modern Greek

Browning, Robert. 1983/[1969]. *Medieval and Modern Greek*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
 Dijk-Wittop Koning and Alida van Morg. 1984. *Levend Grieks: Een kleine Grammatica*. Muiderberg: Coutinho.
 Eleftheriades, Olga. 1985. *Modern Greek. A Contemporary Grammar*. Palo Alto, California: Pacific Books.
 Giannakopoulos, Panagiotis. 1982. *Sintaktiko tis neolinkis glosas* [Syntax of Modern Greek]. Athina: D.N. Papadima.
 Holton, David, Peter Mackridge and Irene Philippaki-Warbuton. 1997. *Greek: Comprehensive Grammar of the Modern Language*. London: Routledge.
 Horrocks, Geoffrey. 1997. *Greek: a History of the Language and its Speakers* [Longman Linguistics Library]. London: Longman.
 Joseph, Brian and Irene Philippaki-Warbuton. 1987. *Modern Greek* [Croom Helm Descriptive Grammar series]. London: Croom Helm.
 Klaris, Christos et al. 1996. *Gramatiki tis neas elinikis* [Grammar of Modern Greek]. Athens: Domoliturjiki - epikinoniaki.
 Kretschmer, Peter. 1896. *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*. Göttingen.
 Mackridge, Peter. 1992/[1985]. *The Modern Greek language*. A descriptive analysis of Standard Modern Greek. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- Meillet, Antoine. 1920. *Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque*. Paris.
- Petrounias, Evangelas. 1984-1985. *Neoliniki gramatiki ke sigritiki analisi* [Grammar of Modern Greek with Critical Analysis], 2 volumesThessaloniki: University Studio Press.
- Ruge, Hans. *Grammatik des Neugriechischen*. 1986. Cologne: Romiosini.
- Smyth, Herbert Weir. 1965. *Greek Grammar*. Harvard University Press.
- Tonnet, Henri. 1993. *Histoire du grec moderne*. La formation d'une langue (Les langues à l'INALCO [Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales]). Paris: L'Asiathèque.
- Tsopanak, Agapitos. *Neoliniki gramatiki* [Grammar of Modern Greek]. 1994. Thessaloniki/Athina: Ekdotikos ikos Adelfon Kyriakidi - Vivliopolion tis Estias Kolarou.
- Romani*
- Kepeski, Krume and Šaip Jusuf. 1980. *Romska gramatika* [Romani Grammar]. Skopje: Naša kniga.

SUBJECT INDEX

- A**
- ablative (Abl) 49, 82, 167, 186-188, 194, 200, 201, 222-224, 227, 228, 231, 235, 392, 393, 648
 - absolute 65, 67, 69, 95, 97, 98, 112, 137, 158, 159, 173-175, 196-198, 212
 - accusative (Acc) 16, 49, 50, 52, 83, 88, 108, 120, 135, 152, 167, 194, 203, 214, 242, 316-318, 324, 325
 - action 66, 96-98, 373, 410
 - addressee 56, 86, 120, 185, 251
 - adjective 18, 21, 23, 31, 46, 49, 50, 55, 56, 59-61, 88, 91-93, 102, 103, 108-111, 125-130, 133, 134, 140, 142, 147, 148, 151, 153-156, 163, 169-171, 175, 178, 189-193, 200, 204-212, 216, 217, 224, 233, 234, 237, 242, 245, 246, 248, 249, 273, 490, 503, 512, 582
 - appositive 50, 128
 - attributive 50, 190, 286
 - indefinite 55, 88, 102, 110, 111
 - pre-nominal 208
 - restrictive 128
 - speaker oriented 216
 - verbal 245
 - adjunct 49, 76, 90, 231, 415, 433-436, 438, 468-472, 500, 502, 503, 515, 517, 529-531, 533, 534, 543, 548, 549, 551-553, 561, 566-568, 570, 572, 582, 584, 593, 595, 596, 623-626, 628, 644, 646, 648
 - articled 49, 50, 59, 92, 125, 128, 171, 191, 210
 - of purpose 626
 - “wh”- 433, 434, 469, 500, 530, 548, 549, 567, 593
 - adjunction 242
 - right 242
 - left 242
 - leftward 242
 - admiratif* 393
 - admirative 20, 335, 389, 394-397, 399
 - present 394
 - imperfect 394, 395
 - adverb 23, 67, 85, 98, 135, 136, 138, 203, 209, 239, 262, 277, 279, 343, 402, 417, 418, 430, 438, 456, 481, 489, 498, 503, 600
 - agentive 67, 89, 98
 - intensifying 279
 - interrogative 418
 - locative 417
 - interrogative 417
 - monosyllabic 239
 - “wh” 417, 418, 430, 489, 498
 - adverbial clause 458
 - of result 458
 - adverbial expression 343
 - adverbial function 418
 - adverbial phrase 135, 136, 439
 - Aegean culture 37
 - affectedness 79, 147, 173
 - agent 69, 71, 96, 99, 106, 115, 138, 139, 147, 175, 198, 232, 428, 429, 465, 495, 524, 544, 545, 564, 590, 619, 640
 - involuntary 69, 98, 115, 138, 160, 175, 198, 230, 232
 - pronominal 428, 465, 495, 524, 544
 - agreement 45, 58, 72, 101, 120, 140, 145, 186, 190, 192, 205, 214, 236, 242, 318, 328, 401, 408, 415, 425, 427, 440, 442, 463, 464, 473, 475, 492, 494, 505, 506, 521, 523, 535, 537, 556, 560-562, 564, 573, 575, 585, 588, 589, 601, 617-619, 620, 639, 640, 649, 651
 - AgrDO 318
 - AgrIO 242
 - Alexander the Great 44
 - Alexandrine period 38
 - alienable possession 215, 217, 261
 - amazement 348-350, 360, 361, 380
 - analytic comparison 15, 16, 23, 24, 31
 - analyticity 49
 - anaphoric element 56, 65, 79, 95, 96, 104, 112, 114, 127, 158, 173, 196, 206, 207, 231, 253, 269-271, 415, 418, 470, 512
 - anaphoric particle 269-271, 418, 470
 - anaphoric reference 56, 65, 95, 96, 112, 120, 137, 158, 173, 196, 231

- ancient substrate 27
animacy restriction 217
antepenultimate stress 247, 250
anteriority 343, 373, 374, 413
aorist 2, 53, 196, 333-38, 351-353, 355, 356, 364, 367, 368, 370, 372, 373, 376, 379, 381, 382, 385, 387, 389-391, 398, 400, 401, 403, 404, 409, 422, 445, 461, 489, 490, 507, 521, 587, 604, 609, 615-617
 active 604
 imperfective 336, 421
 indicative 389, 390, 615
 medio-passive 604, 334
 renarrated 352, 353
 subjunctive 615
 suppletive 489
aorist base 337, 338, 461, 581
apodosis 2, 32, 387, 451-454, 482, 483, 507, 508, 516, 517, 538, 539, 557, 558, 578, 579, 607, 608, 612, 633-635, 652, 654
aprosdokito 393
archeological evidence 42
areal term 24
argument 33, 41, 44, 49, 63, 66, 69, 70, 79, 86, 92, 96, 108, 115-138, 159, 160, 174-176, 185, 197, 198, 212, 219, 231, 232, 240, 241, 252, 265, 268, 277, 284, 295, 303, 309, 313, 319, 321, 322, 345, 375, 413, 433, 434, 468, 469, 500, 501, 529, 530, 548, 549, 566, 567, 593, 623, 644
 external 66, 96, 137, 159, 174, 197
 internal 95, 345
 lexical 252, 284, 295, 303, 309, 319
 verbal 79
 “wh” 433, 434, 469, 500, 530, 548, 549, 567, 593
argument position 32, 95, 112, 268
Argument Suppression 69, 98, 138, 160, 175, 198
article 4, 13-16, 18, 27, 29, 32, 49, 50, 55-62, 73, 75, 82, 88-93, 101-103, 108, 122, 125-134, 140, 141, 143, 147, 248, 153-156, 162, 163, 165, 168, 169-171, 175, 178, 181, 185, 187-189, 191, 192, 200, 205-212, 216, 219, 221, 224-227, 235, 236, 241, 254, 267, 278, 279, 285, 310, 315, 326, 368, 512, 540, 558, 613
 definite, *see* definite article
 enclitic 23, 24, 132, 134
 indefinite, *see* indefinite article
 non-clitic 132-134, 140
 possessive 141
 postpositive 1, 3, 4, 15, 16, 18, 22, 26, 27, 49, 53, 86
 zero 56, 58, 88
article spread 208, 201, 241, 266, 288, 314
aspect 336, 337, 342, 344, 345, 355, 383, 401, 497
aspectual distinction 335-337, 352, 420, 460, 489, 615
aspectual opposition 31, 335
assertion 449, 614, 614
of existence 63, 633
assibilation 41
astonishment 441, 474, 505, 535, 544, 573, 599, 649
attitude 70, 161, 176, 415, 424, 521, 639
Austro-Hungarian empire 36, 45, 697
auxiliary (Aux) 1, 3, 5, 6, 13, 15, 19, 20-25, 32, 79, 96, 113, 158, 232, 239, 242-246, 260, 261, 263, 269, 271-273, 275, 277, 279, 280, 282, 292, 293, 300, 301, 316, 330, 334, 335, 337-340, 342, 344, 345, 348, 350-355, 357, 359-362, 364, 365, 368, 369, 372-379, 381-384, 387-391, 398, 401, 406-408, 410, 422, 423, 425, 431, 441, 444, 447, 449, 454, 456, 457, 461, 476-478, 480, 487, 490, 499, 507, 508, 510, 516, 519, 520, 542, 560, 583, 587, 588, 611, 612, 637-639, 648
 “be”, *see* “be” auxiliary
 “have”, *see* “have” auxiliary
 imperfective 269
 modal, *see* modal auxiliary
 negative 487
 non-modal 588
 “will” 1, 3, 15, 19, 20, 374, 379, 457, 477, 478
- B**
Balkan areal feature 25
Balkan linguistics 31, 701
Balkan multilingualism 3
Balkan *Sprachbund* 1-3, 26-31, 36, 49, 239, 413, 416, 488
Balkan *Sprachbund* feature 3, 24, 26-31, 48, 78
Balkan state 35
Balkanism 1, 2, 23
 argument-marking 24
 grammatical 18, 23, 24
 primary 15
 secondary 15
 syntactic 18

- Balkanization index 23, 24
 bare NP 268, 287
 doubled 268
 non-human 287
 base-generation 79
 “be” auxiliary 279, 423, 462, 515
 frozen 279
 invariant perfect 515
 beneficiary 79, 147, 158, 195, 219, 229
 Bible 42, 413
 biclausal structure 245, 415
 binding 33, 79
 borrowing 1, 21, 28, 40, 336, 383, 417, 555, 637, 648
 structural 28
 Bulgarian codifiers 265, 351
 Bulgarian kingdom 43, 44
 Bulgarian state 44
 Bulgaro-V(a)lachian kingdom 40
 Busuku’s *Missal* 413
 Byzantine empire 39, 43, 44, 46, 47
 Byzantine period 27, 204, 212, 213, 400, 413
- C**
- C, C⁰ (Comp) 244, 263, 414, 521
 c-command 428
 C-like property 292, 300, 521
 calque 1, 28, 360
 calquing 336
 cardinal numeral 91, 133, 155, 170
 case 13, 26, 49, 50, 53, 108, 110, 119, 120, 123, 126, 200, 225, 226, 235, 239
 inherent 239
 oblique 49, 50, 53, 110, 119, 123, 126, 200, 225, 226, 235
 prepositional 26
 underlying 108
 vocative 13
 case assignment 625, 646
 dual 625, 646
 case ending 23, 228, 201, 235, 701
 case marker 26, 27, 32, 49, 550, 52, 53, 87, 88, 110, 125-127, 132, 134, 136, 144, 148, 149, 153, 165, 167, 171, 180, 182, 184-187, 192, 203, 219, 225, 235, 242, 257, 298, 315
 Acc 52, 88, 134, 148, 149, 165, 184, 284
 morphological 125, 235
 Voc 26, 27, 50
- case marking 81
 synthetic-analytic 81
 categorial status 239
 Central and South-European *Sprachbund* 78
 Christian church 36
 Christian Greek 36
 Christianity 39, 42, 47
 circumstantial deduction 348
 clausal clitic cluster, *see* clitic cluster
 clausal clitic system 242-244, 246, 259, 260
 clause 3, 10, 14-16, 29, 32, 128, 242, 243, 247, 249, 250, 257, 268, 270, 271, 274, 280, 282, 294, 300, 302, 308, 316, 317, 322, 348, 414-416, 418, 425, 427-429, 436, 439, 451, 454-456, 458, 463-465, 471, 473, 483, 490-492, 495-497, 500, 501, 504, 507, 520, 521, 524-526, 528, 529, 530, 536, 538, 539, 542, 544-546, 553, 555, 560-564, 570, 578, 579, 580, 581, 588, 590, 591, 608, 611, 614, 615, 617-620, 625, 637, 639-642, 648, 655
 affirmative 3, 10
 ako 451
 conditional 32, 242, 271, 483, 490, 528, 539, 579
 coordinate 16
 exclamatory 458
 exhortative 440, 504, 615, 648
 future-oriented temporal 455, 580
 generic 268
 interrogative 243, 249, 257, 270, 274
 main 29, 348, 414-416, 425, 427-429, 436, 439, 463-465, 471, 473, 492, 495-497, 500, 501, 520, 521, 524-526, 529, 530, 538, 539, 542, 544-546, 553, 560-564, 570, 578, 588, 590, 591, 611, 617-620, 625, 639-641
 matrix 415; *see also* main
 negative 247, 308, 642
 positive imperative 250, 280, 282, 294, 300, 302, 316, 317, 536, 555
 positive indicative 246, 280, 282, 300, 316
 restrictive relative 128, 322
 subjunctive, *see* subjunctive clause
 subordinate 14-16, 418, 491, 561, 588, 614, 615, 617, 637, 639
 temporal 454-456, 507, 580, 581, 608, 655
 temporal conditional 32
 clause-initial position 14, 246, 262, 362, 368, 433, 468, 529, 548, 566

