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## ON THE GENEALOGICAL LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION OF SLAVIC LANGUAGES AND THEIR DIALECT MACRO-AREAS

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### Abstract

The contribution aims to illustrate the framework of genealogical linguistic classification of Slavic/Slavonic languages and their dialect macro-areas as mirrored in the standard comprehensive surveys presenting geographical linguistic variation of Slavic. First, the theory and the methodology of the three main branches of linguistic science are presented, viz. genealogical (or genetic) linguistics, typological linguistics, and sociolinguistics, as well as the genealogical and the sociolinguistic classification of the Slavic languages. Second, the linguistic criteria of linguistic genealogy are discussed, whereby the extra-linguistic factors current in some other classifications are critically assessed using the examples from Slavic. Finally, a few case studies in the genealogical linguistic interpretation of Slavic are adduced, namely the dialectal delimitation of Eastern South Slavic (i.e. Macedonian vs. Bulgarian), Central South Slavic as a linguistic area, East Slavic languages, Kashubian in relation to Polish, and Sorbian in the context of West Slavic.

**Keywords:** genealogical linguistics, isoglottic dialectology, relative chronology, Slavic/Slavonic languages

### SOBRE LA CLASSIFICACIÓ LINGÜÍSTICA GENEALÒGICA DE LES LLENGÜES ESLAVES I LES SEVES MACROÀREES DIALECTES

#### Resum

Aquesta contribució pretén il·lustrar el marc de la classificació lingüística genealògica de les llengües eslavés/eslavòniques i les seves macroàrees dialectals, tal com es reflecteix en les enquestes exhaustives que mostren la variació lingüística geogràfica de l'eslau. En primer lloc, es presenta la teoria i la metodologia de les tres branques principals de la ciència lingüística, és a dir, la lingüística genealògica

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(o genètica), la lingüística tipològica i la sociolingüística, com també la classificació genealògica i sociolingüística de les llengües eslaves. En segon lloc, es debaten els criteris lingüístics de la genealogia lingüística, mitjançant els quals els factors extralingüístics actuals s'avaluen críticament en altres classificacions utilitzant els exemples de l'eslau. Finalment, s'aporten alguns casos d'estudi sobre la interpretació lingüística genealògica de l'eslau, és a dir, la delimitació dialectal de l'eslau del sud oriental (és a dir, macedoni vs. búlgar), l'eslau sud central com a àrea lingüística, les llengües eslaves orientals, el caixubi en relació amb el polonès, i el sòrab en el context de l'eslau occidental.

**Paraules clau:** lingüística genealògica, dialectologia isoglòtica, cronologia relativa, llengües eslaves/eslavòniques

## O GENEALOŠKI JEZIKOSLOVNI KLASIFIKACIJI SLOVANSKIH JEZIKOV IN NJIHOVIH NAREČNIH PLOSKEV

### Izvlaček

V prispèvku je obravnavana genealoška jezikoslovna klasifikacija slovanskih jezikov in njihovih narečnih ploskev (baz), kakršna se odraža v standardnih preglednih jezikoslovnih delih, ki obravnavajo zemljepisno jezikovno raznolikost slovanskega sveta. Najprej sta predstavljeni teorija in metodologija treh temeljnih vej jezikoslovja, tj. geneo-, tipo- in sociolingvistike, kot tudi geneo- in sociolingvistična delitev slovanskih jezikov. Nadalje so obravnavana jezikoslovna merila jezikovne genealogije, pri čemer so s primeri iz slovanskih jezikov v kritični pretres vzeti tudi zunajjezikovni dejavniki, ki se pojavljajo v nekaterih drugih klasifikacijah jezikov in narečij. Nazadnje je vzorčno prikazanih nekaj primerov genealoške jezikoslovne interpretacije iz slovanskega jezikovnega prostora, in sicer narečna delitev vzhodne južne slovanščine (tj. makedonščine in bolgarščine), osrednja južna slovanščina kot jezik, vzhodnoslovanski jeziki, kašubščina v odnosu do poljščine ter lužiška srbščina v kontekstu zahodne slovanščine.

**Ključne besede:** genealoško jezikoslovje, izoglosna dialektologija, relativna kronologija, slovanski jeziki

## 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

Like Baltic, Germanic, Celtic, Italic (later to give birth, via Latin, one of its daughters, to Romance/Roman languages), Albanian, Greek, Anatolian, Armenian, Iranian, Indic, and Tocharian, Slavic (or Slavonic) represents a language branch of Indo-European. In Indo-European linguistic studies it is generally acknowledged that Proto-Indo-European, a proto-language of all the historically documented (as well as fragmentarily documented and non-documented) Indo-European languages, started to

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<sup>1</sup> The contribution focuses on the genealogical linguistic classification of Slavic languages and their dialect macro-areas. However, historical and dialect material permitting, the theory and the methodology of the approach presented here can be successfully applied to any other Indo-European language branch as well as to other language families.

disintegrate and consequently split into smaller units, from which the individual Indo-European languages eventually branched out, at around 4000 BC. Proto-Slavic itself took shape by c. 800 AD, which is also when its gradual fragmentation began into three Slavic macro-areas, i.e., South, East, and West Slavic.<sup>2</sup> These then split further to yield the present-day Slavic languages, their dialect macro-areas, and their individual dialects.

The Slavic languages are conventionally divided into three subgroups, viz. South, East, and West Slavic. The South Slavic languages are/were historically present in the Eastern Alps, the western part of the Pannonian Basin, and the greater part of the Balkan Peninsula, the East Slavic languages historically occupied Eastern Europe, while the West Slavic languages are/were historically present in the eastern part of Central Europe. These three subgroups do not only mirror the geographical distribution of the individual Slavic languages but represent their mutual genetic affinity too. It must be emphasised that such a tripartite subdivision of the Slavic languages rests on a genealogical linguistic classification, given that it is based on the linguistic features of the idioms in question. There is, however, no one answer to the question how many Slavic languages there are exactly, since the decision will logically depend on the way one defines a *language* and, more importantly, on the choice of the framework of *linguistic classification*.

In the article the theory and the methodology of the three main branches of linguistic science will be presented, viz. genealogical (or genetic) linguistics, typological linguistics (or linguistic typology), and sociolinguistics, turning then to the genealogical and the sociolinguistic classification of the Slavic linguistic area. The focus of the discussion will, however, be put on the genealogical linguistic classification of the Slavic languages and their dialect macro-areas as mirrored by the standard comprehensive surveys.<sup>3</sup> To this purpose, the linguistic criteria of linguistic genealogy

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<sup>2</sup> For a comprehensive work on Indo-European linguistics, cf. Fritz & Meier-Brügger (2021), for the formation of Proto-Slavic on the phonetic/phonological level, cf. Shevelov (1964), a standard work of Slavic comparative linguistics.

<sup>3</sup> The Slavic languages are genealogically comprehensively and largely satisfactorily classified in the standard linguistic work *The Slavonic Languages* (Comrie & Corbett 2002). The book only focuses on the respective standard languages, however, but also includes Polabian.

will be discussed (using Slavic language material), critically assessing the use of extra-linguistic factors prominent in some other classificatory attempts. In addition to that, some cases of genealogical linguistic interpretation will be adduced that have been, justifiably or not, problematised in scholarly literature.

## 2. Linguistic classification: genealogical, typological, and sociolinguistic

Depending on the vantage point from which the questions connected to the human language are tackled, there are at least three modes of linguistic enquiry in the study of *idioms/lects* (i.e., linguistic systems and diasystems)<sup>4</sup> in contemporary Slavic linguistic studies, viz. genealogical (or genetic) linguistics, typological linguistics (or linguistic typology), and sociolinguistics.<sup>5</sup> In terms of linguistic variation a *lect* can stand for a *geolect* (i.e. a geographical, spatial linguistic phenomenon, which is, however, not to be confused with the term “geographical/spatial dialect”), it can refer to a *sociolect* (i.e. a social linguistic phenomenon), or to a *chronolect* (i.e. a chronological, temporal linguistic phenomenon), since both *geolects* and *sociolects* display their respective subset of the various *chronolects*. As far as their theoretical modelling and methodological approaches are concerned, the three main branches of linguistics are thoroughly independent from each other. Consequently, any kind of research results should not be automatically transferred from one to the other, which amounts to the fact that there are three autonomous types of linguistic classification of any given idiom that will typically need to be established.

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<sup>4</sup> The term *idiom* functions as the most general and in terms of its connotative qualitative or hierarchical value a rather neutral label; a linguistic *diasystem* comprises a group of *linguistic systems* (cf. Brozović 1970: 10). The term *idiom* is commonly used in Slavic studies and can be equated with the term *lect* current in other linguistic traditions.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Brozović 1996 on the subdivision of linguistics into three branches, as well as the division of genealogical linguistics into historical comparative linguistics and areal dialectology.

## 2.1 Genealogical linguistics

### 2.1.1 Genetic affinity

Genealogical linguistics studies the genetic relationship between lects and establishes their genealogical classification based on (the degree of) *genetic affinity*. According to the principles of the so-called *wave theory* (German *Wellentheorie*), the genetic affinity between any two geolects in a dialect continuum that belong to the same genetic stock will in most cases depend on their mutual geographical distance (see Schmidt 1872). To this purpose, this branch of linguistics explores the evolutionary development of *geolects* within the spatial dimension as it progresses in interdependence with the innovations in the domain of language change, while it remains alert to the social factor that contributes to the secondary processes of standardisation or de-standardisation of *sociolects*. Genealogical linguistics is thus essentially a diachronic discipline (linguistic affiliation can only be established diachronically, which in turn reveals the exact mechanisms of individual evolutionary histories).<sup>6</sup>

The branch of genealogical linguistics that is particularly interested in the analysis of *geolects* comprises *comparative linguistics* and *areal* or *spatial dialectology*. Comparative linguistics or, more precisely, historical comparative linguistics, has for its goal the reconstruction of proto-languages (on all levels of linguistic enquiry), which it achieves through the comparison of genetically related *geolects* that developed from some common ancestor through divergence. The essential tools of comparative linguistics are the comparative method and the method of reconstruction. Comparative linguistics traces language change from the proto-language to the nascence of a language. Dialectology, on the other hand, is interested in the dismemberment and fragmentation processes affecting languages and consequent creation of dialect macro-areas, dialects, and their local varieties.

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<sup>6</sup> For the theory and methodology of historical linguistics, cf. Hock (2021).

Linguistic genealogy takes into account divergent linguistic change in a *linguistic continuum* – usually referred to as *dialect continuum* – whereby from an “ancestor” geolect several “descendant” geolects arise. A common linguistic “ancestor” gradually transforms into smaller “descendant” geolects due to geographically limited linguistic innovations. Due to divergent linguistic changes, there naturally arises *geographical linguistic diversity* between the individual genetically related geolects. In order to designate the genetic relationship between geolects, linguistic genealogy uses terms such as *proto-language* (German *Ursprache*) and *language family* (German *Sprachfamilie*), *language branch* or *language group*, *language*, *dialect macro-area* or *dialect group*, *dialect*, *local dialect*. In a diachronic perspective, the pairs *proto-language* – *language family*, *language branch* – *language group*, and *dialect macro-area* – *dialect group* denote linguistic entities, the genetic relationship of which can be described as “ancestor – descendant”. Through time a language family emerges from a proto-language, a language branch gives origin to a language group, and a dialect macro-area splits into a dialect group. Thus, linguistic genealogy reconstructs divergent linguistic change and the consequent emergence of linguistic diversity of genetically related geolects. As a consequence of that, it groups geolects within a geographical linguistic continuum of genetically related geolects according to the degree of their genetic affinity, i.e. genetic identity in a diachronic perspective. Furthermore, it identifies the geolectal origin of sociolects as well as the processes of their standardisation and de-standardisation within a sociolinguistic continuum.

