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VERLAG OTTO SAGNER
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ANALYTIC MODALITY IN MACEDONIAN



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To my father
Herbert Julius Kramer
and to the memory of my mother
Karyl Kern Kramer

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The modal system of literary Macedonian has not been the subject of any detailed or comprehensive analysis. Handbooks of the language make only superficial reference to modality, while studies on modality have dealt only with the use of individual modal words (e.g. Feleszko 1974; K. Koneski 1979; Goľab 1964; Miřić 1975; Minova-Ćurkova 1967, etc.). In this work a complete system for the lexico-syntactic classification of the modal particles ¹ of modern literary Macedonian will be proposed. These particles will be defined and, using a structural approach, their lexico-syntactic and semantic properties will be described. In this first chapter a basic theory for analyzing Macedonian modality will be given and a brief description of literary Macedonian verbal morphology will be presented.

Henceforth Macedonian will be understood to mean the modern literary language whose definition will be taken from Friedman (1977:5): Macedonian will be defined as the official language of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia as codified in the grammar of BlaŹe Koneski (1967) and the three-volume dictionary edited by him (1961-66), as published in the SRM since August 2, 1944, or as spoken by people whose mother tongue is Macedonian and who have had at least one year of college education. Since the modal system of Macedonian is in a state of flux, however, discrepancies between prescriptive norms and current colloquial usage will be noted. Certain dialectal forms which have a special

significance for the literary language will also be treated.

Most descriptions of Macedonian and of its closest relative, Bulgarian (Lunt 1952; B. Koneski 1967; Usikova 1977; Kepeski 1975; Andrejčin 1978; Norman 1980, etc.), define modality as a verbal category which reflects the speaker's evaluation of an event. Jakobson (1957), basing his definition on Vinogradov's (1947), gives the following formulation: Mood characterizes the relation between the narrated event and its participants with reference to the participants of the speech event (cf. also Isačenko 1960; Vinogradov 1947; Djurović 1956; Lyons 1969).

Aronson (1977:12), citing Vinogradov's original formulation in which he states that mood "reflects the speaker's view of the character of the connection between the action and the actor or goal," notes that the term speaker's view is the same as the speaker's choice between a marked and an unmarked form. Thus, for example, a speaker can choose to 'view' the totality (plurality) of lions as singular in an utterance such as The lion is a member of the cat family or a speaker can choose to 'view' an action completed in the past as non-past, as in the use of the historical present. In other words, the speaker's view is not a definition of modality, but is a characteristic of language per se. Aronson (1977:13) goes on to note that in analyzing a modal sentence such as He would have gone to the meeting had he had the time there is no need to refer to the message to define the meanings of the modal forms nor to refer to the speech event nor to the participants. He therefore concludes that mood can be regarded as an objective evaluation of the narrated event.

On the basis of this argument, we concur with Aronson, who takes his basic definition of mood from Golčab (1964b:1): Mood is the grammatical category which expresses the ontological evaluation of an action denoted by a given verb. Markedly modal (i.e. non-indicative) forms are those which denote non-real processes². In Macedonian, the designation of an action as a non-real process is carried by the modal particles which occur with forms of the indicative. It is the interaction of these particles with the verbal categories of the indicative which will constitute the subject of this study.

In his reformulation of Jakobson's (1957) system of verbal categories, Aronson (1977:14-15) has demonstrated that there is a complicated interrelationship between mood and aspect, which he places together in a category which he calls manner; mood qualifies the narrated event and aspect quantifies it. He designates them both as the non-shifter Eⁿ:

Non-shifter	Qualifier	Mood E ⁿ
	Quantifier	Aspect E ⁿ

Thus, for example, in a sentence of the type: He would play golf every day when/if he lived in Chicago it is the opposition between when and if which allows us to determine whether would play is contextually a qualifier (mood) or a quantifier (aspect) (Aronson 1977:15). In both sentences the characterization of the narrated event involves neither its participants nor the speech event. The form would play is thus marked for manner, but the realization of manner as aspect or mood depends on other factors in the context. This category of manner will also prove essential to an understanding of the Macedonian modal system.

Before presenting a theoretical framework for the analysis of the Macedonian modal system, however, the other analyses which have been suggested for Macedonian and the closely related Bulgarian will be summarized. Gočab (1964:17) distinguishes four moods, excluding the imperative: the indicative, the potential, the optative-subjunctive, and the conditional. The three markedly modal forms, together with the indicative, are treated paradigmatically:

Indicative

gledam 'I look'
gledaš 'you look'
gleda 'he looks'

Potential

bi (sum) gledal 'I would look'
bi (si) gledal 'you would look'
bi gledal 'he would look'

Optative-Subjunctive

da gledam 'I should look'
da gledaš 'you should look'
da gleda 'he should look'

Conditional

Ke gledav 'I would have looked'
Ke gledaše 'you would have looked'
Ke gledaše 'he would have looked'

Lunt (1952) distinguishes four moods: the indicative, the imperative, the projective mood with Ke,³ and the potential mood with bi. Da is treated as a subordinating conjunction whose modal nuances are determined by the "context or speech situation" (Lunt 1952:84). Other words such as neka 'let'; li 'whether, if'; ako 'if'; and duri ne are treated as participating in syntactic constructions.

Usikova (1977:360-368), under the heading "Modality," cites the

indicative, the imperative, the conditional with bi and the conjunctive with da. The particle Ke is treated as a tense marker and not as a mood marker in both the future and the anterior future. She treats forms of Ke plus perfective non-past with the contextual meaning of real condition as homonymous

with the temporal future; Ke plus the perfective imperfect with the contextual meaning of irreal condition is treated as homonymous with the anterior future. Later, under a separate heading, "Modal forms," Usikova mentions the imperative, neka, and da in its function as a first- and third-person hortative, e.g. Da go čekame 'Let's wait for him'.

Both B. Koneski (1975:380-502) and Kepeski (1975:113) distinguish three moods: the indicative, the potential with bi, and the imperative. Ke is treated as a tense marker with modal contextual variants. All other particles, including da, are treated as participating in syntactic constructions.

For Bulgarian, Aronson (1977:25) has demonstrated that modality is inherent in the meaning of the perfective non-past, i.e. different particles impart various nuances to the perfective non-past, which itself is inherently modal. According to Aronson, all of the following sentences can be translated as 'Do that and everything will be ready', i.e., all of these sentences are modal:

1. Napraviš tova, i vsičko šte bude gotovo.
Ako napraviš tova, vsičko šte bude gotovo.
Napraviš li tova, vsičko šte bude gotovo.
Da napraviš tova, vsičko šte bude gotovo.
Šte napraviš tova, i vsičko šte bude gotovo.

In Macedonian, however, unlike Bulgarian, the perfective non-past

cannot be used independently but occurs only in subordination to a modal particle or in the imperative.

Thus, for example, while in Bulgarian one can say:

2. Električestvo! Nastineš samo edno butonče i gotovo!
(Maslov 1956:231 cited in Aronson 1977:24)
Electricity! You push just one little button and there you are!

In Macedonian, the perfective non-past would have to be preceded by a modal particle, e.g.:

3. Struja! Ako pritisneš samo edno kopče - gotovo!
Electricity! If you push just one little button - there you are!
Struja! Ke pritisneš samo edno kopče i gotovo!
Electricity! You will push just one little button and there you are!

On the basis of this fact we can identify two types of modality in Macedonian: syntactic (analytic) and morphological (synthetic). In this work we will not treat the one morphological, synthetic modal, the imperative, but will focus on the analytic modals composed of modal particle plus verb.

It should be noted, next, that the number of particles used with the Macedonian perfective non-past is considerably smaller than the number of particles occurring in this environment in Bulgarian. In Bulgarian there is a neutralization of the opposition between future and present after pronominal relatives such as kogato 'when, whenever'; kojto 'who, whoever'; deto 'where, wherever' (cf. Aronson 1977:22). This neutralization does not occur with these words in Macedonian, e.g., the Macedonian equivalents koga 'when', koj 'who' and kade 'where' must be used with the explicit future marker Ke when used with a potential or

gnomic meaning, e.g., Bulgarian:

4. Toz, kojto padne (perfective non-past) v boj za svoboda, toj ne umira.
He who falls (may fall, will fall) in a struggle for freedom, he does not die
(Maslov 1959:244-8 cited in Aronson 1977:22)

would be in Macedonian:

5. Toj što Ke padne...
He who will fall...

Aronson argues (1977:23) that modal constructions with da, bi and šte should not be treated paradigmatically in Bulgarian since they modify the inherently modal perfective non-past and should, therefore, be treated as syntactic constructions together with other modal words such as ako. While this argument cannot be applied to Macedonian, a limited set of Macedonian particles distinguished, for the most part, by their ability to co-occur with the perfective non-past can be defined. In addition, these particles should not be treated paradigmatically in Macedonian for the following reasons. First of all bi and Ke have been formally deparadigmaticized, i.e., become invariable. Compare, for example:

Macedonian:	Jas <u>Ke</u> odev.	'I would have gone.'
	Ti <u>Ke</u> odeše.	'You would have gone.'
Bulgarian:	Az <u>štjah</u> da hodja.	'I would have gone.'
	Ti <u>šteše</u> da hodiš.	'You would have gone.'
Macedonian:	Jas <u>bi</u> došol.	'I would come.'
	Ti <u>bi</u> došol.	'You would come.'
Bulgarian:	Az <u>bih</u> došul.	'I would come.'
	Ti <u>bi</u> došul.	'You would come.'

Furthermore, these constructions composed of particle plus verb should be considered syntactic due to the strict syntactic rules defining the conditions under which the particles can be separated from the verb.

There is a fixed, ordered chain of enclitics in Macedonian and most of the modal particles have a set position in this chain; their position is similar to that of the verbal auxiliary, e.g.:

6. Ti si mu ja dal knjigata.
You verb-copula him (masc. indirect object enclitic)
it (fem. direct object enclitic) gave book-the.
You gave the book to him.

*Si ti mu ja dal knjigata.
*Ti mu si ja dal knjigata.
*Ti mu ja si dal knjigata.

Ti da si mu ja dal knjigata!
You that verb-copula him it gave book-the!
If only you had given him the book!

*Da ti si mu ja dal knjigata!
*Ti si da mu ja dal knjigata!
*Ti si mu ja da dal knjigata!

Thus, the modal particle, like the verbal copula, is a part of the enclitic chain but must be at the beginning of that chain. Unlike the verbal copula, however, the particles are invariant and therefore cannot be said to define a paradigm. The particles are closely bound to the verb and so the modal constructions in Macedonian can be treated as non-paradigmatic syntactic constructions composed of particle plus verb.

Not all of the particles are as closely bound syntactically as da. The conditional ako, for example, can be separated from the verb by a subject, an object, or an adverb, e.g.:

7. Ako ovoj den go preživam, ke ti bidam verna celiot život.
(Živko Čingo cited in Minova-Čurkova 1967:18)
If I live through this day, I will be faithful to you my whole life.
8. Ako tatko storil niet i dal zbor bez mene, neka me ima on na duša.
(Popov cited in Minova-Čurkova 1967:31)

If father decided and gave his word without me, let him have me on his conscience.

Thus, the syntactic modal constructions can be subdivided into the pseudo-paradigmatic ones da, bi, ke, and li which are closely bound to the verb and are an immovable part of the enclitic chain, and those like ako and dokolku which have a freer syntactic position. Rather than syntactic position, it is the use of the perfective non-past in subordination which unites these particles in a single class of modal particles.

Due to the demonstrated relationship between mood and aspect alluded to earlier, analytic modality can now be defined in the following manner: particles to which a perfective non-past can be subordinated, and in addition the particle bi, can be considered modal. The particle bi is included despite the fact that its use is limited to the 1-form, for three reasons:

- (1) It carries the same types of meanings as other modal particles, for example, compare:
 9. Koga bi ja zatvorile fabrikata i bi davale plati na rabotnicite, bi imale pomala zaguba otkolku koga bi rabotele.
(Nova Makedonija 24-V-82-8)⁵
If we were to close the factory and if we were to give the money to the workers, we would have a lower deficit than if we were to work.
 10. Koga bi ja zatvorile fabrikata...ke imaše/ke imavme pomala zaguba...
If we were to close the factory...we will/would have a lower deficit...
- (2) It is bound syntactically like ke, da, and li
- (3) For historical reasons some particles do not occur with all forms. Bi is not unique among the particles in having certain co-occurrence restrictions; neka, for example, does not occur with the ima perfect series.

The clear, unambiguous modal particles are these: ako 'if'; bi 'would'; da 'that'; dodeka (ne) 'until'; duri (ne) 'until'; ke 'will, would'; and neka 'let'. There was not full agreement among native speakers on the other particles to be included in the complete list of modal particles, but, on the basis of our definition of modern literary Macedonian, all the particles used by educated speakers and in the Macedonian media will be included. The various opinions of native speakers will be discussed in subsequent chapters. The complete list of particles will also include dokolku 'if, insofar as'; and li 'if, whether' in conditional clauses of the type:

11. Puknat li, prvot kuršum može da te pogodi.
If they shoot, the first bullet could hit you.

The morphology of the Macedonian verb has been the subject of numerous studies, e.g., Lunt (1952); Usikova (1967); B. Koneski (1967); Kepeski (1972); Elson (1977); and Friedman (1977). Since this work is concerned with syntactic relations, the details of Macedonian conjugation are relatively unimportant. Therefore, only a brief outline of Macedonian verbal morphology will be included here and a sample paradigm will be given. The following tables, based on Lunt (1952) and Usikova (1967), are taken from Friedman (1977:8):

TABLE 1. THE ENDINGS OF THE MACEDONIAN SIMPLEX SERIES

	present	imperfect	aorist
1s	-am	-v	-v
2s	-š	-še	-#
3s	-#	-še	-#
1p	-me	-vme	-vme
2p	-te	-vte	-vte
3p	-at	-a	-a

In the simplex series, the present is formed by adding the endings given in Table 1 to the basic form, which is the third-person singular. The stem vowel truncates before the first person -am, and the stem vowels i and e truncate before the third plural ending -at. To form the imperfect, the endings given in Table 1 are added to the basic form, with the stem vowel i being replaced by e before these endings. Because the aorist is not used in any modal constructions, the details on the formation of the aorist stem, to which the aorist endings are added will be omitted. The sum series is composed of the present of the verb sum 'be' plus the imperfect and the aorist 1-form. The 1-form is derived by dropping the -v of the first singular of the simplex imperfect and the aorist and adding -l. The beše series is composed of the imperfect of sum plus the imperfect and aorist 1-forms. The three ima tense forms are constructed with the present, imperfect and the 1-imperfect of the verb ima 'to have' plus the neuter form of the verbal adjective.

The basic meanings and contextual variants of these forms will be important for an understanding of the use of the particles with the four series. Friedman (1977) has defined the grammatical categories of the Macedonian indicative forms on the basis of five oppositions:

TABLE 2. A PARADIGM OF THE MACEDONIAN INDICATIVE PRAVI 'Do'

Simplex Series

<u>Present</u>			<u>Imperfect</u>		<u>Aorist</u>	
pravam	pravime	pravev	pravevme	praviv	pravivme	
praviš	pravite	praveše	pravevte	pravi	pravivte	
pravi	pravat	praveše	pravea	pravi	pravija	

Sum series

<u>L-imperfect</u>		<u>L-Aorist</u>	
sum pravel	sme pravele	sum pravil	sme pravile
si pravel	ste pravele	si pravil	ste pravile
pravel	pravele	pravil	pravile

Beše Series

<u>Beše Imperfect</u>		<u>Beše Aorist</u>	
bev pravel	bevme pravele	bev pravil	bevme pravile
beše pravel	bevte pravele	beše pravil	bevte pravile
beše pravel	bea pravele	beše pravil	bea pravile

Ima Series

<u>Ima perfect</u>		<u>Imaše perfect</u>	
imam praveno	imame praveno	imav praveno	imavme praveno
imaš praveno	imate praveno	imaše praveno	imavte praveno
ima praveno	imaat praveno	imaše praveno	imaa praveno

Imal Perfect

sum imal praveno	sme imale praveno
si imal praveno	ste imale praveno
imal praveno	imale praveno

resultativity, tense/reference, taxis, status, and aspect. On the basis of these oppositions, taking the third-person singular of each of the ten tense forms, Friedman explicates the grammatical categories with the marking for each category as shown in the following table and diagram (see following pages).

There are two types of aspectual oppositions operating in the Macedonian verbal system: perfective vs imperfective, and aorist vs imperfect. While an analysis of the perfective/imperfective opposition in Macedonian must take into account the meaning of these forms in modal constructions, an analysis of the modal particles is not dependent on the specific meaning of the Macedonian perfective/imperfective opposition. Therefore we will accept the standard definition of this opposition in Macedonian given in Friedman (1977:6, cf. B. Koneski 1967:167): Perfective aspect denotes the accomplishment of an action, or it can denote a series of actions viewed as a whole. The perfective verb directs the listener's attention to the completion of the act. Imperfective verbs focus upon the action itself without specifying its completion, and so they may frequently be durative or iterative. Thus, perfective verbs describe the action as a fulfillment (izvršenosť), while imperfective verbs describe it as a process (proces).

Friedman defines the aorist/imperfect opposition as a privative one in which the imperfect is marked for durativity. Aronson (1977:10) notes that while in the North Slavic languages, Slovenian and most Serbo-Croatian dialects, the development of the perfective/imperfective opposition was strengthened at the expense of the aorist/imperfect opposition, the reverse has been true in Bulgarian and Macedonian, where

the major aspectual opposition in the indicative is the aorist/imperfect opposition. However, in the modal systems of these languages the perfective/imperfective opposition is the more important since 1) the aorist does not occur in modal constructions, and 2) as noted in Aronson (1977:10), the semantic aspectual opposition perfective/imperfective has displayed a tendency to acquire other, non-aspectual functions, e.g. modal/non-modal meanings.

We will not concern ourselves here with the debate over whether the perfective/imperfective opposition is grammatical or derivational (see Aronson 1977; Arsova 1965). Since derived imperfectives and perfectives display no differences in their behavior in modal constructions from that of non-derived verbs marked for the same aspects, this debate is irrelevant to a discussion of Macedonian modality.⁶

The rules proposed for deriving and recognizing perfective and imperfective verbs can be found in Arsova (1965), Lunt (1952), B. Koneski (1967), and Usikova (1977).

In the course of subsequent chapters the uses of the nine particles which govern modal constructions in Macedonian will be discussed, and the co-occurrence of the pseudo-paradigmatic particles Ke, da, and bi with the other particles will be examined. The chapters on the particles will appear in the following order:

Chapter II	Da
Chapter III	Neka
Chapter IV	Ke
Chapter V	Bi
Chapter VI	Ako, Dokolku, Li
Chapter VII	Dodeka, Duri

A hierarchy of these particles within the Macedonian modal system will

be established and the basic meanings of the particles and their contextual variants will be determined taking as a starting point Jakobson (1936:240-246). It will be demonstrated that the hierarchy of modal particles, distinguished on the basis of lexico-syntactic classification is above the hierarchy of verbal categories as defined by Friedman. Discussion will be limited to the interaction of the particles with the simplex series since these forms are far more common statistically, while modal constructions with the beše and ima series range from the marginal to the dialectal. The sum series will be considered with the particle bi because bi is unique in that its use is limited to constructions with the 1-form. The use of the other modal particles with the sum series resembles the use with the simplex, except in certain limited contexts with da constructions (see Chapter II), and the differences in meaning are probably to be found in categories other than mood. The final chapter presents a detailed summary of the theoretical treatment of analytical modality in Macedonian.

Notes - Chapter I

¹ The term particle is to be understood as a general term for the conjunctions, adverbs, and particles which may combine with the perfective non-past, and bi.

² The opposition modal/non-modal is a privative one in which modal forms are positively marked for non-ontological reality, while the indicative is not so marked. The use of forms of the unmarked present indicative in certain modal functions will not be treated, for example in the following sentences:

a. Futurity, e.g.:

i. V nedela se prikažuva "Oteló". (B. Koneski 1976:414)
On Sunday "Othello" is being shown.

b. Future of intent, e.g.:

ii. Ke zastanam pred nea i Ke l rečam; idam kaj tebe!
Za arno, za lošo idam kaj tebe! (Čašule 1980:268)
I'll stand before her and I'll tell her: I'm coming to
your place! For better or for worse, I'm coming!

c. Panchronic or gnomic meaning, e.g.:

iii. Po celi dni rabotiš, na stari godini se mačiš i
pak ništo nema.
(R. Petkovski, cited in B. Koneski 1976:413)
You work all day long, you trouble yourself in your
old age and you still have nothing.

³ It has often been argued that the future is a modal rather than a temporal category since it does not refer to an ontologically real event. Janakiev (1962:427), in discussing the so-called "future tense" in Bulgarian, treats the future as being marked for presumption, hypotheticality and categoriality (kategoričnost). Lyons (1969:310) argues that the future intersects the categories of both mood and tense

since it can be used in contexts where it does not refer to events which will occur after the speech event, for example in the putative, e.g., He will be such a big boy now, in panchronic uses, e.g., Oil will float on water, etc. Kuryłowicz (1956:26) states that the future belongs to the modal, not the indicative, plane and that it stands in opposition to the "real" plane of the past and present. While not necessarily accepting their specific definitions, we concur with the basic idea that the future should be considered a modal, rather than a temporal category.

⁴ Macedonian examples with no citation have either been provided by, or checked with, native speakers of Macedonian.

⁵ Henceforth examples taken from the newspaper Nova Makedonija will be cited NM followed by the date and page number as follows: day, month, year and page.

⁶ Henceforth the following abbreviations will be used:

Pi - perfective imperfect, Pa - perfective aorist, Ii - imperfective imperfect, Ia - imperfective aorist, Ppr - perfective non-past, Ipr - imperfective non-past.

Chapter II

DA

The particle da has been the subject of numerous studies in both Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian (Ivić 1970; Higgenbotham 1976; Petrova 1975; Petkov 1962; Minčeva 1968; Lempp 1980-81; Rudin 1982; etc...) ¹ whereas in Macedonian there has been no detailed analysis of the syntactic and semantic role of da. While there are similarities among Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian, and Macedonian in the use of da there are also significant differences such that the theories posited for the former two languages do not provide a suitable basis for an analysis of da in Macedonian. The particle da in Serbo-Croatian is differentiated from the Bulgarian and Macedonian da first of all by its syntactic position. In Serbo-Croatian da must be at the head of the clause and may be separated from the verb by a noun, adverb; etc., while in both Macedonian and Bulgarian da can be separated from the verb only by the negative particle ne, the dative and accusative personal and reflexive pronouns, and by the clitic forms of the verb sum 'to be', cf.: ²

- 12a. S: Hteo je da i od mene kupi nešto.
b. M: Sakaše i od mene da kupi nešto.
He wanted to buy something from me too.

- 13a. S: Pravio se kao da me uopšte ne poznaje.
b. M: Se praveše voopšto kako da ne me poznava.
(Korubin 1969:23)
He acted as if he didn't know me at all.

Gořab (1964b:9-10) notes that in Serbo-Croatian there are two homonymous words da:

(1) A declarative conjunction da which corresponds to Macedonian deka 'that' and Bulgarian če 'that', e.g.:

- 14a. S: Ja sam mu govorio nekoliko puta, da njegova deca igraju u našoj bašti.
b. M: Jas mu rekoh nekolku pati, deka negovite deca igraat vo našata bavča.
(Gořab 1964b:9)
I told him several times that his children play in our garden.

(2) A subjunctive-optative particle which corresponds to Macedonian and Bulgarian da, e.g.:

- 15a. S: Meni moja stara majka govori, da uranim svako jutro na vodu.
b. M: Mojata stara majka mi veli da ranam sekoe sabajle za vodu.
(Gořab 1964b:10)
My old mother tells me to get up early every morning to fetch water.

In the Serbo-Croatian dictionary published by the Matica Srpska (hereafter referred to as Matica) the meanings of da are divided between the headings "conjunction" and "particle" ⁴. Of the nine different meanings cited for the conjunction da, only three are translatable by da in Macedonian. These three meanings are:

(1) Intention:

- 16a. S: Ostade u bašči da odahne.
b. M: Ostana vo bavčata da se odmori.
He stayed in the garden to rest.

It should be noted, however, that in order to emphasize the intent of the action, one would frequently use the compound Macedonian za da 'for that, for to' whereas this combination would not be used in Serbo-Croatian.

(2) Conditional:

A. Irreal, unfulfillable condition:

- 17a. S: Da sum jučer umrla, ne bih ni to doživela.
b. M: Da umrev včera, ni toa nemaše da go doživream.
If I had died yesterday I would not have experienced this either.

B. Real, fulfillable hypothetical condition:

- 18a. S: Da imam pari, dao bih ti.
b. M: Da imam pari, bi ti dal.
If I had money, I'd give it to you.

Although there is a correspondence in the use of da in the above conditional sentences, Macedonian, unlike Serbo-Croatian, can also use da in a real, fulfillable conditional period, e.g.:

- 19a. S: Ako pročitaš knjigu, razumećeš me!
*Da pročitaš knjigu, razumećeš me!
b. M: Da ja pročitaš knjigata, ke me razbereš!
If you read the book you will understand me!

(3) Concessive:

- 20a. S: Ko prosi, da krunu nosi, valja mu dati.
b. M: Kojšto prosi, i da nosi kruna, treba da mu se dade.
One must give unto him who asks, even though he wear a crown.

The other six meanings cited under the conjunction da are translated in Macedonian either by deka 'that'; što 'that, which'; or a relative pronoun. These meanings include:

(1) Causative:

- 21a. S: Njega je tistalo da je njegova otadžbina mogla osuditi na smrt svog najboljeg sina.
b. M: Izmačuvаше go deka negovata tatkovina možeše da go osudi svojot najdobar sin na smrt.
It tormented him that his fatherland could condemn its best son to death.

(2) Objective:

- 22a. S: Svaki razumen čovek vidi da centralne sile ne mogu dobiti ovaj rat.
b. M: Sekoj pameten čovek gleda deka centralnite sili ne možat da ja dobijat ovaa vojna.
Every intelligent person sees that the axis powers cannot win this war.

(3) Temporal:

- 23a. S: Ima samo nekoliko godina da se vraćaju svakog leta na jezero.
b. M: Ima samo nekoliko godini otkako se vraćaat tie sekoe leto na ezeroto.
It has only been a few years since they've been returning every year to the lake.

(4) Consequential:

- 24a. S: Tako se iskreno smijao da su mu suze udarile na oči.
b. M: Tolku iskreno se smeeše što solzi mu navrea na oči.
He laughed so heartily that tears came to his eyes.

(5) Adversative:

- 25a. S: Udat će se za njega, mora, da za koga će drugoga!
b. M: Ke se omaži za nego, mora, a za koj drug bi možela!
She'll marry him, she has to, whom else could she?

(6) Relative:

- 26a. S: Ima naroda u kojima nema čovjeka da ne zna čitati i pisati.
b. M: Ima narodi kaj koišto nema ni eden čovek što ne znae da čita i da pišuva.
There are nations in which there is not even one person who does not know how to read and write.

