

The Intersection of Mood and Status: Conditional Sentences in Macedonian

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The intersection of the categories of mood and status plays an important role in differentiating types of conditional sentences in Macedonian. Differences in conditional sentences are due not only to the distribution of various particles in both the protasis and the apodosis, the interrelationships between particle and verb form, but also to marking for both mood and status. The goals of this paper are threefold: one, to present a theoretical framework for analyzing conditional sentences in Macedonian, two, to demonstrate the role that the categories of *mood* and *status* play in distinguishing types of conditionals, and three, on the basis of the above, to indicate areas within the formation of conditional sentences that are in a state of flux and to suggest directions of future change.

Before beginning an analysis of conditional sentences in Macedonian and an examination of the role that the categories of mood and status play within this system, it will be necessary to define these last two terms. The exact nature of the category of *mood* has been the subject of much debate. The chief question is whether mood designates the speaker's view of, or attitude toward a narrated event and its participants, as proposed by JAKOBSON, VINOGRADOV and others, or whether mood designates the ontological, or objective reality of a narrated event, as suggested by GOLAB, KURYLOWICZ, ARONSON and others. ARONSON (1977) rejects Jakobson's definition of mood as a shifter designating the speaker's view with respect to the narrated event and its participants citing as evidence the fact that in a conditional sentence of the type *He would have gone had he had the time* there is no involvement of the speaker's view in relation to the narrated event. On the basis of Aronson's argument the term *mood* will be used here according to the definition proposed by GOLAB (1964), namely, mood is the grammatical category which expresses the ontological evaluation of an action. Markedly modal (i.e. non-indicative) forms are those which denote non-real processes. In other words, mood designates the *objective evaluation* of a given event.

Jakobson, basing his definition on Whorf's, defined the category of status as designating the logical quality of an event. The category of *status* is, in Jakobsonian terminology, a non-shifter characterizing the narrated event itself without involving its participants and without reference to the speech event. Jakobson includes in this category such diverse elements as the English assertive with *do*, e.g. *He does speak Macedonian*, and interrogation and negation. I will not enter into the question of interrogation and negation here since their meanings appear to intersect several different categories and thus go beyond the scope of the pres-

ent discussion of modality. Aronson, discussing Jakobson's category of status points out that the sentences *It rains in April* and *It does rain in April* are both statements of objective reality, i.e. they are both indicative. The second statement differs from the first in that the speaker has given a personal assertion of the validity of the statement. As Aronson concludes, whereas mood can be considered a non-shifter which gives the *objective* evaluation of an action without reference to the speaker's view, the category of status is a shifter and may be interpreted as the category which gives the speaker's *subjective* evaluation of a narrated event.

The two categories in question then, *mood* and *status* are distinct categories which provide respectively the objective and subjective evaluation of an action. This distinction has not been maintained in most analyses of mood since, as FRIEDMAN (personal communication) stated, they both involve evaluation. A sentence can be marked for mood and not status, e.g. conditionals of the type mentioned above: *He would have gone had he had the time*, Macedonian: *Ke odeše da imaše vreme* as well as future statements such as *I will be in Ohrid this summer*, Macedonian: *Ke bidam vo Ohrid letovo*.

Conversely, statements can be marked for status and not mood, for example the English assertive cited above. Compare also Friedman's category of confirmative vs. non-confirmative status in Bulgarian and Macedonian, e.g. Macedonian: *dojde* 'He came' gives the speaker's personal confirmation of the truth of the event whereas the non-confirmative *došol* 'he came', while indicative, does not specify the speaker's confirmation.

There are also sentences which are doubly marked for both mood and status. In previous studies on mood there has been a tendency to blur these categories or to apply them narrowly. GOLAB (1964), for example, notes that some modal sentences express both non-reality and volition. He contrasts the optative with potential and conditional sentences. PALMER (1986) in his work on modality, recognizing that conditionals of the type *If you were to come I would give you money* are somehow more marked than conditionals of the type *If you come I will give you money* concludes that the former type is marked for mood. If we keep in mind the distinction between mood and status we can conclude that there are certain modal constructions which carry additional marking for status, e.g. optatives which express volition, e.g. *Da bi došol!* 'If only he would come!' and conditional sentences of the type *da dojde toj, jas bi mu gi dal parite* 'If he were to come I would give him the money,' which express not only a future action dependent on the completion of some other action, but which also express the speaker's doubt that the action will be completed.