- Clement 43
 climbing 216, 501
 clitic 6, 7, 18, 32, 63-66, 69, 71, 72, 74, 75, 78,
 79, 80, 91, 94, 96, 98-106, 111-114, 116,
 122, 134, 135, 137, 141, 143, 140-144,
 148, 158-160, 172, 173, 175, 178, 186,
 190-192, 194-196, 198, 199, 207, 209,
 212-219, 228, 229, 231-233, 235,
 239-244, 247-249, 251, 253-273, 275,
 276, 279, 280, 282-284, 289-292, 294,
 296, 298, 300, 302, 304-309, 312-320,
 322, 324-329, 344, 348, 352, 359, 360,
 362, 365, 369, 374, 377, 378, 382, 386,
 401, 421, 428, 429, 431, 441, 442,
 444-446, 449-451, 453-455, 480, 485,
 487, 490, 492, 501, 507-509, 523, 527,
 528, 534, 542, 558, 576, 578-580, 598,
 603, 604, 607, 608, 632, 633, 636, 652,
 653, 655
 accusative 243, 260, 289, 316-318
 agreement 6, 32, 132, 140-143, 150, 181,
 187, 189-194, 196, 199, 201
 auxiliary 32, 239, 245, 263, 272, 279,
 280, 292, 377, 378, 381, 382, 425,
 542
 “be” 133, 243, 272
 beneficiary 79, 105, 117, 122, 147, 195, 196,
 219
 conditional modal 242, 260, 271, 272, 279,
 329, 442, 444, 445, 453, 507, 508, 516,
 576
 D-linked 254
 Dat/Gen 27, 32
 dative 64, 69, 75, 78, 79, 80, 98, 100,
 104-106, 112, 115, 122, 130, 138, 143,
 147, 156, 160, 175, 198, 219, 229, 251,
 255, 257, 280, 283, 295, 309
 doubling 3, 252, 266-268, 270, 284, 289,
 290, 296, 299, 312, 314, 320, 325-328
 DP pronominal 79, 105
 enclitic 239, 242-244, 246, 259, 262, 263,
 273, 274, 277, 280, 293, 300, 316,
 317-351, 345, 368
 ethical dative 79, 80, 105, 106, 196, 219
 expectative modal 242, 260, 271, 272, 277,
 279, 300, 307, 315, 316, 329, 374,
 444-446, 449, 454, 515, 525, 576, 578,
 580
 external possession 78, 79, 105, 146
 fused 308, 487
 future-marking modal 244, 608, 632, 635, 655
 genitive 218, 316
 “have” 300
 impersonal 243, 260
 inflected modal 46, 374
 inherent 243
 interrogative 242-244, 260, 263, 264, 271,
 272, 421, 451
 modal 32, 242-245, 260-263, 271, 272, 277,
 279, 280, 292, 300, 307, 315-317, 329,
 344, 348, 360, 374, 386, 387, 401, 414,
 416, 421, 431, 441, 442, 444-446, 449,
 450, 453, 454, 476, 485-487, 490, 499,
 507-510, 515, 516, 527, 528, 558, 559,
 576-580, 603, 604, 607, 608, 632, 633,
 635, 636, 652, 653, 655
 mood 316
 non-reduced 157, 173
 personal 65, 69, 72, 95, 98, 112, 137, 139,
 158, 160, 161, 164, 173, 175, 177-179,
 198, 272, 329
 phonologically enclitic 239, 263, 277, 351,
 368
 phonologically proclitic 239, 263, 277
 pleonastic 35
 possessive 6, 54, 59, 72-76, 79, 83, 100-105,
 116, 117, 122, 143-147, 164, 178, 180,
 207, 209, 212, 214, 216, 217, 234, 235,
 242
 post-nominal possessive 217
 preverbal 63, 77, 78, 79, 146, 218, 239, 240,
 242, 243, 259, 260, 263, 268, 269, 277,
 368, 492 536
 proclitic 239, 242, 244, 246, 247, 263, 277,
 280, 293, 300, 316, 317
 pronominal 32, 65, 69, 72, 95, 98, 112, 137,
 139, 158, 160, 161, 173, 175, 177, 179,
 198, 239, 263, 272, 316, 329, 425
 reciprocal 114
 reduced 157, 173, 369
 reflexive 63-66, 69, 71, 72, 74, 75, 95, 96,
 100, 112-114, 116, 135, 137, 139, 141,
 158-161, 172-174, 177, 181, 196, 212,
 231, 233, 143, 260, 269, 271-273, 179,
 307, 360, 486, 492, 515, 516, 523, 534
 resumptive 239, 257, 258, 259, 271, 276,
 279, 291, 326, 327
 second position 239, 486
 subject 242
 syntactically pre-verbal 239, 277, 368

- verbal 77, 246
- Wackernagel 273
- clitic-doubled 69, 95, 98, 104, 160, 175, 198, 217, 239, 240, 251-256, 265, 266, 268-270, 277, 278, 284-291, 295-299, 303-306, 310-314, 319-324, 326, 331
- clitic-doubler 214
- clitic doubling 26, 27, 31, 32, 49, 52, 63, 76, 81, 95, 105, 112, 134, 135, 152, 153, 157, 158, 173, 214, 239-243, 246, 247, 249-251, 253-255, 257, 259, 265, 267-269, 271, 276-279, 284-289, 292, 295-299, 303-305, 310, 311, 313, 314, 319, 324-326, 328, 330, 345, 351, 362, 486
- grammaticalized 239, 310, 324, 334, 369, 376, 383, 401, 407, 418, 421
- clitic cluster 31, 32, 52, 76, 81, 95, 104, 112, 134, 135, 157, 158, 173, 214, 239, 242-245, 259, 260, 262-264, 271-274, 280, 292, 300, 315, 316, 486, 509
- Clitic Left-Dislocation (CLLD) 240, 241, 265, 268, 321
- Clitic Right-Dislocation 267
- cliticization 247-250
 - directionality of 25, 247, 274
- CLLD, *see* Clitic Left-Dislocation
- cluster, *see* clitic cluster
- command 415, 439, 440, 473, 503, 504, 553, 573, 598, 602, 629, 634, 648
- comment 239, 240
- communicative efficiency 29
- comparative degree 133
- comparative particle 31
- complement 3, 8, 311, 271, 311, 414, 415, 416, 418, 424, 425, 431, 435, 463, 466, 468, 484, 488, 495, 497, 501, 502, 521, 522, 526, 533, 541, 547, 550, 551, 565, 569, 570, 585, 586, 592, 593, 595, 596, 602, 613, 614, 621, 625, 636, 639, 642, 646
- factive 311
- finite 414
- indefinite 435, 502, 550, 551, 569, 570, 595, 596, 625, 646
- indicative 271, 415, 418, 424, 425, 431, 463, 466, 468, 488, 497, 521, 522, 526, 541, 547, 565, 585, 586, 592, 593, 602, 613, 614, 621, 636, 639, 642
- infinitival 416, 484, 488, 495, 497, 501, 533
- non-factive 311
- non-finite 416
 - pronominal 3, 8
 - propositional 3, 8
 - subjunctive 416
- Complement Phrase (CP) 33, 72, 79, 105, 212, 240, 265, 273, 311, 428, 433
- complement position 31, 152, 415, 531, 593, 618, 640, 643, 646, 648
- complementizer 32, 240, 241, 271, 414, 417, 419, 430, 436, 457, 459, 466, 467, 488, 516-518, 521, 523, 524, 526, 531, 541, 542, 551, 559-561, 570, 588, 593, 595, 597, 602-604, 607, 608, 613, 621, 636
- homophonous 488
- indicative 271, 414, 417, 419, 436, 457, 459, 466, 467, 488, 516, 541, 542, 593, 602, 613, 636
- subjunctive 436, 517, 518, 521, 523, 524, 526, 531, 533, 551, 559-561, 570
- “that” 32, 240, 241, 414, 417, 604
- “wh” 32, 430, 588, 593, 595, 597, 603, 604, 607, 608, 621
- concession 438, 459, 472, 503, 533, 552, 572, 628, 647
- concordance 1, 3, 10-15, 27
 - general 3, 27
- conditional form 2, 23, 24, 26, 373, 374, 454, 479
- conditional sentence 2, 67, 207, 240, 242, 271, 387, 401, 421, 422, 432, 433, 441, 447, 448, 451, 451-454, 454, 463, 477, 478, 482, 483, 487, 490, 507, 508, 516, 517, 537-539, 554, 557, 558, 578, 579, 589, 607, 608, 612, 633, 634, 635, 654,
 - complex counterfactual 421, 422
 - counterfactual 421, 422, 463
 - speaker oriented 539
 - emotionally charged 539
 - irrealis* 2, 387, 401, 432, 448, 451, 452, 453, 454, 478, 483, 507, 508, 517, 537, 539, 554, 558, 578, 579, 589, 607, 608, 612, 633, 634, 635, 654
 - potentialis* 2, 67, 207, 240, 242, 271, 433, 441, 442, 453, 454, 483, 490, 507, 508, 537, 538
 - realis* 447, 451, 453, 454, 477, 482, 487, 507, 516, 537, 538, 557, 578, 607, 633, 654
- conjunction 3, 4, 10, 11, 16, 170, 193, 194, 418, 433, 445, 451, 453, 458, 488, 497, 498, 526, 538, 582, 626

- adversative 458
- ako* 451
- composite 458
- cumulative 458
- hypotactic 3, 10
- paratactic 3, 10, 488
- relative 11
- “wh” 497, 498
- conditionality 452, 453, 507, 515, 516, 542, 612, 634
 - realizable 516
- connectivity effect 241
- consonant shift 38, 39
- Constantine and Methodius 42
- contrastive environment 72
- contrastive use 101
- contrastively stressed 83, 210
- control 42, 44, 45, 403, 416, 427-429, 435, 465, 495, 524, 545, 562, 563, 590, 619, 625, 640, 646, 690
 - direct object 429, 465, 495, 524, 545, 563, 590, 619
 - indirect object 428, 465, 495, 524, 545, 563, 590, 619, 640
 - object 428, 429, 465, 495, 524, 545, 563, 590, 619, 640
 - subject 416, 427, 562
 - weakening of 435, 625, 646
- controller 70, 99
- convergence 6, 28, 29, 31, 336
- coordinated structure 103, 328
- copula 226, 261, 338, 423, 456, 461, 462, 484, 490
- copy theory 317
- copy-and-deletion 264
- core vocabulary 33, 657-681
- counterfactual context 416
- counterfactual value 345
- CP, *see* complement phrase
- coreferentiality 65, 325, 497, 526
- cross-language clash 1
- cross-over effect 241
 - “cultural” word 1
- curse 117, 390, 439, 442
- Cyril 43
- Cyrillic 39, 43, 657-661, 683

- D**
- D (Det) 49, 59, 92, 125, 128, 132, 140; *see also* determiner
- Dat/Gen, *see* dative/genitive
- Dat/Gen merger 26, 27
- dative (Dat) 6, 11, 15, 16, 18, 24, 49, 52, 54, 63, 69, 70, 79-81, 99, 105, 106, 108, 115, 117, 136, 139, 160, 167, 176, 198, 220, 229, 230, 232, 242, 319, 324, 325; *see also* Dat
 - ethical 80, 106, 117
 - free 79
 - non-argumental 69, 70, 98-100, 115, 160, 176, 198, 232
- Dative Disclosure 69, 99
- Dative/genitive (Dat/Gen) form 1, 6, 190
- dative-possessive merger 23, 24
- decisiveness 431
- declension 3, 53, 109, 203, 223
- declension type 49, 109
- defiance 432, 547, 643
- definite article 29, 32, 55-58, 61, 62, 73, 89-91, 93, 101, 122, 125-127, 129-134, 140, 141, 143, 147, 148, 153-156, 163, 165, 168-171, 175, 178, 181, 187, 188, 191, 192, 200, 205-209, 211, 212, 213, 221, 225-227, 235, 236, 241, 279, 285, 315, 326, 512, 613
 - DP-initial 203, 222
- definite adjectival form 50, 94
- definite description 253
- definiteness 3, 49, 55, 56, 92, 108, 110, 125, 126, 128, 150, 153, 167, 168, 186, 187, 189, 190, 239, 241, 252-254, 259, 265, 277, 295, 303, 462
- definites 252, 253, 255
 - specific 252, 255
 - weak 253
- deictic 194, 315
- deictic reinforcer 206
- demonstrative 24, 52, 93, 110, 132, 149, 194, 206, 207, 211-213, 320, 470, 572
- demonstrative determiner 14, 24, 53, 56, 57, 61, 62, 93, 94, 108, 120, 128, 132, 141, 156, 162, 171, 175, 191, 199, 206, 227
 - anaphoric 206
- demonstrative pronoun 57, 61, 63, 94, 162, 194, 206, 212
 - anaphoric 206
 - proximate 212
- denial of existence 63, 433, 469, 500, 515, 518, 623, 633
- deontic reading 481, 522
- dependency 207, 241

- morphologically determined 207
 - referential 241
 - dependent tense 615
 - desinential string 1
 - determiner (Det) 14, 49, 61, 62, 93, 125, 127, 140, 141, 156, 171, 175, 189, 191, 216, 227, 229, 241, 255, 270, 418, 670
 - demonstrative, *see* demonstrative determiner
 - indefinite 130, 216, 241, 323
 - interrogative 270, 418
 - relative 270
 - diachronic development 31
 - dialectally conditioned use 82
 - diminutive 52, 53, 58, 90
 - direct object 6, 8, 9, 50, 53, 64, 74, 81, 83, 94, 132, 148, 156, 165, 171, 204, 214, 223, 239, 252, 253, 256, 265, 275, 276, 284-287, 290, 295, 296, 303, 304, 311-315, 318-320, 327, 328, 351, 361, 429, 465, 524, 545, 563, 590, 619, 625, 640
 - bare indefinite 254
 - coordinated 328
 - double 8, 9, 156, 161, 330
 - indefinite 252-255, 296, 303, 304, 310, 314, 315, 322-324
 - indefinite human 254
 - second 50, 156, 171
 - strong reading of 285
 - direction 26, 49, 85, 108, 118, 125, 167, 183, 185, 221, 236
 - disagreement 396, 585
 - disbelief 244
 - discourse 33, 76, 79, 106, 158, 239-242, 254, 268, 319, 322
 - discourse factor 72, 101, 239, 259, 310, 313, 319, 320
 - discourse-linking (D-linking) 79, 106, 196, 207, 241, 324, 326
 - disjoint reference 75, 415-417, 464, 466, 497, 500, 502, 521, 523, 544, 562, 589, 592, 618, 621, 640
 - dislocated element 241, 267, 268, 321, 322
 - distal form 94, 120, 132, 162, 194
 - distributive expression 56, 88, 102
 - divergence 31
 - D-linking, *see* discourse linking
 - doubling 3, 49, 240, 320, 325
 - doubling structure 217
 - doubt 38, 443, 475, 506, 507, 514, 556, 575, 585, 600, 631, 644, 651
 - DP 7, 27, 31, 32, 49, 59, 61, 72, 74, 76-79, 81, 92, 100, 103-107, 120, 122, 125, 126, 128, 132, 140, 141, 144-147, 158, 171, 175, 177, 186, 187, 189, 191, 204, 208, 210, 212, 214, 216-219, 224, 237, 255, 266-268, 271, 322-326, 331, 368, 425, 483, 493, 543, 550, 561
 - DP-initial position 81, 125, 140, 153, 155, 168, 170, 189, 205, 224
- E**
- ECM, *see* Exceptional Case Marking
 - ELD, *see* English Left Dislocation
 - emotionally coloured expression 333
 - emperor Constantine 36
 - emperor Theodosius I 36
 - emperor Trajan 39
 - emperor Tzimiskes 43
 - emphacized utterance 72
 - emphatic context 6, 74
 - emphatic expression 63, 95, 112, 135, 157, 164, 172, 180, 195, 425, 428, 429, 463, 465, 492, 495, 496, 521, 524, 542, 544, 563, 588, 590, 617, 619, 639
 - endearment 73
 - English Left Dislocation (ELD) 241
 - “equi” deletion 463, 492, 521, 542, 560, 588, 617, 639
 - ergative construction 66
 - etymological investigation 41
 - etymological research 40
 - ethnic affiliation 37
 - ethnic Balkans 15, 32, 36
 - ethnic border 36
 - ethnic unity 38
 - ethno-historical considerations 31, 35
 - event 65, 66, 69, 70, 95-99, 115, 137, 139, 158, 160, 161, 173, 176, 196-198, 232, 261, 335, 342, 345-348, 352, 354, 356, 357, 359, 364, 366, 367, 370, 373, 376, 393, 402, 404, 410, 415, 456, 466, 478, 480, 497, 531, 583, 592, 621, 642
 - backgrounded 355
 - narrated 335
 - reported 348, 358, 354, 359, 361, 369, 380, 455, 511
 - speech 335