<b>The diachronic perspective</b>	<b>The synchronic perspective</b>
proto-language	language family
language branch	language group
language	language
dialect macro-area	dialect group
dialect	dialect
local dialect	local dialect

Table 1. Geolects from the synchronic and the diachronic perspective

### 2.1.2 Slavic (also Slavonic) *languages* as geolects

In the framework of genealogical linguistic classification, the term *language* is to be defined as a *geolect*, which encompasses groups of dialects and their local varieties displaying the same set of linguistic features (i.e., archaisms and/or innovations). These must, in turn, differ in a meaningful way from the linguistic properties of a neighbouring group of dialects, which between themselves naturally form a neighbouring language.

According to this type of classification, the Slavic *languages* as geolects may be grouped into three distinct subgroups, viz. South, East and West Slavic: 1) South Slavic is further subdivided into two branches: a) Western South Slavic: Slovene/Slovenian and Central South Slavic,<sup>7</sup> and b) Eastern South Slavic: Macedonian and Bulgarian; 2) East Slavic comprises Russian (i.e. North-Eastern East Slavic), Belarusian (i.e. Western East Slavic), and Ukrainian (i.e. South-Western East Slavic); 3) West Slavic is subdivided into three sub-branches: a) Lechitic (i.e. Northern West Slavic): Polish (i.e. East Lechitic), (†)Pomeranian (i.e. Central Lechitic), the rest of which is presented by Kashubian and its north-westernmost dialect †Slovincian, and †Polabian (i.e. West Lechitic), b) Sorbian (Central West Slavic), and c) Czech-Slovak (i.e. Southern West Slavic): Czech and Slovak.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> In the framework of genealogical linguistics, *Serbo-Croatian* has been replaced by the more appropriate term *Central South Slavic*, cf. Croatian *srednjojužnoslavenski jezik* 'Central South Slavic language' (Lončarić 1996: 29), Russian *srednejužnoslovjanske govory* 'Central South Slavic varieties' (OLA 4a 2006: 158), etc. This Central South Slavic geolect encompasses the following dialect macro-areas: Kajkavian, Čakavian, Western Štokavian, and Eastern Štokavian.

<sup>8</sup> For a more accurate presentation of the formation of the Slavic languages and their dialect macro-areas as well as for the criteria of their genealogical linguistic classification, see Šekli (2018).

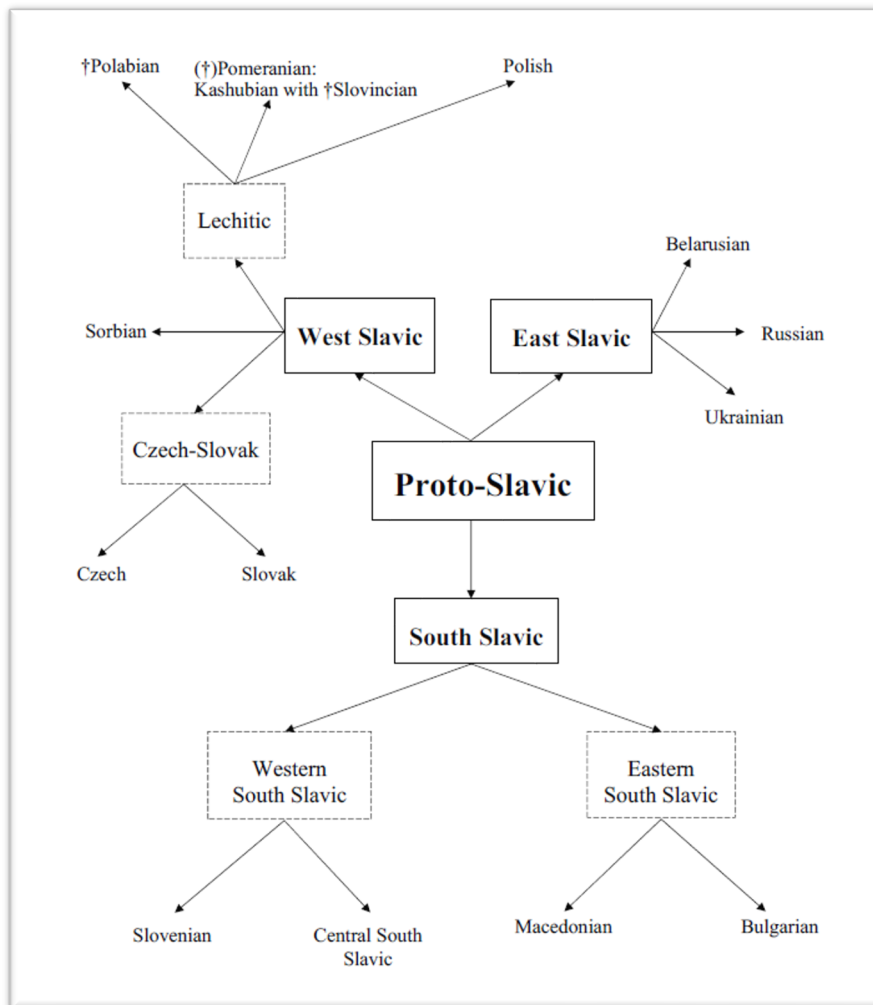


Figure 1. The formation of Slavic languages





Map 1. Slavic languages

## 2.2 Typological linguistics

### 2.2.1 Structural similarity

Typological linguistics studies the structure of idioms, which is to say their *structural similarities and differences* on several distinct levels of linguistic enquiry and establishes several types of typological classification: phonetic/phonological, morphological, syntactic, and lexical. Such a classification will thus differ according to the linguistic feature(s) on which it is based. Consequently, there can of course never be such a thing as a single universal typological classification. Quite independent from their genealogical affiliation, structurally similar idioms can thus be grouped together into *linguistic types*. In its application, typological linguistics is predominantly

synchronic, language history being irrelevant for the establishment of structural similarity. An important part of typological linguistics is *areal linguistic typology*. This groups idioms within a *linguistic area* of genetically related and unrelated idioms according to the degree of their structural similarity, irrespective of their genetic relatedness (i.e., it clusters genetically related as well as genetically unrelated idioms into the same linguistic type).

What is particularly relevant for areal linguistic typology is convergent linguistic change (linguistic innovation), which has as its result a greater degree of structural similarity. In parallel to divergent (and convergent) linguistic change in a *dialect continuum* of related geolects over a given period of time, convergent linguistic change can also affect unrelated or not closely related geolects due to geographical and social language contact, which can result in linguistic influence and, consequently, in linguistic borrowing (cf. loanwords) and imitation (cf. calques). These processes usually occur in the context of protracted multilingual political and cultural milieus, the result of which can ultimately be the formation of a convergence area (cf. Trubeckoj 1923: 116). Thus, areal linguistic typology uses the term *convergence area* (German *Sprachbund*) to describe the result of convergent linguistic change in a given linguistic area. Understanding the processes involved in the rise and the formation of a convergence area, meaning the linguistic influence and subsequent linguistic change in the context of language contact as well as the rise of convergent linguistic innovations and other common structural linguistic features, lies in the domain of historical linguistics (cf. Hock 2021: 659-724).

### 2.2.2 Slavic languages and convergence areas

Apart from their obvious status within the Slavic *dialect continuum*, the individual Slavic languages have also been claimed to belong to different *convergence areas*. As far as the most commonly recognised “major” linguistic areas are concerned, Slavic is supposed to belong to the so-called *European linguistic area* or *Standard Average European* (SAE), where West Germanic, Gallo-Romance and northern Italo-Romance play the role of “core languages” and share most of the defining features, while other

European languages take on a “peripheral” position (Haspelmath 2001: 1493). As far as “minor” European linguistic areas involving Slavic are concerned, at least two found their way into scholarly discussion, namely the *Balkan Sprachbund* and the *Central European convergence area*. The former has been present in Slavic studies since the very beginning of scholarly attention (cf. Kopitar 1829, Miklosich 1861),<sup>9</sup> while the latter has been receiving heightened attention since the 1990s (cf. Kurzová 1996, 2019). In addition, attempts have been made recently to include in the list the so-called *Alpine convergence area* (German *Alpensprachbund*) (Pila 2021). However, of the enumerated hypothesised convergence areas it is only the hypothesised Balkan Sprachbund that has found any significant approval among scholars.<sup>10</sup>

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

In Eastern South Slavic, the so-called morphosyntactic *Balkanisms* must have arisen between the time of Old Eastern South Slavic, documented in Old Church Slavonic, the first Slavic literary language from the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century (cf. the Classical Cyrillo-Methodian era 863-885), and the emergence of its Modern Eastern

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<sup>9</sup> The pioneer in the study of the Balkan languages was Jernej Kopitar / Bartholomäus Kopitar (1780-1844), who synthesised the typological similarity of Albanian, Bulgarian and Romanian as follows: “nur eine Sprachform herrscht, aber mit dreierley Schprachmaterie” (Kopitar 1829: [253]) [“only one linguistic form exists, but with three distinct surface realisations”]. The scientific foundations of Balkan linguistics were laid down by Franc Miklošič / Franz Miklosich (1813-1891) (cf. Miklosich 1861).

<sup>10</sup> For a critical assessment of the theoretical and methodological approach in defining the so-called *Central European* and *Alpine* convergence area, cf. Šekli (2023a).

South Slavic descendants, viz. Macedonian and Bulgarian. These secondarily acquired linguistic features significantly altered the linguistic type of both South Slavic geolects in question, making them considerably different from other modern Slavic languages.<sup>11</sup> Note that however radical the morphosyntactic changes in Eastern South Slavic might have been, they did not affect or change the genealogical status of the linguistic systems under discussion, which is to say that Macedonian and Bulgarian remain essentially Slavic idioms.

### 2.3 Sociolinguistics

#### 2.3.1 Communicative role

Sociolinguistics studies idioms as a means of communication of a given linguistic community (*collectivum*) or of an individual (*individuum*). It focuses predominantly on the impact of *social factors* on the use and the shape of language, and establishes sociolinguistic (or social) classification of both genetically related and non-related idioms. The main classificatory criterion is the *communicative role* that a given idiom has in society, whereby the *literary* or *standard language* typically presents the most prominent and prestigious linguistic variety. Note, however, that the sociolinguistic term *literary/standard language*, which refers to a sociolect, should not be confused with the genealogical linguistic term *language*, which designates a geolect. Sociolinguistics can either be synchronic or diachronic.

#### 2.3.2 *Slavia Romana, Slavia orthodoxa, Slavia islamica*

Within historical sociolinguistics, there is a special field that examines the origin and formation of written, literary languages. Such historical processes are usually closely linked to the political and, consequently, cultural circumstances in which a language happens to be used. As far as Europe is concerned, these processes root deeply in the social and political circumstances of the Middle Ages and the Early

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<sup>11</sup> For a detailed discussion of linguistic Balkanisms in Macedonian and Bulgarian see Koneski (1967: 8-9), Asenova (2002), Fiedler (2009), synthesised in Šekli (2018: 51-72).

Modern Era. In this sense, the Slavic linguistic area can be divided into two distinctive cultural macro-regions, *Slavia Romana* and *Slavia orthodoxa*.<sup>12</sup> However, in the Early Modern period, which saw the spread of Islam in the Balkan Peninsula within the Ottoman Empire after the fall of Byzantium in 1453, a third cultural region began to take shape, namely *Slavia islamica*.

*Slavia Romana* was shaped within the context of Western Christianity (*christianitas occidentalis*) under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Rome. From the Middle Ages Latin was the language of liturgy as well as the official language of ecclesiastical and secular power of Western Christianity. Gradually, however, it was the vernaculars that started gaining ground as the “new” written, literary languages. Like Latin, the modern Slavic standard languages of *Slavia Romana*, i.e. Slovene/Slovenian, Croatian, Polish, Kashubian, Lower and Upper Sorbian, Czech, and Slovak, are written in the Latin alphabet. In contrast to that, *Slavia orthodoxa* formed within the context of Eastern Christianity (*christianitas orientalis*) and under the influence of Byzantium. In this cultural region it was the different recensions of Old Church Slavonic which were used as the written standard after the Christianisation, until they were gradually supplanted by the vernacular languages by the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century at the latest. Like the majority of the recensions of Old Church Slavonic, the modern Slavic standard languages of *Slavia orthodoxa*, viz. Serbian, Montenegrin, Macedonian, Bulgarian, Russian, Belarusian, and Ukrainian, are written in the Cyrillic script. Within the parameters of the Muslim cultural environment, in Bosnia and Herzegovina the Arabic script was widely used in the past, but was later replaced by the Latin alphabet, so that modern Bosnian is now standardly written using the latter norm. The Latin alphabet is used, alongside Cyrillic, to write Serbian and Montenegrin as well.

