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DA in Syntactically Dependent Constructions in the Macedonian Literary Language

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The particle *da* occurs in Macedonian in both syntactically dependent and independent functions. Independent *da* constructions can be defined as those constructions in which *da* occurs in clause initial position. These include:

1. optative sentences of the type:

Golem *da* porasneš!
May you grow big /and strong/
Da pukneš!
May you burst!

2. first and third person imperatives, e.g.:

Ajde, *da* rabotime zaedno!
Come on, let's work together!
Da dojde i toj!
Let him come, too!

3. Polite second-person imperatives, e.g.:

Da mi ja doneseš knjigata.
Please bring me the book.

4. Counterfactual wishes, e.g.:

Da znaev!
If only I had known!
Da sum na tvoj godini!
Oh, if only I were your age!

5. Conditional sentences, e.g.:

Da me viknea mene, *ke* pojdev.
If they had invited me, I would have gone.
Ah, *da* mu izleze popče pred oči, *ke* mu ja iskube
bradata.
Oh, if the priest appears before his eyes, he'll pluck out
his beard.

From the above examples it is clear that *da* is always markedly modal in its syntactically independent functions.

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.,

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počna da pee 'he began to sing,' *bez da znam* 'without my knowing.' In its dependent function, *da* is not modally marked since in these constructions, as we shall demonstrate, *da* can denote a quantifier or a qualifier depending on the lexical meaning of the governing word. In this paper we will focus on the dependent uses of *da* in Macedonian.

Studies of Macedonian (Lunt 1952; Koneski 1967; Kepeski 1975; Feleszko 1974) generally treat Macedonian *da* as a conjunction. Unlike Bulgarian linguists (e.g., Andrejčin 1944; Popov 1963; Stojanov 1977; Janakiev 1962; Genadieva-Mutafčieva 1962, 1972, 1976) 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., Feleszko 1974; Koneski 1967; Cvetkovski 1973; Kepeski 1975) have distinguished *da* clauses on the basis of the type of clause, e.g., intentional, objective, etc. We find this system unsatisfactory since it leads to the inclusion of both modal and non-modal clauses within the same category; for example, the three-volume Dictionary of the Macedonian Language (1979: I, 125) includes under the heading "objective clauses" *sakaše da zamine* 'he wanted to set off' which is modal, *počna da pee* 'he began to sing' which is aspectually inceptive, and *arno e da molčiš* 'it is good for you to be quiet' which may be interpreted either as aspectually iterative or as a type of condition, i.e., *arno e koga ke molčiš* 'it is good whenever you are quiet' or *arno e ako molčiš* 'it is good if you are 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.:

Stojčevski so prvot istrel uspeal *da* go pogodi
(perfective non-past) volkot.

Stojčevski managed to hit the wolf with his first shot.

On the basis of these facts we may conclude that dependent

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, we 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, compare, for example:

Modal uses:

- a. Desire:
Saka da odi.
He wants to go.
- b. Intention:
Misli da odi.
He's thinking of going.
- c. Necessity:
Mora da odi.
He must go.
- d. Indirect commands:
Kaži mu da odi.
Tell him to go.

Aspectual uses:

- a. Inchoative:
Počna da pee.
He began to sing.
- b. Durative:
Prodolžuva da pee.
He continues to sing.
- c. Conclusive:
Uspea da ja ispee pesnata.
He managed to sing through the song.

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.:

- *Mora deka odi.
- *He must that he go.
- *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.:

- Dobro e da znae mnogo jazici.
- It's good to know many languages.
- Dobro e deka znae mnogo jazici.
- It's good that he knows many languages.

Although we have seen that 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 unconjugated 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.:

- Treba.
- It's necessary.
- /You/ need to.
- Treba da odiš.
- It's 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* used independently has the meaning of obligation only when used with *da*, e.g.:

- Ima.
- He has /something/.
- There is/there are.
- */you/ must.
- 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 example *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.

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

Pogodiv, bez da znam.

I guessed without knowing it.

Vlegovme v selo ušte pred do ogee sonceto.

We entered the village before the sun shone.

Za da se najdeme koga ke se vratime, ovde ke gi ostavime prstenite.

In order to find our way when we return, we'll leave the rings here.

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

Ušte pred toj da vleze v kući...

Already before he entered the house...

The modal meaning of *da* is especially evident in subordination to prepositions when we consider the fact that verb forms are always modal after these compound prepositions and that *da* cannot be used with prepositions that denote the fulfillment of an action such as *so* 'with,' e.g.:

*Pogodiv, so da znam.

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

*Vlegovme, posle da ogee sonceto.

When *da* is used in subordination to *duri* 'until' and *dodeka* 'until' in sentences such as *Ke go čekame, duri da dojde* 'We'll wait for him until he gets here' and *Dodeka da poraste tvoeto, Gorgija moj ke go vodi* 'Until yours grows up, my Gorgija will lead him' (Maleski Kartoteka) we see a close relationship between mood and the perfective non-past since these two particles denote modal, 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 (cf. Goľab 1984:177).

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

Me primija kako svoj ve molkot seopšt, kako sekogaš da sum bil srede nego i kako sekogaš da ke ostanam.
(Casule Kartoteka)

They accepted me as their own in the general silence, as if I had always been by them, and as if I 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.:

Kako i da bilo, ovaa negova prikaska ne se pretstavuva kako skladna celost.

However it was, this story of his seemed to us as a consistent whole. (Koneski)

Koga da go vidam, se ke me zapre.

(Rečnik 1979:1, 336)

Kolku da e ubavo i kolku da e ramnodušen covek na vakva situacija ne može da ne se počustvuva učesnik vo edna glupa igra.

(Fotev 1970:80)

We have shown that *da* occurs in syntactically independent and syntactically dependent constructions. While it is clear that actions subordinated to *da* in independent constructions, including conditionals, optatives, counterfactual wishes, concessives, and imperatives are always modal, we have demonstrated that in dependent positions, the action subordinated to *da* can be either modal or aspectual. We have also demonstrated that the exact nature of mood or aspect is dependent on the lexical meaning of the governing word in the main clause.

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