- unwitnessed 335, 362, 511
- witnessed 335, 350, 355, 362
- evidential form 32, 333, 336, 338, 345, 347-349, 352, 354, 355, 357, 359, 360, 368, 383, 389, 393-397, 442, 452, 480
- evidentiality 53, 242, 335, 336, 340, 341, 344, 346-350, 352, 361, 369, 375, 376, 380, 383, 390, 401, 407, 422, 444
 - confirmative 347
 - non-confirmative 347
- evidentials 23, 24, 27, 30, 335, 336, 346-348, 359, 393, 396, 397, 399
- exclusion by identification 240
- exhortative (mood) marker 315, 316, 421, 440, 553, 602, 629, 630, 648
- exhaustively marked 266, 270
- exhaustively specified 266
- Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) 413, 415, 428, 524, 545, 563, 590
- existence 3, 18, 27, 41, 42, 65, 193, 351, 354, 355, 395, 396, 415, 433, 469, 500, 515, 518, 530, 623
- expanded CP 240
- external possession 78, 105

- F**
- factive 311, 312, 418, 488, 586, 614, 637
- family relationship 18, 52-54, 59, 73-75, 78, 83, 88, 101, 103, 116, 119, 122, 144, 145, 164, 178, 180, 193, 196, 200, 215, 234
- feel-like construction 69-71, 76, 99, 100, 115, 116, 154, 160, 161, 176, 177, 198, 232, 233
- finaler Bedeutung* 16
- FocP, *see* Focus Phrase
- focus 32, 76, 209, 239, 240, 273, 312, 319, 324
 - contrastive 240
 - identificational 240
 - information 240
 - presentational 240
- Focus Phrase (FocP) 33, 104, 128, 533
- focus position 76, 239, 240, 243, 254, 256, 264, 267, 268, 281, 297, 304, 310
- focused constituent 240, 244, 268, 517, 543, 544, 561, 588
- ForceP 467
- foreground/background distinction 355

- function word 1, 125, 239
- functional category 33
- functional projection 33, 242, 244, 260
- future (tense) 23, 24, 261, 353, 360, 379, 386, 431, 451, 476, 477, 479, 480, 499, 538, 547, 576, 577, 583, 603, 611, 652
 - active 606
 - colloquial 527
 - intentional 527
 - medio-passive 606
 - negated 487, 547
 - periphrastic 15, 16, 21
 - simple 213, 611, 652
 - volo* 23, 24
 - “will” 26, 27, 32, 478
- future anterior 353
- future anterior-in-the-past 353
- future past perfect-in-the-past 633
- future-in-the-past 21, 23, 26, 27, 242, 271, 345, 353, 361, 369, 374, 379, 416, 432, 447-450, 455, 461, 476, 478-483, 510, 511, 515, 520, 528, 554, 578, 604-606, 633, 634, 653, 654
 - active 605, 606
 - evidential 361, 369, 480, 510, 511
 - medio-passive 393, 605, 606
- future perfect 22, 26, 344, 353, 374, 386, 387, 401, 447, 476, 477, 528, 577, 605, 606, 611, 612
 - active 605
 - medio-passive 391, 605
- future-perfect-in-the-past 344, 353, 387, 401, 448, 476, 478-481, 578, 605-607, 612, 633
 - active 604
 - evidential 480
 - medio-passive 604, 606
- future tense 5, 15, 16, 21, 22, 32, 242, 244, 245, 260, 261, 271, 329, 353, 360, 379, 413-416, 421, 431, 432, 446, 447, 449, 451, 455, 457, 476, 477, 480-482, 485-487, 490, 499, 507, 509, 515, 516, 527, 531, 538, 547, 553, 557, 566, 576-578, 580, 603, 604, 607, 611, 632, 633, 643, 652-654
 - active 607
 - indefinite 5, 457
 - medio-passive 607
 - negated 261, 416, 432, 487, 499, 549

futurity 3, 6, 18-21, 316, 431, 432, 440, 444, 477, 482, 515, 516, 576, 603, 632, 652, 653
 negative 432
 periphrastic 21
futurum secundum 490, 491, 507

G

Gen/Dat 6, 49, 110, 141
 gender 23, 50, 51, 53, 58, 62-64, 72, 86, 89, 91, 101, 108-110, 121, 123, 125, 126, 145, 153, 154, 156, 164, 167-169, 172, 178, 179, 181, 186-190, 193, 203, 205, 222, 224, 226, 227, 234-237, 245, 255, 257, 270, 276, 288, 293, 295, 298, 309, 315, 316, 318, 324, 326, 327, 334, 336, 337, 339, 353, 361, 381, 387, 408, 418, 458, 613
 gender/number/case association 203, 223
 gender/number/case/(definiteness) association 108
 gender/number feature 57, 89, 92
 generative analyses 49, 79, 414, 428, 524, 545, 463, 590
 generative grammar 239
 generative theory 33
 genetic families 3
 genetic relationship 29
 genitive (Gen) 4, 6, 8, 11, 14-16, 18, 24, 25-27, 32, 49, 72, 84, 108-114, 117, 118, 124-126, 132, 140, 141, 143, 152, 168, 186, 192, 203-210, 212-223, 226-229, 231, 235, 237, 272, 273, 315-327, 363, 364, 366, 403-406, 609, 614-616, 619, 621, 622, 624, 628-633, 635
 genitive/accusative form 50, 88, 318
 geographic Balkans 32
 geographic name 37, 55, 58, 126, 127, 154, 188, 206, 227
 geographical border 36
 geographical unity 35
 gerund 282, 374, 512
 gerundial 526, 584, 615
 gerundive 582
 Glagolitic (alphabet) 43
 goal-location merger 23, 24
 Government and Binding Theory 33
 grammatical archaism 31
 grammatical form 21, 31
 grammatical function 1
 grammatical property 2
 grammatical sub-system 31

Greek alphabet 42, 672-676, 683
 grounding device 355
 discourse pragmatic 355
 guess 432, 444, 445, 554, 574, 630
 gutturals 40

H

habitore 335, 393
 habitual action 267, 448, 455, 577, 581, 604, 608, 636, 653, 655
 “have” auxiliary 3, 6, 13, 15, 19, 20, 23, 25, 31, 32, 242, 282, 292, 293, 300, 301, 334, 335, 340, 345, 360, 361, 374, 375, 381, 387, 407, 415, 416, 448, 449, 519, 542, 560, 581, 611, 612
 head 8, 14, 33, 93, 95, 103, 110, 125, 165, 166, 182, 191, 202, 207, 241, 242, 246-248, 262, 268, 414, 527, 559, 659, 668, 673, 678
 empty 242
 modal 414
 syncretic functional 33
 Hellene 36
 Hellenistic period 213
 heavy constituent 132
 humanness 239, 253, 257, 266, 270, 284
 Hungarian nationalist 40
 hypothetical marker 242

I

identification 240
 Illyrian kingdom 40
Illyricum regnum 40
 imperative 250, 251, 282, 294, 316-318, 330, 416, 432, 439, 461, 471, 475, 490, 532, 534
 negated 250, 251, 282, 294, 302, 317, 556, 574, 575
 non-negated 282, 574
 positive 250, 432, 630, 637
 imperative morphology 282, 308, 504, 505, 536, 537, 555
 imperfect 2, 21, 22, 316, 333-337, 351, 352, 355, 364, 365, 367, 370, 372, 376, 379, 382, 384, 385, 389, 390, 391, 394, 395, 398, 401, 406, 409, 421, 455, 459-461, 478, 481, 483, 490, 521, 539, 542, 543, 554, 558, 560, 574, 578, 579, 584, 587, 601, 604-608, 611, 612, 615, 616, 630, 633, 634, 636
 active 604

- indicative 389, 390
 - medio-passive 604
 - perfective 421, 459, 461, 616
 - renarrated 352
- imperfective aspect 67, 97, 355, 337, 419, 420, 422, 459, 460, 461, 477, 489, 490, 498, 615, 616, 632
- impersonal verb 70, 99, 113, 115, 137, 139, 159, 161, 174, 176, 198, 232, 243, 260, 269, 330, 409, 424, 425, 426, 431, 449, 463, 492, 494, 500, 513, 521, 543, 560, 561, 588, 589, 593, 617, 622, 639, 643
 - existential 548, 567, 644
 - modal 425, 426, 431, 432, 464, 481, 493, 499, 542, 547, 561, 565, 566, 617, 618, 643
- impersonal clause 98, 138, 159, 175, 232
- impersonal construction 13, 65, 112, 212, 231, 269
- inalienable possession 215, 217, 261
- indefinite article 49, 55, 56, 58, 75, 88, 89, 92, 102, 125-128, 130, 148, 153, 166, 168, 187, 189, 203, 205, 216, 222, 224, 236, 241, 252, 255, 267, 285, 296, 303, 305, 310, 312, 368, 540, 558
 - DP-initial 203, 222
- indefinite pronoun 290, 434, 469, 548, 567, 593, 623, 644, 645
- indefinites 239, 241, 253, 254, 256, 297, 298, 304, 305, 310, 313
 - bare 239, 241, 254, 256, 298, 305, 310, 313
 - contrastive 254, 297, 304
 - referential 253
- indigenous language 27, 36, 42
- indigenous population 36
- indirect object 18, 32, 49, 74, 75, 81, 83, 90, 94, 123, 132, 1235, 140, 150, 157, 165, 172, 180, 181, 185, 194, 201, 204, 212, 219, 220, 228-240, 242, 251, 255, 256, 258, 264, 265, 268, 276-278, 287, 288, 290, 297, 298, 304, 305, 307, 310, 313, 314, 319, 324, 325, 327, 329, 428, 465, 495, 524, 545, 563, 590, 619, 640
 - human definite 185
 - indefinite 255, 313
 - non-specific 239, 298, 305
 - specific 239, 264, 297, 304
- inference 261, 316, 396, 444
- inferential construction 261, 354, 476, 479
- infinitival suffix 414, 416, 540
- infinitive 1-5, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 23, 25, 30-32, 36, 360, 373, 397, 398, 413, 414, 416, 417, 456, 457, 484-487, 500, 501, 507, 508, 511-515, 519, 520, 528, 531, 539, 540, 558, 559, 581, 582, 581, 609-613, 636, 657
 - long 511
 - medio-passive perfect 609, 610
 - medio-passive present 609, 610
 - morphological 31
 - proper 414
 - short 90, 94, 151, 194, 408, 414, 416, 456, 486, 511, 513-515, 638, 657; *see also* suffixless
 - short negated 513
 - short positive 513
 - simple 609, 611
 - subject control 416
 - suffixless 414, 416, 486, 513, 529, 657; *see also* short
 - suppletive 475, 534
 - surrogate 475, 534
- infinitive marker 19, 151, 279, 397, 511, 513-515, 529, 530, 534
- inflection 1, 49, 125, 512
- Inflection Phrase (IP) 33, 273, 433
- inflectional morphology 31
- initiator 65, 66, 70, 85, 96-99, 158, 173, 196, 345
- instrumental (Instr) 49, 55, 109-111, 117, 118, 124, 222-224, 226-228, 231, 234, 235, 363-366, 492, 500, 502, 508, 638, 644-646, 653, 655
- intensifier 191
- intention 354, 550, 562, 569, 590
- intentional verb 415, 417, 419, 424, 425, 427-429, 463-465, 485, 492, 494, 495, 514, 521, 523, 524, 542, 544, 545, 553, 560, 562, 563, 588-590, 610, 616, 618, 619, 639, 640
- interlocutor 85, 347
- interrogative marker 242
- interrogative pronoun 242, 257, 258, 269, 270, 299, 307, 315, 418, 458, 559, 613
 - compound 52
- inter-translatibility 28
- intimacy 71, 79, 100, 105, 196
- intonation 348, 396, 440, 442, 473, 475, 506, 535, 537, 554, 556, 573, 575, 598, 599, 601, 630, 631, 649-651
- intonation boundary 273, 384
- invasion 35, 36, 43, 191

IP, *see* Inflection Phrase

irony 348, 349, 359-361, 380, 381, 395, 396

J

joint reference 75, 415, 416, 425, 427, 464, 466, 492-494, 496, 497, 500, 502, 521, 523, 544, 562, 589, 592, 618, 621, 640

K

khan Krum 43

kinship 215

king Basil II 44

king Boris 42

king Charlemagne 43

king Dušan 44

king Rastislav 42

koiné 27, 356, 703

L

language contact 2

language union 1

Left Periphery 76, 239-241, 244, 254, 256, 267, 269, 277, 284, 286, 287, 296, 297, 303, 304, 310, 312, 313, 321, 324, 331, 368

lexical insertion 28

lexical phonology 241

lexicon 1, 30, 33, 62, 207, 241

LF, *see* Logical Form

Logical Form (LF) 49, 92, 125, 128

linearization 239

linguistic localism 35

linguistic patriotism 3

linguistic type 3

Literary Agreement 45, 697

loanword 42, 699

locative (Loc) 25, 49, 81, 84, 85, 88, 106-111, 113, 114, 116, 118, 124, 148, 152, 184, 186, 187, 203, 221, 222, 223, 227-229, 231, 235, 236, 262, 270, 289, 322, 323, 361, 363, 367, 417, 418, 508, 650, 663