### 2.3.3 Slavic *literary* or *standard languages*

As a rule, the number of the individual *languages* (i.e., geolects) tends to mismatch the number of their standardised varieties, *literary* or *standard languages*

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<sup>12</sup> The terms *Slavia Romana* (Italian *Slavia romana*) and *Slavia orthodoxa* (Italian *Slavia ortodossa*) were coined by the Italian literary historian and Slavist Riccardo Picchio (cf. Picchio 1991).

(i.e., sociolects).<sup>13</sup> As it can be deduced from the above, more standard languages occur within the Slavic linguistic world than there are actual languages (in the genealogical meaning of that designation!). A prime example comes from Central South Slavic. On the basis of the Eastern Herzegovinian dialect (*istočnohercegovački dijalekt*) of Eastern Štokavian, a literary language was formed in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century – cf. the Vienna Literary Agreement (*bečki književni dogovor*) from 1850 – called *srpskohrvatski* “Serbo-Croatian” or *hrvatskosrpski* “Croato-Serbian”. After the geopolitical changes starting in 1991, which saw the breakup of Yugoslavia and its dismemberment into four new nation states in the Central South Slavic area (Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, and Montenegro), Serbo-Croatian split into four independent standard languages: Croatian, Serbian, Bosnian, and Montenegrin.<sup>14</sup> Thus, the term *Serbo-Croatian* has the value of a historical denomination, i.e., it refers to the historical literary/standard language (c. 1850–1991) that took shape and was in use in the entire Central South Slavic linguistic area. Similarly, in the Sorbian speaking area two standard languages, Lower Sorbian and Upper Sorbian, cohabit from the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century onward, the former within the borders of the historical region of Prussia (nowadays Brandenburg) and the latter in Saxony. It is understandable that

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<sup>13</sup> It is necessary to point out that the term *literary/standard (macro-)language* should be clearly distinguished from the term *literary/standard micro-language*. The latter was introduced into Slavic studies by Aleksandr Duličenko, cf. his denomination *slovjanskij literaturnyj mikrojazyk* ‘Slavic literary micro-language’ (Duličenko 1981, 2003-2004). However, Duličenko’s definition of this term is problematic both from the theoretical and the methodological perspectives. He defines this linguistic entity simply as “jazyk malyh ètničeskikh grupp” ‘language of small ethnic groups’, irrespective of its genealogical or sociolinguistic status. Without any critical theoretical assessment from the viewpoint of linguistics, some scholars have equated Duličenko’s literary micro-languages with literary/standard macro-languages or even with languages in a genealogical linguistic meaning! This is one of the main reasons why some of the extant handbooks mirror total confusion in the way Slavic languages are classified (see, e.g., Rehder 2006). Nonetheless, Duličenko’s term may still be rather useful when appropriately applied, i.e. if one defines a *literary/standard micro-language* as a *sociolect*, which is in use instead of the literary/standard language of the same genetic origin in circumstances that make the latter unavailable due to extra-linguistic factors (cf. section 3.3). For example, the Slovenian dialect of Resia/Rezija (*rezijansko narečje*), which is a part of the Slovenian linguistic area and classifiable as a member of the Littoral dialect group (*primorska narečna skupina*), is used in the Resia/Rezija Valley (Friuli, Italy) as the standard micro-language exactly because of the otherwise very limited diffusion of Standard Slovenian in that valley (cf. Šekli 2023b). In a similar way, the local varieties of Croatian in the region of Burgenland/Gradišće/Őrvidék (Austria), called Burgenland Croatian (*gradišćanskohrvatski*), function, beside Standard Croatian, as the standardised micro-language of that region.

<sup>14</sup> For the formation and subsequent disintegration of Serbo-Croatian into Croatian, Serbian, Bosnian, and Montenegrin, cf. Greenberg (2004) as well as Požgaj Hadži & Balažić Bulc (2022).

in the former Pomeranian speaking area only Kashubian standard language is now in use. On the other hand, the speakers of Polabian never developed a written language.

According to the sociolinguistic classification, most contemporary Slavic standard languages, are *national* and *official* languages, recognised in the legislation of the respective Slavic nation states, viz. Slovene/Slovenian, Croatian, Serbian, Bosnian, Montenegrin, Macedonian, Bulgarian, Russian, Belarusian (co-official with Russian), Ukrainian, Polish, Czech, and Slovak. Three of the modern Slavic standard languages are traditionally recognised as *minority/regional languages* under special protection laws and are (together with the majority national languages) the *official languages* in their historical regions: 1) Lower Sorbian was recognised in Lower Lusatia (in the State of Brandenburg, Germany) and Upper Sorbian in Upper Lusatia (in the Free State of Saxony, Germany) after the Second World War (see German *Gesetz zur Wahrung der Rechte der sorbischen Bevölkerung* / Lower Sorbian *Kazń za zachowanje pšawow serbskeje ludnosći* / Upper Sorbian *Zakoń wo zachowanju prawow serbskeje ludnosće* (23 March 1948) 'Law on the Protection of the Rights of the Sorbian Population'); after the reunion of both German states into the Federal Republic of Germany, both standard languages figure in the constitutions of the respective German States (viz. Lower Sorbian in the Article 25 of the Constitution of the State of Brandenburg dated 20 August 1992 and Upper Sorbian in the Article 6 of the Constitution of the Free State of Saxony dated 27 May 1992) and are protected by special regional laws (viz. German *Gesetz zur Ausgestaltung der Rechte der Sorben/Wenden im Land Brandenburg*, Lower Sorbian *Kazń k ředowanju pšawow Serbow w kraju Bramborska* (7 June 1994) 'Law on the Rights of the Sorbs/Wends in the State of Brandenburg', and German *Gesetz über die Rechte der Sorben im Freistaat Sachsen* / Upper Sorbian *Zakoń wo prawach Serbow w Swobodnym staće Sakska* (31 March 1999) 'Law on the Rights of the Sorbs in the Free State of Saxony'); 2) Kashubian in Pomerania (in the Pomeranian Voivodeship, Poland) was recognised after the processes of democratisation in the former East Block after 1989 (see Polish *Ustawa o mniejszościach narodowych i etnicznych oraz o języku regionalnym*, Kashubian *Ùstów ò nôrodněch i etniczněch mniészěznach a těz ò regionalnym jãzëkù* (6 January 2005) 'Law on National and Ethnic Minorities and

Regional Language’). The three standard languages in question are covered by the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* (1992/1998) as well.<sup>15</sup>

The difference between genealogical linguistic and sociolinguistic classification of Slavic is presented in Table 2, evidencing the mismatch between the number of Slavic *languages* (i.e., geolects) and the number of the Slavic *standard languages* (i.e., sociolects).

<b>Genealogical linguistic classification: languages (i.e., geolects)</b>	<b>Sociolinguistic classification: standard languages (i.e., sociolects)</b>
Slovene/Slovenian	Slovene/Slovenian
Central South Slavic (i.e., Kajkavian, Čakavian, Western Štokavian, and Eastern Štokavian)	Croatian Bosnian Montenegrin Serbian
Macedonian	Macedonian
Bulgarian	Bulgarian
Russian	Russian
Belarusian	Belarusian
Ukrainian	Ukrainian
Polish	Polish
Pomeranian <sup>(†)</sup>	Kashubian
Polabian <sup>†</sup>	—
Sorbian	Lower Sorbian Upper Sorbian
Czech	Czech
Slovak	Slovak

Table 2. The genealogical linguistic and sociolinguistic classification of the Slavic/Slavonic languages

### 3. Genealogical linguistic classification of Slavic<sup>16</sup>

The genealogical linguistic classification of Slavic geolects is based on *linguistic criteria*, i.e., the individual linguistic features. A key role is of course played by the

<sup>15</sup> It has to be added that the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* does not in fact include all the traditional minorities (e.g. Slovenian is recognised in Austria, Hungary, and Croatia, but not in Italy). On the other hand, several non-traditional minorities are included (e.g. Slovenian in Bosnia and Herzegovina).

<sup>16</sup> The symbols used in the reconstructions strictly follow the principles traditionally established in Slavic comparative linguistics rather than adhere to the IPA system. Additional justification for this conscious choice lies in the fact that since all reconstructions are phonemic, symbols that imply any kind of specific phonetic reality would risk being inexact.



geographical distribution and the relative chronology of linguistic changes which gave origin to these linguistic characteristics. In the following section the linguistic criteria of linguistic genealogy will be discussed in detail and the extra-linguistic factors current in some other classifications critically assessed. Additional attention will be paid to the problem of substrate languages.

### *3.1 Linguistic criteria of genealogical linguistic classification*

#### 3.1.1 Historical phonetics/phonology as the most important criterion of genealogical linguistic classification

In the 1870s, the Leipzig Neogrammarian school of linguistics came to the correct conclusion that sound change is by far the most systematic process among the changes that can affect a given language. Sound changes can be accurately captured by mathematically precise rules (appropriately the Neogrammarians called them *Lautgesetze*, i.e., sound laws).<sup>17</sup> As such, the *historical phonetics/phonology* of a language is undeniably the most important criterion for accurate genealogical classification of a lect. To this may be added the morphological criterion, but only if the areas of innovation in the domain of morphology overlap with those involving sound change. Syntactic and lexical features have a decidedly inferior impact on the actual genealogical classification. The main reason for that is the inherent instability of the referents in extra-linguistic reality and the ease with which such features can be

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<sup>17</sup> "Aller lautwandel, so weit er mechanisch vor sich geht, vollzieht sich nach ausnahmslosen gesetzen, d. h. die richtung der lautbewegung ist bei allen angehörigen einer sprachgenossenschaft, ausser dem fall, dass dialektspaltung eintritt, stets dieselbe, und alle wörter, in denen der der lautbewegung unterworfenen laut unter gleichen verhältnissen erscheint, werden ohne ausnahme von der änderung ergriffen." (Osthoff & Brugman 1878: XIII.). ["All sound change, as far as it proceeds mechanically, takes place according to laws without exception, i.e. the directionality of sound change is always the same for all members of a linguistic community, except in the case of dialect splitting; and all the words in which the sound, subject to the sound change, appears under the same conditions are affected by the change without exception".]

influenced by contact situations, be it that these involve the individual geolects or sociolects.<sup>18</sup>

For instance, from Proto-Slavic (PSl.) three Slavic dialect macro-areas, i.e., South, East, and West Slavic (SSL., ESL., WSl.), arose by the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. These original three macro-dialects are defined first of all on the basis of the oldest non-common Slavic sound changes such as:<sup>19</sup> 1) the different reflexes of Proto-Slavic palatal consonant \*ś: PSl. \*ś > SSL., ESL. \*s vs. WSl. \*š (PSl. Nsg n \*vьxο > \*vьše ‘whole’ > SSL., ESL. \*vьse vs. WSl. \*vьše); 2) the palatalisation of Proto-Slavic velars \*k, \*g, \*x before front vowels with an intermediary \*v in South and East Slavic: PSl. \*kv<sup>E</sup>, \*gv<sup>E</sup>, \*xv<sup>E</sup> > SSL., ESL. \*cv, \*zv, \*sv (PSl. \*kvěťb ‘flower’ > WSl. \*kvěťb vs. SSL., ESL. \*cvěťb; PSl. \*gvězda ‘star’ > WSl. \*gvězda vs. SSL., ESL. \*zvězda; PSl. Npl \*vьlxvi ‘magicians’ > WSl. \*vьlxvi vs. SSL., ESL. \*vьlsvi); 3) the metathesis in \*CoRC groups (c. 800 AD), which in some positions (and/or some lexemes) had a fourfold reflex, cf. PSl. \*CoRC > Plb., Pom. \*CaRC/\*CRoC, SSL., Cz., Slk. \*CRaC, ESL. \*CoRoC, Pol., Sorb. \*CRoC (PSl. \*vorna ‘crow’ > Plb., Pom. \*varna, SSL., Cz., Slk. \*vrana, ESL. \*vorona, Pol., Sorb. \*vrona; PSl. \*golva ‘head’ > Pom. \*galva, SSL., Cz., Slk. \*glava, ESL. \*golova, Pol., Sorb. \*glova); 4) the rise of syllabic liquids in South and West Slavic: PSl. \*CьRC > SSL., WSl. \*Cr’C (PSl. \*zьrno ‘grain’ > ESL. \*zьrno vs. SSL., ESL. \*zr’no; PSl. \*vьlkь ‘wolf’ > ESL. \*vьlk vs. SSL., ESL. \*vlk); PSl. \*CьRC > SSL., WSl. \*CrC (PSl. \*kьrmiti ‘to feed’ > ESL. \*kьrmiti vs. SSL., ESL. \*krmiti; PSl. \*dьlgь ‘debt’ > ESL. \*dьlg vs. SSL., ESL. \*dlg); 5) the simplification of \*tl, \*dl and \*tn, \*dn consonant clusters in South and East Slavic: PSl. \*tl/\*dl, \*tn/\*dn > SSL., ESL. \*l, \*n (PSl. \*modliti (sę) ‘to pray, to ask’ > WSl. \*modliti (sę) vs. SSL., ESL.