There is much greater correspondence between Serbo-Croatian and Macedonian in the so-called particle uses of da. Eleven meanings are cited; three of these relate to the affirmative uses of da which should be considered a separate, homonymous word, and two are idiomatic uses which have no correspondence in Macedonian. The other six meanings listed correspond to Macedonian as follows:

(1) Optative (wish):

- 27a. S: Da si živ i zdrav!
b. M: Da si živ i zdrav!
May you be alive and healthy!

(2) First-person hortative:

- 28a. S: Da popijemo čašu vina.
b. M: Da ispijemo po čaša vino.
Let's each drink a glass of wine.

(3) Second-person command:

- 29a. S: Odmah da ih dovedete čim dodju.
b. M: Vednaš da gi dovedete štom ke dojdut.
Bring them in as soon as they get here.

(4) Surprise:

- 30a. S: Da on ne dojde?!
b. M: Toj da ne dojde?!
He didn't come, did he?!

(5) Interrogative:

- 31a. S: Da nisi nešto bolestan?
b. M: Da ne si nešto bolen?
You're not sick, are you?

(6) Infinitival:

- 32a. S: Hteo je da otputuje.
b. M: Sakaše da zamine.
He wanted to set off.

In the three-volume Macedonian dictionary (hereafter referred to as Rečnik 1979:125), where examples are given in both Serbo-Croatian and Macedonian, there are additional examples of da in Macedonian which either do not translate into da clauses in Serbo-Croatian, or in the case of Macedonian compounds of adjective or preposition plus da e.g., bez da 'without', translate as simple da clauses in Serbo-Croatian. Examples will be cited according to the categories of the Rečnik.

(1) Polite commands composed of da plus imperfect in Macedonian, must be translated lexically in Serbo-Croatian:

- 33a. M: Da mi doneseše malku voda.
b. S: Donesi me, molim te, malo vode.
Please bring me a little water.

(2) Polite invitations:

- 34a. M: Da povelite, da dojdete na svadba.
b. S: Izvolite, dojdite na svadbu.
Please come to the wedding.

(3) Compound forms with da:

- 35a. M: Dojdov, bez da znam što bila rabotata.
b. S: Došao sam, a da nisam znao u čemu je stvar.
I came without knowing what the business was about.
- 36a. M: Duri da rečeš eden, go snemalo.
As soon as you say "one" it's gone.
b. S: Dok treneš, njega već nema.
While you blink, it's already gone.
- 37a. M: Koga da pominam, se nego go gledam.
b. S: Kad god prodjem, uvek njega vidim.
Whenever I go, I always see him.
- 38a. M: Kolku da misliš, isto ti se faka.
b. S: Koliko god mislio, isto ti se hvata.
No matter how much you think, it comes out the same.
- 39a. M: Ugasi pred da legneš.
b. S: Ugasi pre nego što legneš.
Turn off the lights before you go to bed.

Thus, although there is overlap in the semantic functions of da in both Serbo-Croatian and Macedonian, in particular in the so-called particle uses, discussions of Serbo-Croatian da will be excluded from our treatment of Macedonian da on the basis of the following differences: 1) syntactic position, 2) the separate indicative subordinating conjunction da which is translated into Macedonian by such non-modal words as deka, što, and relative words such as koj, 3) the lack of isomorphism even where meanings seem to overlap,

for example, where Macedonian da, unlike Serbo-Croatian da, can occur within a fulfillable conditional period, 4) while both languages use da in imperatives, there is no Serbo-Croatian equivalent to the Macedonian polite commands formed with da plus the imperfect, and finally 5) the numerous uses of da in combination with various prepositions and adverbs which are not found in Serbo-Croatian, e.g., za da.

The relationship between Macedonian and Bulgarian da is much closer. At first glance it appears that there is isomorphism between the two languages in regard to their uses of da. In both languages da holds the same syntactic position in relation to the verb, and the two main functions of Serbo-Croatian da are divided between the modal da on the one hand, and the indicative-declarative subordinating conjunction on the other, Macedonian deka, Bulgarian da. In addition, similar types of modality are expressed by da in both languages. However, upon closer examination it becomes evident that here, too, there is no isomorphism and that the Bulgarian literature, while helpful in some respects, does not provide suitable answers to the question of the role of da within the system of Macedonian modality.

The most significant difference between the semantic value of da in these two languages may rest on the fact that in Macedonian, where modality is defined by a closed set of nine modal particles, da must be analyzed within that set, and its interaction with the other particles in that set will establish its hierarchy of meanings. In Bulgarian, where modality cannot be defined by a limited set of modal particles due to the independent use of the perfective non-past, da will have to have

a different place in the entire structure of the Bulgarian modal system. Rudin (personal communication) suggests that although Macedonian and Bulgarian da are extremely similar, they are not identical, and differences may be more syntactic or morphological rather than semantic. The relationships between the modal systems of these two languages, in particular the relationships in the use of da, will have to be the subject of future research.

For the present examples of those areas in which Bulgarian and Macedonian da do not overlap will be cited.

There are some classes of sentences where da is permissible in Bulgarian but not in Macedonian, where it is replaced by dali 'whether'; kako 'how, as'; deka 'that'; or kako da 'as if'. Genadieva-Mutafchieva (1970) cites numerous examples of da after verba sentiendi and cogitandi. She assigns a modal meaning of doubt to these da clauses. Macedonian translations of these Bulgarian sentences, taken from Genadieva-Mutafchieva (1970:38), were rejected by Macedonian speakers, e.g.:

40a. B: Ne vidjah da vleze njakoj.
I didn't see that anyone entered, i.e., perhaps someone entered, but I didn't see them.

b. M: Ne vidov dali vlegol nekoj.
I didn't see whether anyone entered.

41a. B: Ne vidjah, če vleze njakoj.

b. M: Ne vidov deka vleze nekoj.
I didn't see that someone entered, i.e. someone

did enter but I didn't see them.

42a. B: Čuvam da pee momičeto.
I hear that the girl is singing.

b. M: Slušam kako pee devojčeto.
I hear how the girl is singing.

43a. B: Nadjavam se da mi e pisal veče.
I hope that he has already written to me [doubt].

b. M: Se nadevam deka veče me pisal.
I hope that he has already written to me.

In general informants from eastern Macedonia understood the different nuances expressed, but would not themselves use this construction, while speakers from western Macedonia and Skopje rejected the use of da in these sentences and regularly substituted the factual deka, the explicitly dubitative dali, or the processive kako.

Feleszko (1974:143) notes that this construction is rarely found in the written language but he does cite several examples from the spoken language, e.g.:

44. Mislam da ne si od Mugrovo.
I think that you are not from Mugrovo.
I suspect that you are not from Mugrovo.

45. Slušam da dzvonat kambani.
I hear that bells ring.
I hear how bells are ringing.

Feleszko notes that da in these constructions may alternate with kako 'how'; kaj 'where', etc., e.g. Slušam kako/kaj dzvonat kambani. In our own search of Macedonian literature and the catalogue of sentences collected from Macedonian literature at the Institute for the Macedonian Language in Skopje, few examples of da after these verbs were found, all from the works of Maleski and Fotev.⁵ These

sentences, too, were either rejected or deemed questionable by native speakers.

Another difference between Bulgarian and Macedonian da is the co-occurrence of da with other particles. In both Macedonian and Bulgarian the co-locution neka da occurs. However, while it is the standard literary form in Bulgarian, it is considered dialectal in Macedonian, e.g.:

46a. B: Neka da vidyat, kazahme si, evropejcite, če Bulgarija ne spi.
(Konstantinov 1973:30)
b. M: Neka vidat evropejcite, si vevme, deka Bugarija ne spie.
(Konstantinov 1967:25)
Let the Europeans see, we told ourselves, that Bulgaria isn't sleeping.

Finally, differences in Macedonian kako da 'as if' and Bulgarian kato da may be noted. First, kako da appears to be freer syntactically than its corresponding Bulgarian form, that is, more elements can occur between the two words in Macedonian than in Bulgarian; second, Bulgarian favors the combination kato će in this meaning, while kako deka cannot occur in Macedonian, e.g.:

47a. M: Potoa eden den vo seminarot utvrdi deka poveče ne se plaši, kako nekade zad nego da se zatvori vrata.
(Faulkner 1978:266)
b. B: Eden den, kogato beše v seminarijata, toj izvednaš počustvuva, če veče ne se strahuva. Kato će njakade se be zatvorila vrata.
Then one day in the seminary he realized that he was no longer afraid. As if a door had closed behind him.
(Faulkner 1963:264)

On the basis of these differences literature which deals exclusively with Bulgarian da will be excluded.

As has been shown, reference works have generally treated meanings

of da as separate, homonymous words, including:

- (1) The affirmative da.
- (2) A particle da, e.g., in directive (optative) sentences.
- (3) A conjunctive da, e.g., in subordination to a verb in the main clause.

While we agree that the affirmative da can be considered a separate, homonymous word, and while we agree with Gojčab (1964b:10) that Serbo-Croatian has two subordinating da's as discussed above, we do not see any justification for positing two other separate da's, a particle for independent optative functions and a conjunction for dependent subordinate functions.

In this chapter we will demonstrate the relationship between these two uses of da and we will show that da is the unmarked particle in the Macedonian modal system. We will show that da has no invariant basic meaning, but has three contextual variant meanings and that the major contextual variant meaning of da is optative (directive).

If the modal system is conceived of as a hierarchy of lexico-syntactic categories, da is the least marked of the modal particles for two reasons:

(1) It is the only particle which occurs in both syntactically dependent and independent functions.

(2) *Mutatis mutandis* it can assume the functions of all the other particles. The use of da in the functions of the different particles will be summarized here:

a. In constructions with ima/nema, da can replace ke in both its future function and in its function as the so-called future in the past. The negative forms with nema will be included

here since they are the unmarked form of the negated 'future'.

- | | |
|---|---------------------------|
| 48. <u>Ke</u> odi. | 'he'll go.' |
| ima da odi. | 'he has to go, will go.' |
| ne <u>ke</u> odi. | 'he won't go.' |
| nema da odi. | 'he won't go.' |
| <u>ke</u> odeše. | 'he would have gone.' |
| imaše da odi. | 'he would have gone.' |
| (K. Koneski 1979:291 notes that this form is extremely rare.) | |
| ne <u>ke</u> odeše. | 'he would not have gone.' |
| nemaše da odi. | 'he would not have gone.' |

b. In conditional sentences da, like li, ako, and dokolku can occur in real fulfillable conditions; compare the following:

- 49a. Pobaraš li poveke, ke te ubijat!
(Maleski cited in K. Koneski 1979:88)
b. Da pobaraš poveke, ke te ubijat!
If you look further, they'll kill you!

- 50a. Ako mu se pee, ke pee...
(Arsovski cited in K. Koneski 1979:77)
b. Da mu se pee, ke pee...
If he feels like singing, he'll sing...

- 51a. Dokolku se obezbedaat ovie uslovi, prečki ke nema.
(Nova Makedonija cited in K. Koneski 1979:89)
b. Da se obezbedat ovie uslovi, prečki ke nema.
If these conditions are met, there will be no difficulties.

c. In temporal clauses, da can be used with, or can replace, duri, and dodeka:

- 52a. Da dojde toj, ke odime.
b. Duri da dojde toj, ke odime.
When he gets here, we'll go.
- 53a. Ke go pričekame, duri da dojde.
b. Ke pričekame, dodeka dojde.
We'll wait for him until he comes.

d. In hypothetical clauses, da can replace bi:

- 54a. Edno kafe da ti svarev - reče za da reče nešto, zašto kafe nemaše.
b. Edno kafe bi ti svaril...
(Maleski, kartoteka⁶)
I'd make you a cup of coffee, he said in order to say something, because there was no coffee.

e. Da can be used in place of neka in first- and third-person hortatives:

- 55a. Da gledame. 'Let's look.'
b. Neka gledame. 'Let's look.'

f. Da can be used as a second-person imperative:

- 56a. Da dojdeš!
b. Dojdi!
Come!

Thus da can be considered unmarked for any specific type of modality. We propose the following hierarchy of contextual variant meanings: The particle da has two modal meanings when it functions independently: directive and conditional. The term directive proposed by Lyons (1977:745-46) will be used in place of the traditional term optative. The term optative applies to a morphological, not a semantic, category and has the limited meaning of wish and does not include all the possible meanings of the non-conditional independent da. Lyons (1977:816) notes that the Indo-European optative was probably never restricted to wishes but was the mood of contra-factivity and remote possibility. Melchert (personal communication) notes that Indo-European probably made no distinction between irreal conditions and optatives, i.e. wishes (cf. Gonda 1956:47-67). The term directives proposed by Lyons includes utterances which impose or propose some course or pattern of behaviour and which indicate that it should be carried out. This category would include commands, demands, requests, entreaties and imperatives. We will follow Lyons' use of the term imperative to mean only the grammaticalized forms of synthetic second-person appeals, e.g., Macedonian Dojdi! 'Come!'; Dojdete 'Come' (second plural). We will speak of requests or exhortations when referring to analytic directives. Within this category of directive we will also include counterfactual wishes, such as if only

clauses, e.g.:

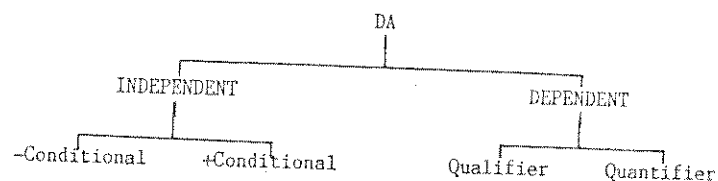
57. Da ne skažuvaše mnogu!
If only you hadn't spoken so much!
58. Em da mu rečeše!
If only you had told him!
(B. Koneski 1967:429)

Dependent da constructions can be defined as those constructions in which da cannot occur in clause initial position, but is dependent on a head verb, adverb, or preposition, e.g.:

59. Počna da pee.
*Da počna pee.
He began to sing.
60. Bez da znam.
*Da bez znam.
Without my knowing.

In its dependent function da can be said to be marked for the category of manner since in these constructions da can denote a quantifier or a qualifier depending on the lexical meaning of the governing word (see pp. 55-56).

In Macedonian, then, there is a situation typical in Indo-European languages in which the subjunctive and optative (directive) collapse into one form. In Macedonian, however, the optative-subjunctive marker da has spread to include other types of modality, and has become the unmarked modal particle. The following table illustrates the contextual meanings of da:



Most of the literature to date on da in Macedonian has focused on the use of da either in conditional clauses or in its subordinating functions. Articles dealing with individual functions of da will be treated later in this chapter when these individual functions are discussed. Here those works which treat da in more than one of its functions will be examined, namely the basic grammars of the Macedonian language and several articles (Lunt 1952; B. Koneski 1967; Feleszko 1974; Kepeski 1975; Usikova 1977).

All of the handbooks make some reference to the use of da in combination with modal verbs, e.g., treba da 'has to' and ima/nema da 'has to, will/won't', but there is no consistency in the treatment of other uses of da in these works.

In his grammar of the Macedonian literary language, B. Koneski (1967) makes scant reference to da itself. While he treats it as non-paradigmatic and as participating in syntactic constructions, there is no section devoted specifically to da, nor is there any systematic treatment of these syntactic constructions. B. Koneski (1967:543), following the analysis employing two homonymous da's, calls da a particle only in its independent function as a directive particle, e.g., Da dojde! 'Let him come!' Elsewhere (535-6) da is treated as a subordinating conjunction. Under the heading "imperative mood", B. Koneski (1967:416) treats da and neka as forming suppletive imperative forms used with the first- and third-person, e.g., neka dojde, da dojde. Its conditional meaning is mentioned with the forms of the imperfect (B. Koneski 1967:430). Thus, there is no compilation of the different meanings of

da; one must look throughout the grammar for references.

Kepeski (1975) presents da in a similar manner, i.e., there is no section devoted exclusively to da but instead different syntactic and semantic functions of da are scattered throughout the grammar under various headings. First, he too treats da as a particle (Kepeski 1975:141) in its affirmative function, which is outside the realm of modality, and, under the heading "particles with modal meanings", da appears only in its imperative function. It is interesting that his only example here is da in an indirect command:

61. Reži mu da donese kniga.
Tell him to bring a book!

In discussing the use of da as a subordinating conjunction (Kepeski 1975:160-66), he follows the traditional approach of enumerating and defining the various types of complements used with da (cf. Korubin 1969; Cvetkovski 1973; Feleszko 1974, etc.), for example:

Resultative:

62. Ne frlaj kamen vo retka kal da ne se isprskaš.
Don't throw a stone into thin mud, lest you get splattered.

Concessive:

63. Toj ne odi v kafeana i da ima slobodno vreme.
He doesn't go to a tavern even if he has free time.

Problems with this type of classification will be discussed later (see p. 55) in the section on the subordinate, dependent da.

The conditional meaning of da is discussed within the context of the uses of the imperfect (Kepeski 1975:123). Like B. Koneski, after discussing the imperative Kepeski (1975:129) treats the use of da as a hortative.

Usikova (1977:367-68) under various headings treats only the directive and conjunctive uses of da.

Lunt (1952:84-87) devotes a separate section to the various meanings of da. He states that da functions simply to show a subordination; the verb accompanying it is viewed as secondary to some other action, expressed or not. The exact nature of this secondary event and of the relation to the primary action is determined by the context of the speech event. This definition is unsatisfactory for two reasons. First, with the independent use of da, for example, we do not see how the verb frli in a sentence of the following type can be considered subordinate to some other action, e.g.:

64. Igla da frliš, nema kaj da padne.
If you threw a needle, there'd be no place for it to fall.
(Lunt 1952:85)

Second, in its dependent use, da does not simply show subordination, but is markedly modal, as can be seen when it is compared to other basic subordinating conjunctions, e.g.:

- 65a. Zaboraviv da go napravam toa.
I forgot to do that, i.e., the action do is unreal.
b. Zaboraviv deka go napraviv toa.
I forgot that I did that, i.e., the action do is real.
66a. Da go znaeš toa, dobro ti e.
If you know that, good for you, i.e., the action know is hypothetical.
b. Dobro ti e deka go znaeš toa.
Good for you that you know that, i.e., the action know is real.

Lunt does, however, treat the different functions of da, e.g., conditional, directive, and dependent, together and attempts to find

some underlying connection between them. Unfortunately, his basic definition of da as merely a subordinator does not capture the fact that da is marked for manner (modality and aspect) and thus cannot explain the role of da in the Macedonian modal system.

Feleszko (1974:137-44) divides da constructions into what he calls independent optative-dubitative and complex, dependent constructions. Like Kepeski, he subdivides the dependent constructions by type of clause. While the division into dependent and independent functions is helpful, there are problems here, too. First, within his category optative-dubitative such diverse forms as the following are included:

hortative:

67. Da odime!
Let's go!

optative:

68. Da dade Gospod!
May God grant!

admirative-interrogative:

69. Toj da ne dojde?!
He didn't come, did he?!

Second, under his heading objective-intentional sentences, clearly modal and non-modal sentences are grouped together, e.g.:

modal:

70. Sakaše da zamine.
He wanted to set off.

non-modal:

71. Počna da pee.
He began to sing.

It is evident from this summary of the general treatment of da in the literature on Macedonian that there has been no adequate description of all its functions nor is there any unified theory describing its role within the Macedonian modal system. Having proposed a hierarchy of modal functions for da and having demonstrated that it cannot be marked for any specific type of modality and can replace all the other modal particles, we will now turn to the three separate uses of da and establish meanings for them. First the independent functions of da, the directive and the conditional, will be examined.

Both the directive and the conditional functions of da can be divided into two categories: fulfillable and unfulfillable. Traditional studies of Macedonian have used the terms real and irreal when discussing directives and conditions. Instead we propose the terms fulfillable and unfulfillable because: 1) all modals are by our definition irreal and 2) hypothetical wishes and conditions, which have traditionally been treated as either irreal or as outside the opposition real/irreal, can be treated as ontologically fulfillable. While most unfulfillable wishes and conditions are marked for pastness in Macedonian, the opposition past/non-past is not the basic distinction since in Macedonian there are present, non-past conditions which are unfulfillable, e.g.:

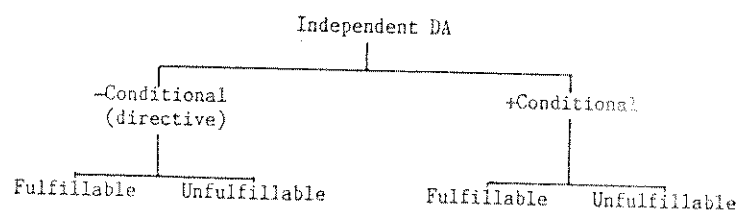
72. Da sum vo tvoe mesto.
If only I were in your place.

In the indicative system it is the present which is the unmarked tense, since it can be used to express events which have occurred before or events which will occur after the speech event, while in the modal system there is a reversal of marking and it is the past which is unmarked since it occurs in place of the present in several modal contexts.

We consider the directive meaning of da to be unmarked since da is not subordinated syntactically and in minimal contexts da will be understood as a directive, e.g.:

73. Da znaev!
If only I had known!

This relationship can be seen in the following diagram:



The fulfillable da directive has three functions:

- (1) Polite commands (requests) used with the second person.
- (2) First- and third-person hortatives and concessives.
- (3) Exhortations and wishes frequently addressed to some third person, found often in blessings and curses.

When used in its first meaning as a second-person command, da plus the second person is considered a more polite request than the corresponding form of the synthetic imperative (cf. Householder, et al.

1964:108).

Lyons (1977:749) describes the use of tags as a device for transforming a command into a formal request, stating that the difference between a command and a request is that the latter linguistically leaves the addressee the option of refusing to carry out the action, e.g.:

Open the door, please.
Open the door, won't/will you?

We agree that tags diminish the categoricalness of a command or soften it. In Macedonian four levels of politeness in commands can be defined in which da functions in essentially the same manner as the English tag. The least polite form of command is the use of da plus 1-form. In this context examples with the sum series must be treated, since the meaning is not predictable from the verb form alone. This type of command expresses the speaker's emphatic wish for the action to take place. When used in a positive command it carries also the meaning of urgency. This urgency is frequently expressed lexically, e.g.:

74. Vednaš da si došol!
Get over here immediately!

When da plus the 1-form occurs in a negative command it expresses a threat, e.g.:

75. Ti si bre, veli taa, nekoja...ajde da ne rečam. Kako možeš samo da go pieš Labatov? Od sega da ne sum te videla da go imaš pred sebe.
(Cašule 1978:331)
You're some kind of a...well, I won't say. How can you drink only Labatt's? From now on don't let me see you with it in front of you.

The synthetic imperative is also used to express a command, i.e.,

the addressee is generally not given the linguistic option of refusing to carry out the command unless other factors are present, e.g., a special intonational pattern, e.g.:

76. Donesi mi ja knjigata!
Bring me the book!

The next level of politeness is the use of da plus a second-person non-past verb form, e.g.:

77. Da mi ja doneseš knjigata.
Bring me the book, please.

The most polite form is the use of da with the second-person form of the perfective imperfect 7, e.g.:

78. Da mi ja doneseše knjigata.
Bring me the book, would you please?

Thus, there is in the second-person directives the use of a past tense verb with a present meaning for both the least polite form, i.e., da plus an 1-form, and the most polite form, i.e., da plus a perfective imperfect.

The second-person forms can also be used in blessings and curses, e.g.:

79. Golem da parasneš!
May you grow big [and strong]!

80. Da pukneš!
May you burst!

When used with a first-person plural verb da plus non-past expresses an exhortation for the joint completion of an action in which the speaker will also take part. There is no corresponding first-person form with the imperfect for expressing politeness. K. Koneski

(1973:154) states that the appeal is frequently strengthened through the use of expressions such as ajde!

'Come on!', e.g.:

81. Ajde, zaedno da rabotime.
(K. Koneski 1973:154)
Come on, let's work together.

also:

82. Daj da begame!
Come on, let's run!

He also notes that the appeal may also be strengthened through the repetition of the command with the imperative of the same verb, e.g.:

83. Begaj da begame.
(K. Koneski 1973:155)
Run, let's run!

The use of da with a first-person singular verb with the meaning of a command is not very common for the logical reason that one does not ordinarily command oneself to complete some action. K. Koneski (1973:154) cites only one example of da with a first-person singular verb, which he considers a first-person command in a monologue, e.g.:

84. Čekaj, da se naučam jas komu se kradat tie
besceneti kamenje.
(K. Koneski 1973:154)
Hold on, let me find out for whom these precious stones
are being stolen.

K. Koneski does not, however, mention the much more common use of da with the first-person singular in sentences expressing an appeal

'Let me...', e.g.:

85. Da ti kažam.
Let me tell you.
86. Da sednam.
Let me sit down.

The particle da plus a third-person non-past expresses fulfillable directives of both permission and wish. In the former meaning it is the same type of appeal as those above with let, e.g.:

87. Da dojde i toj.
Let him come, too.

Some speakers also accept as theoretically possible a third-person indirect command with an l-form, e.g.

88. Vednaš da došol toj.
May he come immediately.

which would have the same meaning of urgent or emphatic command as when the l-form is used with the second person (cf. p.40 above).

Sentences of the type Toj da ne dojde? 'He isn't coming, is he?' and Da ne si nešto bolen? 'You're not sick, are you?' whose meaning is connected with both interrogation and negation, may still be considered a type of directive (optative). They may be interpreted as an interrogative form of the wish, e.g.: May you not be sick!

Both Hausmann and GoIqb (1964a:30) note that in everyday speech da plus a third-person non-past verb is the most common construction for expressing a wish, e.g.:

89. Da dojde toj!
May he come!

90. Da ostane toj!
May he stay!

They note that the use of da plus bi followed by an l-form has an emphatic character, e.g.:

91. Da bi došol!
Would that he came!
92. Da bi ostanal!
Would that he stay!

Both Minova-Gurkova and B. Koneski (personal communication) now consider the combination da bi archaic or dialectal and not productive in the modern literary language.

The use of da plus the third-person perfective imperfect is also uncommon in the modern language for expressing wishes. Gojzb (1964:30) and B. Koneski (1967:429) cite the use of this form in the following non-literary example:

93. Da dadeše (Pi) Gospod kučata prah i pepel da ti se storit!
May the Lord grant that your house be turned to dust and ashes!

Both authors note that the perfective imperfect has a present or future meaning. Several of our informants rejected a future interpretation of this sentence. These same informants were undecided on the grammaticality of wishes formed with the imperfect with a clear future reference, e.g.:

94. ?Da dojdeše toj utre!
May he come tomorrow!

It appears that this construction, like those above with da bi, is no longer productive in the literary language but occurs only in fixed expressions like the curse cited by both Gojzb and Koneski.

Before turning to the unfulfillable directives, the use of fulfillable directives can be summarized. These directives are used with all three persons to express a command or request replacing the

synthetic imperative when used with a second-person form. When used with a first- or third-person form, the fulfillable directives express an appeal or concession, e.g.:

86. Da sednam.
Let me sit down.
95. Da sedne i toj.
Let him sit down, too.

Finally, the fulfillable directives are used to express a wish which may, however hypothetically, be fulfilled in the future:

L-Form	Perfective Imp.	Non-past
2nd: command threat blessing curse	2nd: polite command 3rd: ?command blessing curse	1st sg.: appeal 1st pl.: hortative 2nd: command 3rd: wish exhortation appeal

Unfulfillable directives express a wish for something either to have occurred at some point in the past, or for something to occur at the moment of speech. When used in this latter context, da can be used with an imperfective non-past, e.g.:

96. Da mi e sega Elena mesto tebe!
(B. Koneski, kartoteka)
If only it were Elena now instead of you!
97. Ah, da sum na tvoji godini!
(Pavlovski 1975:159)
Oh, if only I were your age!