Traditional studies of Macedonian conditionals either simply list all possible conditional particles, as in BLAŽE KONESKI's grammar (1967), with no attempt to address the problem of the distribution and meaning of these particles, or they follow the classical subdivision of conditions into a tripartite system of real, unreal and hypothetical conditions.¹ Typical of this type of analysis are the studies by MIŠIĆ (1975) and KEPESKI (1975) who state that *real* conditions express a condition which must be fulfilled in the present or future, e.g.:

¹ For more detail on Macedonian conditional sentences and their treatment in traditional studies see KRAMER 1986.

Ako učiš marljivo, ke go svršiš učilišteto.
If you study diligently, you will finish school.
(Mišić 1975:8)

While there exist no hindrances for the fulfillment of the condition, the speaker leaves open the possibility that the condition may not be fulfilled.

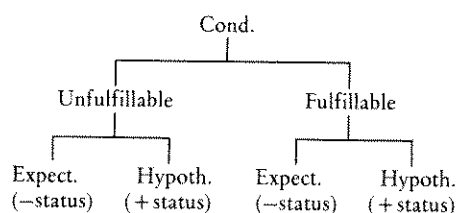
Hypothetical conditions express doubt about the fulfillment of a non-past condition, e.g.

Koga bi učel, bi go svršil učilišteto.
If you would/were to study you would finish school.
(Mišić 1975:8)

and finally *Irreal* conditions express a supposition of what would have happened had the condition been fulfilled, e.g.

Da učeše marljivo, ke go svršеше učilišteto.
If you had studied diligently, you would have finished school.
(Mišić 1975:8)

I propose a different analysis of Macedonian conditionals, one which will capture the relationship which exists between fulfillable conditions, i.e. those conditions whose fulfillment is possible at the moment of speech and unfulfillable conditions, i.e. conditions whose fulfillment is no longer possible at the moment of speech as well as the relationship which exists between expectative conditions, i.e. conditions whose fulfillment is or was projected as fulfillable in the past, present or future and hypothetical conditions, i.e. those conditions which are marked for status, which express the speaker's view that the action is doubtful, unlikely, uncertain or conjectural. This system is based on a binary opposition between fulfillable and unfulfillable conditions and within each of these two categories a binary opposition between those conditions marked for status (hypothetical conditions) and those not so marked (expectative conditions). This outline is presented in the diagram below:



Throughout this paper the terms *expectative*, *hypothetical*, *fulfillable* and *unfulfillable* will be used as follows:

1. Unfulfillable expectative conditions are those conditions which should have or could have been fulfilled at some point in the past but which were not fulfilled. These are what have been termed *irreal* in traditional studies, e.g.

Da me viknea mene, ke pojdev.
(Arsovski, Kartoteka)
If they had called me, I would have come.²

Da ni beše kolipkata na drugo mesto, može bi i životot ke beše poinakov.
(SHOLOKHOV 1970:10)
If our cottage had been in a different place, perhaps life would have turned out differently.

2. Unfulfillable hypothetical conditions are those in which a condition is expressed which the speaker views as unfulfillable at the moment of speech. These conditions always have present tense reference, but they may be formed with either an imperfective present or an imperfective imperfect, e.g.

Da znam/znaev nekoj drug zbor, ke go rečev nego.
(Arsovski, cited in K. KONESKI 1979:251)
If I know/knew some other word, I would say it.

Da sum/bev vo tvoeto mesto, nešto drugo bi rekla.
If I am/were in your place, I would say something else.

3. Fulfillable expectative conditions are those in which a condition is expressed as a future possibility. No doubt is expressed that the condition may not be fulfilled, e.g.

Ah da mu izleze popče pred oči, ke mu ja iskube bradata.
(K. KONESKI 1979:86)
Oh if the priest gets in sight of him, he's going to tear out his beard.

Zabite ke vi gi iskršam, ako ne go izberete Baj Ganjo.
(KONSTANTINOV 1967:115)
I'll smash your teeth in if you don't vote for Baj Ganjo.

4. Finally, fulfillable, hypothetical conditions are those in which a condition is conceivably fulfillable, but which the speaker presents as doubtful, unlikely, or hypothetical. These conditions, like unfulfillable hypothetical conditions, are marked for status. They give the speaker's view that the future condition, while possibly fulfillable, will most likely remain unfulfilled, e.g.