Lower Paleolithic 35

l-participle 53, 242, 245-249, 262, 271, 334-338, 344, 348, 351, 352, 354, 355, 357, 360-362, 364, 365, 368, 369, 407, 422-424, 441, 442, 450, 453, 454, 461, 462, 477, 480, 492, 503, 507, 508, 510

aoist 337, 461, 581

imperfective 351, 352

perfective 352, 357

subjunctive 422-424, 461

M

marked category 33

material culture 39

maximal category 241

medio-passive (M-P) 197, 212, 234, 394, 395, 398, 401, 408, 587, 603, 604, 607, 609, 611, 615, 621, 638

middle 65, 67, 95-98, 112, 114, 137, 150, 158, 159, 173, 174, 193, 196, 197, 212, 231, 389, 479

se 65, 95

Middle Ages 41, 416, 703

minimalism 264

Minimalist Program 33

modal auxiliary 5, 375, 416 261, 300, 374, 447

modal construction 29, 375, 421

modal context 423, 424

modal marker 24

expectative 242, 414, 415, 455

frozen 24

modal opposition 31

modal particle 21, 350, 488

modal subordinator 421

modal verb 32, 279, 415, 424-426, 431-433, 446, 462-464, 485, 487, 492, 493, 499, 514, 515, 521, 540, 542, 543, 547, 560, 561, 565, 566, 587, 588, 616-618, 622, 639, 643

impersonal 425, 426, 431, 432, 464, 481, 493, 499, 542, 547, 561, 565, 566, 617, 618, 643

“have” 32

lexical 279, 424, 462, 485, 487, 492, 515, 521, 542, 560, 587, 588, 616, 639

negative 432, 481, 566, 643

personal 426, 618

volitional 532

“will” 416

modality 242, 244, 316, 344, 414, 433, 446, 488, 504, 617

deontic 504

epistemic 261, 415, 419, 424, 463, 479, 521, 522, 617, 639

modification 435, 550, 568, 595, 625, 646

purpose-like 625, 646

modifier 55, 59, 62, 72, 82, 91-93, 101, 103, 105, 122, 125, 128, 132, 136, 140, 145, 153, 155, 162, 164, 168, 169, 177, 178, 186, 192, 204, 211, 216, 233, 235, 257, 258, 269, 270, 325, 326, 626

- adjectival 192, 208, 216
- adverbial 49, 59, 191, 647
- articled 62, 94
- interrogative 242
- nominal 120, 123, 167-169, 212, 415, 435, 470, 502, 531, 549, 568, 595, 624, 625, 646, 647
- noun 6, 73, 119, 123, 126, 151, 154, 167
- partitive 12, 82
- possessive, *see* possessive modifier
- postnominal 93, 128, 129, 134, 146, 163, 164, 171, 175, 178, 204, 205, 210, 208
- pronominal 32, 73, 182
- restrictive relative 211
- ModP 244
- monadic DP 209, 210, 214
- monoclausal structure 633
 - restructuring 415
- mood 21, 33, 242-245, 260, 261, 272, 315-317, 352-354, 360, 361, 414, 488, 517, 534, 587
 - conclusive 354
 - indicative 33
 - past presumptive 375
 - presumptive 354, 360, 375, 376
 - probabilitive 360, 361
 - renarrated 352, 353
- mood harmony 2
- MoodP 244
- morpheme 1, 49, 108, 125, 135, 140, 153, 168, 255, 372
- morphological marker 1, 49, 315
- morphological marking 186
- morphology 31, 207, 221, 251, 282, 308, 414, 504, 505, 536, 537, 555, 578, 589, 598, 650
- morphonological alternation 420
- morphonological analysis 38
- morpho-syntactic feature 3, 22, 24, 31
- morpho-syntactic phenomena 15
- M-P, *see* medio-passive
- multilingual setting 28
- Murat I 47
- Muslim religion 45
- N**
- narration 355, 364, 443, 476, 506, 557, 576, 601, 631
- narrative viewpoint 355
- negation (Neg) 243, 245, 260, 261, 319, 562, 564
 - double 11, 638
 - single 11
- negation marker 239, 242-245, 247-251, 260-264, 274, 277, 280-282, 292-294, 300-302, 307-309, 310, 317, 329, 414, 444, 458, 487, 536, 555, 575, 586, 600, 601, 615, 630, 632, 637, 650, 651
 - indicative 307, 309, 316, 317, 329, 586, 630, 637
 - modal 307-309, 316, 317, 329, 586, 600, 601, 615, 630, 632, 637, 650, 651
- neighbouring language 1, 28
- Nemanja dynasty 45
- new information 239, 324
- nominal 1, 3, 32, 81, 84, 103, 107, 109, 118, 119, 127, 186, 187, 199, 226, 247-249, 327, 413, 414, 433, 471, 532
- nominal case system 1
- nominal inflection 49
- nominal system 49, 119
- nominalizer 134, 211
- nominative (Nom) 33, 49, 51, 63, 94, 108, 120, 125, 167, 200, 203, 213, 214, 234, 315, 316
- non-awareness 347, 480
- non-finite form 390, 391, 394, 395, 397, 398, 400, 414, 416, 512, 581, 609, 612, 613
- non-focused constituent 239, 265, 287, 288, 314, 323, 331, 466
- non-initiator 70, 99, 115, 161, 176, 198, 232
- non-specificity 252, 255, 286, 303, 390, 314
- normative tendencies 3
- noun 14, 49-52, 54, 57, 58, 84, 86-89, 74, 90, 107, 109, 118-122, 124-127, 130, 134, 136, 145, 148, 153-155, 168, 169, 171, 178, 187, 188, 191, 193, 203-206, 214, 221, 223-226, 241, 292, 414, 416, 417, 438, 440, 458
 - animate 86, 217, 223, 258
 - common 49, 50, 74, 107, 119, 121, 134, 136, 145, 148, 188, 206, 227, 241
 - de-adjectival 193
 - de-participial 193
 - dummy 292
 - feminine 49, 51, 57, 58, 119, 120, 125, 126, 130, 153, 154, 171, 178, 188, 204, 223-225
 - feminine human 52
 - generic 58, 90, 126, 127, 155, 169, 188, 205, 226
 - inanimate 122, 124, 223
 - masculine 49, 57, 87-89, 118-120, 126, 153, 154, 168, 169, 178, 193, 203, 204, 223, 225

masculine singular common 50, 54
 neuter 49, 57, 119, 120, 169, 204, 214
 non-human 221
 non-human animate 86
 non-specific 258
 verbal 14, 84, 414, 416, 417, 438, 440, 458
 number 23, 64, 72, 101, 108-110, 125, 153, 156, 161
 numeral 13, 25, 31, 55, 60, 91, 133, 142, 143, 155, 170, 209
 ordinal 91, 142, 143, 155, 170

O

obligation 426, 622
 object 3, 6, 9, 16-18, 23-26, 31, 50, 53, 64, 68, 74, 81, 83, 94, 98, 114, 120, 123, 132, 138, 140, 156, 159, 165, 171, 172, 175, 181, 189, 204, 208, 212, 214, 219, 220, 223, 228-232, 251-253, 255, 256, 258, 259, 265, 266, 269, 275, 278, 284, 286, 287, 290, 295-298, 303-305, 310-315, 318-320, 324, 325, 327-329, 331, 351, 361, 401, 402, 428, 429, 465, 495, 496, 513, 524, 545, 547, 563, 590, 619, 625, 640
 animate 25, 165
 definite topicalized 265
 direct, *see* direct object
 indirect, *see* indirect object
 lexical 239, 265, 276-278
 non-specific definite topicalized 265
 of preposition 64, 86, 90, 95, 112, 157, 173, 195, 214
 prepositional 136
 specific definite topicalized 255
 topicalized 240, 241, 265, 277, 278, 547
 “wh” 239
 object arbitrarization 68, 114
 object reduplication 23, 24
 oblique marker 53
 obviation effect 416, 495, 521
 old information 239, 319, 324
 optative form 21, 390, 586, 598
 ordering of clitics 243, 244, 260, 272, 317, 318, 357, 414
 ordering of constituents 32, 49, 192, 358
 Ottoman administration 47
 Ottoman empire 36, 44-47

P

parasitic gap 289, 533
 participle 14, 15, 22, 50, 58, 96, 190, 192, 193, 239, 242, 245-249, 282, 293, 301, 334-340, 342, 345, 346, 351, 353, 357, 361, 365, 368, 369, 372-375, 377, 378, 381, 383, 384, 387, 388, 390, 397, 400-407, 410, 413, 462, 490, 512, 515, 520, 528, 539, 581, 582, 584, 587, 588, 596, 609
 active 334, 490
 “be” 226
 conditional 272, 369, 510
 imperfective 351, 352
 inflecting 293, 301, 335, 373
 inflecting passive 301, 334-336, 342, 345, 372, 373, 383, 384, 388
l, *see l*-participle
 medio-passive perfect 401-403, 405
 passive 50, 96, 242, 245-249, 301, 334-336, 338, 339, 342, 345, 351, 361, 372, 373, 377, 381, 383, 384, 387, 388, 400, 401-403, 405, 406, 423, 462
 past, *see* past participle
 perfect 400-405, 490
 perfective 351
 present 239, 374, 375, 490
 past participle 301, 334, 336, 337, 339, 340, 342, 369, 373-375, 377, 378, 381, 384, 387
 invariant 301
 past perfect 336, 337, 340, 343, 344, 346, 357, 364-366, 371, 377, 380, 383, 384, 386, 391, 392, 394, 395, 398, 402, 409, 490, 615
 active 398, 615
 active admirative 394, 395
 active indicative 391, 392
 “be” 377, 380, 383
 “have” 26, 337, 343, 344, 346, 371
 inverted 378, 381
 medio-passive 334, 338, 398, 615
 medio-passive admirative 394, 395
 medio-passive indicative 391, 393
 past (tense) 23, 24, 337, 339, 340, 345, 377, 388, 401, 406, 408, 409, 410, 419, 422, 423, 444, 461, 655
 anterior 353
 conditional 374, 515, 520, 535
 imperfective 335, 337, 341, 422, 461

- indefinite 352, 353
- indicative 423
- indicative indefinite 353
- irrealis* 2
- medio-passive 334, 338
- perfective 335, 337, 341, 421, 422, 617
- renarrated indicative 353
- simple 32, 255, 336, 347, 361, 401, 408, 409
- subjunctive 421-423, 441, 451, 461
- syncretic 521
- synthetic 333, 334, 340, 361, 376, 383
- pejorative connotation 498
- perception 415, 430, 463, 466, 497, 526, 546, 564, 588, 592, 614, 617, 621, 642
- perfect 2, 3, 10, 13, 14, 21-27, 30-32, 232, 316, 333-335, 337-347, 349-357, 359-369, 370-381, 383-395, 397-404, 409-411, 442, 444, 447, 448, 452, 459, 474, 476, 477, 479, 480, 483, 489, 490, 493, 499, 503, 505, 506, 508, 512, 515, 519, 521, 528, 539, 558, 577-579, 599, 600, 604, 605, 608, 609, 611, 612, 615, 633, 644, 650
- active 334, 390, 401, 402, 404, 609
- active admirative 394, 401
- analytic 3, 333, 369, 370, 400
- composite 369, 370, 519
- compound 21, 22
- experiential 335
- forms of 337
- habeo* 23, 24
- “have” 10, 26, 27, 335, 340, 342-345, 350, 351, 369, 370, 376, 383, 384, 401
- imperfective 337
- indicative 391, 398
- inverted 334, 377, 378, 380, 381
- medio-passive admirative 394, 401
- medio-passive indicative 341
- of result 335
- passive 390, 398, 401, 403, 405, 609, 610
- past, *see* past perfect
- periphrastic 25
- present, *see* present perfect
- simple 369, 370, 521
- synthetic 333, 369, 400
- perfective aspect 67, 97, 250, 335, 337, 338, 345, 352, 364, 401, 419, 420, 446, 447
- periphrastic comparison 18, 21, 26
- permission 504
- Persian wars 37
- person/number feature 74, 105, 122, 425, 427, 464, 492, 494, 521, 523, 544, 562, 564, 589, 598, 618, 640
- person restriction 251
- personal pronoun 1, 25, 26, 49, 63, 94, 111, 121, 125, 134-136, 139, 143, 147, 149, 152, 156, 157, 172, 194, 199, 212, 227, 228, 230, 231, 233, 234, 329, 407, 645
- pleonastic 26
- reflexive 231
- PF affix 317
- PF filter 264
- Philip II 37
- phonetic innovation 31
- phonological behaviour 246, 274, 280, 307
- phonological directionality 263
- phonological feature 3
- phonological form 1, 88, 100
- phonological orientation 32
- phonological representation 271
- phonological system 38
- phonological word 144, 178, 247, 249, 250, 263, 264, 273, 274
- prosodically restructured 144, 178, 247, 249
- plea 441, 599, 631, 650
- pluperfect 22, 391-395, 397, 398
- active 394, 398
- active indicative 391, 392
- compound 22
- medio-passive 334, 394, 334
- medio-passive indicative 391, 393
- polydefinite DP 209-211
- portmanteau morpheme 108, 630, 637
- possessive genitive DP 204
- definite human 54
- possessive interpretation 77-79, 105, 106, 117, 122, 158, 173, 195, 218, 219
- possessive modifier 18, 50, 60, 72, 73, 75, 78, 83, 91, 93, 101-105, 132, 135, 136, 139-141, 143-145, 147, 162-164, 177-180, 199, 200, 204, 217, 233-235, 325
- phonologically deficient 144
- possessive pronoun 6, 72, 74, 75, 136, 199, 228, 235
- relative 142
- possessive relationship 32, 73, 81, 105, 107, 116, 142, 150, 181, 183, 196, 199, 201, 202, 212, 214, 234, 237
- possessiveness 16, 17