<sup>18</sup> In contrast to *linguistic genealogy*, *areal linguistic typology* (see 2.2.1) effectively reverses the linguistic criteria. In defining a dialect continuum of genetically related geolects, linguistic criteria are prioritised following a “bottom-up” principle, i.e. phonetics/phonology, morphology, and syntax. In defining a convergence area of genetically non-related idioms, however, it is more appropriate to proceed following a “top-down” principle, as the linguistic influence and the consequent linguistic borrowing and imitation follow the principle “words first, grammar later”. It turns out that the syntactic and morphological levels are far more relevant in determining common structural linguistic features of the languages involved in a convergence area, while the phonetic/phonological (more precisely, the segmental) level, is less important (cf. Birnbaum 1965: 43).

<sup>19</sup> It has to be pointed out that the formation of the three “uniform” Slavic macro-areas presented here is exemplary and necessarily simplified, as it does not consider the presence of some archaic and innovative areas within the three macro-areas such as North-Western Alpine South Slavic (archaic within South Slavic), Novgorod-Pskov and Poles’je-Kyiv East Slavic (archaic within East Slavic), and Tetry West Slavic (innovative within West Slavic). For a more detailed discussion concerning the formation of the Old Slavic geolects, see Šekli (2018: 395-397).

*\*moliti (sę)*; PSI. *\*vędnŋti* ‘to fade’ > WSl. *\*vędnŋti* vs. SSl., ESl. *\*vęnŋti*); 5) the different reflexes of Proto-Slavic palatals *\*tj*, *\*dj*: PSI. *\*tj*, *\*dj* > W SSl. *\*ć*, *\*j/\*đ* vs. E SSl. *\*št*, *\*žd*, ESl. *\*č*, *\*ž*, WSl. *\*c*, *\*ž<sub>2</sub>* (PSI. *\*světja* ‘light, illuminant’ > W SSl. *\*svěća* vs. E SSl. *\*svěšta* vs. ESl. *\*svěča* vs. WSl. *\*svěca*; PSI. *\*medja* ‘border’ > W SSl. *\*meja/\*međa* vs. E SSl. *\*mežda* vs. ESl. *\*meža* vs. WSl. *\*mež<sub>2a</sub>*). To these sound changes, all of which have classificatory value, some old morphological issogloses may be added: 1) the ending of the instrumental singular of *o*-stems (PSI. *\*stolъ* ‘chair’: Isg SSl. *\*stolomъ* vs. ESl., WSl. *\*stolъmъ*; PSI. *\*koňъ* ‘horse’: Isg SSl. *\*koňemъ* vs. ESl., WSl. *\*koňъmъ*); 2) the ending of the genitive singular and the nominative/accusative plural of palatal *ā*-stems (PSI. *\*duša* ‘soul’: Gsg, NApl SSl. *\*dušę* vs. ESl., WSl. *\*dušę<sub>3</sub>*); 3) the verbal prefix meaning ‘out’, which appears as *\*jъz-* in South Slavic but is typically *\*vy-* in East and West Slavic (SSl., ESl. *\*jъz-bъrati* vs. WSl. *\*vy-bъrati*, both ‘to select, to pick out’).

Proto-Slavic	South Slavic	East Slavic	West Slavic
<i>*ś</i>	<i>*s</i>	<i>*s</i>	<i>*š</i>
<i>*kv<sup>E</sup></i> <i>*gv<sup>E</sup></i> <i>*xv<sup>E</sup></i>	<i>*cv</i> <i>*zv</i> <i>*sv</i>	<i>*cv</i> <i>*zv</i> <i>*sv</i>	<i>*kv</i> <i>*gv</i> <i>*xv</i>
<i>*CoRC</i>	<i>*CRaC</i>	<i>*CoRoC</i>	Plb., Pom. <i>*CaRC/*CRoC</i> Pol., Sorb. <i>*CRoC</i> Cz., Slk. <i>*CRaC</i>
<i>*CъRC</i> <i>*CьRC</i>	<i>*Cr’C</i> <i>*CrC</i>	<i>*CъRC</i> <i>*CьRC</i>	<i>*Cr’C</i> <i>*CrC</i>
<i>*tl/*dl</i> <i>*tn/*dn</i>	<i>*l</i> <i>*n</i>	<i>*l</i> <i>*n</i>	<i>*tl/*dl</i> <i>*tn/*dn</i>
<i>*tj</i>	W SSl. <i>*ć</i> E SSl. <i>*št</i>	<i>*č</i>	<i>*c</i>
<i>*dj</i>	W SSl. <i>*j/*đ</i> E SSl. <i>*žd</i>	<i>*ž</i>	<i>*ž<sub>2</sub></i>
Isg of <i>*o</i> -stems	<i>*stol-omъ/ *koň-emъ</i>	<i>*stol-ъmъ/ *koň-ъmъ</i>	<i>*stol-ъmъ/ *koň-ъmъ</i>
Gsg of <i>ā</i> -stems	<i>*duš-ę</i>	<i>*duš-ę<sub>3</sub></i>	<i>*duš-ę<sub>3</sub></i>
verbal prefix ‘out’: <i>*jъz-</i> vs. <i>*vy-</i>	<i>*jъz-bъrati</i>	<i>*vy-bъrati</i>	<i>*vy-bъrati</i>

Table 3. Formation of the three Slavic dialect macro-areas

### 3.1.2 Geographical and chronological distribution of linguistic innovations

As dictated by the methodological approach of genealogical linguistics, the fundamentals of any linguo-genetic modelling and, consequently, genealogical linguistic classification are the specific *sound changes* or the significant absence thereof, i.e. *innovations* and *archaisms*. These phonetic/phonological features (and in certain explicit situations also morphological traits) constitute parameters of genealogical classification, provided that one is able to assign each specific phenomenon its exact geographical distribution as manifested in the *isoglosses* and, even more importantly, rank them in a feasible *relative chronology*.

For example, beside the oldest non-common Slavic phonetic/phonological and morphological innovations that affected West Slavic and yielded the common West Slavic reflexes (see 3.1.1), several other, chronologically younger common West Slavic innovations caused its further divergence. One of such prominent later sound changes is the stabilisation of the Proto-Slavic free placement of the accent, on the first syllable in Sorbian, Czech, and Slovak, and on the second syllable in Polish, with Pomeranian and Polabian displaying a situation where the accent is not yet fully stabilised. The difference between the two adduced types of linguistic changes is evident: the former is responsible for the shaping of West Slavic as a whole, i.e. before its fragmentation into smaller geolects and the formation of the respective West Slavic languages, while the latter, although representative of a common tendency in evolution, did not result in the same thing across the entire dialect continuum. Considering these facts, the first type of linguistic innovation unavoidably has *genetic* value in the classification of West Slavic, while the second type of change will have *structural* value.

### 3.1.3 Linguistic innovations with genetic and structural values

In relation to their relative chronology, the classificatory linguistic features used as criteria in a genealogical linguistic classification can either have genetic or structural

value.<sup>20</sup> As a rule, the *genetic criteria* are represented by significant older linguistic changes (it is to be noted here that the significance of a linguistic change stands in no correlation whatsoever with its frequency in a given linguistic system – sound changes with very limited lexical representation can be equally decisive as a criterion). These linguistic phenomena decide the *genetic identity* of the geolects, having also determined their convergent linguistic change in the past. On the contrary, *structural criteria* are typically represented by younger linguistic innovations. They determine the *structural similarity* of the geolects in question. As far as the hierarchy of different types of linguistic criteria in genealogical linguistic classification is concerned, it is obvious that genetic criteria rank higher than structural criteria (though that is not to say that the latter can be ignored). Since structural similarity does not imply genetic affinity not all linguistic changes can of course be equally relevant for genealogical linguistic classification.

According to some scholars both genetic and structural criteria can or even must be applied in the genealogical linguistic classification of geolects. In Slovenian studies, for instance, two linguistic classifications of Slovenian dialects have been put forward, one purely genealogical and the other predominantly typological.<sup>21</sup> The genealogical linguistic classification takes into account the oldest non-common Slovenian sound changes that took shape in Common Slovenian (CSln.) starting at around 1200 AD and formed two original Slovenian dialect macro-areas, North-Western Slovenian (NW Sln.) and South-Eastern Slovenian (SE Sln.). These then further split into Northern and Western as well as Southern and Eastern Slovenian respectively. Within these four original dialect areas eight major dialect areas arose by 1400 AD. In contrast to this approach, the typological linguistic classification considers not only the oldest but some relatively recent sound changes as well, especially those that lead to convergent linguistic changes of originally heterogeneous geolects. It is exactly these changes that caused parts of different major dialect areas with a lower degree of *genetic affinity* to

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<sup>20</sup> For the implementation of genetic and structural criteria in genealogical classification of the Central South Slavic dialects see Brozović (1960: 74, 76).

<sup>21</sup> For the genealogical linguistic classification of the Slovenian dialects see Rigler (1963). The typological grouping of these dialects is presented in Logar & Rigler (1983).

shape into a dialect group with a higher degree of *structural similarity*. It is to be borne in mind, however, that with the typologically oriented classification of dialects the boundaries between the individual dialects and sub-dialects still match the boundaries between the erstwhile major dialect areas, on which they rest.