In both examples the non-past form can be replaced by an imperfect:

Da mi beše sega Elena mesto tebe!

Ah, da bev na tvoi godini!

We consider the use of the imperfective non-past to be marked in this context since it is usually the past tense which expresses an action which is unfulfillable.

It is in the uses of the unfulfillable directives and unfulfillable conditions that there is overlap in the two independent uses of da (cf. Gočqb 1964b:18). It is only through intonation that one can distinguish between an unfulfillable wish and the protasis of an unfulfillable condition:

Directive:

Da znaev!
If only I had known!

Condition:

Da znaev...
If I had known...[I might have done something]

In other words, there is no formal distinction between the two unfulfillable meanings and the directive and conditional uses of da merge.

The formation and meaning of conditional clauses is one of the most complex problems in the Macedonian modal system. Four of the modal particles are used in the protasis of a conditional period, namely da, ako, li and dokolku. In some instances one can also use koga bi to express the condition (see chapter V). In the apodosis, two forms are competing: constructions with the particle ke, and constructions with the particle bi. In addition, there are numerous combinations of tense and aspect.

Conditional clauses in Macedonian have been the subject of several longer works (Gočqb 1964; Hausmann cited in Gočqb 1964; Minova-Gurkova 1967; Mišić 1975; K. Koneski 1977). Here discussion of da conditionals will begin with a summary of their treatment in the standard grammars and in the works cited above. Studies of Macedonian conditionals have not treated the modal particles systematically, and, therefore, discussion will be limited to theoretical frameworks and the specific sections pertaining to da.

In his grammar of the Macedonian literary language, B. Koneski does not address the problem of the distribution and meaning of particles, but lists da, ako, ako li, and li as conditional conjunctions. Neither Lunt (1952) nor Usikova (1977) make special reference to conditionals (see chapter VII). Kepeski (1975:163) states that dependent conditional clauses show under what circumstances the action in the main clause either did or would take place.

In an earlier grammar (1958 cited in Mišić 1975:8), Kepeski defines three types of conditions:

(1) Real conditions in which the condition is merely expressed:

98. Ako učiš marljivo, ke go svršiš učilišteto.
If you study diligently, you will finish school.

(2) Potential conditions in which the possibility of the fulfillment of the condition is expressed:

99. Koga bi učel, bi go svršil učilišteto.
If you would study, you would finish school.

(3) Irreal conditions in which it is stated that the action was not fulfilled:

100. Da učeše marljivo, ke go svršeše učilišteto.
If you had studied diligently, you would have

finished school.

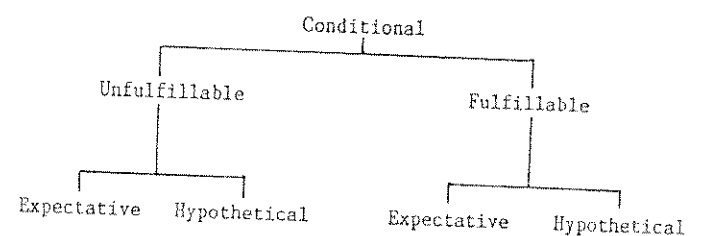
In her master's thesis on conditional sentences in Macedonian and English Mišić (1975) follows Kepeski's division of conditional clauses into the three types listed above: real, unreal, and hypothetical⁸. In her terminology, real conditions (1975:11) express a condition which must be fulfilled in the present or future. While there exists no hindrances for the fulfillment of the condition, the speaker leaves open the possibility that the condition may not be fulfilled. Potential conditions (1975:30) doubt the possibility of fulfillment of the non-past condition. Finally, unreal conditions are conditions which were not fulfilled in the past. This type of condition expresses a supposition of what would have occurred had the condition been fulfilled.

K. Koneski gathered over three thousand examples from Macedonian literature in writing his doctoral dissertation on constructions with Ke. While his dissertation is very rich in data, he does not attempt to define the relationship between various types of conditionals. We will look at his data later after suggesting our own framework for an analysis of conditional clauses; here it will simply be noted that he cites examples of both fulfillable and unfulfillable conditional sentences with da.

Both Gojčab (1964a:133-36) and Minova-Gurkova (1967:126) also posit three types of conditions: real, unreal, and potential. Their works include numerous examples, but these works will be treated in more detail in the chapter on Ke (chapter IV) and the chapter on ako (chapter VII).

Thus, work to date on conditional clauses follows the classical subdivision of conditions into a tripartite system. The tripartite conditional system is not satisfactory because it does not show the relationship between fulfillable conditions on the one hand, and unfulfillable conditions on the other, leaving aside for the moment the degree of possibility that the condition will or can be fulfilled. Nor does it point to the relationships which exist between expectative conditions, i.e., conditions whose fulfillment is or was projected as fulfillable in the past, present, or future in opposition to hypothetical conditions, i.e., conditions which express the speaker's view that the fulfillment of the action is doubtful, unlikely, uncertain, or conjectural. The opposition expectative/hypothetical will be treated in more detail in chapters V and VI.

In a systematic treatment of conditionals the following system can be proposed:



It has been widely accepted in the literature on Macedonian that ako is the particle used in the protasis of real conditions, whereas da is generally used for unreal conditions. Mišić (1975:44) notes that in her corpus eighty percent of real conditions were expressed with ako, while ten percent of real conditions were expressed with da. The remaining ten percent were formed with other particles, e.g., koga bi. Both Gotčab (1964b:21) and Minova-Gurkova (1969:16-17) have stated that da expresses a real condition when used with a non-past perfective verb but an unreal condition when used with a non-past imperfective verb. However, it will be seen that da can be used for all of the four types of conditions shown in the diagram above with verbs of both aspects. Analysis will begin with unfulfillable conditions.

First to be examined will be the unfulfillable expectative, i.e., conditions which could or should have been fulfilled at some point in the past but which were not fulfilled. As mentioned above, the most common type here is the use of a modal particle plus the imperfect in the protasis and Ke plus an imperfect in the apodosis. K. Koneski (1979:241) found sixty-six examples with da and sixty-nine with ako. In addition, K. Koneski notes that for all conditional sentences the usual, unmarked word order is: protasis — apodosis; this is similar to English: if — then. He cites examples of both marked and unmarked word order and notes that the marked order is much rarer for conditions with da than for those with ako. It is clear that the marked word order is avoided with da since da also occurs in subordination to other verbs in its dependent functions and ambiguities might arise when da is placed directly after the verb in the main clause. Wherever possible

examples will be cited with both marked and unmarked word order. The following sentences illustrate unfulfillable, expectative conditions:

1) Da plus Pi — Ke plus Pi:

101. Da me viknea mene, Ke pojdev.
(Arsovski, kartoteka)
If they had invited me, I would have come.
102. Poarno Ke beše da ostaneše zad granica.
(Georgievski, kartoteka)
It would have been better if he had stayed abroad.

2) Da plus Pi — Ke plus Ii:

103. Da me ostavea, Ke spiev denovi i noći.
(Pavlovski cited in K. Koneski 1979:243)
If they had left me, I would have slept day and night.
104. E...kolku pari Ke nì činiše kožava da ja poturčeš.
(Krle, kartoteka)
Hey, how much money would the hide have cost us if they had stolen it.

3) Da plus Ii — Ke plus Pi:

105. A da znaev, Ke se vratev mnogu pobrzu.
Had I known, I would have returned much sooner.
106. A ne Ke dojdeše, da imaše narodot puški da se brani.
He wouldn't have come if the people had rifles to defend themselves.

All of the above examples with an imperfect of either aspect in the protasis and Ke plus an imperfect in the apodosis express an expectative condition.

Unfulfillable, hypothetical conditions are those in which a condition is expressed which cannot be fulfilled at the present. As with the unfulfillable wishes, there is a neutralization of the

opposition past/non-past, and da can occur here with either an imperfective non-past or an imperfect of either aspect. In these hypothetical conditions a bi-clause is most common in the apodosis, but ke plus the imperfect is also possible. Problems in the distribution of ke and bi will be treated in detail in chapters

IV and V; here the following examples will be cited:

107. Da znam deka e se popusto, deka nema ni smisla ni značenje, ne bi se zasolnil nikogaš pred toa vistinsko mačenje. (Šopov, kartoteka)
If I knew that everything were in vain, that there is neither sense nor meaning, I would never hide from this real torture.
108. Da znam nekoj drug zbor, pomisli, ke go rečev nego. (Arsovski, cited in K. Koneski 1979:251)
If I knew some other word, just think, I'd say it.

Both of these sentences could also occur with an imperfective imperfect, e.g., Da znaev deka e se popusto...; Da znaev nekoj drug zbor...

In fulfillable conditions ako is much more common, however, da does occur in both expectative and hypothetical fulfillable conditions. Gojčab treated the use of da in expectative conditions only with a perfective non-past in sentences like the following:

109. Vo mene e cela Sahara, da mi go donesat (Ppr) moreto ke go izlokam. (K. Koneski 1979:86)
The whole Sahara is in me, if they brought me the ocean, I would swallow it up.
110. Ah da mu izleze (Ppr) popče pred oči, ke mu ja iskube bradata. (K. Koneski 1979:86)
Oh, if that priest appears before his eyes, he'll pluck out his beard.

K. Koneski (1979:87) has shown that da can also occur in this type of condition with an imperfective non-past, though he notes that

its use is limited, e.g.:

111. Da mu raspravaš (Ipr) nekomu za niv, utre koga ke izlezeme odovde, nema da ti veruva, ke misli - izmisluvaš.
If you tell someone about them, tomorrow when we go out of here, he won't believe you, he'll think - you're imagining.

Finally, fulfillable hypothetical conditions are those in which the condition is conceivably fulfillable, but which will in all likelihood remain unfulfilled. These conditions usually have a perfective non-past in the protasis and a bi-clause in the apodosis, e.g.:

112. Da dojdeš utre, bi ti dal pari.
If you were to come tomorrow [and I don't think you will] I'd give you the money.

The differences in the use of various particles in the apodosis and in the protasis will be discussed in more detail in chapters V and VI.

As seen above, rather than a three-way division of conditionals, we propose a binary opposition between fulfillable and unfulfillable conditions which enables us to show the close relationship between the traditional real and hypothetical conditions in opposition to the so-called unreal conditions. These two categories may then be subdivided into hypothetical and expectative conditions. This division then unites those conditions which were capable of being fulfilled with those which may be fulfilled, and it unites the hypothetical conditions which are not fulfillable in the present with those which will most likely remain unfulfilled in the future.

There is one more type of sentence with da which must be included in a discussion of conditionals. These are sentences with a nominal predicate such as gramota 'shame', grevota 'sin' or an

adjectival predicate such as dobro 'good' or važno 'important' (see Feleszko 1974:141), e.g.:

113. Sramota e da se karame.
It is shameful for us to quarrel.
114. Prijatno e da slušaš pesni.
It is pleasant to listen to songs.

These sentences can both be rephrased as follows:

- Sramota e ako se karame.
It is shameful if we quarrel.
- Prijatno e ako slušaš pesni.
It is pleasant if you listen to songs.

These sentences are here considered to be a type of fulfillable hypothetical condition, however, they are included between the section on independent and dependent da since these sentences can also be interpreted as panchronic, aspectual clauses, i.e. instead of substituting ako one could, in a different context, substitute koga 'whenever', e.g.:

- Sramota e koga se karame.
It is shameful whenever we quarrel.
- Prijatno e koga slušaš pesni.
It is pleasant whenever you listen to songs.

The dependent function of da has been the subject of much debate.⁹ Since most of this debate has focused on Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian in which, as seen earlier (see pp 22-23, 26), it is precisely the dependent functions of da that most differentiate the three languages, only a brief summary of the pertinent aspects of this debate will be given. The discussion centers on whether da is a preverbal morpheme or an independent modal word. The former view has most

recently been supported by Gořab (1954) and Maslov (1956). The majority of Bulgarian linguists (e.g. Andrejčin 1944; Popov 1963; Stojanov 1977; Janakiev 1962; Genadieva-Mutafčieva 1962, 1972, 1976) consider da to be a conjunction in most subordinate clauses.

Works specifically on Macedonian generally treat da as a conjunction (Lunt 1952; B. Koneski 1967; Feleszko 1974; Kepeski 1975). Unlike the Bulgarian linguists, who have noted that da generally carries a modal meaning, Macedonian authors have not attributed the modality to da, per se, but rather cite individual modal uses, e.g. da as a suppletive first- and third-person imperative.

Most authors on Macedonian (e.g. B. Koneski 1967; Cvetkovski 1973; Feleszko 1974; Kepeski 1975) have distinguished da clauses on the basis of the type of clause, e.g. intentional, objective, etc. This system is unsatisfactory since it leads to the inclusion of both modal and non-modal clauses within the same category; for example, the Rečnik (1979:125) includes under the heading "objective clauses" the following types of sentences:

1) Modal:

115. Sakaše da zamine.
He wanted to set off.

2) Aspectually inceptive:

16. Počna da pee.
He began to sing.

5) Conditional, or iterative:

117. Arno e da molčiš.
It is good for you to be quiet.

Aronson (1977) maintained that da clauses could be either modal or aspectual. He determined that while da plus an imperfective

non-past covered a range of meanings from the clearly indicative after verbs of beginning, finishing, continuing to clearly modal meanings, when da was followed by a perfective non-past the action in the subordinate clause was always markedly modal. He did not, however, account for such clearly non-modal uses of da plus perfective non-past in subordination to verbs such as uspee 'succeed' or seti se 'remember', e.g.:

118. Stojčevski so prvot istrel uspeal da go
pogodi (Ppr) volkot.
(NM 10-III-82-11)
Stojčevski managed to hit the wolf with his first shot.

On the basis of these facts, we will take Aronson's category of manner as our starting point. The dependent use of da can be used to express mood or aspect depending on the lexical meaning of the verb in the main clause. Without knowing the lexical meaning of the head verb, one cannot say whether the subordinate clause is markedly modal or aspectual. Therefore, while dependent da can function either as a qualifier or a quantifier, the exact nature of the mood or aspect is dependent solely on the lexical meaning of the verb in the main clause, e.g.:

1) Modal uses:

- a. Desire
119. Saka da odi.
He wants to go.
b. Intention
120. Misli da odi.
He's thinking of going.
c. Necessity

121. Mora da odi.
He must go.
d. Indirect commands
122. Kaži mu da odi.
Tell him to go.

2) Aspectual uses:

- a. Inchoative
116. Počna da pee.
He began to sing.
b. Durative
123. Prodolžuva da pee.
He continues to sing.
c. Conclusive
124. Uspea da ispee.
He managed to sing through.

Thus it can be seen that the dependent function of da is based on the lexical meaning of the main verb. Future work on the relationship between the modal and aspectual meanings of da will have to include a dictionary of all the verbs which can govern da. After verbs of beginning, finishing, and continuing, and after verbs expressing modalities of desire, e.g., saka 'want', se nadeva 'hope'; necessity, e.g., mora 'must', treba 'needs to', etc., the particle da is obligatory, i.e. other conjunctions are impossible, e.g.:

125. *Mora deka odi.
*He must that he go.
126. *Saka deka odi.
*He wants that he go.

In other contexts, the substitution of another word changes the

meaning from modal to indicative, e.g.:

127. Dobro e čovek da znae mnogu jazici.
It is good to know [if one knows] many languages.
128. Dobro e što znae mnogu jazici.
It is good that he [one] knows many languages.

While the specific meaning of dependent da is determined by the lexical meaning of the head verb, there is one case which cannot be explained by simple lexical analysis: constructions with ima/nema 'there is/there isn't'. Although ima is, like treba 'needs to', a verb which usually occurs in its un conjugated third-person form, it does not have an invariant lexical meaning. The verb treba used independently has the same meaning as when it is used in a main clause governing da, e.g.:

129. Treba.
It is necessary.
[You] need to.
130. Treba da odiš.
It is necessary for you to go.
You need/ought to go.

The verb ima, however, has different meanings in its two functions. In its independent use ima means either 'he has' or 'there is/there are'. Unlike treba, ima has the meaning of obligation only when used with da, e.g.:

131. Ima.
He has [something].
There is/there are.
*[You] must.
132. Ima da odiš.
You will/must go.

Lunt (1952:83) states that when the verb ima is used in its

conjugated form the meaning of obligation or duty is strengthened, while the sense of to have is also present. He cites the following example:

133. Imaš da ja rešiš.

which he translates as: 'You should/ought to solve it.' or 'You have it to solve.' B. Koneski (personal communication) rejects the former interpretation, i.e., that of strengthened obligation, and says the conjugated form must have an understood object, e.g. Ima da odiš 'You will/must go' but Imaš [pričina] da odiš. 'You have [a reason] to go'. Therefore, the conjugated form of ima can also be treated lexically. Because this use of ima/nema is so closely interrelated with the use of ke, we will return to these constructions in chapter IV.

When da is used in compound forms with adverbs and prepositions its meaning is always clearly modal. The particle da combines with the prepositions bez 'without', pred 'before' and za 'for', e.g.

134. Pogodiv bez da znam.
(B. Koneski, kartoteka)
I guessed without knowing it.
135. Vlegovme v selo ušte pred da ogree sonceto.
(B. Koneski, kartoteka)
We entered the village before the sun shone.
136. Za da se najdemo koga ke se vratime, ovde ke gi ostavime prstenite.
(B. Koneski, kartoteka)
In order to find our way when we return, we'll leave the rings here.

While the elements of these compounds are usually bound, the preposition can be separated by pronominal forms, e.g.:

137. Ušte pred toj da vlezje v kući...
(Dimitrovski 1952:87)
Already before he entered the house...

The modal meaning of da is especially evident in subordination to prepositions since verb forms are always modal after these compound prepositions and da cannot be used in constructions with prepositions that denote fulfillment of an action, e.g., so 'with', e.g.:

138. *Pogodiv, so da znam.

or with posle 'after', e.g.:

139. *Vlegovme posle da ogree sonceto.

The compound kako da 'as if' unlike the other compounds, occurs with all types of verb forms, including constructions with ke, e.g.:

140. Navistina nema sreken čovek na Filip Ajland! vozbudeno krikna kako da otkril zlatno runo.
(Pavlovski 1975:160)
Truly there is no happy man on Phillip Island, he shouted excitedly as if he had discovered the golden fleece.
141. Me primiija kako svoj vo molkot seopšt, kako sekogaš da sum bil srede nego i kako sekogaš da ke ostanam.
(Čašule 1970:266)
They accepted me as their own in the general silence, as if I had always been by him, and would always remain.

When da is used with other combining adverbs it has a meaning of indefiniteness, e.g., kolku da 'however much', kade da, kade i da 'wherever'; koga da, koga i da 'whenever';

kako i da 'however', e.g.:

142. Kako i da bilo, ovaa negova prikaska ni se pretstavuva kako skladna celost.
(B. Koneski, kartoteka)
However it was, this story of his seemed to us as a consistent whole.
143. Koga da go vidam, se ke me zapre.
(Recnik 1979:336)
Whenever I see him, he stops me.
144. Kolku da e ubavo i kolku da e ramnodušen čovek na vakva situacija, ne može da ne se počustvuva učesnik vo edna glupa igra.
(M. Fotev 1970:80)
No matter how good it is, and no matter how indifferent a man is in such a situation, one cannot help feeling like a participant in some stupid game.

While da is also used in the compound forms duri da and dodeka da, these compounds will not be included here since duri and dodeka occur in modal constructions with similar meanings without da. These will be discussed in detail in chapter VII.

The following summary of the use of da in Macedonian can now be given. The particle da is the least marked in a hierarchy of modal particles because it occurs in both independent and dependent constructions and because it can assume the functions of all the other Macedonian particles. The independent function is markedly modal and comprises directives and conditionals. The dependent function of da is a designator of manner and can, therefore, express either mood or aspect.

Notes - Chapter II

¹ For more detailed bibliographies on Serbo-Croatian da, see Ivić 1970; for Bulgarian, see Genadieva-Mutafčieva 1970, Lempp 1981, Rudin 1981.

² The following abbreviations will be used: S - Serbo-Croatian, M - Macedonian, B - Bulgarian.

³ In the early issues of the journal Makedonski Jazik much attention was given to the syntactic position of particles (see Korubin 1950:224-228; Dimitrovski 1952a:40-42, 1952b:87-89). Korubin, for example, cautions against Serbian influence in the syntactic position of da, citing mistakes in the press such as the following:

- i. Ušte pred 25 godini mu uspea na eden vlasnik na fabrika za knigi da za 206 minuti od živo drvo izraboti hartija.
(Korubin 1950:225)
Already 25 years ago an owner of a book factory succeeded in producing paper from fresh wood in 206 minutes.

instead of the correct Macedonian: da izraboti

⁴ Although the distinctions used in this dictionary appear to be arbitrary and not based on any consistent semantic criteria, this material will be presented as it occurs since our goal is to demonstrate the differences between Serbo-Croatian and Macedonian and not to formulate an analysis of Serbo-Croatian.

⁵ These sentences are the following:

- i. Vidov li jas luže vo nokna? Vidov li trojca da skršnaa levo od prugata a ne preku pruga?
(Maleski 1958:94)
Did I see people in the night? Did I see a threesome veer off to the left of the tracks and not cross them?

- ii. Igno useti da mu se vraća postepeno krvta.
(Maleski 1958:66)
Igno felt how his blood returned little by little.

- iii. Manuil pak presejna kon zadniot džeb, "jas da sum kako Bogoja tvoj, ke te vidam da legneš pod senkata, ke legnam i jas."
(Fotev 1974:223)
Manuil felt his back pocket again, "If I were like your Bogoja and saw you lying in the shade, I'd lie there, too."

- iv. Naskoro, selanite go vidoa Nestora Skrebovski kako šeta so oficerite vidoa da mu se polni racete so neakvi kutii...
(Fotev 1974:337)
Right away the villagers saw Nestora Skrebovski as he walked with the officers: they saw his hands were filled with some sort of boxes...

- v. More Paramone, Zafir Igovski te videl vo Bitola, da si piel tutun...
(Fotev 1974:228)
Hey Paramon, Zafir Igovski saw you smoking tobacco in Bitola...

⁶ The term kartoteka 'file' will be used to designate examples which were taken from the files of the Institute for the Macedonian Language in Skopje.

⁷ It is interesting to note that while this distinction is mentioned by both B. Koneski (1967:429) and Kepeski (1975:123) it is ignored by K. Koneski in his analysis of the use of the imperative in Macedonian in which he treats da constructions only in the first- and third-persons, as suppletive imperative forms. He makes no mention of the use of da for second-person requests. It should also be noted that B. Koneski (1967:416) also cites the use of an imperfect form for requests relating to the past, e.g. Em da mu rečeše (trebaše da mu kažeš) 'If only you had told him [you had to/you should have told him]'. This latter type of sentence will be

considered as one belonging not to requests, but to unfulfillable directives since, as Lyons (1979:746) notes, one cannot rationally command or request someone to carry out some course of action in the past.

⁸ While reasons for rejecting this theoretical framework will be discussed later, here we will point to some problems in Mišić's treatment of her data. First, she relies too heavily on the works of Marko Cepenkov, a nineteenth-century folklorist. The use of nineteenth-century sources is a persistent problem throughout the work done by Macedonian scholars. It is as if someone wished to illustrate contemporary English usage by citing examples from Shakespeare. The changes which have occurred in Macedonian over the last century are as great in magnitude as the changes in English over the last three centuries. There has been great activity among Macedonian authors in the post-war years and Macedonian scholars should look to these modern authors rather than to the works of Marko Cepenkov and Krste Misirkov. Second, Mišić does not distinguish different types of conditional clauses and different verbal categories systematically; for example, her first sub-category of real conditions is defined as follows: Both clauses have a present tense, but the verb in the apodosis is always joined by a modal verb, most often ke. First, we do not see how a verb subordinated to ke can be considered present, and second, it is clear that ke is not a modal verb, but a particle.

⁹ For more detail on this debate, see Genadieva-Mutafchieva 1970, and Rudin 1982.

Chapter III

NEKA

The particle neka 'let' has received little attention in studies of Macedonian, Bulgarian, and Serbo-Croatian. Due to the paucity of literature on neka, just a brief summary of the areas of intersection and divergence in the use of the particle in these three languages will be given here.

The Serbo-Croatian particle neka is freer syntactically than its counterpart in Macedonian, where it is closely bound to the verb and can be separated from the verb only by the negative particle ne, the enclitic pronouns, and, rarely, the particle da, e.g.:

- 145. M: Neka ne se troši mnogu na hranata!
(Pavlovski 1975:66)
*Neka mnogu na hranata ne se troši!
Let her not spend a lot on food!
- 146. Neka se kaže sam ako e junak!
(Maleski 1969:129)
Let him say it himself, if he's a hero.
- 147. S: Neka u korizmu u naše selo u svatove dodju.
(J. Kozarac cited in Stevanović 1979:705)
Let them come as wedding guests to our village during Lent.

While some handbooks and dictionaries of Serbo-Croatian (e.g., Stevanović 1975:335; Benson 1971:336; Meillet 1952:170; Haiman 1975:103) cite only those uses of neka which have parallels in Macedonian, viz., wish, consent, and blessing in constructions with a third-person verb form, e.g.:

- 148a. S: Neka udu!
b. M: Neka vlezat!
(Benson 1971:336)
Let them enter!
- 149a. S: Neka prvo napiše zadatak.
b. M: Prvo neka ja napiše zadatak.
(Benson 1971:336)
Let him write his homework first.
- 150a. S: Neka bude!
b. M: Neka bide!
(Benson 1971:336)
So be it!

Matica (1969:701) cites several meanings for neka which have no parallel in Macedonian, e.g.:

- (1) In conditional clauses in place of ako 'if' or ako samo 'if only':
151. Nek ustanem i dvaput koraknem, oblije me znoj.
If I get up and take two steps, I'm soaked in sweat.
- (2) In concessive clauses replacing makar, iako 'even though, even if':
152. Da...nikom ne opsuješ...ona pocrvenje...misli "Znam ja to i bez tebe, pa nek sam sirota".
Don't swear at anyone...she blushes...she thinks, "I know that without you, even if I am poor".
- (3) Polite refusal:
153. Neka, ja ću...leži ti samo.
Don't, I'll do it...just lie down.
154. Dela! reče mi. - Neka, hvala...! sit sam.
Come on, have some, he said to me. - No, thanks! I'm full.

Many works on Serbo-Croatian (e.g. Stevanović 1975; Benson 1971; Meillet 1952; Hamm 1975) only cite the use of neka with a third-person non-past verb form. Gojčab (1964b:30) states that the particle may be used with either a first- or third-person verb form. Our informants for Serbo-Croatian would accept the use of neka with

a first-person only in the idiomatic uses cited above from the Matica; elsewhere da is used with the first-person. Thus, Serbo-Croatian has no first-person hortative with neka parallel to Macedonian Neka kažeme deka ... 'Let us say that...'

