

About the *ja-* in *Makedonskiot Jazik*: The Fate of Initial **ě-* and **ę-* in Macedonian

Laura Janda and Victor A. Friedman

Abstract. The change of initial **ě-* to *ja-* has been overlooked in historical phonologies of Macedonian, yet is well attested. The present analysis provides a route for initial **ę-* which changed to *ě-* to develop further to *ja-*, avoiding the phonologically implausible nasal merger and positing no additional sound changes without independent motivation.

This paper presents evidence for a phonological change of *ě-* > *ja-* in initial position in approximately the 12th century, a change that is not mentioned in Koneski's books (1983 and 1986) on the history of Macedonian. This change by itself affects only five roots, but there is reason to believe that *ě-* > *ja-* followed the well-documented change of *ę-* > *ě-*, and this fact has important implications for the so-called "confusion of nasals". The authors agree with Koneski that there probably was no confusion of nasal vowels in Macedonian (as opposed to Bulgarian), and offer this article as a further argument for this position.

As shown in Table 1 below, there are five roots that can be identified as representing reflexes of initial **ě-* which have the sequence *ja-* in modern literary Macedonian and the west central dialects on which it is based. There is no evidence of initial **ě-* > *e-*, the expected reflex in all other environments for west Macedonian (and the only reflex for **ě-* given in historical phonologies). We would like to further suggest that **ě-* > *ja-* was preceded by **ę-* > *ě-*, based on the data in the table. There is no evidence of *ę-* > *e-*, except in the case of words containing the root **ęk-*: *ek* 'echo', *ekot* 'echo', *ekne* 'resound', *eči* 'resound'. These are undoubtedly eastern dialectisms used to avoid homonymy with the root **jak-* 'strong' (parallel, for example, to the adoption of the northern dialectal word *sud* 'court' to avoid homonymy with *sad* 'dish', cf. Koneski 1983: 43). Note, however, that the expected *jači* and *jakne* (**ę-* > *ě-* > *ja-*) 'resound; moan' also occur. It is not surprising that there should be some need to avoid homonymy when there are four original segments, all of which yield word-initial *ja-*: **ě-*, **ę-*, *(*j*)*a-*, **q-*. Note also that initial **a-* and **q-* almost never yield anything other than *ja-*, due to the tendency to develop prothetic *j-* before back vowels (cf. Koneski 1983: 24). The only examples lacking prothesis are **a-* > *a-* in *azbuka* 'alphabet', *azbučen* 'alphabetical', *alčen* 'greedy', *alčnost* 'greed' (which are probably Church Slavonicisms or bookish forms); and **q-* > *a-* in three words, all with the same root: *aglest*

'angular', *aglomer* 'protractor', *agol* 'angle' (which could also be dialectal, to avoid confusion with the root *jagl-* 'coal').

The tables below give the main forms of modern literary Macedonian words beginning with *ja-* and inherited from Common Slavic, arranged according to the origins of the initial segment. Borrowings with original initial *ja-*, e.g., *javaš* 'slow' (Turkish), *jamb* 'iamb' (Greek), *Japanec* 'Japanese man', are excluded, as are obvious derivatives, e.g., *jazičen* 'linguistic' < *jazik* 'tongue, language'. In cases where the derivation might not be obvious or where there is significant lexical differentiation, all words derived from the same root are grouped together. The Late Common Slavic forms of the word or root appear to the left.¹

Table 1: **ě-* > *ja-*

ěd-	<i>jad</i>	'torment; anger; poison'
	<i>jade (se)</i>	'eat; itch; torment'
	<i>jadec</i>	'wishbone'
	<i>jasje</i>	'food'
	<i>jasli</i>	'manger; nursery'
	<i>jasteliv, jastelit</i>	'gluttonous; edible'
	<i>jastreb</i>	'hawk' [if etymology as 'partridge-eater' is correct; otherwise (<i>j</i>) <i>a-</i> > <i>ja-</i>]
ěšinū	<i>jasen</i>	'clear'
ěd/x-	<i>java</i>	'ride [a horse]'
	<i>jazdi</i>	'ride'
ězū	<i>jaz</i>	'dam'
ězvič	<i>jazi se</i>	'clamber' [or alternatively perhaps from <i>ęziti</i>]
	<i>jazovec</i>	'badger'