- possessor 32, 69, 72, 75, 76, 78, 79, 81-83, 98,
 101, 104, 105, 107, 115, 132, 138,
 140-147, 150, 160, 165, 166, 175, 178,
 181-183, 185, 198, 201, 202, 204, 230,
 232, 237
 animate lexical 166
 definite human 165, 180, 204
 definite non-human 165
 feminine 142
 inanimate 82, 183, 185
 inanimate lexical 166
 lexical 76, 83, 104, 165, 166
 possessum 32, 72, 73, 75, 76, 79, 83, 101, 104,
 122, 136, 140-145, 150, 165, 181-183,
 201, 202, 204, 214, 237
 post-Byzantine period 27, 400
 posteriority 413
 post-syntactic morphology 251
 PP, *see* prepositional phrase
 Prague School tradition 239
 pre-article position 206, 207
 predicate 50, 58, 81, 82, 116, 156, 182, 186, 189,
 192, 208, 213, 226, 233, 239, 240, 241,
 244-249, 258, 262, 266, 293, 311, 313,
 331, 338, 375, 415, 433, 456, 458, 462,
 470, 471, 531, 532, 550, 568, 569
 factive 311, 458
 nominal 81, 226, 242, 245-247, 249, 258,
 262, 293, 338, 375, 436, 462
 small clause 50, 156, 189, 208
 predication 246, 267, 268
 predicative 50, 111, 141, 162, 190, 407
 preposition 1, 16, 12, 14, 49, 74, 81-85, 90, 94,
 106-108, 124, 132, 134, 135, 140, 141,
 147, 148, 150-152, 157, 165-168, 172,
 177, 180-186, 188, 200-203, 207, 213,
 214, 219, 221, 227, 235-237, 241, 269,
 285, 324, 435, 436, 438, 439, 459, 471,
 472, 502, 503, 512, 533, 534, 540,
 551-553, 572, 573, 582, 584, 596, 597,
 625, 626, 628, 647, 648
 Acc case marking 134
 composite 213
 locative 81, 85, 152
 primary 213, 222
 sequence of 85, 125
 simple 213, 222
 prepositional phrase (PP) 6, 49, 58, 64, 69, 81,
 83, 85, 95, 98, 102, 110, 112, 118, 135,
 151, 152, 157, 160, 167, 173, 175, 183,
 194, 200, 201, 203, 204, 220, 221, 227,
 239, 262, 277, 295, 302, 318, 319
 directional 81, 84, 106, 107, 124, 152, 204
 locative 262
 present base 337, 338, 461, 581, 638
 present perfect 32, 232, 336, 337, 339, 340,
 343-346, 357, 361-364, 366, 373,
 377-381, 384, 385, 388, 390, 391,
 393-395, 397-399, 401-403, 409-411,
 444, 447, 460, 479, 519, 577, 587, 600,
 601, 604, 615, 633, 644, 650
 active indicative 390, 615
 active perfective 615
 active subjunctive 587
 “be” 388
 “have” 343, 337, 344, 346
 indicative 317, 351, 390, 446, 456, 488,
 657
 inverted 377, 378, 380, 381
 medio-passive 334, 338, 391, 394, 587, 604,
 615
 medio-passive indicative 391, 393
 present tense 21, 22, 33, 339, 340, 345, 377, 388,
 401, 406, 408, 409, 419, 422, 423, 444,
 461
 conditional 515-517, 538, 579, 655
 imperfective 422
 indicative 292, 300, 308, 381, 384, 387, 389,
 390, 391, 394, 423, 615
 perfective 419, 459, 489, 615-617, 632
 presumptive 375, 376
 simple 491
 subjunctive 423, 456, 497, 587, 611
 presumption 448, 559, 479, 653
 presupposition 209, 239
 presupposition/focus distinction 209
 Principles and Parameters Theory 33
 pro 229, 237, 268, 415, 495
 PRO 415
 probability 261, 433, 441, 499, 554, 574, 599,
 602, 630, 644, 650
 prohibition 282, 414, 432, 442, 475, 481, 499,
 505, 536, 537, 547, 555, 566, 574, 600,
 615, 630, 637, 643, 650
 pronominal clitic, *see* clitic
 pronoun 1, 6, 16, 17, 32, 63, 64, 94, 95, 135, 157,
 162, 172, 173, 194, 195, 214, 222, 228,
 229, 269, 295, 302, 315, 410
 compound 269
 dative 26, 230, 232

- demonstrative, *see* demonstrative pronoun
 doubled 157, 172, 195
 indefinite, *see* indefinite pronoun
 interrogative, *see* interrogative pronoun
 locative 418
 non-emphatic 525
 oblique 157, 172, 195
 personal, *see* personal pronoun
 possessive, *see* possessive pronoun
 proximate 89, 94, 132, 162, 194
 reflexive 74, 95, 146, 172, 207, 230, 231,
 234, 269
 relative, *see* relative pronoun
 self-standing 3, 7
 relative pronoun 11, 142, 207, 242, 257, 270, 277,
 298, 306, 550, 568, 569, 595
 atypical 277
 proper name 38, 52, 53, 62, 119, 127, 134, 136,
 141, 142, 144, 154, 181, 182, 185, 188,
 189, 204, 206, 227, 241, 253
 feminine 136, 142
 masculine 50, 52, 53, 136, 142, 188
 prosodic inversion 264
 prosodic requirement 263
 prosodic subcategorization 263
protasis 2, 32, 451-454, 482, 483, 507, 508, 516,
 517, 528, 538, 539, 557, 558, 579, 607,
 608, 612, 633-635, 654
 proximity 62
 purpose 32, 44, 46, 94, 108, 427, 435, 436, 459,
 464, 471, 495, 502, 524, 533, 544, 550,
 551, 562, 568, 570, 582, 595, 596, 618,
 625, 626, 640, 646, 647
- Q**
 quantifier 62, 92, 94, 129, 130, 133, 150, 156,
 170, 181, 208, 209, 241, 284, 298, 305,
 433
 definite 129, 170
 floating 62, 133
 question 31, 105, 117, 215, 247, 249, 260, 264,
 290, 294, 361, 382, 397, 433, 441, 443,
 468, 475, 476, 500, 506, 529, 530, 536,
 548, 556, 557, 566, 575, 576, 582, 593,
 599-601, 623, 631, 644, 650, 651
 embedded 433, 443, 468, 476, 500, 506, 529,
 530, 548, 557, 566, 576, 593, 601, 623,
 631, 644
 negative 264
 question word 3, 9
- R**
 raising 524, 545, 563, 590
 subject-to-object 524, 545, 563, 590
 referent 65, 96, 112, 187, 196, 276, 315, 320,
 322, 327, 531, 596, 625
 relativizer 26, 81, 239, 258, 259, 269-271, 276,
 277, 279, 289, 315, 326, 318, 435, 439,
 585, 614
 complex 259
 double 259
 general 26, 81, 258, 259, 270, 289, 326, 318,
 585, 614
 invariant 239, 258, 269, 271, 276, 277, 279,
 315, 435, 439
relativum generale 23, 24, 239, 258, 276, 277,
 279, 298, 306, 315, 326, 418, 435, 458,
 488, 585, 614, 637
 reported speech 431, 446, 468, 477, 486, 498,
 516, 526, 547, 565, 593, 621, 642
 reportedness 246, 354
 Renaissance 36
 resolution 440, 442, 473, 475, 505, 506, 535, 537,
 554, 556, 573, 575, 598, 601, 629, 630,
 649, 651
 restructuring configuration 416
 restructuring structure 415
 resultative reading 343, 346, 363, 373
 resultativeness 333, 336, 343, 346, 369, 383, 388,
 391
 Revised Extended Standard Theory 33
 rheme 239
 role-denoting DP 286
 Roman conquest 39, 42
 Roman influence 36
 Roman period 38
 Roman rule 26, 39
 Romanian nationalists 40
 Romans 36, 39, 40, 44, 701
 Russian-Byzantine war 43
- S**
 Samuel's kingdom 44
 saturation 66, 68, 97, 114
 arbitrary 66, 97, 98
se-absolute 67, 95, 97, 137, 159, 197
se-construction 65, 66, 68-70, 95, 98, 99, 114,
 115, 137-139, 159
se-passive 67, 95-97, 137, 159, 197

- secondness 273
 semantic field 1
 sentence 171, 239, 253, 266, 267, 296, 304, 368,
 397, 419, 425, 449, 459, 463, 526, 492,
 521, 542, 617, 630, 639
 complex 253, 266, 267, 296, 304
 conditional, *see* conditional sentence
 declarative 397
 heavy 253, 266, 267, 296, 304
 marked 171, 368, 526, 542, 617, 639
 negative-interrogative 419, 459
 neutral 239
 positive 449, 630
 prototypical 239
 SVO 239
 unmarked 239, 425, 463, 492, 521, 542
si-construction 159, 160
si/sǎ/se/s-construction 174-176
 Sign model 66
 Slavic invasion 36, 43
 Slavic vocabulary 42
 socio-linguistic contact 28
 sortal restriction 66, 97, 98
 sound correspondence 1
 spacial differentiation 56, 120
 spacial ablative relationship 201
 [+specific] versus [– specific] ambiguity 241
 specificity 239, 241, 252-257, 259, 265, 266, 270,
 277, 284, 287-289, 296-298, 303-305,
 310, 313, 314
 Spec TP 240
 Spec VP 240
 specifier 49, 103, 104, 240-242, 268
 spite 432, 643
 Standard Theory 33
 standardization 33, 699
 status 29, 31, 48, 55, 132, 189, 207, 239, 243,
 288, 335, 375, 521
 Stefan Nemanja 45
 story-telling 72, 195, 231, 342, 360, 381, 444,
 476, 557, 576, 602, 631, 652
 stress pattern 210, 247, 248
 structural linguistics 45, 698
 structural variants 2
 subject 240, 241, 362, 425, 427, 428, 463-465,
 492, 495, 496, 514, 517, 521, 524, 525,
 531, 532, 542, 544, 550, 561-563, 588,
 590, 617-620, 623, 639, 640
 animate definite 531, 532, 550
 focused 425, 517
 lexically expressed 495
 non-emphatic pronominal 428, 465, 495,
 524, 544, 563, 590, 619, 640
 post-verbal 514, 517, 525, 620
 preverbal 240, 241
 pronominal 362, 425, 427, 428, 463-465,
 492, 495, 496, 521, 524, 542, 544,
 561-563, 588, 590, 617-619, 639, 640
 raised 623
 subjunctive clause 3, 21, 280, 282, 292, 300,
 301, 316, 329, 414, 420, 421, 428,
 433, 436, 462, 465, 467, 469, 495,
 502, 505, 524, 544, 550, 551, 558,
 563, 568-570, 578, 590, 595, 615,
 619, 624, 637, 640
 positive 280, 282, 300, 316
 subjunctive context 423, 424
 subjunctive construction 32, 409, 415, 429,
 439-444, 469-471, 473-476, 503-506,
 517, 518, 521, 531, 532, 534-537,
 553-557, 573-576, 597, 595, 596,
 600-602, 604, 613, 615, 629-631, 648-652
 bare 32, 409, 415, 439-444, 473-476,
 503-506, 517, 521, 531, 534-537,
 553-557, 573-576, 597, 602, 613,
 629-631, 648-652
 double 429
 negated bare 442, 443, 475, 505, 506, 536, 537,
 555, 556, 574, 575, 600, 601, 630, 651
 negated interrogative 506
 non-negated bare 475, 556, 575
 perfective 615
 relative 469-471, 518, 531, 532, 595, 596, 604
 subjunctive (mood) marker 242-245, 541, 260, 261
 subjunctive structure 4, 6, 413, 415, 426, 446,
 473, 481, 602, 632; *see also* subjunctive
 construction
 subordinator 413, 414, 421
 “wh” 4
 subordinator phrase (SubP) 467
 SubP, *see* subordinator phrase
 substrate 27, 28
 suffixation 190, 369
 Sultan Murat 47
 superlative degree 133
 suppletion 615, 616
 surface structure 245, 486, 526
 surprise 335, 348, 349, 359, 361, 380, 389, 393,
 395, 447
 suzerainty 47

- Swadesh list 33
 syncretism 24, 49, 100, 109
 syntactic alternation 71, 100
 syntactic behaviour 49, 272
 syntactic information 251
 syntactic structure 33
- T**
 temporal interpretation 216
 temporal opposition 31, 335
 Tense/AgrS 245
 thematic relation 81, 106, 123, 147, 200
 theme 43, 70, 99, 115, 175, 176, 198, 230, 232, 239
 θ -role 65
 θ -Theory 66
 threat 40, 432, 442, 474, 505, 506, 601
 Tobler-Mussafia behaviour 246, 259
 Tobler-Mussafia restriction 242
 tone 109, 119, 120
 topic 76, 239, 240, 254, 256, 263, 267, 268,
 286-288, 297, 298, 304, 305
 contrastive 240, 268
 direct object 284
 multiple 265
 Topic Phrase (TopP) 33, 104, 240, 241, 467
 topic position 240, 254, 256, 284, 286-288, 297,
 303, 304, 312, 321, 331
 topicality 284, 287
 topicalization 239, 241, 254, 265, 277, 278, 296,
 303, 322, 623
 multiple 265
 topicalized constituent 95, 104, 105, 241, 254,
 262, 268, 277, 286, 287, 297, 304, 319,
 322, 323, 330, 345, 484, 486, 487
 toponym 35, 38, 41, 50
 TopP, *see* Topic Phrase
 Tense Phrase (TP) 240
 TP, *see* Tense Phrase
 typological feature 1, 3
 tzar Boris 42, 43
 tzar Dušan 45, 47
 tzar Lazar 47
 tzar Samuel 44
 tzar Svjatoslav 43
- U**
 uncertainty 396
 uniqueness 29, 241, 252
 unrealized probability 441, 461, 599, 602
 unrealized wish 554, 555, 574
- urban center 335, 395, 336
 urban identity 336, 395
- V**
 vassalage 47
 verb 5, 13, 19, 23, 24, 31, 32, 66, 68, 105, 114,
 115, 160, 218, 221, 239, 242, 245,
 246-249, 261, 262, 282, 307, 317, 330,
 334-336, 343-346, 351, 361, 370, 372,
 373, 383, 388, 391, 393, 374, 408, 415,
 416, 418, 419, 423-426, 427-431, 432,
 435, 444, 449, 456, 458, 459, 463-466,
 468-471, 481, 482, 488, 492, 493, 495,
 497-499, 500, 504, 512, 514, 518, 519,
 521, 524, 526, 528, 530-532, 536, 537,
 541, 543-548, 550, 551, 560, 561-565,
 567-570, 582, 586, 588-590, 592, 593,
 595, 596, 604, 610-614, 616, 618, 619,
 621-623, 633, 637, 639, 642, 644, 646,
 652
 anti-causative 115, 160
 common 317
 control 415, 424, 427-429, 464, 465, 492,
 495, 521, 524, 544, 545, 562, 563, 589,
 590, 616, 618, 619, 622, 639, 640
 causative 512
 directional 221
 embedded 415
 emotional 418, 458, 488, 586, 614, 637
 existential 423, 469-471, 500, 530-532, 548,
 550, 567-569, 593, 623, 644
 factive 418, 458, 488, 586, 614, 637
 finite 23, 24, 415, 416
 imperative 31, 239, 245, 262, 419, 470, 499,
 531, 536, 550
 imperfective 336, 482, 497, 633
 impersonal, *see* impersonal verb
 inchoative 415, 424, 463, 492, 521, 616
 inflected 282, 613
 intentional, *see* intentional verb
 inter-personal contact 68, 114
 intransitive 13, 334, 335, 344-346, 373, 391,
 393
 main 374, 425, 428, 463, 492, 521
 matrix 415
 modal, *see* modal verb
 negative 330, 432, 444, 481
 non-intentional 588, 610
 of asking 415, 424, 463, 521, 639
 of believing 459, 519, 541, 560, 586, 614