Some of the oldest dialectal Slovenian sound changes important for the genealogical classification of the Slovenian dialects are: 1) the denasalisation of Proto-Slavic nasal vowels in South-Eastern Slovenian: PSI. \*ę, \*ǫ > CSln. \*ę, \*ǫ > SE Sln. \*ä, \*ǎ > \*e, \*o (PSI. \*pętь ‘five’ > CSln. \*pęt > NW Sln. \*pęt vs. SE Sln. \*pet; PSI. \*męžь ‘man’ > CSln. \*męž > NW Sln. \*męž vs. SE Sln. \*mož); 2) the diphthongisation of the Common Slovenian long mid vowels \*ě:, \*o: (c. 1200): PSI. \*ě, \*o > CSln. \*ě:, \*o: > NW Sln. \*ie, \*uo vs. SE Sln. \*ei, \*ou (PSI. \*světь ‘light; world’ > CSln. \*svě:t > NW Sln. \*sviet vs. SE Sln. \*sveit; PSI. \*bogь ‘god’ > CSln. \*bo:g > NW Sln. \*buog vs. SE Sln. \*boug); 3) early lengthening of the short acuted vowels in Western and Southern Slovenian (13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> c.) (PSI. \*lěto ‘summer, year’ > CSln. \*lěto > N and E Sln. \*lěto vs. W and S Sln. \*lě:to; PSI. \*volja ‘will’ > CSln. \*volja > N and E Sln. \*volja vs. W and S Sln. \*vo:lja); 4) the vocalisation of the Common Slovenian long mid central vowel \*ǣ: (14<sup>th</sup> c.): PSI. \*ь/\*ѣ > CSln. \*ǣ: > W and S Sln. \*a: vs. N and E Sln. \*e: (PSI. \*dьnь ‘day’ > CSln. \*dǣ:n > W and S Sln. \*da:n vs. N and E Sln. \*de:n; PSI. \*mьxь ‘moss’ > CSln. \*mǣ:x > W and S Sln. \*ma:x vs. N and E Sln. \*me:x). On the other hand, some relatively recent sound changes which took place in parts of both Western Slovenian (i.e., in the dialect of Cerklje) and Southern Slovenian (i.e., in the dialect of Škofja Loka) are responsible for the creation of the Rovte dialect group: 1) monophthongisation of the original Slovenian diphthongs (NW Sln. \*sviet > Cerklje svi:t = SE Sln. \*sveit > Škofja Loka svi:t; NW Sln. \*buog > Cerklje bu:g = SE Sln. \*boug > Škofja Loka bu:g); 2) shortening of Slovenian long high vowels \*i:, \*u: (Sln. ži:v ‘alive’ > živ; Sln. du:ša ‘soul’ > duša); 3) the reduction of unaccented \*o to a (the so-called *akanje*) (Sln. klobása ‘sausage’ > klabása); 4) spirantisation of the voiced velar stop \*g (Sln. glas ‘voice’ > ylas) etc.

Proto-Slavic	Common Slovenian	North-Western Slovenian		South-Eastern Slovenian	
*ę *ǫ	*ę *ǫ	*ę *ǫ		*ä > *e *â > *o	
*ě *o	*ě: *o:	*ie *uo		*ei *ou	
Proto-Slavic	Common Slovenian	North Slovenian	West Slovenian	South-Slovenian	East-Slovenian
*V:-/*V-	*V-	*V:-	*V:-	*V:-/*V-	*V-
*b/*b̥	*ə:	*e:	*a:	*b/*b̥	*ə:

Table 4. Formation of the four Slovenian dialect macro-areas, North, West, South, and East Slovenian

### 3.2 Substrate languages

Apart from borrowed vocabulary, be it geographical names or appellative loanwords, the substrate languages did not have any direct impact on the formation of the Slavic languages and their dialect macro-areas. In the following paragraphs two examples from the South Slavic linguistic area are adduced, which will make plain the absence of any kind of influence of substrate languages on the internal diversification of closely related idioms.

#### 3.2.1 The Koper/Capodistria–Solkan–Villach/Beljak Line

From geographical names and other language material of Romance origin borrowed into South Slavic it can be deduced that the Romance dialect continuum had already split into two dialect macro-areas by the time of the settlement of the Slavs in the Eastern Alpine region, the Pannonian Basin and the Balkan Peninsula, which started around the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD. In the region inhabited by South Slavic two erstwhile Romance macro-geolects can be detected, viz. (South-)Eastern and (North-)Western Romance, which correspond precisely to the later Balkan Romance and Alpine Romance respectively. The dividing line between the two emerging Romance linguistic areas can be traced from Koper/Capodistria via Solkan to

Villach/Beljak (ancient *Capris*, *Silicanum*, and *Villiacum* respectively).<sup>22</sup> In the ensuing centuries, Istriot, Dalmatic, and Romanian developed from Balkan Romance, while Alpine Romance gave birth to Friulian, Ladin, and Romansh.<sup>23</sup>

Looking at the linguistic material borrowed from Romance into South Slavic there are certain characteristics in which this early split is reflected, most faithfully in the reflexes of voiceless stops in intervocalic position and the outcomes of velars before front vowels. In this respect Balkan Romance appears to be much more conservative than Alpine Romance, since it simply preserves the original Romance intervocalic voiceless stops *\*p*, *\*t*, *\*k* and displays no change in the velar series before front vowels, while Alpine Romance typically shows sonorisation of *\*p*, *\*t*, *\*k* intervocalically and palatalises *\*k*, *\*g* to *\*č*, *\*ž*. As an example, the place names deriving from Latin acc. sg. *CIVITĀTE(M)* ‘town’ yielded *Cavtat* in Štokavian, i.e., east of the line in question (Romance *\*Kəvətāte* = Balkan Romance *\*Kəvətāte* → Slavic *\*Kьvьtatъ* > *\*Cьvьtatъ* > Štok. *Càvtat* ‘town in southern Dalmatia’), and *Če(v)dad* in Slovenian, i.e., west of that line (Romance *\*Kəvətāte* = Alpine Romance *\*Čəvədāde* → Slavic *\*Čьvьdadъ* > Sln. *Čəvdàd* > *Čədàd* ‘town in eastern Friuli’).

From the Slavic perspective, however, the Koper/Capodistria–Solkan–Villach/Beljak Line was inconsequential for the actual linguogenesis of Slovenian and the ensuing formation of its dialect macro-areas up to the individual dialects. This can be glimpsed from the simple fact that at both sides of the isogloss Slovenian displays the same linguistic features. Nor has the situation in Romance in any way affected the oldest recoverable dialectal division of Slovenian into North-Western and South-Eastern Slovenian (Rigler 1963: 28-31), although the Koper/Capodistria–Solkan–

<sup>22</sup> From south to north (South-)Eastern Romance and (North-)Western Romance are separated by the Koper/Capodistria–Solkan–Villach/Beljak Line (Šturm 1928, Grad 1958), while the so-called La Spezia–Rimini Line divides it in the direction from west to east (Rohlf 1937: 10; Wartburg 1950: 32). For further discussion on the Koper/Capodistria–Solkan–Villach/Beljak Line as reflected in Slovenian see Skubic (2007: 65, 68), Šega (1998, 2013), Šekli (2009), Repanšek (2016: 103-166). It should be pointed out, however, that the area to the south-west, circumscribed by the Solkan–Logatec–Trsat triangle (ancient *Silicanum*, *Longaticum*, and *Tarsatica* respectively), seems to speak in favour of an older (South-)Eastern Romance foundation with an early superstratal influence of (North-)Western Romance (Repansšek 2016: 108).

<sup>23</sup> In Romance linguistic studies the idioms called Friulian (*furlan*), Ladin (*ladin*), and Romansh (*rumantsch*) are referred to differently as *Ladin* (Italian *ladino*) (cf. Ascoli 1873, Renzi 1994: 178), *Rhaeto-Romance* (German *Rätoromanisch*) (Gartner 1883) or *Alpine Romance* (German *Alpenromanisch*) (Gamillscheg 1935: 271; Skubic 2007: 125-155).



Villach/Beljak Line intersects the individual Slovenian dialects within the Littoral and Carinthian dialect groups (Logar & Rigler 1983).

### 3.2.2 The Jireček Line

The Jireček Line that divided the Romance and Greek linguistic areas in the southern Balkan Peninsula in antiquity (Jireček 1911: 38-39, Solta 1980: 64-65)<sup>24</sup> had no impact on the formation of Eastern South Slavic in the medieval period. There is no relevant isogloss dissecting the Eastern South Slavic language area that would correspond to the erstwhile dividing line between the Romance speaking area, encompassing ancient urban centres like *Naissus* (Niš), *Remesiana* (Bela Palanka), *Ulpiana/Ulpianum* (Prishtinë/Priština) or *Scupi* (Skopje), and the Greek speech territory, characteristic for the ancient towns like *Stobi* (Gradsko), *Pautalia* (Kjustendil), *Serdica* (Sofija) or *Nicopolis ad Istrum* (Nikjup). In addition to that, the *Haemus* mountain range (Balkan Mountains), the ancient Romance-Greek language boundary, was never an important factor in the linguistic fragmentation of Slavic in that area. On the contrary, one of the most important isoglosses dividing Eastern South Slavic into two dialect macro-areas, the so-called *yat border* (*jatova granica*), does not coincide with the Balkan mountain range but rather traverses it: in a stressed position before a non-palatal or a non-palatalised consonant, the Proto-Slavic *yat* (\*ě), originally an open-mid front vowel, retained an archaic outcome to the east of that line, while it was narrowed to a high-mid vowel to the west of it: PSI. \*ě [\*ä] = eastern E SSl. \*ä (>

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<sup>24</sup> “Die Grenze zwischen Latein und Griechisch läßt sich nach der Sprache der Inschriften, Meilensteine und Stadtmünzen ziemlich genau feststellen. Sie verließ das Adriatische Meer bei Lissus, ging durch die Berge der Mirediten und der Dibra in das nördliche Makedonien zwischen Scupi und Stobi durch, umging Naissus und Remesiana mit ihren lateinischen Bürgern, während Pautalia (Küstendil) und Serdica (Sofia) samt der Landschaft von Pirot in das griechische Gebiet gehörte; zuletzt wendete sie sich längs des Nordabhanges des Hämus zur Pontusküste” (Jireček 1911: 38-39). [“The boundary between Latin and Greek can be determined quite precisely on the basis of the language of the inscriptions, milestones and city coins. It started on the Adriatic Sea at Lissus, traversed the mountains of Mirditë and Dibër into northern Macedonia between Scupi and Stobi, skirted Naissus and Remesiana with their Latin citizens, while Pautalia (Kjustendil) and Serdica (Sofia) together with the countryside of Pirot belonged to the Greek territory; finally, it came to a stop along the northern slopes of the Hämus up to the Pontus coast”.]

ä/a) vs. western E SSl. \*e (> e) (PSl. \*xlěbъ 'bread' > E SSl. x'läb/x'lab vs. x'leb) (BDA 2001: 92).

### 3.3 Extra-linguistic factors

It has to be stressed that the *object* of the genealogical linguistic classification of languages and their dialects is the *language* itself as it is reflected in its *linguistic features*. Such linguistic classification is therefore *language-based*. Accordingly, extra-linguistic factors linked to various social circumstances and the speaker do not represent relevant criteria for a *genealogical* linguistic classification. Nevertheless, such factors can be crucial in some other, i.e., social or cognitive classifications of idioms. Thus, genealogical linguistic classification rests on a *non-circumstance-based* and a *non-speaker-based* approach. Consequently, it must ignore such social factors as geographical diffusion, number of speakers, contemporary administrative/political borders, the interrelation between dialects and the roofing language(s), etc., as well as cognitive factors like ethnic/national and confessional identity of the speakers, the conscience of speakers, mutual intelligibility or incomprehensibility of idioms etc. It is, however, true that in the long run all these extra-linguistic factors may influence language change, but in that case extra-linguistic factors are the *cause*, while the linguistic changes and, by consequence, the linguistic features represent the *result* of the influence of such factors on the language itself. The following paragraphs offer some examples which neatly demonstrate the insignificance of extra-linguistic factors for the question of genealogical classification.

*Geographical diffusion and number of speakers.* Compared to other Slavic languages, Sorbian and Kashubian of the 20<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century inhabit geographically restricted linguistic areas, being limited to Lusatia (Łužyca/Łužica) and Kashubia (Kaszëbë) respectively and possess a significantly reduced number of speakers. What we are dealing with since the advent of the modern period, however, are mere remnants of the easternmost margins of what were once much more extensive linguistic areas. In the Middle Ages, when the linguogeneses of the individual languages in question took place, the Old Sorbian area

spanned the entire region between the Lusatian Neisse River (*Nysa*) and River Elbe (*Łobjo*), while Pomeranian occupied entire Pomerania (*Pòmòrzé*).<sup>25</sup>

*Administrative/political borders.* As is well known, long-lasting historical ecclesiastical and secular administrative borders can have an important impact on the communication between the speakers in a given dialect continuum and can result in the formation of language and/or dialect boundaries. Taking an example from Slovenian, the old regional border between Carniola and Styria on the Trojane Pass is reflected in the dialect border between the Carniolan and Styrian dialect groups of Slovenian (Ramovš 1931, Logar & Rigler 1983). Contrary to that, newer political borders, especially recent ones (such as those established in the 20<sup>th</sup> century), which do not coincide with the traditional administrative borders can rarely be equated with language or dialect boundaries. For instance, the national border between Slovenia and Croatia does not coincide with the linguistic boundary between Slovenian and Central South Slavic, specifically Kajkavian and Čakavian. The dialects of the respective neighbouring languages claim historical presence on both sides of this border. Thus, the autochthonous Slovenian dialects of Čabranka/Čebranka (*čebriansko narečje*) and Kostel (*kostelsko narečje*) extend from Slovenia to the neighbouring region of Gorski Kotar in Croatia, while local varieties of the indigenous Central Čakavian dialect (*srednječakavski dijalekt*) are spoken in the Slovenian part of the Čičarija/Ćičarija region.<sup>26</sup> Delimiting Slovenian and Central South Slavic simply on the basis of contemporary national border between Slovenia and Croatia would therefore go against linguistic reality.