Grandissimo maestro Verdi! Ti nemaš, ti ne možeš da imaš neprijatelji! No ako, pokraj očekuvanjeto, bi se javil nekoj izrod, toj ke bide samiot Satana.
(KONSTANTINOV 1967:73)
Great maestro Verdi! You don't have, you can't have enemies! But if unexpectedly some sort of monster were to appear, it would be Satan himself!

In examining linguistic data one always hopes for a perfectly symmetrical system in which there are no exceptions and in which any deviations can be neatly accounted for. This hope is particularly a tall order when discussing Macedonian

² The term Kartoteka 'file' designates examples taken from the files of the Institute for the Macedonian Language in Skopje, Yugoslavia. Examples with no citation were either provided by, or checked with, native informants.

conditionals.³ The literary language was not codified until 1944, consequently some facets of the grammar, particularly in modal categories, are in a state of flux. This is due in part to the growing influence of the northern dialect of the capital Skopje, which is located outside of the western dialect area on which the literary language is based, and, more importantly to the omnipresent influence of Serbo-Croatian, due to the important role that language plays in Yugoslav political, social, educational and cultural life.⁴ Because of these influences the use of certain conditional constructions is changing but it is too early to define precisely the scope of this change. As stated at the beginning of this paper, two of the goals of this study are to indicate areas of change within the formation of conditional sentences and to demonstrate how the categories of *mood* and *status* will direct the course of that change. To accomplish these goals, we must look at the formation of conditional sentences in more detail.

At present, four different modal particles are used in the protasis, i.e. the *if* clause of a conditional clause, namely *da*, *ako*, *dokolku* and *li*. In some contexts *koga bi* may also be used to express 'if'. In the apodosis, i.e. the *then* clause, two particles occur, *ke* 'will' and *bi* 'would'. The particles *dokolku* and *li* are generally restricted to the protasis of fulfillable conditions. The use of *li* in the literary language is limited. Informants ranging from first year university students, to members of the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and the Institute for the Macedonian Language consider its use archaic or dialectal. Examples can be found in the literature, but it is clear that the use of *li* as an independent conditional particle is disappearing in sentences such as:

Puknat li, prvot kuršum može da te pogodi.

(MALESKI 1958:119)

If they shoot, the first bullet could hit you.

While the role of *li* is becoming more limited and marginal in the literary language the use of *dokolku* is becoming ever more frequent. The Macedonian conditional use of *dokolku* is a calque on the Serbian-Croatian *ukoliko*. Its use as an independent modal particle is so recent that *dokolku* is not included in the three-volume dictionary of Macedonian with a conditional meaning, nor has its use been examined in many of the Macedonian studies on conditional sentences. However, *dokolku* is gaining acceptance in the literary language, particularly in journalistic prose. While many informants reject the use of *dokolku*, considering it as abhorant as some educated speakers of English consider *to impact*, *to interface* or *to bottom line*, it would at present be difficult if not impossible to find a recent issue of the Macedonian daily newspaper *Nova Makedonija* which did not contain examples such as the following:

³ Also, the Skopje dialect is in a zone whose dialects are transitional to South Serbian dialects.

⁴ ARONSON (personal communication) notes that modal systems seem to be subject to variation in a number of languages, so this fluctuation in Macedonian is not unusual. Bulgarian, like Macedonian, has numerous methods of forming conditional sentences. Note, too, differences in English modal constructions. Compare, for example, standard English: If he were to come, I might be able to go, with the double modal constructions which occur in many southern U.S. dialects: If he were to come / if he comes, I might could go.

Britanskiot minister za nadvorešni raboti Frensis Pim izjave deka Velika Britanija ke prodolži da se zalaga za miroljubiva rešenje na foklandskata kriza, no dokolku propadnat site diplomatski napori, verojatno ke se obide ostrovite da gi vrati so sila.

(VEČER NEDELA 3-V-82, p.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.

V sabota, planinarskite organizacii ... organiziraat ednodneven izlet vo Mavrovo. Cenata za ovoj izlet iznesuva 180 dinari ... no dokolku se prijavat pogolem broj zainteresirani, cenata može da bide i pomala.

(NOVA MAKEDONIJA 20-V-82, p.120)

On Saturday the mountaineering organizations ... are organizing a one day outing to Mavrovo. The cost of the outing is 180 dinars, but if there is a greater number of interested parties the price may be lower.