Table 2: **ę-* > *ě-* > *ja-*

ěk-	<i>jači</i>	'resound; moan'
	<i>jakne</i>	'groan'
ěčimy	<i>jačmen</i>	'barley'
	<i>jačmenčok</i>	'sty [on the eye]'
edrū	<i>jadar</i>	'coarse; big; strong'
ęd/t-	<i>jadro</i>	'nucleus; essence'
	<i>jatka</i>	'kernel; core; content'
ęg/za	<i>jandza</i>	'fever; creeps; terror'
ętry	<i>jatrva</i>	'husband's brother's wife'
ęzykū	<i>jazik</i>	'tongue; language'

¹ The following sources were consulted in preparing the etymologies: Berneker 1913; Vasmer 1950-58; Shevelov 1964; Georgiev et al. 1971; Skok 1971; Stevanović et al. 1973; Trubačev et al. 1979 and 1981.

Table 3: *q- > ja-

q	ja	3sg fem oblique pronoun
qđica	jadica	'fishing hook'
qgl-	jaglen	'coal'
	jaglerod	'carbon'
qg(orī)	jagula	'eel'
qđŭkŭ	jatok	'woof [in weaving]'
qđŭrŭ	jator	'croze [groove on a barrel stave for the bottom]'
qz-	jazol	'knot'
	jaže	'rope; noose'

Table 4: *(j)a- > ja-

(j)ablŭko	jabolko	'apple'
(j)agne	jagne	'lamb'
(j)agoda	jagoda	'strawberry'
(j)aglika	jaglika	'primrose'
(j)aje	jajce	'egg'
(j)akŭ	jak	'strong'
(j)alovŭ	jalov	'infertile'
(j)ama	jama	'pit; cave; hole'
(j)are	jare	'kid'
(j)arīmo	jarem	'yoke'
(j)arostīnŭ	jarosten	'angry'
(j)azŭ	jas	1sg pronoun
(j)asenī/ŭ	jasen	'ash tree'
(j)asika	jasika	'aspen' [but o- in other Slavic languages]
(j)ato	jato	'flock; swarm'
(j)av-	javi (se)	'announce, appear, make public'
	javka	'slogan'
	javnost	'the public'
(j)avorŭ	javor	'maple'

Table 5: Unidentified Forms

jamka	'loop; snare' [perhaps a diminutive of <i>jama</i> ?; but cf. SC <i>omča</i> = o + mk + ja according to Skok along with <i>zamka</i>]
janta	'shepherd's leather bag' [< Tk <i>yan-</i> 'side' like <i>yandžik</i> ? or Balkan Romance?]
jarbol	'mast' [< Lat <i>arbor</i> according to Stevanović et al.; but cf. Blg. <i>érbja/járbja</i> 'raise']

There was certainly a merger of the nasal vowels in the history of Bulgarian, but it appears that the same cannot be said of Macedonian historical phonology. Arguments for this merger are based on changes of

ε- > q- and vice versa, and Koneski (1983: 24, 41) lists *jazik* 'tongue; language' as an example of the former. Here is a summary of Koneski's discussion of the supposed nasal vowel merger in Macedonian:²

- ε > q
- after unpaired palatalized consonants as a result of dispalatalization, found in only a few root morphemes and only in some dialects outside the west-central area;
 - in desinences, where morphological analogy was more of a factor than phonology in producing change;
 - word initially, as in *jazik*.
- q > ε
- after paired palatalized consonants, a widespread change reflecting a continuation of Common Slavic syllabic synharmony.