- of knowledge 415, 424, 463, 521, 639
 - of perception 415, 430, 463, 466, 497, 526, 546, 564, 588, 592, 614, 621, 642
 - of quest 435, 459, 470, 531, 550, 551, 568, 570, 595, 596, 604, 625, 646
 - of saying 419, 431, 468, 498, 504, 526, 547, 565, 593, 621, 642
 - of thinking 415, 424, 463, 521, 639
 - perfective 336, 419, 482, 497, 633
 - personal 425, 426, 463, 464, 469, 492, 493, 543, 561, 588, 589, 618, 622
 - phrasal 31
 - raising 514, 518, 521, 528, 622, 623
 - strong 372
 - superordinate 32
 - tensed 5, 19, 32, 242, 246-249, 261, 307, 416, 449, 456, 582, 596, 511, 612, 652
 - transitive 13, 105, 218, 246, 334, 335, 343, 346, 351, 361, 373, 383, 388, 391, 393, 408, 537
 - unaccusative 66, 218, 246, 344, 345, 346, 370, 372, 373, 383, 388
 - unergative 343, 346, 370, 373
 - volitional 415, 424, 463, 492, 504, 521, 532, 616, 639
 - verb base 335
 - verb-clitic complex 242
 - verbal morphology 414
 - verbal root 413
 - verbal system 1, 23, 32
 - vivid narration 443, 476, 506, 557, 576, 601, 631
 - vocative (Voc) 13, 18, 20, 49-52, 55, 61, 86-88, 91, 93, 109-111, 119, 120, 125, 131, 152, 153, 167, 171, 186, 187, 189, 203, 204, 206, 222-224, 227, 228, 230, 277
 - volition 29
 - VP 33, 62, 240, 262, 267, 268
 - VP movement 267
- W**
- warning 114
 - weak cross-over effect 241
 - “wh”-word 9, 11, 32, 81, 149, 242, 244, 249, 257-259, 269, 270, 278, 288
 - interrogative 289, 290, 306, 314, 315
 - invariant 257, 288, 326, 418, 488
 - wish 78, 316, 420, 460, 488, 489, 494, 616, 618, 632, 648, 632, 648, 650
 - wondering 146, 349, 350, 356, 360, 363, 364, 368, 631
 - wonderment 443, 475, 506, 536, 556, 575, 600, 651
 - World War One 43, 46-48, 704

INDEX OF LANGUAGES, DIALECTS, ETHNONYMS AND TOPONYMS

A

Adriatic (sea) 35, 36, 40
Aegean (sea) 35, 38, 83, 440
Aeolic 37, 38
Ahaians 37
Albania 2, 30, 36, 39-41, 44, 46, 54, 191, 333, 336, 389, 395, 418, 435, 697, 699, 701, 703, 704
Albanian 1-12, 14-21, 24-26, 28-33, 40, 41, 48, 49, 69, 92, 99, 115, 119, 128, 139, 142, 161, 176, 186-188, 190, 191, 194-196, 198-200, 202, 232, 239, 244, 265, 278, 307-310, 312, 313, 333-336, 347, 389-391, 393-399, 413, 414, 416, 428, 430, 435, 436, 451, 459, 524, 544, 550, 558, 563, 568, 581, 582, 585, 587, 589, 590, 595, 598-603, 609-611, 619, 625, 637, 642, 646, 657, 667, 691, 692, 697, 699, 702-704
colloquial Albanian 16, 601
G(h)eg Albanian 4, 6, 20, 30, 33, 186, 200, 333, 395, 397-399, 413, 416, 581, 609-611, 657, 667-671, 692, 697, 703, 704
North (G(h)eg) Albanian 6
Northern G(h)eg Albanian 333, 395, 397-399, 581, 609-611
Northern Tosk Albanian 395
South-Eastern Albanian 54
Southern Albanian 2
Southern Geg Albanian 395
Southern Tosk Albanian 4, 5, 186, 333
Standard Albanian 30, 186, 389, 390, 399, 581, 704
Tosk Albanian 4, 5, 30, 33, 186, 200, 202, 286, 307, 333, 334, 389, 391, 395, 397, 398, 413, 581, 582, 585, 587, 589, 599, 603, 609, 611, 667, 672, 697, 703, 704
Alps 35, 58, 91
Akandžali 247
Amerindian 41
Anatolia 45-47
Antes 42
Apennine 35
Arabic 45, 46
Arabs 43

Arbanassan 697, 704
Arcado-Cypriotic 37, 38
Arli 30, 33, 49, 69, 222-228, 231-237, 329, 330, 407-410, 413, 414, 423, 636-639, 642, 648, 650, 652, 653, 657, 677-679
Armenian 44, 45, 697, 705
Aromanian 2, 3, 5, 6, 9-14, 21-24, 26, 28-30, 33, 39, 40, 49, 64, 69, 119, 120, 139, 143, 167-169, 171, 172, 176, 177, 180, 181, 184-186, 239, 244, 279, 299-301, 305, 333, 334, 336, 345, 347, 383-389, 413, 414, 416, 428, 435, 436, 470, 524, 528, 544, 550, 558-561, 563, 568, 573, 576-579, 590, 595, 600, 619, 625, 642, 646, 657, 662-666, 690, 697, 701, 703, 704
Farsheriote Aromanian 336, 389
Kruševo-Bitola Aromanian 184
Ohrid-Struga Aromanian 184
Western Aromanian 30
Aromanians 39, 701, 704
Arvanitika 704
Asia Minor 35, 39, 43, 45-47, 703
Avars 39, 40, 42, 43
Axius 37, 38

B

Balkan 1-12, 18, 21, 23-32, 35, 38, 41, 43, 44, 46, 48-50, 56, 72, 79, 91, 139, 142, 156, 171, 191, 214, 229, 232, 236, 239, 240, 242, 244, 245, 251, 255, 256, 270, 271, 289, 298, 307, 309, 315, 316, 333, 335, 347, 409, 413-416, 435, 452, 454, 473, 488, 526, 528, 530, 551, 553, 570, 573, 582, 592, 597, 598, 617, 623, 629, 632, 639, 648, 701, 705
Balkan mountain 38, 91, 457
Balkan peninsula 35, 39, 48, 697
Balkan Romance 12, 13, 24, 30, 38, 39, 48, 72, 145, 186, 212, 334, 414, 436, 459, 470, 662, 701
Balkans 1, 21, 28, 29, 31-33, 35-48, 51, 72, 333, 697-706
North-Western Balkans 40
South-Eastern Balkans 46
Western Balkans 42

- Banat 370, 700
 Bitola 30, 58, 64, 184, 333, 336, 345, 347, 383, 388
blachi 701
blakhoi 701
 Black sea 35, 38, 46
 Bogomil 698
 Bosnia 46
 Bosnia and Hercegovina 697, 698, 700, 702, 704
 Bosnian 30, 45, 333, 657, 697, 698
 Buda 47
 Bulgaria 2, 30, 35, 39, 41-48, 89, 246, 335, 352, 360, 476, 407, 457, 488, 697-700, 703-706
 Eastern Bulgaria 2
 North-Western Bulgaria 360
 Northern Bulgaria 35
 Republic of Bulgaria 246
 Southern Bulgaria 2, 457
 South-Western Bulgaria 457
 Bulgarian 1-14, 16-21, 24-26, 29-31, 33, 38, 40-44, 47-49, 55, 65, 66, 69, 73, 75, 79, 86-92, 94-96, 99-101, 105-107, 113-115, 122, 125, 128, 158, 161, 176, 196, 198, 212, 219, 232, 239, 242, 244, 247, 259-265, 267-269, 271, 277, 311, 333-335, 347, 351-357, 359-362, 367, 368, 370, 407, 413-416, 430, 435, 436, 454-456, 458, 460-462, 467, 470, 472, 473, 476, 478, 479, 481, 483, 492-494, 500, 502, 504, 510, 524, 551, 556, 558, 570, 600, 642, 657-661, 683, 685, 686, 697, 698, 700, 703, 705
 colloquial Bulgarian 16, 271, 472
 literary Bulgarian 354
 Middle Bulgarian 333
 Mysian Bulgarian 107
 Rhodopi Bulgarian 31, 88, 107, 351
 Bulgarians 43-45, 48
 Bulgars 39, 42-44
 Turkic Bulgars 42
 Burgundži 705
- C**
 Čakavian 697, 698
 Carpathian mountain range 38, 40
 Caucasus 45
 Central Asia 46
centum 38, 41
- Circassian 697
 Constantinople 41
 Crete 36, 37, 69, 76, 98, 699-702, 706
 Croatia 36
 Croatian 30, 31, 45, 49, 112, 113, 123, 239, 273, 276, 333, 361, 365, 366, 413, 416, 484, 486, 489, 492, 493, 495-497, 499, 500, 502, 503, 506, 521, 657-662, 697, 698
 colloquial Croatian 112
 Dalmatian Croatian 276
 Standard Croatian 31, 123, 239, 276, 361, 366, 413, 416, 489, 500
 Croats 43, 45, 697, 701
 Burgerland Croats 701
 Czech 697, 700
 Czechia 46
 Cumans 42
- D**
 Dacia 39, 40
 Dacian 27, 38, 41
 Dacians 38, 39, 40
 Daco-Mysian 41
 Daco-Mysians 39
 Dalmatian coast 42, 701
 Dalmatian 702
 Danube 1, 35, 36, 38-40, 42-44, 46-48, 127, 360
 Danubian plains 37
 Dardic 45
 Debar 64, 445
 Demotiki 703
 Dorian 37, 38
 Dorians 37
 Duklja 44
 Durazzo 44
 Džambazi 705
- E**
 Edessa 64
 Eastern Austria 701
 Egıptjani 704
 Egjupci 704
 Egyptians 704
 England 47, 197
 English 26, 56, 66, 88, 145, 201, 21, 222, 239, 241, 244, 254, 288, 350, 374, 406, 452, 470, 488, 518, 532, 551, 552, 569-571, 583, 626, 627, 646, 657-681, 683, 696, 701

- Epirus 36, 37, 44, 701
 Eteocretans 37
 Europe 29, 35, 44, 46, 47, 58, 78, 91, 333, 701
 Western Europe 46, 47
- F**
 Florina 64
 France 47, 220
 Franks 42, 43
- G**
 Gagauz(i) 706
 Bulgar Gagauz 706
 Maritime Gagauz 706
 Galičnik 54, 446
 Georgian 45
 German 334, 697, 700-702
 Germanic 42, 702
 Germany 47, 702
 Gjupci 704
 Gorna Belica 389
 Gots 39
 Greece 2, 343
 Northern Greece 30, 37, 40, 43, 62, 64, 83, 85, 212, 252, 325, 336, 395, 417, 440, 701, 703
 North-Western Greece 2, 343
 Southern Greece 47, 219, 704
 Greek 1-6, 8-12, 16-21, 24-33, 36-40, 42-45, 47-49, 62, 69, 99, 158, 171, 203-205, 207, 208, 212-214, 216, 219-221, 225, 227, 239, 240, 244, 245, 315-317, 319, 321-326, 333-335, 337, 347, 393, 400-402, 406, 413-415, 417, 418, 430, 435, 436, 459, 470, 550, 551, 555, 568, 570, 585, 595, 604, 613-616, 625, 629, 632, 633, 636, 637, 642, 646, 657, 672-676, 683, 693, 694, 697, 700-705
 Ancient Greek 27, 37-39, 212, 213, 400, 413, 613, 703
 Biblical Greek 413
 Byzantine Greek 6
 Macedonian Greek 325
 Modern Greek 2-6, 8-12, 16-21, 25-33, 48, 49, 69
 Northern Greek 2, 333
 North-West Greek 37, 38
 Greek coast 42, 701
 Gulf of Trieste 35
- H**
 Haliacmon 37
 Havati 46
 Hercegovina 365, 489, 697
 Hittite 337
 Hungarian 40, 697, 700, 706
 Hungarians 40
 Hungary 46, 47
 Huns 39, 42
- I**
 Illyrian 27, 38, 40, 41
 Illyrian territory 41
 Illyrians 41, 42
 Indo-European 29, 37, 38, 40, 41, 45, 48, 49, 78, 146, 407, 418, 458, 581, 697
 Indo-Europeans 37
 Ionian 35, 40
 Ionic 36, 37
 Iran 45, 46
 Iranians 42
 Istrian peninsula 701, 702
 Istro-Romance 697, 702
 Istro-Romanian 39, 40, 697, 701
 Italic 701
 Italian 21, 29, 191, 697, 701, 702
 Puglian Southern Italian 29
 Italy 40, 46, 697, 701
- J**
 Judeo-German 697, 702
 Judeo-Spanish 2, 697, 702
- K**
 Kajkavian 484, 697, 698
 Kalderash 704
 Karakachan 703
 Kastoria 333, 336
 Katharevusa 703
 Khazars 42
koine 27
 Korča 333, 336, 418, 435
 Korçë 333, 336, 418
 Kosovo 47, 190, 191, 692
 Kosovo and Metohia 703-705
 Kostur 64, 333, 336
 Kriva Palanka 120
 Kruševo 30
 Kumanovo 53, 120
 Kurdish 45

L

Ladino 702

Larisa 36

Latin 3, 9, 28, 36, 38, 39, 41, 43, 369, 512,
657-661, 672-676, 683, 684, 686, 694,
701

Leipzig 1

Lelegians 37

Lerin 64

Lešnja 186

Lovari 704

Luias 37

MMacedonia 2, 3, 30, 37-41, 43-48, 83, 184, 202,
206, 227, 245, 246, 299, 335, 347, 389,
440, 445, 579, 589, 599, 699, 701-706

Eastern Macedonia 30

Pirin Macedonia 246

South-Eastern Macedonia 83, 247, 579

South-Western Macedonia 202, 335, 347,
389, 445

Western Macedonia 2, 30

Macedonian 1-14, 16-18, 21-26, 28-33, 37, 38,
43, 49-58, 62-65, 72-75, 79, 83, 85, 86,
88-91, 93, 94, 96, 100, 101, 103, 105,
106, 108, 113, 114, 117, 119, 120, 122,
125, 147, 158, 196, 217, 219, 239, 240,
242-255, 257, 259-262, 265, 268, 269,
271, 279, 292, 296-299, 301, 304, 305,
311, 312, 321, 325, 333-343, 345-347,
349, 350, 359, 360, 368, 373, 382-384,
387, 388, 397, 413-418, 423, 430-433,
435, 436, 440, 444-449, 452-454, 456,
458-465, 468, 470-472, 481, 483, 490,
492-495, 500, 502, 504, 542, 543, 550,
551, 556, 561, 568, 570, 582, 585, 589,
595, 600, 602, 619, 625, 637, 640, 642,
646, 648, 657-661, 683, 684, 689, 690,
695, 697-699, 702, 703-705

archaic South-Western Macedonian 55

Central-Western Macedonian 699

colloquial Macedonian 16, 74

dialectal Macedonian 4, 6, 9, 10, 12, 22, 637

Eastern Macedonian 57, 58, 245, 246, 334,
336, 417, 454, 637

North-Western Macedonian 248-351

Northern Macedonian 53, 57, 63, 83, 333,
705

Ohrid-Struga Macedonian 185, 336

South-Western Macedonian 64, 82, 336, 346,
454

Southern Macedonian 2, 26, 85, 90, 333, 383

Standard Macedonian 22, 53, 89, 247, 248,
336, 337, 418

West-Central Macedonian 247, 249, 250, 418

Western Macedonian 247, 249, 250

Macedonians 37, 38, 43, 45, 698, 699

Ancient Macedonians 37, 38, 44

Magyars 39

Marica 47

Marmora 46

Meglenite 13, 14

Meglenite mountains 30, 40

Megleno-Romanian 3, 13, 24, 29, 30, 33, 39, 40,
49, 139, 152-154, 156-158, 161, 162, 165,
173, 178, 183, 239, 292, 295, 297-301,
304, 305, 333-335, 347, 376-383, 387,
388, 413, 414, 416, 428, 440, 524,
540-544, 547, 553, 557, 558, 563, 590,
600, 619, 642, 657, 662-665, 701, 703