While Bulgarian and Macedonian neka are more similar, here, too, there are several differences. In chapter II (p.29) differences were cited in the co-occurrence of neka and da in these two languages, namely, while neka da is standard in Bulgarian, our informants considered its use in Macedonian typical of eastern dialects, e.g.:

- 46a. B: Neka da vidyat kazahme si, evropejcite, že Bulgarija ne spi. (Konstantinov 1973:30)
M: Neka vidat evropejcite, si vелеvme, deka Bugarija ne spie.
(Konstantinov 1967:25)
Let the Europeans see, we told ourselves, that Bulgaria isn't sleeping.

The Bulgarian particle is also freer syntactically than the particle in Macedonian, though placement directly before da is preferred, e.g.:

155. Ako dam da padne kosam ot nego - neka cjaloto selo da me sudi.
(Zaharević, cited in Krylova 1978:72)
If I allow him to be hurt - let the whole village judge me.

Many handbooks of Bulgarian (e.g. Popov 1963; Tŭlkoven Bŭlgarski Rečnik 1973; Stojanov 1977; etc.) cite examples of neka only with a third-person verb form in its use as an analytic third-person directive. Andrejčin (1947:179) notes the use of neka with other persons, e.g.:

156. Neka mŭlča/ neka da mŭlča.
(Andrejčin 1947:179)
Let me be quiet.

We found other examples in Bulgarian literature, e.g:

157. A neka ne zabravjame sušto, ŭe poslednijat vapros - spored drevnite pravila na igrata - ne beše istinska gatanka.
(Tolkin 1979:80)
But let us not forget also, that the last question - according to the ancient rules of the game - was not a real riddle.

Thus, Bulgarian shares the use of neka as an alternate form of da plus non-past in first-person hortatives. No examples of neka with a past tense verb form were found in Bulgarian nor would our Bulgarian informants accept a Bulgarian sentence which parallels this use in Macedonian, e.g.:

158. Ako ne sakala taa neskromna devojka, neka ne se vlečeše noke so mladite selani vo űtabot.
(M. Fotev, kartoteka)
If that immodest girl didn't want to, let her not have tagged along at night with the young villagers to the headquarters.

In the absence of any available research devoted specifically to the question of neka in Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian, we can only speculate that the use of neka is more uniform in the three languages than many of the other particles. The question of overlap in the meaning of da and neka in these three languages will have to become the subject of future research.

Most of the basic Macedonian handbooks (B. Koneski 1967; Kepeski 1975; Usikova 1977) treat neka under the heading Imperative, as the analytic form for the third-person imperative. B. Koneski (1967:416) states that the analytic imperative is comprised of neka

or da plus the corresponding forms of the present and that the particle neka is rarely used with other than the third -person. Kepeski (1975:129) does mention that neka or da may be used with a first- or third-person plural verb form, however, he cites examples only with the third-person. Usikova (1977:367) states that the first- and third-person analytic imperative is formed as follows: neka + (da) + present, e.g. neka (da) kaze! 'Let him speak!'. She cites no examples with a first-person, nor does she make explicit that forms with da are not the standard literary form. Lunt (1952:86) treats neka as a subheading under the entry da, stating that neka may be used with the third-person to express meanings of exhortation or wish. Since these meanings are not explicit in the particle da, Lunt considers the use of neka, which has no other meaning, stronger.

While it is clear that neka is, in some contexts, parallel to the imperative in that it expresses the speaker's request for some third party to carry out the stated request, e.g.:

159. Na prvot den uŭilišten űas uŭitelkata im objasnuva na malite uŭenici:
-Ako na nekoj od vas mu se odi vo WC, neka krene brgu dva prsta.
-Mislite li deka toa ke pomogne? praűuva maliot Vlado.
(NM 25-IX-81-19)
On the first day of school, the teacher explains to the little pupils:
-If any of you has to go to the bathroom, let him raise two fingers quickly.
-Do you think that will help? asks little Vlado.

In other examples it is evident that something other than a command is expressed, e.g.:

160. Ete, ke i piše, neka se nadeva taa, malku i svoite maki
neka gi olesni.
(Pavlovski 1975:152)
OK, I'll write to her, let her hope a little, let it ease
her sorrows a little, too.

In chapter II (p.32) the use of Lyon's term directive was proposed for that category which includes commands, demands, requests, entreaties and imperatives. In the discussion of the directive function of the particle da, it was stated there was both a fulfillable and unfulfillable directive. The fulfillable directive da could be used to express the following:

- (1) Polite commands (requests) used with the second person, e.g.:

77. Da mi ja doneseš knjigata.
Please bring me a book.

- (2) First- and third-person hortatives and concessives, e.g.:

81. Ajde, zaedno da rabotime.
Come on, let's work together.

87. Da dojde i toj.
Let him come, too.

- (3) Exhortations and wishes often found in blessings and curses, e.g.:

80. Da pukneš!
May you burst!

89. Da dojde toj!
May he come!

The unfulfillable directive (chapter II, p.45) could be used to express a wish for something either to have occurred at some point in the past, or for something to occur at the moment of speech, e.g.:

73. Da znaev!
If only I had known!

In the course of this chapter we will demonstrate that neka is

most often used as a fulfillable directive which may be used in place of da in first- and third-person exhortations, hortatives, and appeals. Due to its lexical meaning, i.e., let and its main use as a fulfillable directive, neka is usually restricted to constructions with a non-past verb since, as Jespersen (1965:264) noted, a request necessarily has relation to future time. The particle neka does, however, function marginally as an unfulfillable directive.

The Rečnik defines neka as a particle used to express a wish, command, request, or approval. This meaning is similar to that of English let which is defined in the American Heritage Dictionary (1976:750) as: (1) an auxiliary verb used to (a) grant permission to, allow; (2) an aux. verb in the imperative used to (a) convey a command, request, or proposal: Let's finish the job! (b) a warning or threat: Just let her try! (c) to convey an assumption or hypothesis: Let X equal Y. (d) to convey acceptance or resignation to the inevitable: Let the future come! One of the synonyms of let is permit whose meanings include : to allow to; consent to; tolerate; to afford opportunity to (American Heritage 1976:977). Taking this definition as our starting point, we will give the following as the basic meaning of the particle neka: the directive particle neka expresses the speaker's willingness or consent for the action denoted to be fulfilled, or his desire that the action should be allowed to be fulfilled, i.e., the speaker may permit the action, e.g.:

161. Neka odi, sèedno mi e.
Let him go, it's all the same to me.

or the speaker may request that the action be permitted, e.g.:

162. Neka odi, što ti e gajle?
Let him go, what's it to you?

When neka is used with a third-person verb, it is always an appeal, and expresses various nuances, e.g.:

(1) A third-person imperative:

146. Neka se kaže sam ako e junak!
Neka im go reče toa na Germanicite a ne nam!
(Maleski 1969:129)
Let him say it himself, if he's a hero!
Let him tell that to the Germans and not to us!

(2) Resignation, acceptance, or exhortation, e.g.:

163. Sega ostavi go ovde neka umre sam kako pes na bunište.
(B. Koneski, kartoteka)
Now leave him here, let him die like a dog
on a garbage heap.
164. Taka neka bide!
(Rečnik 1979:34)
So be it!
165. Čestit neka mi e, deneska e mojot roden den.
(subtitle in "Up the Down Staircase" shown on
RTV Skopje 29-I-82)
May I be lucky, today is my birthday.

When the particle neka is used with a first-person singular form, it expresses the speaker's desire that permission be granted to fulfill some action (cf. da plus first sg. chapter II, p.42), e.g.:

166. ...i štom veke, ete, izdajstvoto kako sveti dveri se
otvori pred mene, dveri što od novo ke me odvedat i do
mojata i do makedonskata vistina, togaš neka izdadam...
(Čašule, kartoteka)
And since already surrender opens before me like holy
doors, doors which will again lead me both to my and to
the Macedonian truth, then let me give myself up...

The particle neka may also be used with a first-person plural non-past. In this context it is parallel to the use of da plus the

first-person plural, i.e., it expresses an appeal for the joint completion of some action in which the speaker will also participate, e.g.:

167. Neka ja zadušuvame zasega makata i neka veruvame vo ona
za koe zboruvavme vo onie zimski večeri vo tvojata soba.
(Gogo Ivanovski, kartoteka)
For now let us forget the trouble, and let us believe in
what we spoke about those winter evenings in your room.

The particle neka occurs very rarely with a past tense verb form. No mention of neka plus past tense was found in any grammar, and in a survey of Macedonian literature only the following examples were found, both from Fotev:

158. Ako ne sakala taa neskromna devojka, neka ne se vlečeše
noke so mladite selani vo štabot.
If that immodest girl didn't want to, let her not have
tagged along at night with the young villagers to the
headquarters.
169. ...sakaše da ima stokratno, iljadakratno pogolema sila za
da sosipe trevata i potoa neka ostaneše bez kapka sila.
(Fotev 1974:229)
He wanted to have one hundred, one thousand times more
strength in order to level the hay, and then let him be
left without a drop of strength.

These examples imply that if some action is currently regretted, the agent should or should not have completed some action in the past. This use can be considered an unfulfillable directive, i.e. an appeal that some past action should not have taken place. The following is an additional example discussed with members of the Institute for the Macedonian Language:¹

(Two friends go off to the movies without waiting for a third friend who has not arrived at the appointed time. The next day they learn that this friend is angry that they left without him, upon which the two friends respond:)

- 170a. Neka nì se javi ako saka da go čekame!
Let him call us if he wants us to wait!
- b. Neka nì se javel, ako sakal da go čekame!
c. Neka nì se javeše, ako sakal da go čekame!

¹ B. Koneski considered the use of a beše perfect theoretically possible, but rejected the use of an ima perfect in this context.

The use of the particle neka may now be summarized. The particle neka is used mainly to denote a fulfillable directive in constructions with a third-person non-past verb. In this context the neka construction expresses permission, tolerance, concession, or request. The particle is used more rarely with a first-person plural non-past, da being more common. When used with a first-person plural, the neka construction expresses an exhortation for the joint completion of an action in which the speaker will participate. In first-person singular directives, i.e. appeals, da is more common. Finally, in limited contexts neka may be used with a past tense form to denote an unfulfillable directive, i.e. an appeal that some action should not have taken place in the past. We consider neka marked for appeal, thus separating it from the other modal particles. The particle neka may only be used with first- and third-person forms and is, therefore, the most restricted of the modal particles.

Chapter IV

KE

The particle ke is another of the pseudo-paradigmatic particles closely bound to the verb; ke can be separated from the verb only by the dative and accusative personal and reflexive pronouns, the clitic forms of the verb sum, and, in suppositional clauses, by the particle da, e.g.:

171. Ke mu ja dadam knjigata.
I'll give him the book.
172. Doktori mi rekle: Ako sum rodela, kojz nae dali ke sum ostanela živa.
(V. Maleski cited in K. Koneski 1979:331)
Doctors told me: If I had given birth, who knows whether I would have stayed alive.
173. Ke da imaše edno osamnaest godini.
(Maleski, kartoteka)
He must have been some eighteen years old.

In Macedonian, unlike both Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian, the future particle derived from the verb xuētēti 'to want' has been formally deparadigmaticized. While in both Bulgarian and Macedonian there is an invariant particle used with a non-past verb, differences are apparent in the particle used with other so-called future tense forms, cf.:

- | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| M: <u>ke</u> gledam | 'I will look' |
| <u>ke</u> gledaš | 'You will look' |
| <u>ke</u> gleda | 'He will look' |
| B: <u>šte</u> gledam | 'I will look' |
| <u>šte</u> gledaš | 'You will look' |
| <u>šte</u> gleda | 'He will look' |
| M: <u>ke</u> gledav | 'I would have looked' |

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------------------|
| <u>ke</u> gledaše | 'You would have looked' |
| <u>ke</u> gledaše | 'He would have looked' |

- | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| B: <u>štjah</u> da gledam | 'I would have looked' |
| <u>šteše</u> da gledaš | 'You would have looked' |
| <u>šteše</u> da gleda | 'He would have looked' |

In Serbo-Croatian the future is formed with a fully paradigmatic enclitic derived from the verb htēti 'to want' followed by an infinitive. The enclitic can occur as the second element in the clause, or it can be postposed and attached to the verb, e.g.:

- | | |
|--|-----------------|
| Ja <u>ću</u> gledati; ja <u>ću</u> da gledam; gleda <u>ću</u> | 'I will look' |
| Ti <u>ćeš</u> gledati; ti <u>ćeš</u> da gledaš; gleda <u>ćeš</u> | 'You will look' |
| On <u>će</u> gledati; on <u>će</u> da gleda; gleda <u>će</u> | 'He will look' |

Aside from these formal differences, while the future is used in many similar contexts in these three languages, there are significant formal and semantic differences. In Serbo-Croatian the future enclitic may be separated from the verb, e.g.:

- 174a. M: Tamu večer ke nokuvame.
- b. S: Tamo ćemo večeras nočiti
We will spend the night there.

In Serbo-Croatian there is no construction using a past form of će (+ imperfect) corresponding to the Macedonian and Bulgarian future in the past²; constructions with bi are used to express (1) unfulfillable conditions, and (2) past iterative habitual actions, e.g.:

- 175a. S: Da nisam bio zauzet, došao bih.
- b. M: Da ne bev zafaten, ke dojde.

If I had not been busy, I would have come.

- 176a. S: Samo s vremena na vreme pukla bi poneka puška dole.
- b. M: Samo odvrema navreme ke pukneše po nekoja puška dolu.

Only from time to time a rifle would fire down below.

Another difference is the absence of će after temporal adverbs in Serbo-Croatian where ke must be used in Macedonian, e.g.:

- 177a. S: Kad dojdeš, javi se.
b. M: Koga ke dojdeš, javi se.
When you arrive, call.

The relationship between the Bulgarian and Macedonian future is much closer, but here, too, there are important differences. Examples were cited above (p.6-7) in which there is a neutralization of the opposition between future and present after pronominal relatives in Bulgarian, while this neutralization does not occur in Macedonian, e.g.:

- B: Toz, kojto padne v boj za svoboda, toj ne umira.
M: Toj što ke padne...
He who (will) die in a battle for freedom,
he does not die.

The most significant difference between Macedonian and Bulgarian is in the use of the so-called anterior future as an iterative-habitual. The purely aspectual meaning of such constructions is not present in literary Bulgarian and its use is considered dialectal (Aronson 1977:26; Goľab 1964b:22). In Macedonian such constructions are characteristic of the literary language. Goľab (1964a:95), summarizing differences between Bulgarian and Macedonian, concludes that Bulgarian, in preserving conjugated forms of the future particle, represents a more conservative stage in the development of the future. He cites differences not only in the use of the past iterative-habitual, but also in the type of conditions expressed by the so-called future in the past; namely, in Bulgarian the form štiaħ da dojda 'I would have come' when occurring together with a protasis ako + imperfect may express a potential, rather than an unreal, condition, i.e., 'I would come'.

On the basis of these differences, studies based exclusively on the future in Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian will be excluded.

The position of ke constructions within the Macedonian verbal system has been the subject of much debate. Traditional approaches (e.g., B. Koneski 1967; K. Kepeski 1975; K. Koneski 1979) treat constructions with ke as future tenses within the framework of the indicative. Other studies (e.g. Usikova 1974, 1977) treat some ke constructions as indicative and other ke constructions as modal. A third group (e.g., Lunt 1952; Topolińska 1974; Friedman 1977) treat these constructions as markedly modal.

Earlier we cited arguments that the so-called future tense is a modal rather than a temporal category (see p.18 above; also Leech 1971:52; Quirk et al.1972:87) since actions which are to occur after the speech event cannot be said to refer to ontological reality because the completion of these actions is based not on fact but on prediction. Contexts were also cited in which the future is not temporally marked, e.g., the suppositional He will be such a big boy now. On the basis of these arguments we agree that most ke constructions belong to the modal, not the indicative system. There is, however, one context in which a ke construction expresses a real event, namely, those contexts which are marked for aspectual iterativity. Therefore, the particle ke can be said to be marked for the category of manner since contextually it can be marked either modally as a qualifier or aspectually as a quantifier. Our goal, then, is to determine an invariant meaning for the manner particle ke and to establish a hierarchy of its contextual variant meanings. First a brief summary of

more traditional approaches to ke will be presented.

B. Koneski (1967:378-79) includes the future, i.e., ke plus non-past, the future in the past, i.e., ke plus imperfect, and the future reported, i.e., ke plus the sum series among the indicative verbal tenses. For the future, B. Koneski (1967:488:91) gives the following uses:

- (1) An action which will occur after the speech event (absolute time), e.g.:

178. Decata ke stanat i ke posakaat da jadat.
The children will get up and will want to eat.
- (2) In subordinate clauses, an action which will occur after the moment designated in the main clause (relative time), e.g.:

179. Otprvin, nasrdena na nego, Trenda potajno se nadevaše (li) deka skoro ke si dojde (Ppr) i toj ke potropa (Ppr) edna večer na porta.
At first, angry with him, Trenda secretly hoped that soon he would come [lit. will come] and that he would knock [lit. will knock] one evening at the door.
- (3) Supposition, e.g.:

180. Kolku godini ke ima toj? Pa, ke da ima ka, četirieset.
How old will he be? Hm, surely he'll be around forty.
- (4) Iterative-habitual actions, e.g.:

181. Ke se vracame navečer, taa sè me čeka na Koše, ke fati za raka i ke si pojdeme do doma.
We will return in the evening, she waits for me at the corner, she will take me by the hand, and we'll return together.
- (5) Conditional, i.e., in the apodosis of conditional periods, e.g.:

182. Čevli da obueš na son, ke se ženiš; svinji da vidiš stud golem ke vati, ili golema kavga i gúrultija ke imaš so luđe.
If you put shoes on in a dream, you will marry; if you see swine, terrible cold will ensue, or you'll have a huge quarrel or brawl with people.

The future in the past is used to express a past action which is viewed as future from the point of view of some other past moment (B. Koneski 1967:492). The meanings cited for this tense parallel those of the future:

- (1) An action occurring after some moment in the past, e.g.:

183. Se zbiraa, ke odea v grad.
They assembled and would go to town.
- (2) Supposition, e.g.:

184. Ke da imaše edno osamnaest godini.
He must have been some eighteen years old.
- (3) Iterative-habitual, e.g.:

185. Samo od vreme navreme ke pukneše po nekoja puška dolu, pod seloto.
Only from time to time a rifle would fire down below the village.
- (4) Condition, e.g.:

186. Da ne beše ti, koj znae do koga ke se vlečeše našava rabota, i na koj kraj ke izlezeše.
If it hadn't been for you, who knows how long our work would have dragged on, and how it would have come out.

Finally, B. Koneski includes a third future paradigm, the future reported, composed of ke plus the sum series. Again the uses of this tense parallel those of the other tenses:

- (1) An action occurring after some other action, e.g.:

187. Došol denot svadba ke praele.
The day arrived when they would have a wedding.
- (2) Iterative-habitual, e.g.:

188. Sekoj den ke dojdal i ke mu rečel: ama kasabaši, daj mi mene podebalo poevtino meso.
Each day he would come and he would say to him: but Mr. Butcher, give me fatter, cheaper meat.

(3) Conditional, e.g.:

189. Vistina ne ubil nekogo, ama ke ubiel ako moral.
In truth he hadn't killed anyone, but he would have if he had had to.

The uses cited by Koneski for the three future tenses may be summarized as follows:

- (1) Temporal, absolute and relative
- (2) Suppositional (excluding ke plus the 1-form) ⁴
- (3) Iterative-habitual
- (4) Conditional
- (5) Doubt, surprise (restricted to future reported). ⁵

Kepeski (1975:113) also treats these three ke constructions as indicative. He lists the following six uses of the future (1975:127):

- (1) An action which will occur after the speech event,
- (2) Polite command, e.g.:

190. Ke pojdeš kaj nego i ke mu rečeš...
You will go to him and you'll tell him...

- (3) Supposition
- (4) Iterative-habitual
- (5) Conditional
- (6) Proverbial (gnomic), e.g.:

191. Što ke poseeš, toa ke žneeš.
What you sow, this will you reap.

He cites the following for the future in the past:

- (1) Relative future
- (2) Suppositional
- (3) Iterative-habitual

(4) Conditional

Kepeski cites these same meanings for the ke plus sum series, but also claims that they have additional marking for reportedness.

The most extensive treatment of ke constructions is the doctoral dissertation of K. Koneski. K. Koneski (1979:11-15) also concludes that ke constructions belong to the temporal, not the modal, system of Macedonian. Following the traditional approach of B. Koneski and Kepeski, he assigns essentially the same meanings to the three ke temporal forms.

Usikova (1977:362) treats some uses of the future, future in the past, and future reported as indicative. In a separate article, (1974:106) she also includes a future resultative, i.e., ke plus the ima perfects (cf. Lunt 1952:99, Tomić 1975:90), e.g.:

192. Ke imam napišano.
I will have written. ⁶

Usikova defines the future tense as the form used to express an action which must occur after some other past, present, or future moment, i.e., the future expresses both absolute and relative time. Defining mood as the speaker's relation to the narrated event, she attributes various modal meanings to the future: necessity, intent or assuredness that the action had to have been, or will be completed. Usikova (1977:363) states that on the basis of its modal meaning, forms of the future and the future in the past are frequently used in conditional periods. Under a separate heading - conditional mood - Usikova (1977:368) treats these conditional ke constructions as modal forms homonymous

with the indicative, temporal forms. Real conditions (fulfillable) are homonymous with the future tense, while unreal conditions (unfulfillable) are homonymous with the future in the past.

There are several problems with the treatment of ke in these works. First, merely listing contextual variant meanings does not lead to discovering a basic meaning which unites all the contextual variant meanings of the so-called future (cf. King 1982:3-4). Second, on the basis of the definition of mood taken from Gořab (1964b), we disagree with the traditional view that ke is a tense marker, nor do we think it necessary to posit homonymous forms. Finally, since ke is invariant, it cannot be said to define a paradigm; the meanings cited for the future, the future in the past, and the future reported are inherent in the particle itself. The use of different tense forms in subordination to the particle add marking for temporal reference or for status.

In order to determine a basic meaning for the particle ke, we will take as our starting point the works of Lunt (1952), Gořab (1964a, 1964b) and Topolińska (1974). All three of these authors have pointed to an underlying invariant modal interpretation of ke constructions.

Topolińska (1974:275) states that ke plus non-past cannot be considered a future tense in sensu stricto because these constructions constitute the expression of actions based not on fact, but on the inner psychological reality of the speaker. She compares sentences such as:

Znam deka Lenče dojde snošti.
I know that Lenče came yesterday.

with sentences such as:

Znam deka Lenče ke dojde večerava.
I know that Lenče will come tonight.

She treats the former sentence as subordinate to a higher clause:

Informiram deka 'I inform that' while the latter sentence as subordinate to the clause: Pretstavuvam deka 'I predict that'.

In this same article (1974:275) she states that ke plus non-past cannot be defined as a future tense which expresses an action which will occur after the speech event because ke plus non-past is frequently used to denote a past action in relative time, i.e., ke refers to a past sequence of events, rather than an absolute future time. Topolińska's treatment is a useful starting point, but she does not propose an invariant meaning for all the ke constructions.

In his extensive treatment of constructions formed with ke plus the imperfect, Gořab (1964a:40), noting the parallel functions of ke plus non-past and ke plus imperfect, cites the following contextual meanings: actions which will occur after the speech event, or after some other action in the past; conditional actions - unreal in the past and potential in the present and future; and iterative-habitual actions in the past and non-past.

Unlike the traditional studies, Gořab (1964a:43) attributes these meanings to the modal particle ke. He notes that it is the verb form in subordination to this particle which temporally modifies the modal particle ke itself. In his work on verbal mood (1964b) he does not include the future among the modal categories of the Slavic languages; however, he does note that actions to occur after the speech event are not ontologically real, and are thus differentiated from those

denoted by the other indicative forms (personal communication). Although he does not explicitly treat the future as a modal category, it is evident that he does consider future temporal actions as irreal. Therefore, by his own definition the future in this use is modal.

Lunt (1952:101) calls constructions formed with the particle Ke, i.e., Ke plus forms of the present, imperfect, or imperfect 1-forms, the projective mood. The general meaning which he attributes to this mood is that the action is "viewed as manifest, that is, as real or highly probable, but not immediately present" (Lunt 1952:101).

In a modification of Lunt, we will assign the basic meaning of expectative to the particle Ke. In a further modification of Lunt, we propose that Ke be termed an expectative particle belonging to the category of manner, rather than as a marker solely of mood, since there are contexts in which the verb subordinated to Ke is both expectative and non-modal, namely in the past iterative-habitual.

Discussion will begin with the aspectual-expectative, i.e., those contexts in which Ke denotes iterativity. While all the authors cited above mention the iterative use of Ke, they do not differentiate this indicative meaning from the modal-expectative. Aronson (1977:16-17) argues that those contexts in which the future particle is used to denote habitual actions cannot be viewed as modal, particularly when they denote past actions. We agree that this iterative use is non-modal, but we will limit the meaning iterative-habitual to contexts which have a past reference. Those sentences which are iterative but not marked for past reference will be considered as outside this category, belonging instead to the

modal-expectative because future habitual actions do not denote real processes, e.g.:

193. Toj Ke dojde, Ke sedne, i Ke reši obično nekoja zadaća. He usually comes [lit. will come], sits [lit. will sit] and solves [lit. will solve] some problem. (Lunt 1952:83)

Lunt says of this sentence that the end result is expected to be achieved on many occasions. This habitual action is here considered no more real than an action expected to occur only once in the future. Here will be included panchronic, general truths of the type Oil will float on water, which may be interpreted: whenever you put oil in water, it floats; while an expected result is expressed, the action denoted is not at present ontologically real.

In the aspectual-expectative meaning of Ke, the non-past may occur, however, in the so-called historical present; Ke plus non-past can be used in place of an imperfect, e.g.:

194. Dano se sećavaše na one retki, kratkotrajni poseti od vujko mu vo toa vreme. Ke dojde, Ke posedi, i Ke molči. (Jovan Bošković cited in K. Koneski 1979:156) Dano recalled his uncle's rare, short visits at that time. He would [lit. will] come, would [lit. will] sit, and would [lit. will] be silent.

195. Go bolea. Toa možeše da se vidi i od podalekni. Ke začekori - Ke zastane, pak čekor, pak vkočanetost. (Slavko Janevski cited in K. Koneski 1979:156) They hurt him. One could see that even from a distance. He would [lit. will] take a step - he'd [lit. he'll] stop, again a step, again a halt. Ke plus non-past will be considered aspectual only in those contexts in which it replaces a past tense.

The use of Ke plus the imperfect to denote aspectual iterativity is very common in the literary language. K. Koneski, in collecting data for his dissertation, found three thousand five hundred

examples of ke plus imperfect, of these two thousand were iterative-habitual. In these constructions ke is usually followed by a perfective-imperfect; in K. Koneski's examples only one hundred and seventy contained ke plus an imperfective imperfect.