The use of *dokolku* is spreading to the protasis of unfulfillable expectative conditions as well in sentences such as:

Dokolku ne bevme xendikepirani ... veruvam deka dosega "keramika" ke se natprevaruvaše vo povisok rang.

(K. KONESKI 1979:253)

If we had not been handicapped ... I'm sure that (the team) *keramika* would have competed at a higher level before now.

The conditional particle *ako* is unmarked with respect to *dokolku* and *li* since it occurs in both fulfillable and unfulfillable conditions without any stylistic marking, e.g.

Unfulfillable:

I ako prodolžeše taka za desetina godini, Dobridol ke broeše petstotini kući.

(Fotev, cited in K. KONESKI 1979:230)

If it had continued like that for ten years, Dobridol would have numbered five hundred houses.

Fulfillable:

Ako usta otvoriš, so ovoj jazikot ke ti go presečam.

(K. KONESKI 1979:76)

If you open your mouth, I'll cut out your tongue with this.

The only restriction on the use of *ako* is in the protasis of an unfulfillable, hypothetical condition where *da* must be used. As we shall see, restrictions on the interchange of particles is closely tied to those contexts in which there can be a marked status opposition.

While *da* is used most frequently in unfulfillable conditions, it does occur in all four types, e.g.:

Unfulfillable expectative:

A da znaev, *ke* se vrteve mnogu pobrzu.
But if I had known, I would have returned much sooner.

Unfulfillable hypothetical:

Da znam deka e sè popusto, ... ne bi se zasolnil nikogaš pred toa vistinsko mačenje.

(ŠOPOV, KARTOTEKA)

If I knew that everything were in vain, I would never hide from this real torture.

Fulfillable expectative:

Ah da mu izleze popče pred oči, *ke* mu ja iskube bradata.
Oh if the priest gets in sight of him, he's going to tear out his beard.

Fulfillable hypothetical:

Da dojdeš utre, bi ti gi dal parite.
If you were to come tomorrow, I would give you the money.

In general we may conclude that the choice of particle in the protasis is based on stylistic considerations, with one important exception. Namely, only *da* may be used in the protasis of an unfulfillable hypothetical condition. The only context in conditional sentences in which the two most common conditional particles, *ako* and *da* can be contrasted is in this type of condition. Note the following distinction:

Da sakam, za guša *ke* se fatat.
(B. Koneski, cited in MINOVA-GURKOVA 1969:17)
If I wanted (but I don't) they'd have a showdown.

Ako sakam, ...
If I want (and I just might) ...

It is worth noting here that the underlying irreality of *da* versus the reality of *ako* is evident if we look at their use outside of a conditional, e.g. compare:

Ako rekov ... vs Da rekov ...

The former will be understood as a concessive, indicative: Even if I *did* say it (and I did) vs If I said it / if only I had said it (but I didn't).

HAUSMANN⁵, writing on hypothetical conditions, concludes that *bi* cannot carry meaning for both unfulfillableness and hypotheticalness. In a sentence such as:

Da sum/da bev ptica, bi letnal rano v utroto belo.
If I were a bird I would fly early into the morning white.

substitution of the particle in the protasis is impossible without changing the meaning, i.e. *Ako bev ptica* ... would change the condition to an unfulfillable expectative condition: If I had been a bird ...

⁵ I have been unable to obtain HAUSMANN's work and I have had to rely on the lengthy citations of that work which appear in GOLJAB (1964a).

In the protasis, then, it is in contexts where there can be a status opposition that we see a limitation on particle choice. We will see a similar phenomenon when we turn to the choice of particle in the apodosis. Here our concern is the difference between *ke*, the marker of expectation, and *bi*, the marker of hypotheticalness. I will demonstrate that here, too, the crucial opposition is in fulfillable conditions where a clear status opposition is maintained. I will demonstrate that the opposition between *ke* and *bi* is neutralized in unfulfillable conditions and that it is precisely in this environment where the most change is evident in the Macedonian conditional system, a change in which the traditional construction with *ke* plus a perfective imperfect, the so-called Balkan conditional is giving way to constructions with *bi* plus the L-participle on the Serbo-Croatian modal.