Megleno-Romanians 39, 40

Mesta 38

Moldavia, *see* Moldova

Moldova 40, 697, 698, 700, 706

Mongols 39, 46

Montenegro 2, 41, 44, 110, 364, 365, 697-699,
702, 704, 705

Montenegrin/Albanian border 36

Moravia 42, 43

Mysian 38, 39, 41

Mysians 39

N

North-Central India 45

Noth-Western Anatolia 46, 47

Northern Dalmatia 43

Novo Selo 360, 361

OOhrid 12, 28, 43, 44, 52, 54, 64, 73, 85, 186, 336,
337, 342, 346, 347, 385, 386, 574

Struga 346

Old Church Slavonic 43, 45, 333, 334, 413, 414,
416, 420, 423, 444, 446, 456, 457, 460,
477, 486, 488-490, 512, 697, 698

Olympus 37

Osmanlis 46, 47

Ossetic 45

Ottomans 46, 47

P

Paleo-Macedonian 38
 Palityan 697
 Panonia 43
 Panonian 702
 Pechenegs 42
 Pelasgia 36
 Pelasgians 36, 37
 Peloponnesus 43, 703
 Persian 37, 45
 Pindus 37
 Polish 697, 700
 Pontic Greek 703
 Pre-Albanian 41
 Pre-Greek 37
 Pre-Hellenic 36
 Pre-Romanian 41
 Prespa 28, 44, 202, 599
 Prilep 37, 342
 Prizren 118, 119, 120, 121, 277
 Proto-Slavonic 334
 Proto-Indo-European 333
Provincia Illyrica 40
 Pyrenean peninsula 35

R

Raška 45
 Resen 333, 336, 345
 Rhodopi mountain 88, 89
 Romance 3, 12-14, 21, 24, 28, 30, 38-40, 48, 49,
 51, 72, 145, 186, 212, 219, 240, 259, 334,
 347, 370, 371, 375, 376, 424, 425, 436,
 459, 470, 495, 521, 657, 662, 697,
 699-702
 Roman empire 28, 36
 Romani 2, 24, 26, 28-30, 32, 33, 45, 36, 49,
 222, 223, 227, 239, 407, 409, 413-415,
 636, 652, 657, 677, 695, 699, 700, 703-
 705
 Balkan Romani 24, 26, 28-30, 32, 33, 45, 46,
 49, 69, 222, 239, 329, 407, 413-415,
 636, 657, 677, 695, 705
 Northern Romani 46
 Vlax Romani 24, 46
 Romania 39, 46
 Southern Romania 39, 43
 Romanian 1-4, 5-11, 13-21, 24-26, 29-33, 39-41,
 46, 49, 59, 92, 99, 100, 120, 125-128,
 132-134, 136, 139, 141-143, 146-148,
 150, 152-154, 156-158, 161, 162, 165,
 167, 169, 173, 176, 178, 180, 181, 183,
 186, 191, 200, 239-241, 244, 245, 279,

280, 282, 284, 285, 290, 292, 295,
 297-301, 304, 305, 333-335, 337-360,
 369-383, 387, 388, 413, 414, 416, 418,
 436, 440, 457, 470, 511, 512, 514-517,
 519-524, 526-528, 530-532, 534, 536,
 537, 540-544, 547, 553, 557, 558, 563,
 590, 600, 619, 642, 657, 662-666, 688,
 689, 697, 700, 701, 703
 colloquial Romanian 16, 17, 136, 515, 534,
 536
 Daco-Romanian 3, 13, 39, 40, 700, 701
 Old Romanian 282
 Standard Romanian 142, 150, 282, 369, 370,
 526, 536, 700
 Transylvanian Romanian 375, 702
 Romanians 39, 40
 Romas 30, 45, 46, 705
 Rome 35, 36, 40, 43, 67, 97, 114
 Russia 43, 47
 Russians 43
 Rusyn 697, 699
 Ruthinian 699

S

Salish 33
 Sanskrit 45, 337
satem 38, 41
 Sava 35, 36
 Scadar 36
 Scandinavian 334
 Serbia 2, 38-41, 45-48, 120, 154, 364, 365, 488,
 657, 698, 700-704
 Eastern Serbia 2, 38-40, 120, 488, 701
 South-Western Serbia 364, 365
 Serbia and Montenegro 697, 699, 702, 704, 705
 Serbian 1, 3, 5-11, 24, 30, 31, 36, 44, 45, 47, 53,
 63, 66, 111-113, 117-123, 239, 276-278,
 333, 340, 361, 365-369, 413, 414, 416,
 484, 489, 491-493, 495, 499, 500,
 502-504, 506, 508-511, 521, 657-661,
 687, 697, 698
 Banat Serbian 276
 Pirot South-Eastern Serbian 119
 Prizren-Timok South-Eastern Serbian 118, 120
 South-Eastern Serbian 2, 24, 26, 30, 31, 53,
 112, 118-123, 139, 276-278, 333, 361,
 366-369, 413, 416, 484, 491, 499,
 508-511, 698
 Standard Serbian 30, 31, 112, 113, 119, 123,
 273, 276, 277, 361, 366-368, 413, 414,
 416, 484, 489, 491, 499, 508, 521, 698
 Svärjljig-Zaplen Serbian 120, 121

- Serbo-Croatian 2, 3, 5, 19, 20, 26, 29, 30, 33, 45, 50, 63, 108-111, 113, 117, 120, 200, 239, 271-274, 334, 355, 361-365, 368, 416, 484-488, 490-492, 502, 507, 508, 537, 558, 657-661, 683, 687, 697-700, 704
- Serbs 43-45, 47, 48, 697, 701
- Sicily 43
- Široka Laka 88
- Skopje 30, 45, 71, 159, 167, 185, 236, 248, 338, 409, 454, 456, 608, 705
- Skopska Crna Gora 120
- Slaveni 42
- Slavenoserbski 45, 697
- Slavic 1, 3, 5, 10-14, 21, 24, 28, 29, 31, 35, 36, 41-44, 48-51, 53, 69, 72, 94, 113, 139, 145, 158, 172, 212, 219, 245, 279, 333-337, 360, 383, 396, 397, 413, 414, 416, 418, 454, 457, 476, 638, 657, 697, 699, 700
- Balkan Slavic 3, 5, 12, 13, 24, 28, 29, 42, 43, 48, 49, 69, 72, 113, 158, 172, 212, 245, 279, 335, 336, 383, 396, 397, 413, 414, 416, 457, 638, 657
- East Slavic 700
- East South Slavic 1
- non-Balkan Slavic 49
- Slavonia 43
- Slavs 21, 37, 39-44, 701
- Slovak 697, 699
- Standard Slovak 699
- standardized Slovak 699
- Slovakia 46
- Slovenia 36, 697-699, 701, 702, 706
- Slovenian 697-699
- South-Slavic Sinte 699
- Southern Carpatians 40
- Sremska Mitrovica 36
- Spanish 2
- Modern Spanish 2
- Old Spanish 2
- Spartans 703
- Stara Planina 35
- Štip 37
- Štokavian 697, 698
- Struga 184, 185, 336, 342, 346
- T**
- Thessalian plain 36
- Thessaloniki 6, 40, 42, 44, 62, 185, 222, 322
- Thessaly 36, 44, 45, 701
- Thrace 38, 39, 44
- Western Thrace 44
- Thracian 27, 38-41
- Timok 31, 120
- Tinsmiths 705
- Torlak 367, 698
- Transylvania 40
- Tsakonian 703
- Turkey 35
- Balkan Turkey 697, 698, 702, 703, 705
- Turkey in Europe 35
- Turkic 42, 44, 336, 698-700, 705
- Turkish 1, 2, 29, 35, 44, 46, 48, 335, 336, 347, 395, 396, 480, 696, 705, 706
- Anatolian Turkish 46
- Balkan Turkish 29
- Crimean Turkish 706
- Danubian Turkish 705
- Osmanli Turkish 48, 697, 705
- Turks 35, 47
- Ottoman Turks 35, 47
- Tursenians 37
- U**
- Ukraine 42, 700
- Ukrainian 697, 699, 700
- standardized Ukrainian 699
- Ursari 46
- V**
- V(a)lach 39
- V(a)lachia 39, 40, 46; *see also* Wallachia
- Vardar 37, 38, 44, 50, 83, 154, 227
- Veles 37, 447
- Venetian 697, 699, 700
- Vienna 45, 47, 697
- Vlach 45, 47, 697
- Voden 64
- Vojvodina 36, 60, 69, 700, 702, 706
- Volga 42
- W**
- Wallachia 46, 48, 704
- Y**
- Yiddish 697, 702
- Yugoslavia 48, 697
- Yurukh 697, 706
- Z**
- Zeta 44, 110

AUTHOR INDEX

A

- Akan, B. 336
Alboiu, G. 125, 129, 132, 135, 141, 286, 373,
511, 514, 517, 518, 521, 524, 528, 537
Alexander, R. 353, 356
Alexiadou, A. 216, 217, 220
Ammann, A. 29
Anagnostopoulou, E. 220, 240, 320-323
Andrejčin, L. 352
Andriotes, N. 38
Androutsopoulou, A. 190, 208
Arnaudova, O. 49, 240, 265, 267, 268, 311
Aronson, H. 325
Asan, F. 513
Asenova, P. 2, 3, 31, 134, 178, 200, 201, 203, 267,
287, 313, 333, 356, 369, 400, 413, 414, 443,
458, 463, 466, 474, 475, 488, 521, 526, 535,
536, 585, 592, 598-600, 614, 619, 626, 629, 631
Atanasov, P. 13
Avgustinova, T. 263
Avram, L. 79, 146, 370, 372-374
Auwera, van der, J. 2, 29, 277

B

- Baker, M. 267
Bakker, P. 46
Barić, E. 109
Belić, A. 31
Benešová, E. 715
Berent, G. 253
Bernstein, J. 125
Beukema, F. 705
Bibović, L. 271, 488
Billings, L. 715
Birnbaum, H. 1, 3
Bogdanvić, N. 119, 121
Bojadžiev, T. 335, 352, 355, 461, 473, 477-480
Boretzky, N. 226, 227, 235, 237, 409, 639
Bošković, Z. 242, 264, 273, 317
Broch, O. 367
Browne, W. 116, 271, 277, 488
Browning, R. 413
Bužarovska, E. 417, 435, 470, 531, 532, 550, 568,
570, 595, 596, 625, 626, 646

C

- Campbell, L. 24-26, 45
Campos, H. 171, 190, 206, 207, 209-211
Carter, F. 35

- Curtius Rufus 38
Čavar, D. 273
Chomsky, N. 33
Cinque, G. 240, 241
Civjan, T. 28, 29
Coene, M. 79, 141, 146, 370, 372, 373, 374
Comrie, B. 335
Cornilescu, A. 125, 140, 240, 287, 288, 517
Culicover, P. 239
Cvijić, J. 35

D

- Darden, B. 337
Dejanova, M. 333
Demiraj, S. 31, 413
D'Hulst, Y. 141, 370, 372-374
Dimitriadis, A. 204, 324, 325
Dimitriu, C. 375
Dimitrova-Šmiger, N. 86
Dimitrova-Vulchanova, M. 49, 55, 65-67, 69, 70,
88, 92, 93, 95-100, 102-104, 112, 115, 125,
126, 128, 137, 143, 158-161, 173-176, 189,
191, 196-198, 232, 259, 273
Dobrovie-Sorin, C. 140, 148, 149, 239, 241, 279,
284, 288-291, 521
Dozon, A. 393

E

- Elson, M. 1
Enç, M. 241
Eversley, L. 46
Ewen, R. 263

F

- Farkas, D. 532
Feuillet, J. 31
Fielder, G. 355
Fine, J. 36, 42, 43, 47
Firbas, F. 239
Franks, S. 253, 263, 265, 273
Fried, M. 78, 79, 147
Friedman, V. 191, 242, 335, 336, 347, 352, 356,
359-361, 375, 376, 389, 393, 395-397, 399,
401, 407, 415

G

- Genadžieva-Mutačeva, Z. 463
Genčeva, Z. 267, 268

Geredžikov, G. 354
 Giannakidou, A. 245
 Gierling, D. 286
 Gilsenbach, R. 45
 Giusti, G. 49, 55, 88, 92, 93, 102-104, 125, 126,
 128, 143, 189, 191
 Gołąb, Z. 1, 701
 Grickat, I. 277, 488
 Grosu, A. 125, 128, 132, 140, 433, 469, 515,
 528-531, 548, 567, 593, 594, 623, 624, 644
 Gustavsson, S. 699

H

Hacking, J. 454
 Haegeman, L. 33, 217
 Hajičová, E. 239
 Halpern, A. 263
 Hatzidakis, G. 413
 Hauge, K.R. 260
 Haugen, E. 334
 Hellan, L. 259
 Herrity, P. 45, 699
 Hesychius 38
 Heusinger, K. 104
 Hinrichs, U. 711
 Horrocks, G. 207, 220, 325
 Horvath, J. 528
 Hubbard, P. 335, 581, 582

I

Iatridou, S. 240, 241, 326
 Inkelas, S. 263
 Isac, D. 245, 475, 534
 Ivančev, S. 355
 Ivanova, T. 106
 Ivić, M. 271, 487, 488
 Izvorski, R. 433

J

Jacobsen, W. 335
 Jaeggli, O. 239
 Jakab, E. 316, 415, 475, 534
 Jeffers, R. 28
 Joseph, B. 1, 2, 25, 28, 29, 31, 207, 213, 214,
 315-319, 323, 324, 327, 328, 413, 414, 456,
 582, 609, 615, 629, 630, 632, 633, 703

K

Kallulli, D. 265, 310-313, 315, 599
 Kalogjera, D. 698
 Karastaneva, T. 467
 Katičić, R. 35-38, 40, 41

Kaufman, T. 45
 Kayne, R. 242
 Kazazis, K. 10, 28, 323
 Kenesei, I. 240
 King, T.H. 240, 253, 263, 265
 Kiparsky, P. 311
 Kiparsky, C. 311
 Kiss, K. 240
 Kočiš, M. 699
 Kolliakou, D. 216
 Koneski, B. 50, 54, 55, 74, 174, 245, 342, 345,
 416, 421, 447
 Kopitar, J. 1, 27
 Korubin, B. 699
 Kostov, K. 356, 363, 407
 Kovačec, A. 701-706
 Krahe, H. 41, 242
 Kramer, C. 242
 Krapova, I. 241, 246, 270, 354, 413-415, 467
 Kretschmer, P. 38
 Kucarov, I. 335, 352, 354, 355, 461, 473, 477-480
 Kučanda, D. 277
 Kurcová, H. 413