It is evident that the past iterative-habitual denotes ontologically real events when we consider the following:

185. Samo od vreme navreme ke pukneše po nekoja puška dolu pod seloto.
*Od vreme navreme ke pukneše puška, ama ne pukneše.
From time to time a rifle would fire, but it didn't fire.

These constructions also retain an expectative nuance, however (cf. Aronson 1977:26); the action, though real, is still predictative, e.g.:

196. Toj sekoj den ke ja zemeše knjigata, i ke rešavaše zadači, ama na onoj den ne dojde.
Every day he would take the book and would solve some problems, but on that day he didn't come.

All the other meanings of ke belong to the modal-expectative.

These meanings may be divided into the suppositional and the non-suppositional. The definition of supposition will be taken from King, who notes (1982:16) that sentences of the type That'll be John at the door and The class will be over by now are parallel to the use of the present tense for future actions, e.g., The train leaves at noon sharp. In the latter instance a future prediction is presented as present fact, while in the former, a present action is removed from the present factual perspective, and is presented as future prediction. The term suppositional refers, then, to actions which are temporally present, but which are expressed as future expectative. This non-literal use of the future particle to express a supposition then

spreads to the past tense, where it does not present an action removed from the present, but merely expresses a supposition of the type He must have arrived yesterday. When used to denote a supposition, ke may occur with da, e.g.:

197. Taka ke e/taka ke da e.
(Korubin, NM 30-VI-74-7)
It must be like that.
198. ke ima dvanaest godini.
ke da ima dvanaest godini.
He'll be about twelve years old.

It is only in this suppositional meaning that ke may be followed by da, cf.:

199. ke ja pročita knjigata utre.
He will read the book tomorrow.
*ke da ja pročita knjigata utre.

Within the non-suppositional uses of ke, the two most important uses are the conditional and the temporal. The use of ke in conditional periods is so closely connected to the use of bi and the conditional particles ako, li, dokolku and protactic da which will be treated in chapters V and VI, that throughout this chapter conditional forms will merely be cited, while specific contexts in which ke can be used will be treated in more detail in the later chapters.

The major contextual variant meaning of constructions with ke plus imperfect has been the subject of some debate. K. Koneski (1979), B. Koneski (1967) and Usikova (1977) have treated the temporal reference meaning of ke plus the imperfect as primary, e.g.:

200. Mlad patnik so kožen mal kofer se kačil na patničkiot brod "Viktorija", koj po eden čas ke fateše pravec za Istanbul.
(Abadžiev, cited K. Koneski 1979:222)

A young traveler with a small leather suitcase climbed on board the passenger ship "Victoria", which would set off towards Istanbul in an hour.

Gojčab (1964) has demonstrated, however, that from a synchronic point of view it is the conditional meaning which must be considered primary since, outside of a wider context, a sentence such as Ke odea v grad will be interpreted as the conditional 'They would have gone to town' rather than as the temporal 'They will have gone to town'.

In addition, it can be noted that constructions with Ke plus the imperfect, when used in the apodosis of a conditional period, are not temporally marked, i.e., they may replace Ke plus non-past, e.g.:

201. Da ima kakov-takov zabaven život momčinjata od našeto selo ne Ke odea vo gradovite.
(NM, cited K. Koneski 1979:251)
If there were [lit. is] any kind of entertainment, the youth of our village wouldn't have gone to the cities.

This use of Ke plus imperfect will be treated again in chapters V and VI, here it may be stated in agreement with Gojčab, that the conditional meaning of Ke plus imperfect is unmarked with respect to the temporal meaning since it can replace the non-past in this context, and since, in minimally marked contexts, the construction Ke plus imperfect will be understood as an unfulfilled condition.

Constructions formed with Ke plus the non-past reverse the marking: the future meaning is unmarked with respect to the conditional.

The modal particle Ke can combine with non-past verbs of either aspect. In its non-suppositional meaning, Ke plus non-past in a simple declarative sentence always refers to an action which will take

place after the speech event, i.e., absolute time, e.g.:

202. Ke vi raskažam (Ppr) za drvarite Spase Lako i Valo Sikal, Ke vi raskažam (Ppr) za starata devojka Kisa Gorčeska, i za seto toa što se slučuvale taa noć so gavolot.
(Čingo 1972:207)
I'll tell you about the lumberjacks Spase Lako and Valo Sikal, and I'll tell you about the spinster Kisa Gorčeska, and about everything that happened that night with the devil.
203. Ke ti kažuam (Ipr) za trite golemi sredbi so devojkite.
(Fotev cited in K. Koneski 1979:35)
I'll tell you about the three big meetings with the girls.
204. Vo tekot na godina supersilite Ke trošat (Ipr) na vooružuvanje po milion dolari sekoja minuta.
(NM 5-X-82-4)
During the course of this year the super powers will spend one million dollars every minute for arms.

In complex sentences, however, Ke does not denote absolute time, but denotes an action posterior to the action in the main clause (cf. B. Koneski, K. Koneski, Topolińska). Topolińska (1971:276), on the basis of this taxic relationship between the two clauses, concludes that Ke plus non-past is, in her terms, not marked for absolute time, while Ke plus imperfect, when used to denote temporal reference, is so marked. Shown below are examples demonstrating the temporal relationship between the main clause and the subordinate clause containing Ke plus non-past, e.g.:

a. The main clause verb is present:

205. Ti go ostavam našiot imot i našata čest. Bidejki sum siguren deka Ke trgnam, a ne sum siguren deka Ke se vratam.
(Bokačio 1974: 249)
I'm leaving you our estate and our honor. Because I am sure that I will go, but I'm not certain that I will return.

b. The main clause verb is imperfect:

206. Sigurno ne znaevme deka ke nè nosat vo dom, pod pokriv, deka ke nì dadat toplo kafe so džem i parče leb... (Čingo 1974:9)
Surely we didn't know that they would [lit. will] bring us into the house, under a roof, that they would [lit. will] give us warm coffee with jam and a piece of bread...

c. The main clause verb is aorist:

207. Toj dodade deka ke ja potpiše spogodbata za trgovska razmena megu dvete zemji. (NM, cited in K. Koneski 1969:58)
He added that he would [lit. will] sign a trade agreement with the two countries.

d. The main clause verb is sum series:

208. Trojcata osudeni izjavile deka ke se žalat do povisokiot sud. (NM, cited in K. Koneski 1969:58)
The three defendants announced that they would [lit. will] appeal to a higher court.

e. The main clause verb is also future:

209. Se razbira, kako komunist, ti nema da priznaeš deka Stalingrad ke padne. (K. Koneski 1979:43)
Of course, as a communist, you will not admit that Stalingrad will fall.

Although Kepeski and B. Koneski separate the imperative meaning of ke plus non-past from the temporal meaning, it will be included here since, as stated above (p.71) a command or request logically refers to a moment posterior to the speech event. We agree with Newmark (1982:101) that the use of a future form as an imperative is frequently more categorical than the imperative mood itself, cf. English Close the door and You will close the door, though Macedonian is not as categorical as English, e.g.:

210. Ke mu veruvaš, i da ne e vistina. (K. Koneski 1979:120)
You will believe him, even if it isn't the truth.

211. [Caption to a cartoon which depicts a man and a woman watching television. The man's view is obstructed by the large dog sitting in his lap.]
Ke mi go raskažeš krajot na filmot. (NM 31-X-81-10)
You'll tell me the end of the film.

212. Slušaj vamo, ke mi kupiš leb. (B. Koneski 1967:489)
Listen here, you'll buy me bread.

In its temporal meaning, ke plus non-past frequently occurs in subordination to a temporal adverb, e.g., koga 'when', štom 'as soon as', otkako 'since, as soon as', and otkoga 'after'. These adverbs do not carry future reference by themselves but must occur with ke. In some dialects, particularly in the east (Vidoeski 1960:25), a perfective non-past can occur independently after these adverbs.⁷ B. Koneski (1967:491) rejects the use of these adverbs with forms of the perfective non-past as non-literary, although, as he notes, they occasionally do occur due to the influence of neighboring Slavic languages (cf. Korubin 1969:79-81; NM 10-IV-76-16; Feleszko 1976:147). K. Koneski (1979:75) states that the occurrence of a perfective non-past without ke after these temporal adverbs either reflects an older use of the independent perfective, or is due to the influence of Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian. There is a tendency among some speakers to use the particle ke after other temporal adverbs which should in the literary language either occur independently, e.g., dodeka 'until' or with da, e.g., duri da, e.g.:

213. A sega, vie dodeka ke stignete vo seloto, jas ke bidam na

drugata strana.
(Fotev cited in K. Koneski 1979:75)
And now, by the time you reach the village, I'll be
on the other side.

These constructions will be treated in more detail in chapter VII.

Constructions of temporal adverb plus Ke may denote indefinite,
projected actions similar to the indefinite constructions with da,
cf.:

143. Koga da go vidam, sè Ke me zapre.
(Recnik I, 1979 :336)
Whenever I see him, he always stops me.
214. -Što imaš vo džebot od paltoto?
-Dinamit.
-Što Ke ti e?
-Sekoj pat koga Ke go sretnam Žiko, me udara po
džebot, i mi gi krši cigarite. Ovojpat Ke se iznenadi!
(NM 31-XII-82-18)
-What do you have in your coat pocket?
-Dynamite.
-What for?
-Every time, whenever I [will] meet Žiko, he hits my
pocket and crushes my cigarettes. This time he'll
be surprised!

While koga da always denotes an indefinite action which may
occur habitually, Ke plus a temporal adverb may refer to a unique
event, e.g.:

215. Na rabota Ke odam sega, majko, koga Ke se vratam
Ke zboruvame.
(K. Koneski 1979:58)
I'm going to work now, Mom, when I [will] return,
we'll talk.

When Ke plus non-past occurs in the apodosis of a conditional
period, the conditional and future meanings of Ke merge; in both
contexts the verb subordinated to Ke denotes a potential,
fulfillable action. While Ke plus imperfect occurring in the

apodosis of a conditional period usually denotes an unfulfilled
expectative condition, outside of a conditional period, in temporal
contexts, it denotes a fulfillable expectative action, cf.:

216. Se zbiraat, Ke odat v grad.
They're gathering, and they'll go to town [it is likely
they will go].
217. Da se zbiraat, Ke odat v grad.
If they gather, they'll go to town [and if they gather it
is likely they will go].
218. Se zbiraat, Ke odea v grad.
They gathered, and would go to town
[and they might have gone].
219. Da se zbiraat, Ke odea v grad.
If they had gathered, they would have gone to town
[but they didn't].

The conditional use of Ke will be treated in greater detail in
chapters VI and VII, here it simply may be noted that Ke plus
non-past denotes a fulfillable condition.

Earlier (p. 30) it was noted that Ke constructions have parallel
forms composed of the invariant form ima plus da. The standard
handbooks (e.g. B. Koneski 1967; Kepeski 1975; Usikova 1977) merely cite
these forms but do not attempt to define the differences between them.
Lunt (1952:82) states that the construction ima da plus non-past
denotes a future action, containing to a greater or lesser degree a
nuance of the ordinary significance of ima, i.e., 'there is', 'one
should', e.g., Ima da ja rešime may mean 'We shall solve
it'; 'It's here for us to solve' or 'We should solve it'. K. Koneski
(1979:160) states that forms with ima da are stylistically
marked, expressing a greater degree of decisiveness, preparedness, or
assuredness of the speaker towards the completion of the action.

These forms will be considered the marked future; they denote necessity combined with future intent, i.e., ima da carries the meaning of both treba 'it is necessary' and ke. The construction ima da is rejected by most speakers where either of these two meanings is contradicted. In a survey of students in the Macedonian language department in Skopje, only ten percent accepted sentence a. below, while only seventeen percent accepted sentence b.:

220a. Ima da odam, ama ne ke odam.
I must/will go, but I'm not going.

b. Ima da odam, iako ne treba.
I must/will go, even though I don't have to.

Sentence b. was accepted only with the meaning 'I must go even if I know it isn't really necessary.' Most of the students who rejected these sentences regularly substituted treba for ima in sentence a., but replaced ima da by ke in the sentence b. We agree, therefore, with K. Koneski, who concludes (1979:162) that constructions with ima, though still in use, have a limited use and are always stylistically marked.

It has frequently been stated (Lunt 1952; B. Koneski 1967; Kepeski 1975; Usikova 1974, 1977) that while the positive future is usually formed with ke, the negative future is usually formed with nema da. K. Koneski, however, cited three thousand negative future sentences, of which 56.6 percent (1,700) were with ne ke, while 43.4 percent (1,300) were with nema da. It is evident that nema da, like ima da retains some of its original lexical meaning when one looks at examples containing verbs expressing capability, e.g. može 'can' and necessity, e.g. mora, treba 'need'. It is in

constructions with these verbs that ne ke is much more prevalent. In K. Koneski's examples of this type four hundred and eighty occurred with ne ke, compared with only fifty-four with nema da. Minova-Gurkova (personal communication) feels that there is no difference between nema da and ne ke, however, while she would generally use nema da, she rejected sentences containing nema da plus treba or mora:

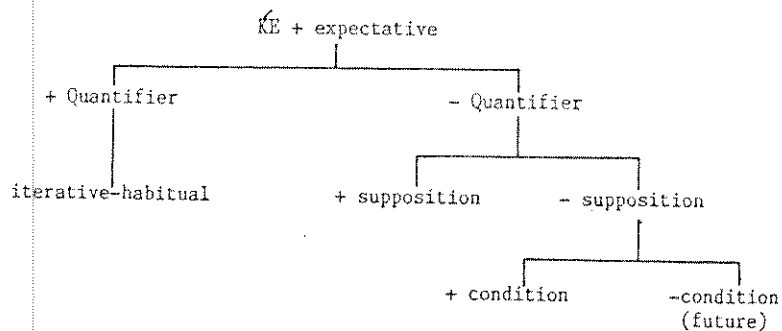
221. *Nema da moram.
Ne ke moram.
I won't have to.

222. *Nema da mi treba.
Ne ke mi treba.
I won't need to.

It may be concluded, then, that nema da and ne ke occur in free variation except in contexts expressing modalities of necessity and capability. K. Koneski (1979:166) states that nema da may express the assuredness of the speaker that the action will not be completed, while ne ke does not express this assuredness. Among our informants, however, there was a general tendency to prefer nema da even when the future outcome was in doubt.

The following summary of the meanings of the ke constructions may now be given. The particle ke belongs to the category of manner and has the basic invariant meaning of expectedness, i.e., constructions with ke denote an action which was or is to occur after some other action, or is projected to occur after some point of time, either the speech event, or some moment in the past. This expectative particle may be a quantifier, denoting aspectual iterativity, or a qualifier, denoting a supposition or a future action. In its aspectual meaning ke

is limited to past reference. The modal-expectative meaning is not limited to past actions, and outside of a wider context, verbs subordinated to the article ke will be understood as denoting projected, non-habitual actions. The following diagram outlines the contextual meanings of ke:



In the next two chapters the relationship between ke and bi will be discussed. It will be demonstrated that the difference between the particles is a status opposition in which ke is the unmarked member of the opposition.

¹ In Bulgarian there is a fully paradigmatic verb šta 'to want':

šta	stem
šteš	štete
šte	štat

e.g., ne-šta 'I don't want to', pravi kakvoto šteš

'Do as you like' (Bŭlgarsko-anglijski rečnik 1975:1013-14).

² In Serbian dialects, particularly in the south and west, će

does occur in the apodosis of an unfulfillable condition (see Belić 1905:643; Gojčb 1964a:96-110; Belyavski-Frank 1982, 1983). Gojčb (1964a:97) notes that there are two types of constructions: šćah plus infinitive and šćah plus da plus present, the latter type typical of south-eastern dialects, e.g.:

- i. Da on pridje glavom ne pogibe, tri sta bruka graditi čaše; pa i Stambol sigur bit ne čaše kako bješe raširio krila.
(Gojčb 1964a:97)
If he had not died, he would have caused three hundred scandals; even Istanbul would not have been safe if he had spread his wings.
- ii. Taman čaše da počine sunce, al evo ti pasare od zlata.
(Gojčb 1964a:100)
The sun was just about to set, when there appeared a golden vessel.

According to the research of Belyavski-Frank (1983) these forms are most frequent in Montenegro; in the southern Torlak dialects they occur in colloquial speech, while in southern Dalmatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina the forms were common only up to the turn of the century.

³ This is the only example cited by B. Koneski and, therefore, it is included even though it could be interpreted as an absolute future.

4 Although not cited by B. Koneski, Ke plus 1-form may occur with a suppositional meaning. In its suppositional meaning, Ke plus the sum series usually expresses a prediction that something occurred in the past. As with the other suppositional constructions, Ke is here usually followed by da:

- i. Ne Ke imal pove^{Ke} od dvanaest godini.
(Fotev, kartoteka)
He wouldn't have been more than twelve years old.
- ii. Ne i ne! Bojan Ke da si ja imal movata na kapata, toa e...
Toj nosel nekoj tajni raboti, nekoj oružja Ke da nosel...
(Maleski, cited in K. Koneski 1979:354)
Absolutely not! Bojan must have had something up
his sleeve, that's it...He was carrying something secret,
he must have been carrying arms.

5 Friedman (1977:78) has shown that the so-called dubitative use of the sum series is actually better described as derisive, contemptuous, sardonic, or ironic since it is almost always used as a sarcastic repetition of a preceding statement, and thus conforms to the basic meaning of reportedness, e.g.:

- i. (Jovan) Toj pove^{Ke} od tebe znae za boksiranje.
(Dusan) Toj pove^{Ke} znael!
(Jovan) He knows more about boxing than you do.
(Dusan) He knows more indeed!
(Friedman 1977:79)

This marked use of the sum series also occurs in subordination to the particle Ke, with added marking for futurity. It occurs most frequently with a negated verb and expresses disbelief at what has been said together with a sardonic or sarcastic denial. The examples we found, along with those cited by K. Koneski, all contained the interrogative kako 'how', e.g.:

- i. Ke dojdeme, kako ne Ke sme dosle!
(Maleski, kartoteka)
We'll come, how could we possibly not come?!
- ii. Ti rekov da go čekaš, ne me ču?
Ke go čekam, kako ne Ke sum go čekala?!
(Fotev, cited K. Koneski 1979:333)
I told you to wait for him, didn't you hear me?
I'll wait for him, how could I possibly not wait for him.
- iii. Deteto da go delime! - neočekuvano reče Nadežda so povisen glas. Kako Ke sme go delele Georgija moj? spiska Aspasija.
(Maleski, cited K. Koneski 1979:333)
We'll divide the child! - unexpectedly said Nadežda with raised voice. How could we divide my Georgie?
screamed Aspasija.

6 B. Koneski (1967:303), Lunt (1952:99-100) and others (e.g., Usikova 1977; Tomić 1975) include temporal uses of Ke not only with the imperfect and the sum series, but also with the ima perfect. They state that these constructions have a meaning of future resultativity. This meaning is clearly stated in the example cited by Lunt (1952:99):

- i. Duri ti da dojdeš, toj Ke ja ima rešeno taa rabota.
When you get here, he will have solved the matter.

Friedman (1977:19-20) questioned speakers from southwest Macedonia where ima forms are most common, and he obtained the following example of Ke plus ima perfect:

- ii. Vidiš li ja ovaa rabota? Vlado i Goko Ke
ja imaat napraveno.
Do you see this business? Vlado and Goko
must have done it.

This sentence does not express any sort of temporal relationship to the moment of speech, nor to any past moment, but is marked for supposition and should be included under the suppositional contextual variant meaning of Ke. The two other examples cited by Friedman

contain ke plus an ima perfect in the apodosis of a conditional period:

- iii. A da beše ti nekoj ubav...dosega ke ti imaa zakačeno nekoja pitulica.
(Krlje, cited in Friedman 1977:190)
And if you were some handsome fellow — they would have hitched you up with some cute little cookie by now!
- iv. Da ne bev jas ovde i decava, ti, dosega ke ja imaše istiskano.
(Krlje, cited in Friedman 1977:190)
If I weren't here, and these children, you would have squeezed it by now.

We found no additional examples of ke plus the ima perfects, nor did K. Koneski cite any such examples in his dissertation. It may be concluded, then, that these constructions are marginal in the literary language.

7 Although the use of a perfective non-past after these temporal adverbs is considered typical of eastern dialects, examples were found with otkoga and štom plus perfective non-past from outside the prescribed eastern dialect areas. The following example with otkoga plus perfective non-past was written by someone from Prilep:

- i. A togaš otkoga se najdam i napijam so vas...
(Arsova-Nikolik 1973:169)
And then, when I have eaten and drunk with you...

Informants consistently inserted ke after otkoga and considered the absence of ke non-standard.

The status of štom plus perfective non-past is somewhat different; its use is more widespread, particularly in colloquial language. Examples were found not only in the media, but also in literature, and in conversations with people from western dialect areas.

e.g.:

- ii. [The following is the caption of a political cartoon which depicts British troops dressed in penguin costumes on board a ship bound for the Falkland Islands]
štom stasame, smešajte se so naselenieto!
(NM 29-V-82-10)
As soon as we arrive, mingle with the local population!
- iii. štom se stemni, da begaš ottuka.
(subtitle to the movie "The Sweet Bird of Youth" shown on RTV Skopje 12-1-82).
As soon as it gets dark, you should run away from here.
- iv. štom dojde profesorot, ke odime.
(conversation with V. Cvetkovski, Prof. of English from Bitola)
As soon as the professor arrives, we'll go.
- v. štom go ispratime Ivan, ke go grabneme Saso.
(Tocko, author from Ohrid, cited in K. Koneski 1979:74)
As soon as we send off Ivan, we'll grab Saso.
- vi. štom se najdeš nasamo so nego, prašaj go za sestra mu.
As soon as you are alone with him, ask him about his sister.
(Tomić 1975:85)

It appears that while the literary norm still demands ke after these temporal adverbs, the use of a perfective non-past without ke, particularly after štom, is spreading beyond its original dialect area.

Chapter V

BI

The particle bi is, like ke and da, closely bound to the verb and can be separated from the verb only by the pronominal enclitics and, in some instances, by the clitic forms of the verb sum, e.g.:

223. Dolgo gleda taka sokole i mu se čini deka nikogaš ne
bi mu se zdodealo da gleda.
(B. Koneski 1981:79)
For a long while Sokole looks like that and it seems
to him that he would never tire of looking.
224. Bi si rešil!
(Lunt 1952:101)
You should have decided!

The particle bi is the most paradigmatic of the particles since, unlike the other particles which may occur with different verb forms, the particle bi occurs in constructions only with the 1-participles. In chapter I (p.9) bi was included among the modal particles despite this morpho-syntactic restriction since it behaves syntactically like the other pseudo-paradigmatic particles, it is not the only particle which has certain co-occurrence restrictions (cf. neka, chapter III, p.74) and finally, it carries the same types of meanings as other modal particles. In this chapter it will be shown that the basic meaning of bi is hypothetical.

Before presenting an analysis of Macedonian bi, a brief

comparison of the uses of bi in Macedonian, Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian will be given. Particular emphasis will be given to the use of bi in Serbo-Croatian, because it is precisely in the use of bi that the Macedonian modal system is most in a state of flux due, to a great extent, to Serbo-Croatian influence.

There are syntactic, morphological, and semantic differences in the use of Serbo-Croatian and Macedonian bi. While in Macedonian bi has become fully deparadigmatized, bi is conjugated in Serbo-Croatian, cf.:

M:	Jas bi došol	'I would come'	Nie bi došle	'We would come'
	Ti bi došol	'You would come'	Vie bi došle	'You would come'
	Toj bi došol	'He would come'	Tie bi došle	'They would come'
S:	Ja bih došao	'I would come'	Mi bismo došli	'We would come'
	Ti bi došao	'You would come'	Vi biste došli	'You would come'
	On bi došao	'He would come'	Oni bi došli	'They would come'

Stevanović (1979:713) (also Belić 1905:649) notes, however, that there is a tendency to generalize the form bi in the first and second plural, e.g.:

225. Hteli bi da znamo.
We would like to know.
226. Bi li vi išli s nama?
Would you come with us?

replacing Hteli bismo da znamo and Biste li išli s nama? Topolińska (personal communication) also notes this tendency to use bi with the first singular in colloquial speech.

The syntactic position is fixed in both languages, but they are governed by different syntactic rules (cf. the rules for da chapter II, p.20). Whereas Macedonian bi can be separated from the verb only

by the enclitic pronouns and the clitic forms of sum, Serbo-Croatian bi may be separated from the verb by a whole clause, but the particle must be the second element in its clause, e.g.:

227. Bio je na oprezu da ne nabasa na zasjedu, jer je znao da bi u tome slučaju njegov trzaj bio prespor.
(M. Božić, cited in Stevanović 1979:716)
He was on his guard lest he come across an ambush, since he knew that in that case his recoil would be too slow.
228. U svim bi se ovim slučajevima ispred oblika potencija mogla dodati konstatacija da je govorno lice, odnosno subjekat uveren u ono što se kaže potencijalom.
(Stevanović 1979:716)
In all these instances before the form of the potential, the statement can be added that the speaker or the subject is sure of that which is expressed by the potential.

Also, in Serbo-Croatian, unlike Macedonian, bi cannot occur in clause initial position, while in Macedonian, the particle must occur before the verb, cf.:

229. M: Bi sakala.
*Sakala bi.
S:*Bih hteo.
Hteo bih.
I would like.

Macedonian bi, like Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian bi, may be used to express potentiality, wish, intent, politeness, etc. There are, however, three uses of Serbo-Croatian bi which are, to varying degrees, unacceptable in Macedonian, namely:

- (1) Iterative-habitual actions.
- (2) The object of purposive clauses.
- (3) Unfulfillable expectative conditions.

In the last chapter (p.77) it was noted that Serbo-Croatian uses bi to express past iterative-habitual actions where Macedonian uses ke

plus perfective imperfect, e.g.:

- M: Samo odvretime navreme ke pukneše po nekoja puška dole.
S: Samo s vremena na vreme pukla bi poneka puška dole.

With regard to this use of ke in Macedonian, it was stated earlier that in this context the verb subordinated to ke denotes an ontologically real event. Stevanović (1979:717) says of bi in contexts denoting habitual actions, that it is not modal nor does it contain any conditional nuance, but rather describes an action which has occurred repeatedly in the past. This, then, is a crucial difference between the Serbo-Croatian bi and the Macedonian bi which, as will be seen, cannot denote ontologically real events in the past.

The use of bi in purposive clauses is not typical of literary Macedonian, while in Serbo-Croatian it is common, e.g.:

- 230a. S: Kupio sam knjigu da bi je ti mogao pročitati.
(Damir Kalogjera 1970:127)
b. M: Ja kupiv knjigata ti da bi možel da ja pročitaš.
I bought the book so you could read it.

Finally, Serbo-Croatian uses bi in the apodosis of unfulfillable expectative conditions where Macedonian has historically used ke plus perfective imperfect, cf.:

- 231a. S: Da nisam bio zauzet, došao bih.
b. M: Da ne bev zafaten, ke dojde.

The use of bi in these conditions will be treated in more detail later in this chapter (see p.119) since the current literary language does employ bi in this context.