*Dialects and roofing languages.* No matter how democratic a society is, national borders and national linguistic policies will very likely influence the diffusion of national and official languages as well as determine the way legal protection of the so-

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<sup>25</sup> The original Sorbian and Pomeranian speech territories are mirrored in the distribution of geographical and personal names attested in written sources and via borrowings into German (see Wenzel 2006, 2008, 2015 and 2017 for Sorbian, and Jeżowa 1961 for Pomeranian). The actual extent as documented in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century can be glimpsed from linguistic atlases (Faßke, Jentsch & Michalk 1965-1996 for Sorbian).

<sup>26</sup> For the Čabranka/Čebranka and Kostel dialects of Slovenian spoken in Slovenia and Croatia, cf. Gostenčnik (2018), for the Central Čakavian varieties present in Slovenia, cf. Eterović (2019).

called minority and regional languages is organised. The ideal situation for a minority language would be continuous availability of the roofing language that genetically belongs to the same stock as the autochthonous dialect. The prerequisite for that is, of course, the availability of public education in the mother tongue and its use in all spheres of public life. Nevertheless, in cases where no schooling in the minority language exists, situations in which the indigenous dialect coexists with the roofing language are not the norm. Such circumstances then typically give rise to *bilingualism* with *diglossia* (cf. Ferguson 1959, Berruto & Cerruti 2019: 84-85), characterised by code-switching between the dialect variety of the mother tongue of the speakers of a minority language for communicative situations allowing for low language register and the dominant official language, which is then routinely used in situations requiring higher register. Such is the case of the already mentioned Čabranka/Čebranka and Kostel dialects of Slovenian in Croatia and the Central Čakavian dialect of Croatian in Slovenia: the speakers of what are autochthonous Slovenian dialects in Croatia normally use Standard Croatian as the roofing language, while the speakers of what is an indigenous Croatian dialect in Slovenia employ Standard Slovenian in the public domain.

*Ethnic or national identity of the speakers.* It goes without saying that the language of education not only conditions the (non-)diffusion of the roofing language used by a linguistic minority but also determines the ethnic and/or national identity of its users. Returning to the situation on the Slovenian-Croatian national border, the speakers of Slovenian in Gorski Kotar would generally identify themselves as Croats, while a speaker of Čakavian in the Slovenian part of Čičarija/Ćićarija would declare himself Slovenian. In short, the absence of a roofing language or the absence of a “national” identity among the dialect speakers has no consequence whatsoever for linguistic genealogy.

#### 4. Case studies in the genealogical linguistic interpretation of Slavic

The contemporary Slavic linguistic area as documented in 853 local varieties in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is most conveniently presented in the *Obščeslavjanskij lingvističeskij atlas* (OLA) 'Slavic Linguistic Atlas' (1981-). In Slavic linguistic studies, linguistic atlases and linguistic maps illustrating the Slavic languages and their local varieties are typically *language-based*,<sup>27</sup> which holds true for the OLA-atlas as well. In this atlas, all local varieties of all the contemporary Slavic languages are represented (with the sole exception of the now extinct Polabian). As has already been pointed out, a methodologically solid delineation of linguistic boundaries between the individual Slavic languages and their dialect macro-areas can only be based on linguistic criteria. There are cases, however, in which the question of the exact delimitation has been rightly problematised due to severely complex linguistic situations. On the other hand, some of the scholarly discussion revolving around the same kind of questions could be avoided if the analyses did not ignore the genealogical linguistic approach and did away with the notion that extra-linguistic factors play a significant role in geneolinguistic classification. In the following paragraphs some such cases are illustrated.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> In general, linguistic atlases and linguistic maps can be conceived as either language- or territory-based. A *language-based* linguistic map takes into consideration linguistic boundaries and thus represents a certain linguistic area, be it of a language, language group or part of it, irrespective of national or other administrative borders. For instance, the map *Die Gliederung der mitteleuropäischen Mundarten germanischer Abkunft* (König 1998: 230-231) 'The classification of Central European dialects of Germanic origin' represents the High and Low German as well as Low Franconian (Dutch) and Frisian dialects. On the contrary, a *territory-based* linguistic map considers national or other administrative borders and consequently displays linguistic variety within a certain political unit, irrespective of linguistic boundaries. For example, on the *Carta dei dialetti d'Italia* (Pellegrini 1977) 'The map of the dialects of Italy' not only Italian dialects in Italy (disregarding those in France, Switzerland, Slovenia, and Croatia) are illustrated, but also the dialects of other autochthonous languages on the territory of the Italian Republic.

<sup>28</sup> The examples are taken from Šekli 2018, which should be consulted for more detail.

## 4.1 Eastern South Slavic or Macedonian and Bulgarian?

Eastern South Slavic took shape in the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD. Already at that time it displayed a number of diagnostic sound changes such as the change of the Proto-Slavic palatals *\*tj* and *\*dj* into consonant clusters *\*št* and *\*žd*. This innovation clearly demarcates Eastern South Slavic (E SSL.) from Western South Slavic (W SSL.) where the original reflexes of the consonants in question were *\*ć* and *\*j/\*đ* respectively: PSI. *\*tj, \*dj* > W SSL. *\*ć, \*j/\*đ* vs. E SSL. *\*št, \*žd* (PSI. *\*notjb* ‘night’ > W SSL. *\*noć* vs. E SSL. *\*nošt*; PSI. *\*medja* ‘border’ > W SSL. *\*meja/\*međa* vs. E SSL. *\*mežda*). In the 10<sup>th</sup> century a wave of non-common South Slavic sound changes progressed from the above-mentioned centres of spread, viz. Western and Eastern South Slavic, whereby the most important are the following two: 1) the merger of Proto-Slavic strong *yers*, i.e., front and back high vowels, in a central vowel *\*ə* in Western South Slavic: PSI. *\*ь, \*ѣ* > E SSL. *\*ь, \*ѣ* vs. W SSL. *\*ə* (PSI. *\*pъsъ* ‘dog’ > E SSL. *\*pъs* vs. W SSL. *\*pəs*; PSI. *\*dьnь* ‘day’ > E SSL. *\*dъn* vs. W SSL. *\*dъn*; PSI. *\*starъcb* ‘old man’ > E SSL. *\*starъc* vs. W SSL. *\*starac*; PSI. *\*sъnь* ‘dream, sleep’ > E SSL. *\*sъn* vs. W SSL. *\*sъn*; PSI. *\*mъxъ* ‘moss’ > E SSL. *\*mъx* vs. W SSL. *\*mъx*; PSI. *\*pętъkъ* ‘the fifth, Friday’ > E SSL. *\*pętъk* vs. W SSL. *\*pętāk*); 2) the loss of epenthetic *\*lj* in Proto-Slavic inlaut consonant clusters *\*plj, \*blj, \*mlj, \*vlj* in Eastern South Slavic: PSI. *\*plj, \*blj, \*mlj, \*vlj* > W SSL. *\*plj, \*blj, \*mlj, \*vlj* vs. E SSL. *\*pj, \*bj, \*mj, \*vj* (PSI. *\*zemlja* ‘earth’ > W SSL. *\*zemlja* vs. E SSL. *\*zemja*).

Proto-Slavic	Western South Slavic	Eastern South Slavic
<i>*tj</i>	<i>*ć</i>	<i>*št</i>
<i>*dj</i>	<i>*j/*đ</i>	<i>*žd</i>
<i>*ь</i>	<i>*ə</i>	<i>*ь</i>
<i>*ѣ</i>	<i>*ə</i>	<i>*ѣ</i>
<i>*plj</i>	<i>*plj</i>	<i>*pj</i>
<i>*blj</i>	<i>*blj</i>	<i>*bj</i>
<i>*mlj</i>	<i>*mlj</i>	<i>*mj</i>
<i>*vlj</i>	<i>*vlj</i>	<i>*vj</i>

Table 5. Divergence between Western and Eastern South Slavic

In the ensuing centuries, many non-common Eastern South Slavic innovations (including accent changes) produced a number of smaller geolects that fail to display

any transparent traces of subsequent convergent behaviour.<sup>29</sup> In terms of genealogical linguistic classification it is nearly impossible to separate Macedonian from Bulgarian given that the most characteristic isoglosses traversing the Eastern South Slavic territory tend not to occur in bundles but form transitional dialect areas.<sup>30</sup> The Macedonian part of Eastern South Slavic does, however, exhibit some innovatory trends that are atypical for the properly Bulgarian area, while Bulgarian has innovated in the domain of accent. In accordance with this, *Macedonian* and *Bulgarian* can, in fact, be identified within Eastern South Slavic.

*Macedonian* innovations show an autochthonous and an allochthonous layer, the latter due to a secondary spread from (Eastern) Štokavian. It is exactly this set of innovatory features that could indeed form the basis for a viable internal division of Eastern South Slavic. The most wide-spread and properly Macedonian innovation seems to be PSI. \*ъ > o (PSI. \*сънъ > Blg. *сѣн* vs. Mac. *son*; PSI. \*мъхъ > Blg. *мѣх* vs. Mac. *mov*; PSI. \*рѣтъкъ > Blg. *petъk* vs. Mac. \**petok*). A significantly narrower area of influence is typical of the rise of secondary palatals \*ć/\*k', \*đ/\*g' as the reflexes of PSI. \*tj and \*dj under the influence of Štokavian (PSI. \*notjъ > Blg. *nošt* vs. ≥ Mac. *noć* ← Štok. *noć*; PSI. \*medja > Blg. *mežda* vs. ≥ Mac. *međa* ← Štok. *međa*). This innovatory trend goes back to the Middle Macedonian / Middle Bulgarian period (up until the 15<sup>th</sup> century) and is tightly clustered, so that it could potentially provide a further differentiating feature between the two geolects or at least their core linguistic areas.<sup>31</sup> Accordingly, Macedonian could be defined as an Eastern South Slavic geolect

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<sup>29</sup> The geographical linguistic variation in Eastern South Slavic is comprehensively illustrated in the *Bălgarski dialekten atlas* 'Bulgarian Linguistic Atlas' (BDA 2001), which encompasses the entire Eastern South Slavic linguistic area.

<sup>30</sup> "[M]ak. govori za seto vreme predstavuvale eden takov continuum so bug. i srp. govori što deneska ne e možno da se posoči nikakva poizrazita granica među ovie jazici od južnosloven. grupa." (Koneski 2001: 2) ["Macedonian linguistic varieties always represented a continuum with Bulgarian and Serbian so that it is not possible to indicate any distinctive boundary between these languages of the South Slavic group."]