L

Landman, F. 433
 Lehiste, I. 28
 Lindstedt, J. 23, 24, 26, 28, 334, 335, 352, 355,
 367, 368

M

Mallinson, G. 512, 514
 Manolissou, I. 204, 208, 213
 Manoliu-Manea, I. 376
 Marelj, M. 65, 66, 68, 96-98, 114, 137, 159, 174,
 196, 197, 231, 416, 495
 Marković, M. 389
 Matras, Y. 713
 Mazon, A. 435
 Meier-Brügger, M. 213
 Meillet, A. 38
 Meyer, E. 36
 Mikeš, M. 699, 700, 706
 Miklosich, F. 1, 27
 Minčeva, A. 79
 Mindak, J. 342
 Minnis, K. 413, 432
 Mirčev, K. 413, 432
 Mirkulovska, M. 56
 Mitkovska, L. 60, 67, 82, 84
 Mladenov, M. 30, 360, 361
 Mladenov, S. 457
 Montoliu, C. 2
 Moskovsky, C. 104, 105

- Motapanyane, V. 125, 129, 132, 135, 141, 240, 241, 286, 373, 414, 475, 511, 512, 514, 518, 521, 524, 527, 528, 534, 537
Mrazović, P. 364, 368, 490-492
Murzak, A. 194
- N**
- Newmark, L. 190, 193, 335, 581, 582
Nicolova, R. 95, 269
- O**
- Ortman, A. 714
Orzechowska, H. 269
- P**
- Pancheva, R. 72, 100, 103, 116, 204, 216
Panevová, J. 239
Pentheroudakis, J. 323
Penčev, J. 335, 352, 355, 461, 473, 477-480
Philippaki-Warburton, I. 207, 213, 245, 315-317, 319, 322-324, 327, 328, 615, 629, 630, 632, 633, 703
Popescu, A. 714
Prifti, P. 335, 581
Progovac, L. 273
- R**
- Radovanović, M. 697
Reinhart, T. 66
Reiter, N. 1
Remetić, S. 119, 121, 275, 277
Rivero, M.L. 69, 98, 99, 115, 138, 139, 160, 161, 175, 176, 198, 199, 212, 232, 244, 251, 259, 263, 264, 273
Rizzi, L. 240
Roberts, I. 273
Rochemont, M. 239
Rosetti, A. 414
Rudin, C. 242, 259, 263-265, 414
- S**
- Sandfeld, K. 1, 3-7, 10-14, 25-27, 50, 54, 289
Scatton, E. 89
Schaller, H.W. 1, 15, 16, 26
Schick, I.P. 79
Schürks, L. 79
Schwyzer, E. 38
Sedláček, J. 333
Sgall, P. 239
- Simeonov, B. 3
Škiljan, D. 697
Šmiger, R. 86
Smyth, H.W. 212
Sobolev, A. 2, 31, 81, 88, 107, 110, 186, 457
Solta, G.R. 2, 18-22, 26, 28, 31
Spencer, A. 242
Stateva, P. 79, 105
Stavrou, M. 171, 190, 206, 207, 209-211, 216, 217, 326
Steinke, K. 30, 31
Stojanović, D. 416, 495
Swadesh, M. 33
- T**
- Tasmowski, L. 141
Terzi, A. 414, 517
Thomason, S.G. 25, 26
Tomić, O.M. 49, 56, 64, 73, 78, 79, 147, 242, 244, 245, 247-250, 263, 264, 271-273, 316, 336, 414-416, 435, 44, 486, 487, 490, 495, 699
Topolinjska, S.Z. 50, 54, 55, 62, 64, 85, 106, 119, 121, 247, 254, 265, 277, 417, 418, 447, 458, 459
Trubetzkoy, N. 1
Tsimpli, I. M. 240
- V**
- Vasiliev, A. 39
Veloudis, Y. 1, 403, 615
Vermeer, W. 31
Vraciu, A. 31
Vrzić, Z. 271, 488
Vukadinović, Z. 364, 368, 490-492
- W**
- Wackernagel, J. 213, 273, 362
Weigand, G. 1, 27
Weinreich, U. 1
Weinrich, H. 334
Wendland, D. 38
Wilder, C. 273
Wunderlich, D. 79
- Z**
- Zeune, A. 35
Zwicky, A. 103
Zymberi, I. 190

Studies in Natural Language and Linguistic Theory

Managing Editors

Liliane Haegeman, *University of Geneva*

Joan Maling, *Brandeis University*

James McCloskey, *University of California, Santa Cruz*

Publications

1. L. Burzio: *Italian Syntax. A Government-binding Approach*. 1986.
ISBN Hb 90-277-2014-2; Pb 90-277-2015-0
2. W.D. Davies: *Choctaw Verb Agreement and Universal Grammar*. 1986.
ISBN Hb 90-277-2065-7; Pb 90-277-2142-4
3. K. É. Kiss: *Configurationality in Hungarian*. 1987.
ISBN Hb 90-277-1907-1; Pb 90-277-2456-3
4. D. Pulleyblank: *Tone in Lexical Phonology*. 1986.
ISBN Hb 90-277-2123-8; Pb 90-277-2124-6
5. L. Hellan and K. K. Christensen: *Topics in Scandinavian Syntax*. 1986.
ISBN Hb 90-277-2166-1; Pb 90-277-2167-X
6. K. P. Mohanan: *The Theory of Lexical Phonology*. 1986.
ISBN Hb 90-277-2226-9; Pb 90-277-2227-7
7. J. L. Aissen: *Tzotzil Clause Structure*. 1987.
ISBN Hb 90-277-2365-6; Pb 90-277-2441-5
8. T. Gunji: *Japanese Phrase Structure Grammar. A Unification-based Approach*. 1987.
ISBN 1-55608-020-4
9. W. U. Wurzel: *Inflectional Morphology and Naturalness*. 1989
ISBN Hb 1-55608-025-5; Pb 1-55608-026-3
10. C. Neidle: *The Role of Case in Russian Syntax*. 1988 ISBN 1-55608-042-5
11. C. Lefebvre and P. Muysken: *Mixed Categories. Nominalizations in Quechua*. 1988.
ISBN Hb 1-55608-050-6; Pb 1-55608-051-4
12. K. Michelson: *A Comparative Study of Lake-Iroquoian Accent*. 1988
ISBN 1-55608-054-9
13. K. Zagona: *Verb Phrase Syntax. A Parametric Study of English and Spanish*. 1988
ISBN Hb 1-55608-064-6; Pb 1-55608-065-4
14. R. Hendrick: *Anaphora in Celtic and Universal Grammar*. 1988
ISBN 1-55608-066-2
15. O. Jaeggli and K.J. Safir (eds.): *The Null Subject Parameter*. 1989
ISBN Hb 1-55608-086-7; Pb 1-55608-087-5
16. H. Lasnik: *Essays on Anaphora*. 1989
ISBN Hb 1-55608-090-5; Pb 1-55608-091-3
17. S. Steele: *Agreement and Anti-Agreement. A Syntax of Luiseño*. 1990
ISBN 0-7923-0260-5
18. E. Pearce: *Parameters in Old French Syntax. Infinitival Complements*. 1990
ISBN Hb 0-7923-0432-2; Pb 0-7923-0433-0
19. Y.A. Li: *Order and Constituency in Mandarin Chinese*. 1990
ISBN 0-7923-0500-0

Studies in Natural Language and Linguistic Theory

20. H. Lasnik: *Essays on Restrictiveness and Learnability*. 1990
ISBN 0-7923-0628-7; Pb 0-7923-0629-5
21. M.J. Speas: *Phrase Structure in Natural Language*. 1990
ISBN 0-7923-0755-0; Pb 0-7923-0866-2
22. H. Haider and K. Netter (eds.): *Representation and Derivation in the Theory of Grammar*. 1991
ISBN 0-7923-1150-7
23. J. Simpson: *Warlpiri Morpho-Syntax*. A Lexicalist Approach. 1991
ISBN 0-7923-1292-9
24. C. Georgopoulos: *Syntactic Variables*. Resumptive Pronouns and A' Binding in Palauan. 1991
ISBN 0-7923-1293-7
25. K. Leffel and D. Bouchard (eds.): *Views on Phrase Structure*. 1991
ISBN 0-7923-1295-3
26. C. Tellier: *Licensing Theory and French Parasitic Gaps*. 1991
ISBN 0-7923-1311-9; Pb 0-7923-1323-2
27. S.-Y. Kuroda: *Japanese Syntax and Semantics*. Collected Papers. 1992
ISBN 0-7923-1390-9; Pb 0-7923-1391-7
28. I. Roberts: *Verbs and Diachronic Syntax*. A Comparative History of English and French. 1992
ISBN 0-7923-1705-X
29. A. Fassi Fehri: *Issues in the Structure of Arabic Clauses and Words*. 1993
ISBN 0-7923-2082-4
30. M. Bittner: *Case, Scope, and Binding*. 1994
ISBN 0-7923-2649-0
31. H. Haider, S. Olsen and S. Vikner (eds.): *Studies in Comparative Germanic Syntax*. 1995
ISBN 0-7923-3280-6
32. N. Duffield: *Particles and Projections in Irish Syntax*. 1995
ISBN 0-7923-3550-3; Pb 0-7923-3674-7
33. J. Rooryck and L. Zaring (eds.): *Phrase Structure and the Lexicon*. 1996
ISBN 0-7923-3745-X
34. J. Bayer: *Directionality and Logical Form*. On the Scope of Focusing Particles and Wh-in-situ. 1996
ISBN 0-7923-3752-2
35. R. Freidin (ed.): *Current Issues in Comparative Grammar*. 1996
ISBN 0-7923-3778-6; Pb 0-7923-3779-4
36. C.-T.J. Huang and Y.-H.A. Li (eds.): *New Horizons in Chinese Linguistics*. 1996
ISBN 0-7923-3867-7; Pb 0-7923-3868-5
37. A. Watanabe: *Case Absorption and WH-Agreement*. 1996
ISBN 0-7923-4203-8
38. H. Thráinsson, S.D. Epstein and S. Peter (eds.): *Studies in Comparative Germanic Syntax*. Volume II. 1996
ISBN 0-7923-4215-1
39. C.J.W. Zwart: *Morphosyntax of Verb Movement*. A Minimalist Approach to the Syntax of Dutch. 1997
ISBN 0-7923-4263-1; Pb 0-7923-4264-X
40. T. Siloni: *Noun Phrases and Nominalizations*. The Syntax of DPs. 1997
ISBN 0-7923-4608-4
41. B.S. Vance: *Syntactic Change in Medieval French*. 1997
ISBN 0-7923-4669-6
42. G. Müller: *Incomplete Category Fronting*. A Derivational Approach to Remnant Movement in German. 1998
ISBN 0-7923-4837-0

Studies in Natural Language and Linguistic Theory

43. A. Alexiadou, G. Horrocks and M. Stavrou (eds.): *Studies in Greek Syntax*. 1998 ISBN 0-7923-5290-4
44. R. Sybesma: *The Mandarin VP*. 1999 ISBN 0-7923-5462-1
45. K. Johnson and I. Roberts (eds.): *Beyond Principles and Parameters*. Essays in Memory of Osvaldo Jaeggli. 1999 ISBN 0-7923-5501-6
46. R.M. Bhatt: *Verb Movement and the Syntax of Kashmiri*. 1999 ISBN 0-7923-6033-8
47. A. Neeleman and F. Weerman: *Flexible Syntax*. A Theory of Case and Arguments. 1999 ISBN 0-7923-6058-3
48. C. Gerfen: *Phonology and Phonetics in Coatzacoapan Mixtec*. 1999 ISBN 0-7923-6034-6
49. I. Paul, V. Phillips and L. Travis (eds.): *Formal Issues in Austronesian Linguistics*. 2000 ISBN 0-7923-6068-0
50. M. Frascarelli: *The Syntax-Phonology Interface in Focus and Topic Constructions in Italian*. 2000 ISBN 0-7923-6240-3
51. I. Landau: *Elements of Control*. Structure and Meaning in Infinitival Constructions. 2000 ISBN 0-7923-6620-4
52. W.D. Davies and S. Dubinsky (eds.): *Objects and other Subjects*. Grammatical Functions, Functional Categories and Configurationality. 2001 ISBN 1-4020-0064-2; Pb 1-4020-0065-0
53. J. Ouhalla and U. Shlonsky (eds.): *Themes in Arabic and Hebrew Syntax*. 2002 ISBN 1-4020-0536-9; Pb 1-4020-0537-7
54. E. Haeberli: *Features, Categories and the Syntax of A-Positions*. Cross-Linguistic Variation in the Germanic Languages. 2002 ISBN 1-4020-0854-6; Pb 1-4020-0855-4
55. J. McDonough: *The Navajo Sound System*. 2003 ISBN 1-4020-1351-5; Pb 1-4020-1352-3
56. D.E. Holt (ed.): *Optimality Theory and Language Change*. 2003 ISBN 1-4020-1469-4; Pb 1-4020-1470-8
57. J. Camacho: *The Structure of Coordination*. Conjunction and Agreement Phenomena in Spanish and Other Languages. 2003 ISBN 1-4020-1510-0; Pb 1-4020-1511-9
58. I. Toivonen: *Non-Projecting Words*. A Case Study of Swedish Particles. 2003 ISBN 1-4020-1531-3; Pb 1-4020-1532-1
59. D. Adger, C. de Cat and G. Tsoulas (eds): *Peripheries*. Syntactic Edges and their Effects. 2004 ISBN 1-4020-1908-4; Pb 1-4020-1909-2
60. C. Goria: *Subject Clitics in the Northern Italian Dialects*. A Comparative Study Based on the Minimalist Program and Optimality Theory. 2004 ISBN 1-4020-2736-2; Pb 1-4020-2737-0
61. V. Dayal and A. Mahajan (eds.): *Clause Structure in South Asian Languages*. 2004 ISBN 1-4020-2717-6; Pb 1-4020-2718-4
62. P. Kempchinsky and R. Slabakova (eds.): *Aspectual Inquiries*. 2005 ISBN 1-4020-3032-0; Pb 1-4020-3035-5

Studies in Natural Language and Linguistic Theory

63. M. Arad: *Roots and Patterns*. Hebrew Morpho-syntax. 2005
ISBN 1-4020-3243-9; Pb 1-4020-3245-5
64. P. Štekauer and R. Lieber (eds.): *Handbook of Word-Formation*. 2005
ISBN 1-4020-3595-0; Pb 1-4020-3597-7
65. A. Johns, D. Massam and J. Ndayiragije (eds.): *Ergativity*. Emerging Issues.
2006 ISBN Hb 1-4020-4186-1; Pb 1-4020-4187-X
66. F. Lee: *Remnant Raising and VSO Clausal Architecture*. A Case Study from
San Lucas Quiavini Zapotec. 2006 ISBN 1-4020-4300-7
67. O. Mišeska Tomić: *The Balkan Sprachbund Morpho-syntactic Features*. 2006
ISBN 1-4020-4487-9