Bulgarian bi is more closely related to Macedonian bi; however, there are several differences. First, in Bulgarian, as in

Serbo-Croatian, the particle bi is still fully paradigmatic, e.g.:

Ja bih došul	'I would come'	Mi bihme došli	'We would come'
Ti bi došul	'You would come'	Vi bihte došli	'You would come'
On bi došul	'He would come'	Oni biha došli	'They would come'

Second, the Bulgarian particle is freer syntactically than Macedonian bi. Its usual position is the same as in Macedonian, i.e., it is normally closely bound to the verb and is separated only by the pronominal clitic forms. It may, however, also be separated from the main verb by the interrogative particle li and, more rarely, when occurring in word initial position, the word order may be reversed (Stojanov 1977:392), e.g.:

232. Bi li mi dal pari?
Would he give me money?
233. Kazal mu bih/Kazal bih mu.
I would tell him.
234. Ostavil mu go bih/ostavil bih mu go.
(Stojanov 1977:392)
I would leave it to him.

In Bulgarian, like Macedonian, bi is more typical of the written literary language, while šte (Macedonian ke) plus imperfect is more typical in colloquial or dialectal speech (Stojanov 1977:393). The particle bi is used to express similar modalities in the two languages and the differences may lie in the frequency in the use of bi in certain contexts. In Macedonian, as shall be seen below, bi is becoming more common in the apodosis of an unfulfillable, expectative condition, while bi is considered rarer in this context in Bulgarian, e.g.:

235. Ako imaše samolet, bih došul.
(Aksela Lazarova)
If there were a plane, I would (have) come.

The bi construction here would normally be replaced by štjah da (Macedonian ke) plus imperfect.

Elsewhere bi may be used in contexts similar to those in which bi is found in Macedonian.²

Very little research has been devoted to the use of bi constructions in Macedonian. The important works of Hausmann³ and Gořab will be treated in detail later in this chapter; first, however, the material provided in the basic handbooks will be summarized.

B. Koneski attributes three meanings to bi constructions: wish, condition, and potentiality. He notes (1967:499) that the use of bi in its potential meaning is rare in colloquial language, e.g.:

236. Ov more duško, arno, bi ti dal edna ќerka, tuku
jas ne sum najgolem na vekov.
Hey my friend, fine, I'd give away a daughter to you,
but I'm not the greatest in the world.

It occurs more frequently in colloquial language in expressions such as curses and blessings, e.g.,

237. Da bi kuršum te udril!
'May a bullet strike you!'
(B. Koneski 1967:500).

In the literary language, however, B. Koneski cites the spread of bi constructions with a potential meaning due to the influence of other Slavic languages at the expense of ke, in its conditional meaning, which is more usual in the colloquial language. The bi constructions in their potential meaning are said to denote actions whose completion is viewed as possible. These constructions are not marked for tense but

contextually they may refer to the past, present, or future, e.g.:

238. Past:
Mislata me goreše, rešetkate so race bi gi iskršil.
(B. Koneski 1967:501)
The thought consumed me, I would have broken the railings with my hand.
239. Present:
Bi sakal, znaeš kolku bi sakal, da ne e vistina.
(B. Koneski 1967:501)
I would like, you know how much I would like, for it not to be the truth.
240. Future:
Bi mogla da se izlae, pomisli toj.
(B. Koneski 1967:501)
She could jabber, he thought.

B. Koneski cites examples of bi in both the protasis and apodosis of conditional periods, e.g.:

241. Stojne, kako bi bil ubav životot, da si imame naša zemja, za nas da ja rabotime.
(B. Koneski 1967:501)
Stojna, how beautiful life would be if we had our own land, to work for ourselves.
242. Koga bi me ostavile da se raspravam so tebe, brzo bi svršil.
(B. Koneski 1967:501)
If they were to leave me to quarrel with you, I would quickly settle it.

Koneski (1967:501) states that when bi occurs outside of a conditional period, the possibility of the action is expressed without explicit reference to the condition on which the completion of the action depends.

He also notes that constructions with the verbal copula usually express a reprimand, i.e., some action should have been, but was not, fulfilled, e.g.:

243. Bi si go čuvala!
(Trebalo da go čuvaš, koj ti e sega kriv?)
You should have watched him!
(You needed to watch him, now whose fault is it?)
244. Bi ste mu kažale! (Pa togaš zašto ne mu kažete?)
You should have told him! (So then why didn't you?)

Also included is an example in which the verbal copula is used but this nuance is absent:

245. Bi sum došol, ako e vremeto arno.
I would come if the weather were (lit. is) good.

Informants accepted the use of the verbal copula in this sentence only if it were needed to disambiguate the subject of the sentence; elsewhere they considered the use of the sum form appropriate only in the former context.⁵

In concluding his section on bi constructions, B. Koneski, alluding to Serbo-Croatian influence, cautions against the use of bi in purpose clauses, e.g.:

246. *Toj dojde vo Skopje da bi se videl so mene.
Toj dojde vo Skopje (za) da se vidi so mene.
(B. Koneski 1967:502)
He came to Skopje (in order) to see me.

Kepeski (1972:130) also defines bi constructions as those constructions which denote an action which may potentially be fulfilled. In citing examples of bi in conditional periods he, like B. Koneski, does not attempt to differentiate the contexts in which bi is, or is not, in free variation with other particles. In an earlier grammar, Kepeski (1950:94) defines bi constructions as denoting an action which will be completed upon the fulfillment of some condition. One interesting feature of this early work is that all of the conditional

sentences cited are those in which bi is used in the apodosis of an unfulfillable expectative condition, e.g.:

247. Ti bi došol včera, da znaeš deka imavme rabota.
(Kepeski 1950:94)
You would have come yesterday if you had known that we had work.

In the earlier work Kepeski (1950:95) cites the following uses of bi outside of the conditional:

Optative, e.g.:

248. Da bi ne stasal!
If only he wouldn't come!

Consecutive, e.g.:

249. Bi puknal od maka, duri da se kačam po skalite.
I would burst from pain upon climbing the stairs.

Future hypothetical, e.g.:

250. Jas bi rekol, deka ti toa ne go praviš od srce.
I would say that you're not doing this sincerely.

In the later work he cites meanings of wish and intent, e.g.:

Wish:

251. Mnogu bi sakal da te vidam.
I would like very much to see you.

Intent:

252. Jas sega bi došol duri na Vodno.
I would now go even to Vodno.

It may be noted that here the meaning of wish is lexical, and not due to the use of bi.

Usikova (1974:109; 1977:367) calls bi constructions the conditionalis potentialis which expresses possibility (vozmožnost'), probability (verojatnost') and desirability of the action (želatel'nost')

dejstvija) denoting actions which would occur dependent on conditions which are not temporally marked. The potential conditional is in opposition to irreal conditions which are marked for past time and real conditions which are marked for present or future time.

Lunt (1952:100) gives the following as the basic meaning of bi which he calls the potential mood: the act is viewed as possible or desirable, but has not yet been achieved. He, too, cites examples of bi in both its dependent conditional use and in its independent use. He includes examples of bi in unfulfillable hypothetical conditions, e.g.:

253. Da može bebeto da prozboruva, bi ti reklo...
(Lunt 1952:85)
If the baby could talk, he'd say to you...

and also in unfulfillable expectative conditions, e.g.:

254. Da možev, bi sum ja rešil.
(Lunt 1952:100)
If I had been able, I would have solved it.

He states (1952:100) that in these contrary-to-fact conditions the forms of the verbal copula are used. As noted above, however, the copula would not be used in such conditions except where the subject of the sentence would be ambiguous without the explicit person marker.

Lunt does not include examples of bi in the apodosis of fulfillable hypothetical conditions; he does, however, cite its use in so-called adversative clauses, i.e., clauses in which the protasis is stated as a negation, e.g.:

255. Toj bi rešil/rešaval, ama ne znae kako.
(Lunt 1952:101)
He would decide, but he doesn't know how.

Cf.:

Ako znae kako, toj bi rešil/rešaval.
If he knew how, he would decide.

In this context Lunt attributes a nuance of mild volition or moral necessity.

Finally, he includes bi in optative sentences, stating that with the use of sum the moral necessity is strengthened, e.g.:

256. Bi si rešil!
You should have decided!

The three meanings generally assigned to bi may be summarized as follows:

- (1) Hypothetical conditions, e.g.:
Da može bebeto da prozboruva, bi ti reklo...
- (2) Hypothetical future actions outside of a conditional period, e.g.:
Toj bi došol.
- (3) Directive (optative), e.g.:
Bi si rešil!

Before beginning a more detailed discussion of bi, it must be noted that there was no agreement among informants on the acceptability of certain constructions. Consequently, those constructions which have become archaic, or which have yet to become standard in the literary language must be excluded before a hierarchy of meanings for the particle bi is established. These three meanings are:

- (1) Directive, e.g.:

256. Bi si rešil!

- (2) Iterative-habitual, e.g.:

257. Dodeka ke se iskačevme do lozjata, a ušte skrišno kako zajaci, zašto toa beše prikvečerno vreme i možeš sekoj da ne vidi i samo što bi sednale na

zemjata - ete go časot za na konferencija.
(Cingo 1979:260)

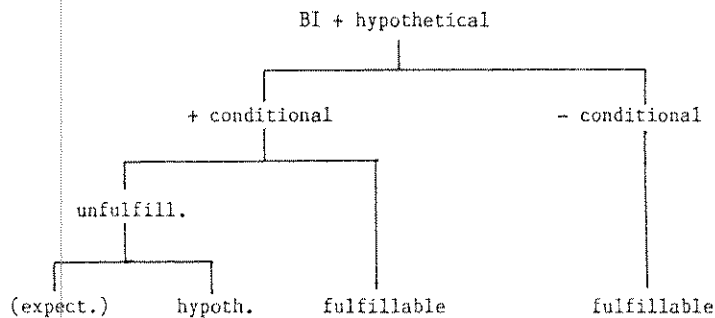
As soon as we got to the vineyard, still hidden like rabbits since it was still evening and everyone could see us, no sooner would we sit on the ground and it's already time for the meeting.

- (3) Past hypothetical actions outside of a conditional period, e.g.:

238. Mislata me goreše, rešetkate so race bi gi iskršil.

In the modern literary language, then, the particle bi is used independently to express a hypothetical future action and dependently in both fulfillable and unfulfillable conditional periods. In a modification of the basic definition of bi proposed by Lunt (see p.113 above), bi may be defined as marked for hypotheticalness. It is used to denote actions which were or are possible or desirable, but which were not or have not been fulfilled. Unlike actions subordinated to the particle ke which are presented as expected, projected events, it will be seen that actions subordinated to bi have marking for status. The term status will be used here according to Aronson's (1977:14) redefinition of Jakobson's (1954:4) term: The term status refers to a category which specifies the relationship of the speaker to a narrated event. In this chapter it will be demonstrated that the choice of the particle bi indicates the speaker's view that the action, while possible, is less likely to occur than a corresponding ke construction.

The following hierarchy for the hypothetical particle bi may be given:



It will be seen that in its past meaning the hypothetical particle bi is in free variation with the expectative particle ke in its unfulfillable expectative meaning and that it is in the non-past meanings that bi is most clearly differentiated from ke.

Discussion here will begin with the independent function of bi. In this context bi constructions denote actions which may occur, whose fulfillment depends on the fulfillment of an unstated condition, or an action whose fulfillment is unlikely, e.g.:

258. Ne, bog da ja blagoslovi taa tvoja majka, što te rodila tolku neobična i ubava, za da gori i da strada od tebe mojjava duša, zašto e slatka taa bolka i pust bi bil bez nea mojov život.
(B. Koneski, kartoteka)
No, God bless your mother who bore you so extraordinary and beautiful, so that my soul would burn and suffer because of you, since the pain is sweet and my life would be empty without it.
259. Amerikanskata vlada ja izvesti Moskva deka eventualno soverska voena intervencija vo Polka bi donela "nesogledlivi teški poslednici za odnosite megu istok i zapad."
(NM 8-1-82-4)

The American government informed Moscow that possible Soviet military intervention in Poland would lead to "unforseeable grave consequences in East-West relations."

Another characteristic function of the independent use of the potential is its use with verba desiderandi to express a more modest or polite wish, e.g.:

260. Jas bi sakala edno kafe.
I would like a cup of coffee.

Although the actual process is real, which is evident in comparing the following:

261. Toj bi došol, ama ne doaga.
He would come, but he isn't coming, i.e. although he would hypothetically come, for some reason he isn't coming.
- *Jas bi sakala edno kafe, ama ne sakam.
I would like a cup of coffee, but I don't want it.

the speaker is choosing to phrase a real wish as if it were only hypothetically real, i.e. dependent on some unstated condition, e.g.:

262. Jas bi sakala edno kafe, ako vie možete da go svarete za mene.
I would like a cup of coffee, if you could make it for me.

In a related use, bi serves to decrease the categoricalness of a request. Hausmann (cited in Gořab 1964a:29) notes that this function is not common in colloquial or dialectal speech, where constructions with ke or da replace the hypothetical bi (cf. also K. Koneski 1979:130), e.g.:

263. Bi ve pomolil da mi objasnite.
I would ask you to explain [it] to me.
264. Ve molam da mi objasnite.
I beg you to explain [it] to me.

265. Ke ve molam da...
I will request you to...

There are contexts in the literary language where a free exchange is possible between Ke and bi, where both Ke plus imperfect and bi soften the request, e.g.:

266. Bi trebalo/Ke trebaše da bidete povnimatelno.
(Hausmann, cited in Gojčb 1964a:36)
You should/will have to be more careful.

Gojčb (1964a:25) also points out the interchange of Ke and bi in unfulfillable, hypothetical actions, e.g.:

267. Srceto Ke go dadev/srceto bi go dal.
I would give my heart.

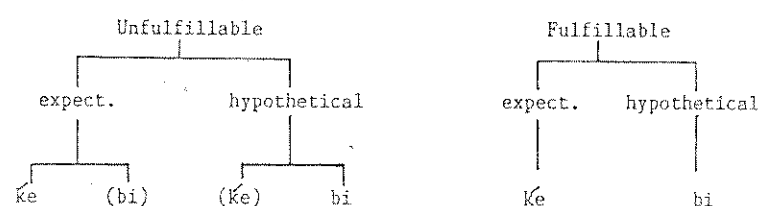
Among informants, the construction with bi was preferred in this context.

The most important function of non-conditional bi remains, however, to express a future action whose fulfillment is presented as only hypothetically possible. While both Ke and bi can express an action which will occur after the speech event, and therefore an ontologically unreal event, the use of bi expresses the speaker's view that the action involved is less definite than a corresponding construction with Ke, cf.:

268. Mislam deka Ke dojde.
I think that he will come. (expected, fulfillable)
269. Mislam deka bi došol.
(Hausman, cited in Gojčb 1964a:33)
I think that he would come. (hypothetical, fulfillable)

It is in this context that the particles cannot be exchanged without changing the modal nuance from hypotheticalness to expectation.

Turning to the conditional function of bi the following diagram illustrates the relationship between conditions with Ke and those with bi:



In the remainder of this chapter the difference between these types of conditions will be further explicated and it will be seen that the crucial distinction between conditions with bi and Ke is in the expression of a fulfillable condition.

Unfulfillable expectative conditions are those conditions which could have been, but which were not fulfilled in the past. In unfulfillable conditions the degree of possibility is not expressed and there is a neutralization between an expected and a hypothetical condition, for example:

- A. If you call me, I'll come.
B. If you called me, I would come.
C. If you had called me, I would have come.

In the past tense the degree of possibility becomes irrelevant and in the past both of these sentences are expressed as actions whose fulfillment was possible and expected in the past, i.e. sentence C. is the past for both sentence A. and B.

The same situation prevails in Macedonian. While the degree of expectation is expressed in the future, this opposition is neutralized

in the past, i.e.:

- A. Ako mi se javite, Ke dojdám.
- B. Ako mi se javite, bi došól.
- C. Ako mi se javíte, Ke dojdev.

Gořab (1964a:31) notes that the use of Ke plus imperfect in the apodosis of unfulfillable expectative conditions is more typical of Macedonian. Hausmann (cited in Gořab 1964a:31) states that while the use of bi in this context is rare in colloquial or dialectal speech, it has become more common in the literary language at the expense of the conditional use of Ke. B. Korubin (personal communication) notes that there is a tendency to use constructions with bi in more formal language for the expression of past expectative conditions while the use of Ke plus imperfect is acquiring a colloquial nuance. Thus, while Ke is still more common in the apodosis of unfulfillable expectative conditions, a situation is developing in which Ke and bi may both be used, the difference between the particles being stylistic. Gořab (1964b:19) concluded that bi represents a more formal, literary style. The use of bi is also becoming more prevalent in journalistic style, e.g.:

- 270. Sekako, zlostorstvoto bi imalo mnogu pomalku
Žrtvi ako pripadnicite na lokalnata policija uspeeja
da go fatat.
(NM 28-IV-82-7)
Of course the crime would have had many fewer victims if
the members of the local police had succeeded
in catching him.

In the diagram of conditions with Ke and bi parentheses mark the contexts in which the two particles are encroaching on one another, with certain stylistic differences maintained between them. In

unfulfillable expectative conditions bi is encroaching on Ke while in unfulfillable hypothetical conditions, Ke is encroaching on bi.

The vacillation between the use of bi and Ke in current speech is evident from the fact that of one hundred Macedonian students surveyed, three-quarters accepted the use of bi in the following example, while one-quarter changed bi to Ke in the apodosis, e.g.:

- 271a. Koga nacionalnata himna bi imala poinakva sođržina
i melodiya, nie odamna veKe bi bile republika.
(NM 10-X-81-10)
If our national anthem had had a different content and
melody, we would already have been a republic for a long
time.
- b. Koga nacionalnata himna bi imala poinakva sođržina
i melodiya, nie odamna veKe Ke bevrne republika.

In chapter II (p. 50) unfulfillable hypothetical conditions were defined as those conditions which express an action which cannot be fulfilled in the present, e.g.:

- 272. Sè bi im dal na ženite...kurvite, orospite, glavata
bi ja dal i kukata bi ja rasturil da ne sum jas.
(Stamatoski, kartoteka)
I would give everything to women...whores, degenerates,
I would give my head and destroy my home if only
I weren't myself.
- 107. Da znam deka e se popusto, deka nema ni smisla ni značenje,
ne bi se zasolnil nikogaš pred toa vistinsko mačenje.
If I knew that everything was in vain, that there is neither
sense nor meaning, I would never hide from this real
torture.

In chapter II (p. 52) it was noted that a potential is more common in the apodosis of such a condition, but that Ke is also possible, e.g.:

Da znam nekoj drug zbor, pomisli, ke go rečev nego.
If I knew some other word, just think I'd say it.

Hausman (cited in Gořab 1964a:31) discusses the problems caused by the use of an imperfective in place of a non-past in this type of condition. He notes that because bi, unlike ke, cannot denote an unfulfilled action, cf.:

273. Toj bi došol.
He would come.
274. Toj ke dojdeše.
He would have come.

it must derive its contextual meaning of an unfulfilled action in the apodosis of an unfulfilled condition from the protasis. Hausmann (cited in Gořab 1964a:31) states that the particle da should be used with an imperfective non-past to state unambiguously a present, unfulfillable hypothetical condition. He cites the following example:

275. Ako bev ptica, bi letnal rano v utroto belo.

As he notes, this sentence does not mean If I had been a bird, I would have flown in the morning whiteness, i.e., an unfulfillable expectative condition, but rather If I were a bird I would fly..., i.e., an unfulfillable hypothetical condition. He concludes that the particle da must be used in the protasis to provide the context in which the potential bi can be construed as unfulfillable, rather than as fulfillable. In the next chapter the problem of particle choice in the protasis of conditional periods will be examined in more detail.

It has been demonstrated above that in unfulfillable conditional

sentences ke and bi are in variation, with certain stylistic differences. In unfulfillable expectative conditions ke still predominates in colloquial and dialectal language while among educated speakers, and in more formal contexts, bi is becoming more prevalent. In unfulfillable hypothetical conditions both ke and bi may be used, though bi is preferred.

This follows the conclusions of both Hausmann and Gořab, who have stressed that the particle bi cannot itself express past unfulfilled modality, but can only be contextually marked as unfulfilled.

Turning to fulfillable conditions, there is a clear opposition between expectative conditions with ke and hypothetical conditions with bi; it is in the fulfillable conditions where the exchange of bi and ke is not possible (except as noted below where bi occurs in the protasis) without changing the modal meaning.

The following examples of types of fulfillable hypothetical conditions are based on those cited by Gořab (1964b:21)

1. ako + bi — bi

276. Bi mogle kaj nas da se najdat ušte mnogu primeri,
ako bi pobaral čovek.
(Gořab 1964b:19)
Many other examples could be found among us
if one sought them.

2. ako + P/Ipr — bi

277. Jane najde edno mesto što posebno ï se dopagáše, i što,
reče taa, ako ne doağa nikoj, a verojatno ne ke dojde
nikoj, bi moželo da bide naše.
Jane found a place which especially pleased her, and
which, she said, if noone comes, and most likely noone
will come, could be ours.

3. da + Ppr — bi

278. Toj duri sega možeš da se seti što bi značelo za nego da ima pri sebe nejzinata slika.
(B. Koneski, kartoteka)
Even now he was able to feel what it would mean to him if he had her picture with him.

One construction not cited by Gojčb, but which may be included here is the following:

4. koga + bi — bi

279. [cartoon which depicts two men working under the street looking up through the manhole and peeking under women's skirts]

Momče, koga bi rabotel v kancelarija, zar bi možel da go vidiš ova? (NM 30-X-81-20)
Well, young man, if you were to work in an office, would you be able to see this?

Gojčb (1964b:20) notes that there is free exchange between Ke and bi in the apodosis of a fulfillable hypothetical condition if the protasis contains bi since the hypotheticalness has, then, already been expressed, e.g.:

280. Važni se za nea, se čini, baš ovie nekolku miga, ako bi gi ispustila, Ke dojde lošoto što treba da go predvari.
(B. Koneski 1981:38)
Just these few moments, it seems, are important for her, and if she were to let them go, the evil which must be overcome would come.

It should be noted that informants considered the use of ako plus bi to be an expressive form, and not usual in everyday speech.

The difference between the hypothetical and expectative particles in conditional periods is the degree of expectation that the action will be fulfilled. This difference is evident if the following are again compared:

Ako mi se javite, Ke dojdám.
If you call me, I'll come.

Ako mi se javite, bi došol.
If you [were] to call me, I would come.

While the former contains an expectation that the action will be fulfilled, the latter merely presents a hypothesis that if the action in the protasis were to be fulfilled, then the action denoted by the bi construction would be fulfilled.

The use of bi may be summarized as follows: in Macedonian the particle bi is most typically used to express an action which is viewed as hypothetically fulfillable, but whose fulfillment is in doubt, or whose fulfillment is expressed as a hypothetical future action with no explicit expectation that the action will occur. Here bi cannot be exchanged with Ke without changing the modal meaning. It has been shown that while bi is not marked for unfulfillableness, it can be used in the protasis of an unfulfillable condition where the meaning is modified by the broader context.

While bi is typically used in both independent and dependent contexts to express an action, it has been shown that the position of bi within the Macedonian modal system is in a state of flux. The following areas of change may be cited: first, the directive use of bi is no longer current in the literary language; second, bi has begun to appear in contexts in which it carries a meaning of iterative-habitual action, replacing the more usual Ke constructions. However, this is typical of Serbo-Croatian bi, and is still rejected by most Macedonian speakers. Finally, bi is becoming much more prevalent in the literary language in the apodosis of an unfulfillable expectative

condition, again, bringing the use of Macedonian bi closer to the use of bi in Serbo-Croatian. On the basis of these trends, the opposition between Ke, in its conditinal meaning, and bi will merge except when used to express a future action where the opposition is maintained between a hypothetical action expressed with bi, and an expected action expressed with Ke.

Before beginning a discussion of the conditional and coordinative particles in the next chapters, it is now possible to present a partial distinctive feature matrix:

	DA	NEKA	KE	BI
Appeal	-	+	-	-
Status	-	0	+	+
Hypothetical	0	0	-	+

¹ We are indebted to Dr. Catherine Rudin for this data from Aksela Lazarova who taught a course in contemporary Bulgarian at the summer seminar in Sofia in 1982.

² As will be seen later in this chapter, these contexts include:

1. In the apodosis of hypothetical conditions, e.g.:

i. Ja mi kaži Dragomire, kakvo bi napravil ti...s brata si, ako toj bi namislil da navleče zločestina na carstvoto. (Trifonov, cited in Gojčb 1964b:19)
Tell me Dragomir, what would you do with your brother if he were to plot to bring about disgrace to the kingdom.

2. To express a polite request, e.g.:

ii. Za men, bih iskal da doneseš malko červeno vino. (Tolkin 1979:16)
As for me, I would like you to bring me a little red wine.

3. To express a potential action outside of a conditional period, e.g.:

iii. Koj bi mogal da napravi tova?
Who would be able to do that?

³ The author was unable to obtain a copy of Hausmann's unpublished dissertation Der Potential im Mazedonischen. Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades der Philosophischen Fakultät der Georg-August-Universität zu Göttingen Göttingen 1956, and has had to rely exclusively on Gojčb's references to it.

⁴ The use of bi outside of the potential is here considered to be archaic or lexical in expressions such as da ne bi, e.g.:

i. Ako znaeš da mi kažeš edno selo, što go vikaat Kuškundaleo, da ne bi se naoga vo ova pustelija, — razgledual na levo na desno, da ne bi vidi pak kokoškata ili kožata.

(Cepenkov, cited in B. Koneski 1967:502)
If you know, could you tell me if a village called
Kuškundaelo mightn't be found in this desert. He looked
all over to see if he could see the chicken or goat again.

Such expressions will not be included in a discussion of bi
constructions.

⁵ Minova-Gurkova suggests that some speakers may always use the sum
forms to avoid ambiguity, but that there is no difference in meaning if
the sum form is present.

⁶ In chapter II (p.44) examples were cited from Hausmann and Gojčb
(1964a:30) containing bi together with da in optative sentences,
e.g.:

i. Da bi došol!
If only he would come!

Both authors conclude that these constructions have an emphatic
nature. This use of da bi is now, according to Minova-Gurkova
and B. Koneski, archaic or dialectal (see chapter II, p.44). Many
informants also rejected the use of bi alone to express a wish or
reprimand, e.g.:

ii. Bi si mu kažal!
If only you had told him!

They considered this use to be archaic or dialectal, and while
conceding that such examples may still be found in the literature, they
regularly substituted trebaše da 'you should have' or da
plus imperfective in this context, e.g.:

iii. Trebaše da mu kažeš.
Da mu kažeše.

Although B. Koneski, Kepeski, Gojčb, and Hausmann note the
prevalence of this use of bi in colloquial or dialectal language, we
agree with Gojčb (1964b:16) who states that in literary Macedonian bi
is not used in optative clauses.

The use of bi to express an iterative-habitual action will also
be excluded. While examples of this type exist in the literature, and
while they may eventually become more widespread in Macedonian, they are
now considered Serbisms and are rejected by most speakers.