<sup>31</sup> The view that Standard Macedonian (which is a sociolinguistic designation!) is just a "North Macedonian variant of Bulgarian" still advocated by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in its last manifest *Za oficialnija ezik na Republika Severna Makedonija* (2020) 'About the official language of the Republic of North Macedonia' has no genealogical linguistic foundation whatsoever. That is to say that Standard Macedonian is not simply a "recension" of Standard Bulgarian. In its present form, Standard Bulgarian finds its basic model in the Eastern Bulgarian dialects, while Standard Macedonian was based

with the following two peculiarities: an *o*-reflex of the Proto-Slavic strong back *yer* (\*ь) and secondary reflexes of PSI. \**tj*, \**dj*. In regard of the latter characteristic feature a south-western (Ohrid, Korčë/Korča, Kastoriá/Kostur) and a south-eastern dialect island (Thessaloníkē/Solun) eventually took shape. In relation to Eastern South Slavic and Bulgarian, Macedonian can be defined by the uniquely Macedonian innovations in the south-west of Eastern South Slavic. Macedonian has the characteristics of a secondary geolect characterised by Štokavian superstratal influence on autochthonous Eastern South Slavic features.

*Bulgarian* retains the original Proto-Slavic placement of the accent, while in Macedonian the accent was fixed on the antipenultimate syllable. However, Bulgarian exhibits the properly Bulgarian accent shift from a Proto-Slavic old-circumflexed first syllable in the presence of enclitics (according to Bulahovskij's Law) (PSI. \*'gordь 'fence', \*'gordь ть 'this fence' > Blg. *g'rad* vs. *gra'dьt*; PSI. \*'nosь 'nose', \*'nosь ть 'this nose' > Blg. *'nos* vs. *no'sьt*; PSI. \*'męso to 'this meat' > Blg. *me'soto*; PSI. \*p'roso to 'this millet' > Blg. *pro'soto*; PSI. \*'rěčь 'word, speech', \*'rěčь та 'this word, this speech' > Blg. *'reč* vs. *reč'ta*; PSI. \*'notь 'night', \*'notь та 'this night' > Blg. *'nošt* vs. *nošt'ta*; PSI. \*'moldostь 'youth', \*'moldostь та 'this youth' > Blg. *m'ladost* vs. *mladost'ta*; PSI. \*'jesenь 'autumn', \*'jesenь та 'this autumn' > Blg. *'esen* vs. *esen'ta*). Bulgarian could accordingly be defined as Eastern South Slavic with the absence of an *o*-reflex of Proto-Slavic \*ь, the preservation of the original outcome of Proto-Slavic \**tj*, \**dj*, and an idiosyncratic accent shift. In relation to Eastern South Slavic and Macedonian in particular, Bulgarian must be defined by the absence of typically Macedonian innovations in the centre of Eastern South Slavic.

#### 4.2 Slovenian and Central South Slavic

In contrast to Eastern South Slavic, Western South Slavic was significantly more fragmented in the post-Proto-Slavic period around the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries. The Old Western South Slavic geolects were (for a better orientation, the names of the

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on a Western Macedonian dialects after the Second World War. For a detailed discussion on the "Macedonian problem", see Šekli (2020).



contemporary South Slavic languages and/or their dialect macro-areas are provided in brackets): Alpine South Slavic (> Slovene/Slovenian), Pannonian South Slavic (> Kajkavian), Littoral South Slavic (> Čakavian), Dinaric South Slavic (> Western Štokavian), and Ras South Slavic (> Eastern Štokavian). Beginning from c. 1000 AD, Western South Slavic geolects consolidated into *Slovenian* (Sln.) and *Central South Slavic* (CSSl.). In this process, innovations on the north-western margins of the Western South Slavic area, i.e., the later Slovenian speech area, were decisive.<sup>32</sup>

*Slovenian* was shaped through subsequent convergent development resulting from distinctive Common Slovenian sound and accent changes. The defining characteristics of Slovenian are as follows (cf. Ramovš 1950, 1951): 1) advancement of the Proto-Slavic old-circumflex (PSl. \*'sě:~no 'hay' > CSSl. \*'sě:~no vs. Sln. \*sě'no; PSl. \*p'roso 'millet' > CSSl. \*p'roso vs. Sln. \*pro'so; PSl. \*'mo:ldostь 'youth' > CSSl. \*m'lado:st vs. Sln. \*mla'do:st; PSl. \*'večerь 'evening' > CSSl. \*'veče:r vs. Sln. \*ve'če:r); 2) retraction of short final stress onto a long penultimate syllable (PSl. \*svě'tja 'light, illuminant' > CSSl. \*svě:'ća vs. Sln. \*s'vě:ća; PSl. \*za:'konь 'beginning, start, origin, law' > CSSl. \*za:'kon vs. Sln. \*'za:kon); 3) shortening of all unaccented long vowels and syllabic liquids (PSl. \*mo:l'ti:ti 'to hit' > CSSl. \*mla:'titi vs. Sln. \*mla'ti(:)ti; PSl. \*pi:'sa:ti 'to write' > CSSl. \*pi:'sati vs. Sln. \*pi'sati); 4) stress-conditioned vowel quantity as well as quantity-conditioned vowel quality became the main trend in the development of the vowel system of Slovenian (Ramovš's *glavna črta v oblikovanju slovenskega vokalizma* 'the main trend in the formation of the Slovenian vowel system'), which had as its consequence the diphthongisation of Slovenian long mid vowels \*ě: and \*o: – an innovation that brought about the first split of Slovenian into two original dialect macro-areas, i.e. North-Western and South-Eastern Slovenian, c. 1200 (Rigler 1963: 28-31) (see 3.1.3). The linguistic position of Slovenian in relation to Central South Slavic and within Western South Slavic in general may be defined by the cluster of innovations in the north-west of Western South Slavic.

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<sup>32</sup> Purely linguistically and without any reference to the extant "national" denominations, South Slavic is subdivided into three major dialect areas, viz. North-Western South Slavic (i.e. Slovenian), Central South Slavic (i.e. Croatian/Serbian/Bosnian/Montenegrin), and Eastern South Slavic (Macedonian and Bulgarian).

Proto-Slavic	Central South Slavic	Slovenian
*'sě:no *p'roso *'mo:ldostь *'večerь	*'sě:no *p'roso *m'lado:st *'veče:r	*sě'no: *pro'so: *mla'do:st *ve'če:r
*svě:'tja *za:'konь	*svě:'ća *za:'kon	*s'vě:ća *'za:kon
*za:'koni (Npl) *mo:l'ti:ti *pi:'sa:ti	*za:'koni *mla:'titi *pi:'sati	*za'koni *mla'ti(:)ti *pi'sati

Table 6. The differentiation between Central South Slavic and Slovenian within Western South Slavic

*Central South Slavic* has a heterogeneous understructure composed of four main Old South Slavic geolects, viz. Pannonian, Littoral, Dinaric, and Ras South Slavic. It displays complete absence of convergent development, virtually lacking any uniquely Central South Slavic innovations in the domain of sound or accent changes that could be understood as its defining features. The sole potentially relevant innovation might be the merger of the Proto-Slavic *\*e* with the reflex of the denasalised Proto-Slavic *\*ę* after non-palatal consonants (PSl. *\*pętb* 'five' > CSSl. *\*pet* = PSl. *\*ledь* 'ice' > CSSl. *\*led*; PSl. *\*ględati* 'to watch' > CSSl. *\*gledati* = PSl. *\*ženьskъjь* 'woman's' > CSSl. *\*ženski*). A characteristic trait of the Central South Slavic linguistic area is polycentric convergence under the pressure of Kajkavian (PSl. *\*ǫ* = *\*CьlC/\*CьlC/\*ClьC/\*ClьC* > Kajk. *\*ǫ*; PSl. *\*ě* = *\*ь/\*ь* > Kajk. *\*ę*), Čakavian-Štokavian (PSl. *\*ǫ* = *\*CьlC/\*CьlC/\*ClьC/\*ClьC* = *\*u* > Čak., Štok. *\*u*; PSl. *\*ь/\*ь* = *\*a* > Čak., Štok. *\*a*), and to a lesser extent Štokavian innovations (Ivić 1958; Brozović & Ivić 1988). The dialectal position of Central South Slavic within the Western South Slavic dialect continuum and in relation to Slovenian must be defined by the absence of specifically Slovenian innovations in the centre of Western South Slavic.

#### 4.3 East Slavic

Non-common post-Proto-Slavic innovations shaped Old East Slavic geolects, which converged through a set of common East Slavic innovations. A wave of non-

common East Slavic sound changes may be dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries and coincides with the spread of certain common East Slavic innovations that belong to a more recent layer. The focal areas of the East Slavic dialect continuum were North-Eastern East Slavic (Russian) and South-Western East Slavic (Ukrainian). The transitionally positioned Western East Slavic (Belarusian), on the other hand, characteristically shares innovations of both areas of spread. The innovatory trends spreading from North-Eastern and South-Western East Slavic thus took shape in three East Slavic languages, viz. *Russian, Belarusian, and Ukrainian.*

Some of the most important non-common East Slavic sound changes that have classificatory value (especially those mirrored in the respective standard languages) are as follows (cf. Filin 1972): 1) different reflexes of East Slavic syllabic sonorants: PSI. \*CR<sub>b</sub>C, \*CR<sub>č</sub>C > ESl. \*CR'C, \*CRC > Russ. \*CR'eC, \*CRoC vs. Brus., Ukr. \*CR'ic, \*CRyC (PSI. \*gr<sub>b</sub>měti 'to thunder' > Russ. \*gr'eměti vs. Brus., Ukr. \*gr'iměti; PSI. \*kr<sub>b</sub>van<sub>b</sub>ьb 'bloody' > Russ. \*krovavoj vs. Brus., Ukr. \*kryvavyj; PSI. \*bl<sub>b</sub>stěti 'to glitter' > Russ. \*bl'estěti vs. Brus., Ukr. \*bl'istěti; PSI. \*gl<sub>b</sub>tati 'to swallow' > Russ. \*glotati vs. Brus., Ukr. \*glytati); 2) vocalisation of Proto-Slavic strong yers \*b, \*b̄ in front of \*j: PSI. \*bj, \*b̄j > Russ. \*ej, \*oj vs. Brus., Ukr. \*ij, \*yj (PSI. gen. pl. \*š<sub>b</sub>ьb 'of necks' > Russ. \*šej vs. Brus., Ukr. \*šij; PSI. \*živ<sub>b</sub>ьb 'alive' > Russ. \*živoj vs. Brus., Ukr. \*živyj); 3) velarisation of East Slavic \*e in different positions: a) PSI. \*e/\*b̄ > ESl. \*'e > Russ., Brus. \*'o [+accented] / ' \_\_ \*C<sup>o</sup>, {-#} (PSI. \*zelen<sub>b</sub>ьb 'green' > Ukr. \*zel'enyj vs. Russ. \*zel'onoj, Brus. \*zel'onyj; PSI. \*aj<sub>b</sub>ce 'egg' > Ukr. \*jajc'e vs. Russ., Brus. \*jajc'o); b) PSI. \*e/\*b̄ > ESl. \*'e > Ukr. \*'o / {\*j, \*č/\*tj, \*ž/\*dj, \*š, \*šč, \*žž} \_\_ \*C<sup>o</sup>, {-#} (PSI. Gsg m/n \*jego 'of him' > Russ., Brus. \*jego vs. Ukr. \*jogo; PSI. Npl f, n \*četyri 'four' > Russ., Brus. \*četyri vs. Ukr. \*čotyry); 4) centralisation of the Proto-Slavic front high vowel \*i and its consequent merger with the Proto-Slavic central high vowel \*y in Ukrainian: PSI. \*i, \*y > Ukr. \*y (PSI. \*biti 'to beat' > Russ., Brus. \*b'it'i vs. Ukr. \*byty); 5) depalatalisation of East Slavic palatalised consonants before the reflexes of Proto-Slavic front vowels \*i, \*e/\*b̄ in Ukrainian: PSI. \*C<sup>E</sup> > ESl. \*C' > Ukr. C / \_\_ {+ \*i, \*e/\*b̄} (PSI. \*nesti 'to carry' > Russ., Brus. \*n'est'i vs. Ukr. \*nesty); 6) desonorisation of East Slavic final voiced consonants in Russian and Belarusian: PSI. \*-D<sub>b</sub>, \*-D<sub>č</sub> > ESl. \*-D, \*-D' > Russ., Brus. -T, -T' (PSI.