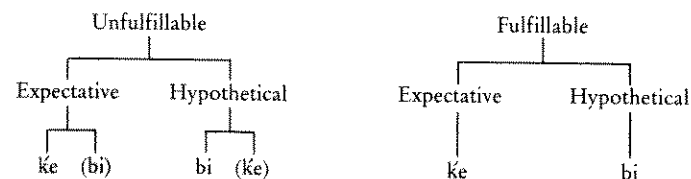
The particle *bi* is marked for both mood and status. Actions subordinated to *bi* express the speaker's view that the action is doubtful, unlikely, uncertain or conjectural. *Ke*, the marker of expectation, is unmarked with respect to *status* since expectation can be regarded as neutral with respect to speaker's view. It is this very neutrality which has led many people, who consider mood a subjective category, to consider the future to be a temporal rather than a modal category.

Let us look in more detail at the opposition between hypotheticalness and expectation. As stated above, the particle *bi* is used to denote actions which were or are possible, or desirable, but which cannot be fulfilled. Unlike actions subordinated to the particle *ke*, which are presented as expected, projected events, the choice of *bi* indicates the speaker's view that the action, while possible, is less likely to occur. This opposition is clear if the uses of *bi* and *ke* are compared in an independent, non-conditional context, e.g.:

Sigurna sum, deka *ke* dojde.
I am sure that he will come.
?Sigurna sum, deka *bi* došol ...

The second sentence is possible only if it is followed by some stated or understood condition, e.g. *Sigurna sum deka bi došol, ako bi imal vreme*. I'm sure that he would come if he had the time.

The diagram below shows the types of conditions in which *ke* and *bi* occur. The parentheses mark area of vacillation in particle choice:



The questions arise: First, why is a status opposition possible only in non-past conditions? Second, how can this data be used to predict directions of change in the Macedonian literary language?

Unfulfillable expectative conditions, again, are those conditions which could have been, but which were not fulfilled in the past. Past conditions are not marked for status since the degree of possibility that the condition be fulfilled is moot. Consequently, the speaker does not need to express doubt; it is already known that the condition was not fulfilled. There is, then, a neutralization of the opposition between expectation and doubt. Compare the English sentences below:

- A: If you call me I will come.
 B: If you were to call me, I would come.
 C: If you had called me, I would have come.

The past condition neutralizes the opposition between sentences A and B. We see this same neutralization in Macedonian:⁶

- A: Ako mi se javite, *ke* dojdám.
 B: Ako mi se javite, *bi* došla.
 C: Ako mi se javíte, *ke* dojdev.

Since there is no possibility of a status opposition in the past tense, the historic opposition between *bi* and *ke* is lost in this environment. Historically Macedonian has used *ke* plus a perfective imperfect in the apodosis of unfulfillable expectative conditions. The particle *bi* was restricted to its hypothetical use. Now, however, on the basis of Serbo-Croatian sentences such as the unfulfillable expectative condition:

- Da nisam bio zauzet, došao bih.
 If I hadn't been busy, I would have come.

where Macedonian would traditionally have used *ke*, i.e.:

- Da ne bev zafaten, *ke* dojdev.

the particle *bi* is becoming increasingly more common, i.e.:

- Da ne bev zafaten, *bi* došla.

Since *bi* and *ke* cannot be contrasted in this environment, differences between them have become stylistic. Currently, there is a tendency to use *bi* in more formal language, much to the dismay of Macedonian prescriptive grammarians, while *ke*

⁶ It is interesting to note the slightly different correspondence in Russian conditionals. In that system the major opposition is between hypothetical and expectative conditions. While both English and Macedonian can maintain an opposition between fulfillable hypothetical conditions (B) and unfulfillable expectative conditions (C), this is not possible in Russian since conditions B and C coalesce. Compare the following:

- A. Esli mne pozvoniš, ja pridú.
 B. Esli by mne pozvonil, ja by prišla.
 C. Esli by mne pozvonil (včera), ja by prišla.

Future work will explore these relationships in further detail; what is of interest here is that in both cases, the English and Macedonian modal shown above and the Russian modal shown here, a status opposition is possible only in non-past conditions.

is developing a colloquial nuance. Sentences such as the following are quite common in the Macedonian press:⁷

Sekako zlostorstvoto *bi imalo* mnogu pomalku žrtvi ako pripadnicite na lokalnata policija uspeaja da go fatat.
 (NOVA MAKEDONIJA 28-IV-82, p.7)

Of course the crime would have had many fewer victims if members of the local police force had succeeded in catching him.