Gojčb (1964a:36) notes that the use of bi to express a past
potential action is rare (cf. Trifonov 1912:1) and that only one of the
fifteen examples of bi cited by Koneski (1967:501) refers
unambiguously to the past, namely:

Mislata me goreše, rešetkate so race bi gi iskršil.

Gojčb (1964a:36) concludes that this use of bi overlaps that of ke,
and that there is no difference in meaning, e.g.:

Mislata me goreše, rešetkate so race ke gi iskršev.

There was no agreement among native speakers on the acceptability
of these constructions; here, therefore, they are considered marginal in
the literary language.

Chapter VI

AKO, DOKOLKU, and LI

The particles which will be treated in this chapter and in the following chapter are differentiated from the four preceding particles on the basis of their syntactic position. These five particles are marked as subordinate since they cannot occur except in subordination to a non-subordinate clause.

The particles ako 'if' and dokolku¹ 'insofar as, if' are distinguished from the other subordinate particles in that they are positively marked for conditionality, i.e., they occur in the protasis of a conditional period, and denote some action upon whose fulfillment depends the fulfillment of some other action.

It has been noted elsewhere (Lyons 1977:768; Aronson 1977:14) that there is a close relationship between interrogation and mood. Interrogation seems like a type of modality since it does not express ontological reality. While the category of mood affirms the non-ontological reality of a given process, the category of interrogation is the non-affirmation of ontological reality. The category of interrogation will not be treated in any detail here since it is considered outside the scope of the Macedonian modal system. However, the interrogative particle li must be integrated into the modal system since, although this particle can be defined as having the basic meaning of interrogation, it also has an affirmative modal

contextual meaning which, though still marked for interrogation, functionally belongs with dokolku and ako.

It must be understood that li, in its conditional meaning, is being transferred from the primary system to which it belongs. When li occurs in the protasis of a conditional period, it can be said that an ako clause has been deleted and the interrogative has assumed its function, e.g.:

281. Ke dojdeš li? Ako dojdeš, ke odime.
Are you coming? If you come, we'll go.

becomes:

282. Dojdeš li, ke odime.
If you come, we'll go.

The particle li, then, is positively marked for condition within the modal system, but has a basic meaning of interrogation, separating it from ako and dokolku.

While other particles are used in the protasis of a conditional period, namely da and bi (see chapters II, V), the three marked conditional particles have no other modal function. In the course of this chapter the differences among these three conditional particles will be examined, and their contextual variant meanings will be discussed.

Before beginning an analysis of the three conditional particles in Macedonian, a few differences among Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, and Macedonian may be cited. Differences in conditional sentences in these three languages are due not only to the choice of particle in the protasis, but also to the choice of particle in the apodosis and the interrelationships between particle and verb form. A detailed

comparison of conditional sentences demands a separate study; therefore, discussion here will be limited to general remarks on the use of ako, li, and the Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian equivalents of Macedonian dokolku.²

In Serbo-Croatian, unlike Macedonian and Bulgarian, the choice of conditional particle in the protasis is more clearly dictated by the type of condition, i.e., ako is limited to fulfillable conditions, whereas da is used only in unfulfillable conditions, e.g.:

283. Da sam na vašem mestu, uzeo bih ovu sobu.
(Benson 1971:65)
*Ako sam na vašem mestu, ...
If I were in your place, I would take this room.
284. Ako se odlučite da podjete s nama, vi poranite rano ujutru.
(Stevanović 1979:903)
*Da se odlučite ...
If you decide to come with us, get up early in the morning.

As shall be demonstrated later (see p.141), a distinction between ako and da is made in Macedonian only when the conditional particle is followed by an imperfective non-past. In other contexts the choice of particle is based on stylistic considerations.

One other distinction which should be made here is the use of the future enclitic after ako. In Serbo-Croatian, particularly in Croatian, ako may be followed by the future (Gočab 1964a:148; Brabec, et al. 1968:252; Stevanović 1979:903). Brabec (1968:252) cites examples in which the future expresses both futurity and wish, e.g.:

285. Ako ćeš mene poslušati, to da ne činiš.
If you will listen to me, you won't do that.

Here the enclitic could be replaced by hoćeš 'you want'. In addition, he cites examples of ako plus a future in which ako

has a concessive meaning, e.g.:

286. Magarac je magarac ako će imati i zlatan pokrovac.
A donkey is a donkey even if it has [lit. will have] a golden blanket.

In Macedonian the concessives iako or makar što 'even though' would be used in this context.

The interrogative particle li is used in Serbian in fulfillable conditions, e.g.:

287. Dojdeš li, ja ću ti pokazati.
(Benson 1971:261)
If you come, I'll show it to you.

Gočab (1964a:148) notes that li in Serbo-Croatian is used in constructions only with a present or future. In Macedonian, as in Bulgarian, li may also be used with an imperfect in non-factive and iterative conditions.

The Macedonian conditional dokolku is a calque on the Serbian ukoliko and therefore, there are no differences in meaning and usage.

There are fewer differences between Bulgarian and Macedonian in the choice of conditional particle, differences being based mainly on the relationship between the protasis and apodosis. Several differences may be noted. While ako may not occur with ke in Macedonian, it has been demonstrated that there are contexts in which this co-occurrence is possible in Bulgarian (Valter 1971:65-67; Moskova-Elenska 1972:234-239), e.g.:

288. Ako šte četeš, zapali lampata.
(Moskova-Elenska 1972:235)
If you're going to read, turn on the light.

The future would be used in this context if the person to whom the

speaker addresses this remark has not yet begun to read, but has merely shown his intent to carry out this action (Moskova-Elenska 1972:235).

In Macedonian this would have to be expressed lexically, e.g.:

289. Ako imaš namera da čitaš, zapali ja lampata.
If you intend to read, turn on the light.

The use of li in Bulgarian parallels the use of li in Macedonian. It may be used in the protasis of real conditions with a perfective non-past, or with a perfective-imperfect in non-factive and iterative conditions (Georgiev 1978:63). While li is now considered dialectal or archaic in Macedonian, none of the grammars of Bulgarian note that li is stylistically marked.

The Bulgarian equivalents of dokolku, dokoliko, dokolkoto are not used in conditional sentences, but are used only to express degree, e.g.:

290. Borim se, dokolkoto možem.
(Bŭlgarski tŭlkoven rečnik 1973:84)
We struggle as much as we can.

Turning to a comparison of the three conditional particles within the Macedonian modal system, it must be noted that little attention has been paid to these three particles in the standard handbooks of Macedonian. The particle dokolku, in its conditional meaning, is a new phenomenon in the literary language and is, therefore, not mentioned in older works (Lunt 1952; Goŭgb 1964a,b; B. Koneski 1967; Minova-Gurkova 1967; Kepeski 1975). The three-volume dictionary includes dokolku in the supplement to the third volume; no examples are given, just the Serbian translation, ukoliko. The only references to this particle in the literature are contained in K. Koneski's dissertation

(1979:89-90, 253-254), in the thesis by Mišić (1977:30), and Korubin (1969:81-82).

Korubin is mainly concerned with the form of dokolku as opposed to non-standard vo kolku, and his examples treat dokolku in constructions with do tolku such as the following:

291. Do kolku toplanata e pogolema, do tolku isparuvanjeto na vodata e pogolemo.
(Korubin 1969:82)
Insofar as the temperature of the water is greater, the greater the evaporation of the water.

K. Koneski (1979:253) notes that while the particle is becoming more widespread, it is most typical in journalistic prose. Mišić (1977:30) cites only two examples, noting that she found few examples due to its new appearance as a conditional in the literary language.

The particles ako and li are mentioned in the grammars of both B. Koneski (1967:539) and Kepeski (1975:163) under the heading conditional conjunctions. B. Koneski cites one example each with the two particles in fulfillable conditions:

292. Ako toj reče deka e toa vistina, neka odat, a ako ne, neka se rasturat, decata barem da ne se podbivat so niv.
(Janevski, cited in B. Koneski 1967:539)
If he says that that is true, let them go, but if not, let them scatter, so at least the children won't make fun of them.
293. Mine li, gori zemjata.
(Maleski, cited in B. Koneski 1967:539)
If it passes, the earth burns.

Kepeski (1975:163) also includes an example of ako in an unfulfillable condition:

294. Petre ne će te videše ako se skrieše podobro.
Petre would not have seen you if you had hidden

yourself better.

Both authors include ako also under a separate heading concessive conjunctions, though neither grammar includes examples. B.Koneski (1967:539) emphasizes that the particle ako occurs less frequently with a concessive meaning, being replaced by iako 'even if, although' in the literary language.

Lunt (1952:83) does not devote a separate section to conditionals. He does, however, include both ako and li among the words which can be used with a perfective non-past. He includes the following examples (1952:83) of fulfillable conditions with the two particles:

295. Ako mi ja rešiš taa zadača, Ke ti bidam blagodaren.
If you solve this problem for me, I will be grateful to you.
296. Ne dojdeš li, Ke ti viknam.
If you don't come, I'll call you.

He notes that in the latter example ako would be more common, i.e., ako ne dojdeš... Other examples with ako occur throughout the grammar but only in reference to other grammatical points; it is not itself the subject of attention.

Usikova (1977:361) includes ako among the particles used with the perfective non-past. Her brief survey of Macedonian includes no examples with li, and ako occurs only incidently, in the protasis of both a fulfillable and an unfulfillable condition.

Works which treat conditional sentences in more detail (Gočkb 1964a; Minova-Čurkova 1967, 1969; Mišić 1977; K. Koneski 1979) will be discussed in the sections devoted to the use of the individual particles.

Discussion will begin with the least marked conditional particle ako. The conditional particle ako is marked for conditionality within the modal system, but it is unmarked in relation to dokolku and li because it may occur in the protasis of both fulfillable and unfulfillable conditionals. Furthermore, while li is stylistically marked as archaic or dialectal in its conditional use, and dokolku is stylistically marked as journalistic, ako is stylistically unmarked. Minova-Čurkova (1967:139; 1969:14) has found in her research on conditionals in Macedonian that ako is the most frequently used conditional conjunction in both the standard literary and in colloquial language.

Earlier it was noted (see p.8) that ako is not closely bound to the verb. While its usual position is in clause initial position, separated from the verb only by the enclitic pronouns and the negative particle, it frequently is separated from the verb for stylistic reasons, e.g.:

7. Ako ovoj den go preživam, Ke ti bidam verna
celiot život.
(Čingo, cited in Minova-Čurkova 1967:128)
If I live through this day, I shall be faithful to you
my whole life.

The Rečnik (vol.I 1979:7-8) cites examples of ako in both fulfillable and unfulfillable conditions, and in concessive clauses, e.g.:

Fulfillable:

297. Dojdi utre kaj nas ako bideš sloboden.
Come to our place tomorrow if you're free.

Unfulfillable:

298. Ako ne te vidov, ke padneše.
If I hadn't seen you, you would have fallen.

Concessive:

299. Ako e siromav, toa ne znači deka mora da bide i prost.
Even if he is poor, that doesn't mean that he must also be vulgar.

Under a separate heading ako is treated as a concessive, synonymous with neka, e.g.:

300. Ako, taka tebe ti treba.
It's all right/let it be/so what, that's what you need.

In the course of this chapter it will be demonstrated that ako has the basic meaning of condition. Conditional sentences in Macedonian will be further explicated, and contexts in which ako is differentiated not only from dokolku and li, but also from protactic da will be discussed.

Discussion will begin with fulfillable conditions since it has been well documented in the literature that this is the most frequent use of ako (Gočab 1964a:134; Minova-Gurkova 1967:139, 1969:14; Mišić 1977:10; K. Koneski 1979:76). The most frequent type of condition in which ako is found is in fulfillable expectative conditions followed by a perfective or imperfective non-past, with ke in the apodosis (Minova-Gurkova 1967:128), e.g.:

301. Ako usta otvoriš, so ovoj jazikot ke ti go presečam.
(cited in K. Koneski 1979:76)
If you open your mouth, I'll cut out your tongue with this.
302. Ako se bara vo niv ke se najde i ljubov.
(cited in Minova-Gurkova 1967:128)
If one looks, one will find even love in them.

In fulfillable hypothetical conditions, i.e., conditions which express a condition whose fulfillment is possible, but not anticipated, ako may co-occur with bi in the protasis, or bi may appear only in the apodosis (see chapter V, p.124) (cf. Gočab 1964a:30, 135; Minova-Gurkova 1967:133), e.g.:

303. Ako bi stanalo nužno, jas bi možel da spomnam i iminja i detalii.
(Čašule, cited in Minova-Gurkova 1967:133)
If it were to become necessary, I would be able to cite both names and details.
304. Ako možam na nekoj način da ja dobijam taa gavloska propusnica jas ne bi se žalel sebesi.
(cited in Minova-Gurkova 1967:133)
If I could somehow get that damned pass, I wouldn't feel sorry for myself.

Informants considered the use of ako bi to be an emphatic, and Minova-Gurkova (1967:133) concludes from her large corpus of examples that examples with bi in both the protasis and the apodosis are rare.

The particle ako is frequently used in non-factive, i.e., conditions whose result is unknown, and iterative conditions. A condition of the type:

If he went to Paris, he visited Montmartre.
may be interpreted as iterative: Whenever he went to Paris... or, as a non-factive, that is, the speaker cannot vouch for the truth or falsity of the statement He went to Paris (Lyons 1977:vol. II, 296).

In the literature on Macedonian conditionals, this type of condition has been treated as real (Gočab 1964a; Minova-Gurkova 1967, 1969; Mišić 1977). Examples of this type will be considered fulfillable since, like other fulfillable conditions, the fulfillment of the

condition is still considered possible at the moment of speech. In conditions that should have been fulfilled in the past, non-factive fulfillable conditions are most often differentiated from unfulfillable expectative conditions in that there is no modal particle in the apodosis (but see below), cf:

Fulfillable:

305. Ako beše toplo vremeto, majka mu beše mirna.
(Fotev, cited in Minova-Gurkova 1967:129)
If the weather was warm, his mother was calm.

In this example, either the condition was fulfilled repeatedly in the past, i.e., Whenever the weather was warm... or, at the moment of speech the speaker does not know whether the condition was fulfilled;

Unfulfillable:

306. Ako beše toplo vremeto, majka mu ke beše mirna.
If the weather had been warm, his mother would have been calm.

Here, the speaker states that the condition was not fulfilled, but had it been, the action in the apodosis would have followed.

Minova-Gurkova has demonstrated that in some contexts ako may acquire an iterative-habitual meaning even when ke occurs in the apodosis, e.g.:

307. Ke stignev vo nekoj grad i ako stignev so den, vednaš ke go ostavev kuferot vo hotelot i ke izletav nadvor.
(Fotev, cited in Minova-Gurkova 1967:130)
I would arrive in some city and if I arrived during the day, I would immediately leave my suitcase in the hotel and I would go for a stroll outdoors.

As she notes, ako acquires this meaning contextually from the iterative-habitual meaning of the first ke clause.

The particle ako frequently occurs in the protasis of unfulfillable expectative conditions, e.g.:

308. I ako prodolžeše taka za desetina godini, Dobridol ke broeše petstotini kući.
(Fotev, cited in K. Koneski 1979:230)
And if it had continued like that for ten years, Dobridol would have numbered five hundred houses.

In this environment da may also occur (see chapter II, p. 50). It is in unfulfillable hypothetical conditions that ako and da are differentiated. In chapter V (p. 122) the following example from Gočab (1964a:31) was cited:

275. Ako bev ptica, bi letnal rano v utroto belo.

Hausmann noted that this sentence does not mean 'If I had been a bird I would have flown early into the morning white' but rather 'If I were a bird, I would...' Here the imperfect may be used in place of a present tense verb to express a present, unfulfillable condition (see chapter II, p. 50). Hausmann (Gočab 1964a:31) states that da is more appropriate in this context since bi does not in itself carry a meaning of unfulfillableness, and ako usually denotes a fulfillable condition.

Minova-Gurkova (1969:16-17) draws a clear distinction between ako and da when they occur with an imperfective non-past in the protasis. She concludes that in this environment the unfulfillable meaning of conditional da is apparent. When ako is replaced by da in this context the condition changes from a fulfillable one to an unfulfillable one, e.g.:

309. Ako imam pari, bi ti dal.
If I have money, [and I might] I'll give it to you.

310. Da imam pari, bi ti dal.
If I had money [but I don't] I'd give it to you.
311. Da sakam, za guša ke se fatat.
(B. Koneski, cited in Minova-Gurkova 1969:17)
If I wanted [but I don't] they'd [lit. they'll]
have a showdown.
312. Ako sakam, za guša ke se fatat.
If I want [and I might]...

The particle ako is defined here as having the basic meaning of condition. When used as a concessive particle it may be said that ako expresses a condition which, from context, is understood as being already fulfilled. In standard Macedonian ako is not generally used as a concessive particle (Minova-Gurkova 1967:115; B. Koneski 1967:539; Cvetkovski 1973:30), instead iako is more usual. When ako does occur as a concessive particle it is stressed, differentiating it from the protactic, conditional ako, e.g.:

313. Ako rekov, dupka na nebo ne se otvori.
(cited in Minova-Gurkova 1967:116)
What if I did say it, a hole didn't open up in the sky.

When ako is used as a concessive it does not generally denote an ontologically unreal action. Minova-Gurkova (1967:116) notes that the above example could be rephrased: Iako rekov 'Even though I said it'; Rekov, no dupka...ne se otvori 'I said it, but a hole didn't open up'. The basic modality of ako, in contradistinction to the examples above with iako and rekov, no, is evident since only the sentence with ako can be negated, cf.:

- Ako rekov, dupka...ne se otvori, ama ništo ne rekov.
If I said it, a hole didn't open up, but I didn't say it.
*Iako rekov,... ama ne rekov.
*Rekov, ...ama ne rekov.

The non-modal character of the concessive derives from its interpretation as an already fulfilled condition. In this context ako may be replaced by other concessives which have no modal meaning, e.g.,: makar što 'even though'. Furthermore, the non-modal character is evident in the fact that a concessive meaning is incompatible with a future meaning, e.g.:

314. Ako dojde, nema da odam.
*Makar što dojde, nema da odam.

The first sentence can be translated 'If he is coming, I won't go' or, when ako is stressed: 'Even if he is coming, I won't go'. Here the action is projected, which is evident when the concessive makar što is substituted; here ke must be used: Makar sto ke dojde, nema da odam 'Even if he is coming, I won't go'.

The independent use of ako in sentences such as:

315. Ako, taka tebe ti treba.
Even if it is so, that's what you need.

are here considered to be a type of concessive, i.e., even if it is so...

In Macedonian, the particle li is the unmarked interrogative particle, as compared with other, more stylistically marked particles such as ali or zar.³

It is used in direct questions, e.g.:

316. Imaš li vreme?
Do you have a little time?
317. Možam li pokraj vas i jas po malku da učam?
(Englund 1977:94)
Could I, too, study a little with you?

and in indirect questions, e.g.:

318. Ušte ne znam go baram li.
(Maleski 1958:108)
I still don't know whether I'm looking for him.

The particle li is closely bound to the verb but, unlike the other closely bound particles which precede the verb, li in the protasis of a conditional period occurs in post-position.⁴ Its use as a conditional particle is limited in the standard language and informants generally considered it dialectal or archaic. Minova-Gurkova (1967:136; and personal communication) does not consider it typical in conditional periods, nor does she accept its independent use with a perfective non-past. B. Koneski (personal communication) would not use li in conditional clauses except in poetry. A further restriction on the particle is that it occurs only in fulfillable conditions (Minova-Gurkova 1969:17; K. Koneski 1979:150), e.g.:

319. Puknat li - prvot kršum može da te pogodi.
(Maleski 1958:119)
If they shoot, the first bullet could strike you.
320. Ne im go dadeš li nivnoto, tie sami ke go zemat.
(Iljoski, cited in K. Koneski 1979:88)
If you don't give them theirs, they'll take it themselves.

The particle li occurs more frequently in conditional clauses together with ke,⁵ e.g.:

321. Bakšiš ne mi treba, a ke dadeš li nešto, blagodarna ke sum, ne dadeš li, gospod neka ti dade ušte tolku.
(Janevski, kartoteka)
I don't need a tip, but if you give something I'll be grateful, if not, may God grant you as much.

K. Koneski cites examples of li only with a non-past, however, li may also occur more rarely in non-factive and iterative conditions,

e.g.:

322. Beše li kaj Mitruša, prašuvše starata koga ke se vrataše železničarot od grad.
(Solev, kartoteka)
If he was at Mitruša's, he asked the old woman when the railroad worker would return from town.

Thus, while the basic meaning of li is interrogation, within the modal system the particle may occur in the protasis of a fulfillable expectative condition. This use is considered by most informants to be archaic or dialectal and, therefore, the conditional contextual meaning of li is marginal in the current literary language.

While the use of li is disappearing in conditional periods, the use of the particle dokolku is becoming ever more frequent. Before beginning a discussion of this particle it must be noted that many informants rejected its use. They consider dokolku, used as a conditional particle, to be journalistic jargon and would not condone its use. A similar situation in English would be the acceptance or rejection of the verbs to impact or to interface, i.e., while they occur frequently in the press, many speakers do not consider them acceptable.

Both K. Koneski (1979:89-90) and Mišić (1977:30) cite examples of dokolku in fulfillable conditions. Numerous examples can be found in the press, e.g.:

323. Britanskiot minister za nadvorešni raboti Frensis Pim izjave deka Velika Britanija ke prodolži da se zalaga za miroljubivo rešenje na foklandskata kriza, no, dokolku propadnat site diplomatski naponi, verovatno ke se obide ostrovite da gi vrati so sila.
(Večer Nedela 3-V-82-10)
The British minister of foreign affairs, Francis Pym announced that Great Britain would continue to strive

for a peaceful solution to the Falkland crisis, but if all diplomatic attempts fail, it will probably attempt to take back the islands by force.

324. V sabota, planinarskite organizaciji...organiziraat ednodneven izlet vo Mavrovo. Cenata za ovoj izlet iznesuva 180 dinari, so prevoz i ruček, no dokolku se prijavat pogolem broj zainteresirani, cenata može da bide i pomala.
(NM 22-I-82-10)
On Saturday the mountaineering organizations...are organizing a one day outing to Mavrovo. The cost of the outing is 180 dinars, including transportation and lunch, but if there is a greater number of interested parties, the price may be lower.

Neither K. Koneski nor Mišić has noted that dokolku may also occur in fulfillable hypothetical conditions with bi in the apodosis, e.g.:

325. Amundsen prvo reši da izvrši proben let od Spicberg do Severniot pol, pa dokolku toj let se završi uspešno, togaš bi organiziral transarktičko preletovanje.
(NM 20-V-82-12)
Amundsen first decided to complete a test flight from Spitsbergen to the North Pole, and if that flight were completed successfully, then he would organize a transarctic crossing.

While informants would not condone the use of dokolku in fulfillable conditions, they rejected its use in unfulfillable, regularly substituting ako or da. Examples of this type do, however, occur in the press, e.g.:⁶

326. Kojznae što se ke se slučese sinoća dokolku K. igraše podobro.
(NM cited in K. Koneski 1979:253)
Who knows what would have happened last night if K. had played better.
327. Dokolku ne bevme hendikepirani...veruvam deka dosega "keramika" ke se natprevaruvaže vo pavisok rang.
(NM cited in K. Koneski 1979:253)
If we hadn't been handicapped... I'm sure that [the team] keramika would have competed at a higher

level before now.

The following summary of the three conditional particles may now be given. The particle ako is the unmarked conditional because its use is not restricted to the protasis of a fulfillable condition, nor is it stylistically marked. While ako normally denotes a modal action, it may contextually be construed as denoting an action as iterative, in which case the condition is considered fulfillable over a period of time in the past, e.g.:

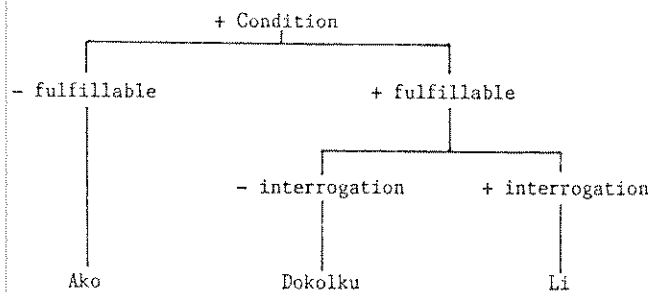
307. Ke stignev vo nekoj grad, i ako stignev so den, vednaš ke go ostavev kuferot vo hotelot i ke izletav nadvor.

When ako is followed by a verb form other than a perfective non-past, it may be used to express concession. In this context ako is stressed and may be replaced by other concessive particles, e.g., makar što, in which case ako refers to a condition which, contextually, is understood as already fulfilled.

The particle li is marked for interrogation. In the current literary standard the particle li has a limited use in the protasis of a fulfillable condition. Its use is considered archaic or dialectal.

Finally, the particle dokolku which, until recently, has functioned as a non-modal quantifying adverb, is widely used in the media in conditional sentences. While it is currently accepted by informants in the protasis of fulfillable conditions, its use is spreading to the protasis of unfulfillable conditions as well.

The following diagram illustrates the relationship of the three conditional particles:



Although it has been shown there are no strict rules governing the use of one particle over another, having examined all of the particles which may be used in the protasis and the apodosis of conditional periods in Macedonian, the following diagram may be drawn illustrating the most usual relationships between choice of particle and type of condition:

	PROTASIS	I		P		APODOSIS	I		P	
		Pr	Pa	Pr	Pa		Pr	Pa	Pr	Pa
	AKO	+	+	+	+					
Fulfill.	BI	*	+	*	+	BI (hyp)	*	+	*	+
	DA	+	++	+	++	(ex.)	*	++	*	++
	DOKOLKU	+	++	+	++					
	LI	+	*	+	*	KE (hyp)	++	++	++	++
						(ex.)	+	+	+	+
Unful.	AKO	*	+	*	+	BI (hyp)	*	+	*	+
	DA	+	+	*	+	(ex.)	*	++	*	++
						KE (hyp)	*	++	*	++
						(ex.)	++	++	++	+

+ designates normal use
++ designates contexts which are marked, but which do occur
* designates contexts which do not occur

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¹ The orthographic dictionary of Macedonian (Pravopis 1979:57;232), the Rečnik (vol. III 1979:598), and Korubin (1969:82) cite the forms do kolku and dokolku. The form dokolku will be used since it occurs more frequently.

² For a more detailed comparison, see Gojčb 1964a:133-49.

³ See Englund 1977 for differences in the use of interrogative particles.

⁴ The particle li may also be used as an intensifier (Englund 1977:15).

In this meaning li is not postposed to the verb, but occurs after the word which is stressed, e.g.:

- i. I love you, Ja ljubljju tebja, Ich liebe dich, kako li
ušte treba da ti kažam deka te sakam?
(Todorovski 1964:43)
I love you...How else must I tell you that I love you?

The particle li may co-occur with ako. In this context li gives ako an emphatic nuance. In this context, too, li is not postposed to the verb, e.g.:

- ii. Gospod, ako pomogne, sè ke se svrše, ako li ne, ništo
ne može da stane.
(Minova-Ćurkova 1967:137)
If the Lord helps, everything will be done, if not,
nothing can be done.