\**xlěbъ*, Gsg \**xlěba* ‘bread’ > Ukr. [xl’ib, xl’iba] vs. Russ., Brus. [xl’ep, xl’eba]; PSI.  
\**vęzъ*, Gsg \**vęzi* ‘tie, band, bond’ > Ukr. [v’az’, v’az’i] vs. Russ., Brus. [v’as’, v’az’i]).

Proto-Slavic	Russian	Belarusian	Ukrainian
* <i>CRbC</i> (> * <i>CR’C</i> ) * <i>CRbC</i> (> * <i>CRC</i> )	* <i>CR’eC</i> * <i>CROc</i>	* <i>CR’iC</i> * <i>CRyC</i>	* <i>CR’iC</i> * <i>CRyC</i>
* <i>bj</i> * <i>bj</i>	* <i>ej</i> * <i>oj</i>	* <i>ij</i> * <i>yj</i>	* <i>ij</i> * <i>yj</i>
* <i>e/*b</i> (> * <i>e</i> ) / ‘___ * <i>C<sup>0</sup></i> , {-#}	* <i>o</i>	* <i>o</i>	* <i>e</i>
* <i>e/*b</i> (> * <i>e</i> ) / {* <i>j</i> , *č/*tj, *ž/*dj, *š, *šč, *žž} ___ * <i>C<sup>0</sup></i> , {-#}	* <i>e</i>	* <i>e</i>	* <i>o</i>
* <i>i</i> * <i>y</i>	* <i>i</i> * <i>y</i>	* <i>i</i> * <i>y</i>	* <i>y</i> * <i>y</i>
* <i>ci</i> * <i>ce/*Cb</i>	* <i>ci</i> * <i>ce</i>	* <i>ci</i> * <i>ce</i>	* <i>cy</i> * <i>ce</i>
*- <i>Db</i> *- <i>Db</i>	- <i>T</i> - <i>T’</i>	- <i>T</i> - <i>T’</i>	- <i>D</i> - <i>D’</i>

Table 7. Formation of Russian, Belarusian, and Ukrainian within East Slavic

*Russian* was the centre of spread of North-Eastern East Slavic (Russian) innovations, which also reached (North-Eastern) Belarusian. Uniquely Russian sound changes responsible for the convergence of the North-Eastern East Slavic geolects (including the initially archaic Novgorod-Pskov dialect) are PSI. \**CRbC*, \**CRbC* > ESL. \**CR’C*, \**CRC* > Russ. \**CR’eC*, \**CROc* and PSI. \**bj*, \**bj* > Russ. \**ej*, \**oj*, among others.

*Belarusian* was shaped at the cross-section of North-Eastern East Slavic (Russian) and South-Western East Slavic (Ukrainian) innovative developments. Common Belarusian defining features which endorsed the convergence of the Western East Slavic geolects (i.e., Polock-Smolensk and a part of Poles’e-Kyiv dialect) into Belorussian are the following: PSI. \**CRbC*, \**CRbC* > Brus., Ukr. \**CR’iC*, \**CRyC*; PSI. \**bj*, \**bj* > Brus., Ukr. \**ij*, \**yj*; PSI. \**e/\*b* > ESL. \**e* > Russ., Brus. \**o* [+ accented] / ‘\_\_\_ \**C<sup>0</sup>*, {- #}; and PSI. \*-*Db*, \*-*Db* > ESL. \*-*D*, \*-*D’* > Russ., Brus. -*T*, -*T’*. In the sense of genealogical linguistic classification, Belarusian is most accurately delineated as a transitional geolect of the western margin of the East Slavic continuum, showing

partly Russian and partly Ukrainian innovative trends (with the absence of uniquely Belarusian innovations).

*Ukrainian* appears to have functioned as the focal area of South-Western East Slavic (Ukrainian) innovations, which also spread to (South-Western) Belarusian. Uniquely Ukrainian convergence features that fused South-Western East Slavic geolects into Ukrainian are: PSI. *\*e/\*b* > ESl. *\*'e* > Ukr. *\*'o* / {*\*j*, *\*č/\*tj*, *\*ž/\*dj*, *\*š*, *\*šč*, *\*žž*}\_\_ *\*C<sup>o</sup>*, {-#}; PSI. *\*i* vs. *\*y* > Ukr. *\*y*; and PSI. *\*C'/\*C<sup>E</sup>* > ESl. *\*C'* > Ukr. *C* / \_\_ {+ *\*i*, *\*e/\*b*}. Geneolinguistically, the position of Ukrainian within the East Slavic continuum is best delineated through specifically Ukrainian innovations clustered in the south-west of East Slavic.

#### 4.4 Polish and Kashubian

Both Polish and Kashubian have their origin in Northern West Slavic (Lechitic), which, in relation to Southern West Slavic (Czech-Slovak), was characterised by some archaisms (cf. the retention of Proto-Slavic nasal vowels *\*ę*, *\*ǫ*, the velar stop *\*g*, and the affricate *\*ʒ<sub>(1)</sub>*) as well as some innovations (cf. the so-called Lechitic umlaut of Proto-Slavic *\*ě*, *\*ę*, *\*C<sub>br</sub>C*). Northern West Slavic fragmented into *Polish* (Pol.), *Pomeranian* (Pom.), and *Polabian* (Plb.). In the early post-Proto-Slavic period Polish developed parallel to (Lower) Sorbian (Sorb.), while Pomeranian was linked to Polabian. In this respect, it is the reflexes of the so-called Slavic metathesis of liquids (metathesis in *\*CoRC*-groups) and the West Slavic syllabic sonorants *\*l* and *\*l'* that are decisive. Kashubian displays an additional cluster of later changes, which contribute to a significantly greater linguistic individuality of Kashubian in relation to Polish.

Some of the most important sound changes that separate Pomeranian from Polish are: 1) the reflexes of metathesis in *\*CoRC*-groups: PSI. *\*CoRC* > Pol., Sorb. *\*CRoC* vs. Pom., Plb. *\*CaRC/\*CRoC* (PSI. *\*vorna* 'crow' > Pol. *wrona*, USorb. *wróna* vs. Kash. *warna*, Pol. *vorno*; PSI. *\*golva* 'head' > Pol. *głowa*, LSorb. *głowa*, USorb. *hłowa* vs. Kash. *gôlwa*, Pol. *glávǎ*); 2) the reflexes of West Slavic syllabic sonorants *\*l* and *\*l'*:

PSl. \*CьlC > WSl. \*l' > Pol. \*'il' > \*'eł, \*tu, \*oł vs. Pom., Plb. \*oł (PSl. \*vьlkь 'wolf' > Pol. *wilk*, LSorb., USorb. *wjelk*, Kash. *wôłk*, Plb. *vâuk*, *vuk*); 3) rising of the Proto-Slavic front nasal vowel \*ę to \*i when not in front of a non-palatal or a non-palatalised dental consonant: PSl. \*ę / \_\_{- \*t<sup>o</sup>, \*d<sup>o</sup>, \*n<sup>o</sup>, \*l<sup>o</sup>, \*r<sup>o</sup>, \*s<sup>o</sup>, \*z<sup>o</sup>} > N WSl. \*'ę > Pom. \*'j > \*'i (13<sup>th</sup> c.) (PSl. \*zętb 'son-in-law' > Pol. *zięc* vs. Kash. \*zyc > *zęc*; PSl. \*astrębь 'vulture' > Pol. *jastrzqb* vs. Kash. *jastrzib*; PSl. \*tręsti 'to shake' > Pol. *trzqść* vs. Kash. *trzisc*); 4) distinct types of affrication of Proto-Slavic \*t, \*d before front vowels: PSl. \*t<sup>E</sup>, \*d<sup>E</sup> > Pol., Sorb. \*ć, \*dź vs. Pom. \*c', \*dz' > Kash. c, ź (13<sup>th</sup> c.) (PSl. \*tixъjb 'still, silent' > Pol. *cichy* vs. Kash. *cěchi*; PSl. \*desętb 'ten' > Pol. *dziesiąć* vs. Kash. *dzesãc*); 5) palatalisation of \*k, \*g in front of secondary front vowels: PSl. \*k, \*g / \_\_{+ \*y/\*ьjb/\*ьji, \*ь} > N WSl. \*k', \*g' > Pol. *k', g'* vs. Kash. ć, dź (PSl. \*kypęti 'to boil, to bubble' > Pol. *kipieć* vs. Kash. *czipieć*; PSl. \*dьlgъjb 'long' > Pol. *długi* vs. Kash. *dłudzi*); 6) merger of Proto-Slavic high vowels \*i, \*y, \*u into the so-called Kashubian *schwa* <ë>: PSl. \*i, \*y, \*u > Pom. \*i, \*y, \*u > Kash. ë (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 17<sup>th</sup> c.) (PSl. \*živъjb 'alive' > Pol. *żywy* vs. Kash. *žëwi*; PSl. \*myslęti 'to think' > Pol. *myśleć* vs. Kash. *mëslec*; PSl. \*duša 'breath; spirit, soul' > Pol. *duża* vs. Kash. *dësza*).

Proto-Slavic	Polish	Kashubian
*CoRC	*CRoC	*CaRC/*CRoC
*CьlC (> *l')	*'il' > *'eł, *tu, *oł	*oł
*ę / __{- *t <sup>E</sup> , *d <sup>E</sup> , *n <sup>E</sup> , *l <sup>E</sup> , *r <sup>E</sup> , *s <sup>E</sup> , *z <sup>E</sup> }	*'ę	*'j > *'i
*t <sup>E</sup>	ć	c
*d <sup>E</sup>	dź	dz
*k	k'	ć
*g / __{+ *y/*ьjb/*ьji, *ь}	g'	dź
*i	i	ë
*y	y	ë
*u	u	ë

Table 8. The differentiation between Polish and Pomeranian (Kashubian) within Northern West Slavic (Lechitic)

*Pomeranian* displays Polabian and Polish innovative features, while the set of uniquely Pomeranian innovations constitutes its particular defining characteristics. In terms of its position within the Northern West Slavic (Lechitic) continuum and the

relationship to Polabian and Polish, Pomeranian (Central Lechitic) can be defined by the innovations clustered in the centre of Northern West Slavic (Lechitic).

#### 4.5 Sorbian

*Sorbian* (i.e. Central West Slavic) is a transitional geolect positioned in the centre of the West Slavic continuum. As such it displays sets of innovatory changes typical of both Northern (Lechitic) and Southern (Czech-Slovak) West Slavic. The main isogloss typical of contemporary Sorbian separates Lower (i.e., northern) from Upper (i.e., southern) Sorbian, which in accordance with their respective geographical position exhibit a mismatch between the set of inherited non-common central West Slavic sound changes – these are typically Lechitic West Slavic in the case of Lower Sorbian and Czech-Slovak West Slavic as far as Upper Sorbian is concerned. This, however, is not a sharp genealogical delimitation, given that the most characteristic non-common Sorbian isoglosses do not in fact form a sturdy bundle but coalesce as Central Sorbian, a transitional dialect proper to the area between Spremberg/Grodz in the north and Hoyerswerda/Wojerecy in the south.

### 5. Conclusion

In Slavic linguistics, the *genealogical linguistic classification of geolects* (i.e., geographical or spatial linguistic varieties), more specifically languages as well as their dialect macro-areas and dialects, has long been established as the standard approach in the classification of lects. Such dialect classification is based on *linguistic criteria*, taking into consideration only the *linguistic features* of the individual geolects. In this respect it is not solely the *geographical distribution* of the various linguistic features (such as mirrored by the isoglosses) that is considered but also the *relative chronology* of their nascence. *Historical phonetics/phonology* is undeniably the most important criterion for accurate genealogical linguistic classification as far as different levels of

the linguistic system are concerned, being also the most systematic among the processes of linguistic change. Other criteria may of course be added in the following hierarchical order: morphology, syntax, lexicon, but only if the areas of innovation in these other domains overlap with those involving sound change. Thus, the fundamentals of any linguo-genetic modelling and, consequently, genealogical linguistic classification are the specific *sound changes* and the significant absence thereof, which is to say *innovations vs. archaisms*.

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