By presenting the data in this fashion, Koneski is able to argue against most instances of supposed nasal merger: changes are attributed either to a complementary set of environments or to analogy. The only change that seems problematic is word-initial ε- > q-, which is not well-motivated phonologically, and would appear to suggest a merger of nasal vowels in initial position.³ Koneski (1983: 40–41) attempts to provide a phonological explanation by suggesting that "[t]he avoidance of the sequence *j* + front vowel led to the change *je* > *jq*", producing *język* > *jozik*. Yet prothetic *j*- was certainly not original and probably not phonemic at the time, so a more natural solution would have been to simply drop *j*-. Further, this explanation requires adding a change to the history of Macedonian (namely *je*- > *jq*-) that serves no purpose other than to account for about a half-dozen roots plus derivatives. It is, however, possible to argue that nasal vowels as such were never confused or merged in Macedonian, not even in initial position. Although both ε- and q- eventually yielded *ja*-, this is the result **not** of ε- > q- (a hypothetical nasal merger), but rather the result of ε- > ě- > *ja*- (where we have a merger of the reflexes of initial ě-, q- and (j)a-). The explanation presented in this paper posits no extra changes other than those already posited by Koneski (namely ε > ě, q- > *ja*-, and (j)a- > *ja*-), plus ě- > *ja*-, for which there is independent evidence, and further suggests that there was no merger of

² This summary is condensed from Koneski 1983: 40–42; Koneski 1986 does not make substantive additions to the discussion of nasal vowels.

³ Koneski also mentions *je* > *jq* in syllable-initial position, but all such examples which are not word-initial are desinential and subject more to analogical than to phonological factors. We should note here that our solution applies to the west central dialects of Macedonian, which served as the base of the literary language. The process must have been different in the peripheral western dialects, where q gives reflexes other than a (cf. Belić 1935: 39).

nasal vowels even in initial position, thus strengthening Koneski's argument in favor of a Macedonian development with regard to these segments distinct from that observed in Bulgarian.

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Laura Janda
Dept. of Slavic Languages
CB #3165, Dey Hall 425
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, NC 27599–3165
janda@unc.edu

Victor A. Friedman
Dept. of Slavic Languages
University of Chicago
1130 E. 59th St.
Chicago, IL 60637
vfriedm@midway.uchicago.edu

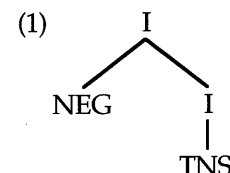
Received: 9 April 1994
Revised: 24 September 1994

The Structure of Russian Clausal Negation*

Tracy Holloway King

Abstract. The present article argues that the Russian negative marker *ne* does not head its own functional projection in the structure of a clause. Instead, it is argued that *ne* forms a unit with the tensed verb in its clause. As a result, negation has scope over the tensed verb in I^0 and the material in VP, but not over other finite elements. Arguments in support of this position are based upon facts of the scope of negation and the genitive of negation.

The syntactic behavior of Russian clausal negation suggests that the negative marker forms a complex head with the inflected verb. That is, the Russian negative does not head its own projection, as suggested by Pollock (1989) for French and English and now often assumed universally, nor is it in an adjoined adverbial position, as suggested by Baker (1991) for English. Instead, this approach is similar to that of Piñón (1992) for Hungarian and Romance.¹ The basic structure which I posit for Russian is shown in (1).



In (1), I[inflection] forms a complex head containing negation and tense.² Tensed verbs undergo head-movement to I^0 for inflectional features. In affirmative clauses, I^0 contains only tense. When a clause is negated, I^0 contains the negation as well as tense. This is represented as an adjunction structure within the head.

* Research for this article was supported by grants from the Social Science Research Council and the International Research and Exchanges Board, with funds provided by the U.S. Department of State (Title VIII). Neither of these organizations is responsible for the views expressed. I would like to thank Loren Billings, Steve Franks, two anonymous reviewers, and the audience of FASL 3 for discussion and comments.

¹ Adapting Laka 1990, Piñón (1992) terms this projection ΣP . I use the more familiar IP notation.

² I do not assume an additional projection for agreement. Agreement can be thought of as part of I^0 or as the result of Spec-head agreement. See Mitchell 1994 for discussion. This issue is irrelevant for the proposal made here.