The co-occurrence of these two particles is rare. Minova-Ćurkova found only two such examples in her entire corpus, both taken from folk proverbs. Informants accepted such examples but stressed their

colloquial and emphatic nature.

⁵ While li occurs frequently with ke, both dokolku and ako may not occur with ke. K. Koneski (1979) cites examples of both of these particles with ke but examples such as the following were rejected by informants, e.g.:

- i. Za da se odgleduvaat ovci treba pasišta, a tie ne nie se dodeluvaat nam, ili dokolku toa ke se stori, sekogaš ni se davaat pod nedovolni uslovi. (NM cited in K. Koneski 1979:90)
One needs pastures for sheep to be raised, but they don't allot us any, or, if this is done, it's always under unsatisfactory conditions.
- ii. Međutoa, što ke bide vo slučaj ako silite koi sega ja imaat vlasta ke sakaat da se sprotivstavaat na čuvstvata pogolemiot del od spancite, togaš može da se sluči sešto. (NM cited in K. Koneski 1979:83)
However, what will happen if the forces which currently have power want to oppose the wishes of the majority of Spaniards, then anything could happen.

⁶ A number of examples were found in the press in which dokolku was used with an aorist. These were called at best, incorrect - at worst, a violation (nasiluvanje) of the language. In examples such as the following, informants changed the dokolku to ako or da and the verb from an aorist to an imperfect, e.g.:

- i. Spored dosegašnite izvesta, okolu 80 od vkupno 280 členovi na ekipažot na razurnuvačot ne uspeale da se spasat, a vo London se sluša deka brojot na žrtvite ke beše pomal dokolku drugite britanski brodovi navreme mu pojdoa na pomoš na Šefild. (NM 7-V-82-10)
According to the news to date, approximately eighty of the total two hundred and eighty members of the crew on the destroyer were unable to save themselves, and in London it is said that the number of casualties would have been smaller, if the other British ships had come to the aid of the Sheffield in time.

Chapter VII

DODEKA AND DURI

The particles dodeka 'until, while' and duri 'until, while' have not been treated in any detail in the grammars of Macedonian. The only reference to these two particles in the grammars of B. Koneski (1967:538) and Kepeski (1975:160) is their inclusion in a list of temporal conjunctions. There is no discussion of possible contextual variant meanings, nor are any examples given with a non-past verb. Lunt (1952:82) includes duri ne among the words which can be used with a perfective non-past, stating that until sets the term for the completion of the action, which will then be followed by another action, e.g.:

329. Duri ne najdam nešto za nea, ne ke pojdam.
(Lunt 1952:82)
Until I find something for her, I won't go.

No mention is made of dodeka, though it is included in Lunt's glossary. Usikova (1977) makes no mention of either dodeka or duri.

The Rečnik translates both dodeka and duri (in its use as a conjunction)¹ by Serbian dok 'until'.² No examples are given with dodeka; the following example is cited for duri plus da plus a perfective non-past:

330. Ke go čekame, duri da dojde.
(Rečnik vol. I 1979:59)

According to the definition of modal particles as that set of particles which may, in the literary language, govern forms of the perfective non-past, the status of dodeka and duri is tenuous. Both duri and dodeka are frequently used with da and ne; in fact, it will be seen that duri, in its modal use, must be used with one of these two particles. A number of informants from western Macedonia did not consider dodeka native in their speech. These two particles may be included, however, for the following reasons:

- (1) Dodeka occurs, and is accepted, in the literary language with a perfective non-past verb, e.g.:
 331. Tolku e daleku od celiot svet. I od najbliski pat treba da se izminat mnogu kilometri dodeka se stigne do seloto.
 (Čingo 1979:259)
 It's so far from the whole world. Even from the nearest road, many kilometers must be covered until one reaches the village.
- (2) Duri ne/da is synonymous with dodeka, e.g.:
 332. Dodeka/duri da pojademe i vremeto Ke bide za odenje.
 By the time we finish eating it will be time to go.
- (3) While duri ne can be used with a perfective non-past, e.g.:
 329. Duri ne najdam nešto za nea, ne ke pojdam.

the negative particle cannot be used independently with a perfective non-past³, e.g.:

*Ne najdam nešto za nea...

Syntactically, the two particles are, like the conditional

particles, not closely bound, but may be separated from the verb, e.g.:

333. Nešto što e ponataka Ke bida taka se dodeka ti dukanot ne go zatvoriš tamu, i se preseliš ovde.
 (Krlc, kartoteka)
 What's more, it will be like that until you sell your store there and move here.

In the course of this chapter the use of dodeka and duri with other particles will be discussed and contexts in which the verb subordinated to these particles is modal will be compared with those contexts in which the verb is aspectual. It will be shown that the basic meaning of both manner particles is relational, i.e., they express a temporal relationship between the main and subordinate clauses, and that duri and dodeka are, like conditional particles, syntactically dependent.

Discussion will begin with the aspectual meanings of these two particles. When followed by any verb other than a perfective non-past, the verb subordinated to the relational particles is clearly marked aspectually. When the verb subordinated to the particle is an imperfect or an imperfective non-past, the particles denote a contemporaneous relationship between the main and subordinate clauses. In this context the two particles occur independently, i.e., without da or ne e.g.:

(1) Duri/Dodeka + Ipr:

334. Deteto duri e malo, e bezgrešnik.
 (Poslovici, kartoteka)
 As long as a child is small, he is innocent.
335. Ako ne se vratiš, duri sum živa gololava kletvi Ke ti praka.
 (Maleski, kartoteka)
 If you don't return, as long as I'm unmarried I will

send you curses.

336. Sega možeme da si odime, zašto i jas treba vednaš da trgnam, dodeka ima vreme.
(Fotev 1979:160)
We can leave now, because I, too, must set off immediately, while there's still time.

(2) Dodeka + Ke + Ipr:

337. A posle, dodeka zelnikot Ke stasuva pod vrsnik, Ke cicame anasonka i Ke peeme pesni za Goce i Jane.
(Janevski, cited in K. Koneski 1979:176)
And later, while the vegetable pie rises [lit. will rise] in the pan, we'll chew mastic and sing songs about Goce and Jane.

(3) Dodeka + Ii:

338. Dodeka obete sestri, pod mižlivoto trepkanje na zapalena sveća, ja prigrutuvava salatata i večerata, toj zadovolno misleše deka seto toa e taka ubavo...
(Martinovski 1979:120)
While both sisters, under the twinkling flicker of the burning candle, prepared salad and the dinner, he thought contentedly that all this was so beautiful...

Feleszko (1976:146) has pointed out that in this coordinating function, the use of a perfective verb is inadmissible in the subordinate clause. He further notes (1976:149) that if the action in the main clause continues as long as the action in the subordinate clause, both clauses will contain an imperfect or an imperfective non-past, e.g.:

339. Dodeka studentot se vlečeše so Kerka i aren beše.
(Janevski, cited in Feleszko 1976:149)
As long as the student got along with her daughter, things were fine.

When duri and dodeka occur with an aorist they most often occur as compounds with ne or da, but they may occur independently. With an aorist, rather than coordinating two contemporaneous actions, they denote the point up to which the action in

the main clause continued, e.g.:

340. Skitaa po sergiite, se rašetaa do koštanite, se pridružuvaa kon nekoj negovi poznati, igraa zaedno so selanite na oroto pred crkvata, džvakaa blantavi gurabii, se duri im natežnaa klepkite i se vratija na čardakot da spijat.
(Martinovski 1979:123)
They strolled among the stalls, they walked to the chestnut trees, they met up with some of his acquaintances, they danced in the oro together with the villagers in front of the church, they munched on tasteless pastries until their eyelids grew heavy and they returned to the porch to sleep.
341. Se dodeka ne morav da se rešavam, bev sreken.
Until I had to decide, I was happy.
(NM I-III-68-9)

The non-modal meanings of dodeka and duri may be summarized as follows: when used in combination with an imperfective non-past, or with an imperfect, the action subordinated to these two particles occurred simultaneously with the action in the main clause, i.e., the particles denote aspectual durativity; when used in combination with an aorist, the action subordinated to these particles is the terminus at which the action in the main clause ended, i.e., the action is aspectually marked as terminative.

It is the role of dodeka and duri within the modal system, however, which is of greater interest here. With the relational particles there is a close relationship between mood and the perfective non-past since these two particles denote non-ontologically real events only when used with a perfective non-past. We agree with Aronson (1977:24) who attributes their modality in constructions with a perfective non-past to a meaning of futurity.

The meaning of the particles with a perfective non-past parallels

the past meaning with an aorist, namely, the action subordinated to these particles denotes the projected point at which the action in the main clause will end, e.g.:

342. Znam, znam ušte eden vek ke mine vo zabluda dodeka ne go razbereme glasot na Golemata voda.
(Čingo, kartoteka)
I know, I know that still another century will pass in error until we understand the voice of the Great water.
329. Duri ne najdam nešto za nea, ne ke pojdam.
Until I find something for her, I won't go.

There is a great degree of variation in the form of the particle when used with the perfective non-past. The following variations were all accepted by some informants:

(1) Dodeka + Ppr:

343. Ima vreme dodeka dojde.
(overheard in the student buffet of the language department of the University of Kiril and Methodius, Skopje)
There's time before he gets here.
344. Ajde nie dodeka dojdut da pozačistime i ponapredime.
(Krla, kartoteka)
Come on, let's clean and straighten up a little until they come.

(2) Dodeka + da + Ppr:

345. Dadeni mu e samo na upotreba, da go upotrebuva dodeka da im go predade na idnite pokolenija.
(Treven, kartoteka)
It was given to him only on loan, to use until he passed it along to the future generation.
346. Dodeka da poraste tvoeto, Gorgija moj ke go vodi.
(Maleski, kartoteka)

(3) Dodeka + ne + Ppr:

347. Sovetskite vooruženi sili nema da se povlečat od Avganistan i pokraj rezolucite na ON i nevrzanite zemji, se dodeka avganistanskata armija ne stane dovolno silna sama da im se protivstani na

buntovicite, na koi - se tvrdi vo Kabul - im pomaga svetskiot imperijalizm.

(NM 28-I-82-6)

The Soviet military forces will not leave Afghanistan despite resolutions of the UN and the non-aligned nations, until the Afghan army is itself sufficiently strong to oppose the rebels who - it is asserted in Kabul - are being aided by world imperialism.

(4) Dodeka + ke + Ppr:

348. A sega, vie dodeka ke stignete vo seloto jas ke bidam na drugata strana.
(Fotev, cited in K. Koneski 1979:75)
And now, by the time you reach the village, I'll be on the other side.

The use of dodeka with the expectative particle ke is not considered standard by most speakers; this problem will be discussed later (see p. 158).

(5) Duri + ne + Ppr:

349. Tamu (Kalina) ke gi polni stomnite i ke gi prazni, polni-prazni ke čini, se duri ne go poprati i posledniot patnik.
(Maleksi, kartoteka)
There (Kalina) will fill the jugs and empty them, she will keep filling and emptying them until she has sent off the very last traveler.

(6) Duri + da + Ppr:

350. Majka da ja vardiš duri da se vratam.
(Maleski, kartoteka)
Look after mother until I return.
351. Stariot beše rešen da se strpi ušte malku, duri da dojde krajot na školskata godina, pa posle neka si odat od kade što došle i se ke se svrši kako što treba.
(B. Koneski, kartoteka)
The old man had decided to be patient a little longer until the end of the school year comes, and then let them return whence they came, and everything would turn out as it should.

While most temporal adverbs are used with ke (see chapter IV, p. 93), the use of ke with the relational particles is considered

sub-standard. (Minova-Gurkova, personal communication; K. Koneski 1979:75). K. Koneski states (1979:74) that while koga, štom and otkako occur with a perfective non-past in some dialects, the current tendency and the literary norm is to use ke when these temporal adverbs occur with a perfective non-past; by analogy then, some speakers may use ke with dodeka and duri. Here it may be added that since dodeka is not native to speakers from western dialect areas (see p160), informants from that area vacillate in the use of ke with dodeka and duri. B. Koneski (personal communication) said that he would be uncertain in the use of dodeka with a perfective non-past.

The choice of ne or da is, in part, dependent on the presence of a negative particle in the main clause. When the verb in the main clause is negated, duri and dodeka must be followed by ne, e.g.:

352. Dodeka ne se vrati brat mi Paramon od Amerika, nema da se oddelime od tatko mi.
(Fotev, kartoteka)
Until my brother Paramon returns from America, we won't separate from my father.
*Dodeka da se vrati...nema da se oddelime.
353. Ne možam da ti kupam bunda dodeka ne gi isplatam dolgovite!
- Pa da, ti poveke gi sakaš pozajmuvacite otkolku mene!
(NM 29-IV-82-11)
I can't buy you a fur until I pay my bills!
Of course, you love your creditors more than me!
*Ne možam da ti kupam...dodeka da...

When the verb in the main clause is not negated, either ne or da can be used, e.g.:

354. Duri da/ne dojdeš, toj ke go ima pročitano vesnikot.
By the time you arrive, he will have read the newspaper.

The tendency is to avoid the negative particle if both clauses contain a perfective verb. Some informants rejected the use of ne in a sentence such as:

355. Duri da stasam, ke me fati nok.
*Duri ne stasam, ke me fati nok.
By the time I arrive, night will overtake me.

There are examples with ne, however, in which both clauses are perfective, e.g.:

356. Da gi odnese li čevlitate na popravka i da odi nekoi vreme bos, ili da prodolži vaka dodeka ne gi iskine.
(Janevski 1979:54)
Should he bring the shoes for repair and go around barefoot for a while, or should he continue like this until he wears them out.

Feleszko (1976:149) differentiates the use of da and ne on the basis of the fulfillment of the action in the main clause as follows: if the action in the main clause occurred in the past, or occurs iteratively and if the result is known to the speaker, the particle occurs with ne, e.g.:

357. Taka beše duri ne se vljubi eden den.
(Feleszko 1976:149)
That's how it was until he fell in love one day.
358. Sè dodeka ne slegoa na selskiot pat, Boško molčeše.
(Feleszko 1976:149)
Until they set off on the village road, Bosko was silent.

If the action in the main clause is still unfulfilled, however, or if it took place in the past but the speaker does not wish to inform his listener of the result, then duri and dodeka are conjoined with da, e.g.:

359. Babata čekaše duri da si legne toj.
(Feleszko 1976:149)

Grandmother waited until he lay down.

There are counterexamples and, therefore, this does not seem a satisfactory solution. For example, the above rules cannot explain the choice of the negative particle in sentences such as:

356. Da gi odnese li čevlite na popravka...ili da prodolži vaka dodeka ne gi iskine.
360. Matete go puterot, dodeka ne se dobie krem.
Mix the butter, until it turns to cream.

It may be concluded that the negative particle is used if the main clause is negative, but may also be used in some instances if the clause is positive. The use of da is limited to a clause not subordinated to a negated main clause. It is used more often than ne in sentences which contain a perfective verb in both clauses. It must be emphasized that these are only tendencies since there was no agreement among informants on the use of da or ne with duri and dodeka and further research is needed on the co-occurrence of these particles.

Turning to the difference between duri and dodeka, it appears that the original difference between these two forms was dialectal. This distinction is not mentioned as a dialect feature in the general studies on Macedonian dialectology (Vidoeski 1960, 1962). Informants from south and west central Macedonia did not consider dodeka native to their dialects but use it now due to its frequent use in the literary language. Dialect descriptions from that area mention only duri (see Groen 1977:204-205; Hendriks 1976:256; Stamatovski 1957:115) while studies of northern dialects mention both dodeka and duri (Vidoeski 1960:243). Informants from eastern Macedonia regularly used dodeka. It appears, then, that dodeka was used originally in the east and

north, while duri was used in the west and north. The current opposition between the particles is stylistic; dodeka has become more widespread and occurs more frequently in journalistic and formal prose, while duri is more colloquial (Minova-Gurkova, personal communication).

The particles duri and dodeka denote a temporal relationship between two clauses and, therefore, carry the basic meaning relational. These two particles, together with the conditional particles, may be separated from the pseudo-paradigmatic particles in that they are positively marked for subordination, i.e., these five particles are syntactically bound to a higher clause. The modality of duri and dodeka is closely connected to futurity and the two particles are modally marked only when they occur with a perfective non-past. In other contexts they are quantifiers, and modify ontologically real, indicative processes.

The particle duri is marked in relation to dodeka both stylistically, since it is considered more colloquial, and grammatically since it, unlike dodeka, cannot occur independently with a perfective non-past.

It will now be possible to give a complete distinctive feature matrix for the semantic categories of particles used in analytic modal constructions in Macedonian. This matrix will be presented in the concluding chapter where an explication of the completed matrix will be given.

¹ The emphatic particle duri 'even' is considered homonymous with the relational particle and will not be included here. Unlike the relational particle which is syntactically subordinated, and which may only modify a verb, the emphatic particle is syntactically independent and can modify any element in the sentence, e.g.:

- i. Duri i jas ne znam za toa.
Even I don't know about that.
- ii. Jas duri i ne znam za toa.
I don't even know about that.
- iii. Jas ne znam duri ni za toa.
I don't know about even that.

Further evidence for the existence of two homonymous particles is the fact that they are translated by different words in the Rečnik: the emphatic duri is translated by Serbian čak 'even', while the relational particle duri is translated by Serbian dok 'until'.

² No work has been devoted exclusively to the relational particles in Macedonian, Bulgarian, and Serbo-Croatian, but it appears that differences are mainly syntactic. Serbo-Croatian dok 'while, until' and Bulgarian dokato 'while, until' have essentially the same meaning as Macedonian dodeka and duri. Bulgarian dori which historically is the same as Macedonian duri, cannot be used modally. One other difference which may be noted is that in Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian there are no collocations equivalent to Macedonian dodeka da, duri da.

³ There is one context in which a perfective non-past may occur with

the negative particle ne, namely in colloquial speech in questions such as the following:

- i. Što ne staneš?
Well, aren't you going to stand up?
- ii. Što ne sedneš?
Well, aren't you going to sit down?
Wouldn't you like to sit down?

This type of example will be excluded since it is colloquial and the use of the perfective non-past is connected here with both negation and with interrogation. One could not say, for example:

- iii. *Što staneš?
- iv. *Ti ne staneš.

Chapter VIII

Conclusion

The modal system of Macedonian may now be summarized. In Macedonian the only morphologically marked modal opposition is imperative/non-imperative. All other types of modality are expressed by syntactic constructions composed of modal particle plus forms of the indicative. It is these modal constructions which have been the subject of this discussion of modality in Macedonian. On the basis of Aronson's category of manner, the set of modal particles in Macedonian has been defined as that set of modal words which can occur with forms of the perfective non-past. It has been demonstrated here that the particle bi must be included in this set despite the fact that its use is restricted to constructions with the sum series.

The use of modal particles in analytic modal constructions can be compared to the use of prepositions in English (or Macedonian): while prepositions are not in themselves markers of case, they fulfill in English (and Macedonian) the functions fulfilled by case in other languages. In the same way, the particles, while not themselves markers of mood, fulfill the function of conveying modal meaning, i.e., their lexico-syntactic properties modify the verbal categories of the indicative; it is this interaction of particle and verb by which ontologically unreal events are expressed. Macedonian analytic modality can be defined, then, as a system in which a set of nine modal

particles, distinguished on the basis of their ability to occur with forms of the perfective non-past, occur in syntactic constructions with indicative verb forms and carry modal meanings.

In the preceding chapters contexts have been shown in which the particles may act as qualifiers and contexts in which they may act as quantifiers. Future studies will be needed to integrate the modal and non-modal meanings of these particles. The goal of this work, however, has been to outline the system of syntactic modality by plotting a lexico-syntactic distinctive feature matrix, and establishing its hierarchical relationship to the particles. Thus, discussion will be limited to those contexts in which the particles function modally.

The completed distinctive feature matrix of the lexico-syntactic classification of the modal particles can now be drawn. In the diagram of the hierarchy, all of the modal invariant meanings of the particles have been included (see Tables on the following pages).

As can be seen from these tables, subordinate, conditional and status are the most important classifications for the modal system. The conditional particles ako, dokolku, and li and the relational particles dodeka and duri are separated from the non-subordinate, pseudo-paradigmatic particles da, ke, bi, and neka on the basis of their subordinate syntactic position. Unlike the pseudo-paradigmatic particles, the subordinate particles can only occur in subordination to a non-subordinate clause.

The subordinate particles are then differentiated by marking for condition. It was stated earlier that li, which has a basic meaning of interrogation, belongs functionally with ako and dokolku

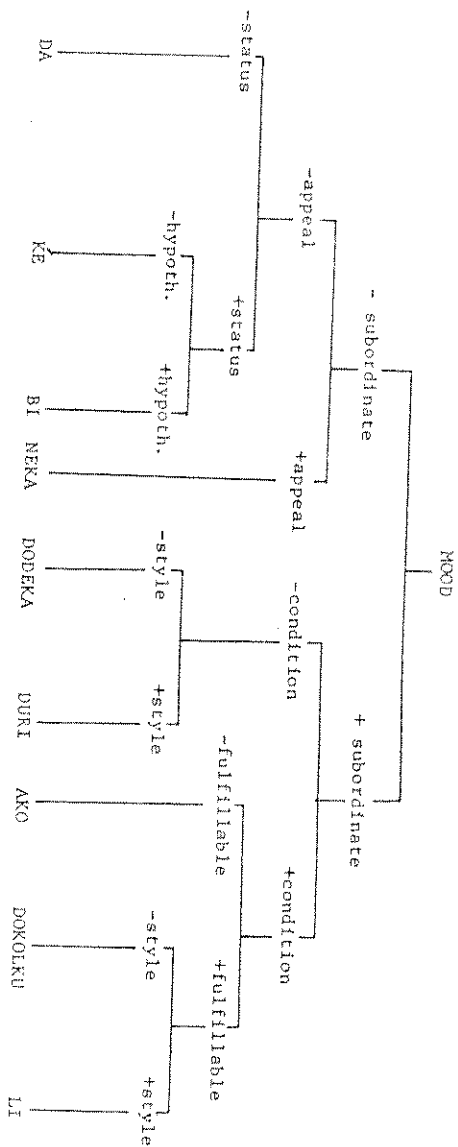


Figure 2. Diagram of the Distinctive Feature Matrix of the Modal Particles

Table 4
DISTINCTIVE FEATURE MATRIX
OF THE LEXICO-SYNTACTIC CLASSIFICATION OF MACEDONIAN MODAL PARTICLES

Lexico-syntactic classification	Particles							
	DA	NEKA	KE	BI	AKO	DOKOLKU	LI	DODEKA DURI
Subordinate	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
Appeal	-	+	-	-	0	0	0	0
Status	-	0	+	+	0	0	0	0
Hypothetical	0	0	-	+	0	0	0	0
Condition	0	0	0	0	+	+	+	-
Fulfillable	0	0	0	0	-	+	+	0
Style	0	0	0	0	0	-	+	+

within the modal system. Although other particles, namely the pseudo-paradigmatic particles da, ke, and bi have contextual variant meanings of condition, the three conditional particles have no other modal meaning.

The particles dokolku and li are separated from ako because, unlike the unmarked conditional particle, their use is restricted to fulfillable conditions. As noted earlier, however, the system is in a state of flux and dokolku is spreading to unfulfillable conditions. The two fulfillable conditional particles are distinguished on the basis of style.

While dokolku is still considered by some speakers to be limited to journalistic style, its use is becoming more usual in the literary language, while li is becoming more rare, and is considered stylistically marked as archaic or dialectal.

The relational particles duri and dodeka are unmarked for condition. The two particles have only one modal meaning: futurity. As demonstrated earlier, what was originally a dialectal opposition - duri used in the west and north, and dodeka used in the north and east - has become a stylistic difference in which duri is stylistically marked as more colloquial.

Whereas the subordinate particles have only one invariant modal meaning and no contextual variant meanings, the non-subordinate particles, with the exception of neka, have multiple contextual variant meanings. The contextual variant meanings of the non-subordinate particles may overlap with the basic meaning of the subordinate particles, which is drawn schematically in Figure 3.

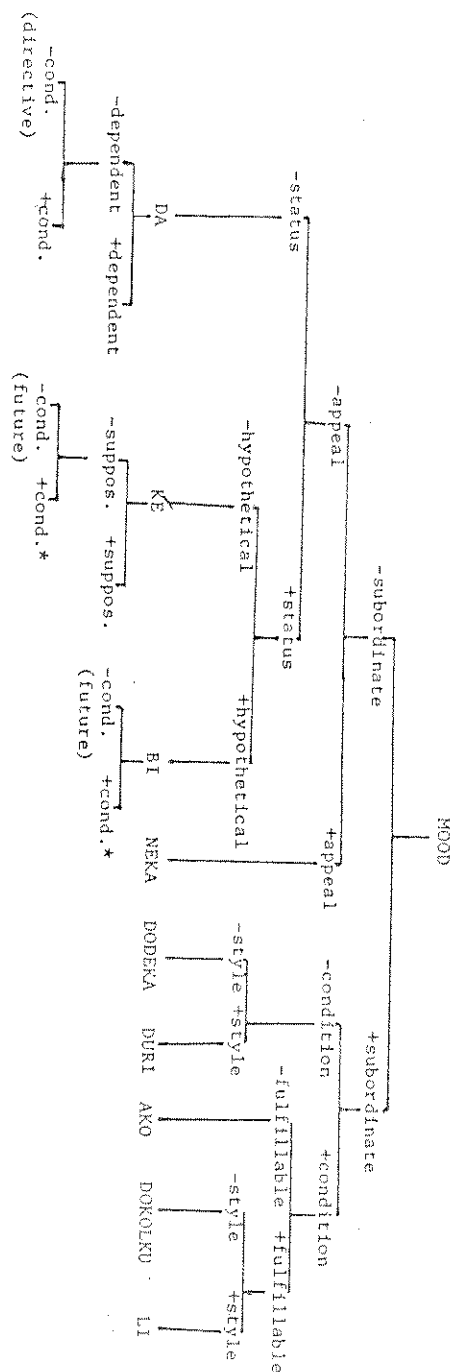


Figure 3. Diagram of the Distinctive Feature Matrix with Contextual Variant Meanings

The particle da is the unmarked particle in the modal system since, as has been demonstrated in chapter II, it has no single basic, invariant meaning and, in certain contexts, it may replace all of the other modal particles. Thus, the original optative and subjunctive particle merged and has spread to include other modal meanings.

The term status has been adopted to designate the opposition between ke and bi. The term is used here in the narrow sense of designating the speaker's view. Within this classification, bi is marked since it denotes the speaker's view that the action is hypothetical, i.e., the action is doubtful, unlikely, uncertain, or conjectural.

The particle neka is the most restricted particle since it may occur only with the first and third person. While it generally denotes a fulfillable directive, in rare instances when used with a past tense, it may denote an unfulfillable directive.

The modal system has been treated as a consistent whole, but those areas in the system which are in the process of change have also been examined. Areas have been cited in which the modal systems of Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian differ from that of Macedonian; while there are many similarities among them, the modal systems are not isomorphic. There is much work which can be done in comparing the modal systems of the Balkan languages.

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