When discussing the selection of particle in the protasis I have suggested that, with the exception of *li*, which is considered archaic by current speakers of the literary language, *da*, *ako* and *dokolku* can occur in both fulfillable and unfulfillable conditions. It is true that *dokolku* is stylistically marked, particularly in past conditions, but since status is not marked in the past, there are no impediments for the spread of *dokolku*. In unfulfillable hypothetical conditions, however, particle choice in the protasis is fixed. *Dokolku* cannot spread to this environment since, as we saw above, *da* is mandatory. In the apodosis of unfulfillable hypothetical conditions there is some vacillation since *da* plus imperfect non-past already marks the type of condition in the protasis; either *ke* or *bi* may be used, though *bi* is more common. While *bi* is encroaching on *ke* in unfulfillable expectative conditions for the reasons cited above, in unfulfillable, hypothetical conditions, *ke* is encroaching on *bi*. We see both possibilities in the apodosis in the following examples:

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.

Da znam deka e sè popusto, deka nema ni smisla ni značenje, ne bi se zasolnil nikogaš pred toa vistinsko mačenje.

If I knew that everything were in vain, that there is neither sense nor meaning, I would never hide from this real torture.

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

It is clear that in unfulfillable conditional sentences *ke* and *bi* are in variation, but for different reasons. In unfulfillable expectative conditions it is because of a lack of a distinction in meaning, in unfulfillable hypotheticals it is because hypotheticalness does not need to be marked in both the protasis and apodosis. The fixed use of *da* permits some interchange in the apodosis.

⁷ The reader may wonder why I place the onus for so much language change on the journalists. The unfortunate reality, for those who wish to expunge all so-called Serbisms from the language, is that much of the material which appears in the Macedonian press is translated from Serbo-Croatian. In addition, although this is becoming less frequent, many works of western literature were translated first into Serbo-Croatian and then from it into Macedonian. There are enough similarities between the languages that it takes a very careful translator to distinguish between their established norms.

When we turn to fulfillable conditions we see a clear opposition between expectative conditions with *ke* and hypothetical conditions with *bi*; in fulfillable conditions, then, no exchange of particles is possible without changing modal meaning. Fulfillable, hypothetical conditions may be formed in the following ways:

koga + bi ---- bi

(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?

(NOVA MAKEDONIJA 30-X-81, p. 20)

Well, young man, if you were to work in an office, would you be able to see this?

ako + bi ---- bi

Bi mogle kaj nas da se najdat ušte mnogu primeri, ako bi pobaral čovek.

(GOŁAB 1964b: 19)

Many other examples could be found among us if one sought them.

da + ---- bi

Toj duri sega možeš da se seti što bi značelo za nego da ja ima pri sebe nej-zinata slika.

(B. KONESKI, KARTOTEKA)

Even now he could feel what it would mean to him if he had her picture with him.

ako + ---- bi

Jane najde edno mesto što posebno i se dopagaše, i što reče taa, ako ne doaga nikoj ... bi moželo da bide naše.

Jane found a place which especially pleased her and which, she said, if noone were to come, it would be ours.

As stated above vis-à-vis unfulfillable hypothetical conditions, hypotheticalness needs to be expressed in only one clause. Its expression in both clauses as in the first two sentences above, and as in Russian, is not mandatory. If the protasis contains *bi* the hypotheticalness has already been expressed and there may then be free exchange with *ke* in the apodosis. If the apodosis contains *bi*, then any modal particle may appear in the protasis. For this reason, *dokolku* is also beginning to appear in this environment, though examples such as the following are still rare:

Amundsen prvo reši da izvrši proben let od Spicberg do Severniot pol, pa dokolku toj let se završi uspešno, togaš bi organiziral transarktičko preletuvanje. (NOVA MAKEDONIJA 20-V-82, p. 12)

Amundsen first decided to complete a test flight from Spitsbergen to the North Pole, and if the flight were completed successfully, then he would organize a transarctic crossing.

Fulfillable expectative conditions always have *ke* in the apodosis, but, as we have seen above, *ako*, *da*, *dokolku* and *li* can all occur in the protasis. A summary of the usual correspondences between protasis and apodosis are given in the table below:

TABLE ONE

UNFULFILLABLE HYPOTHETICAL		UNFULFILLABLE EXPECTATIVE	
Protasis	Apodosis	Protasis	Apodosis
da	bi/ke	ako	ke/bi
		da	
		(dokolku)	
FULFILLABLE HYPOTHETICAL		FULFILLABLE EXPECTATIVE	
Protasis	Apodosis	Protasis	Apodosis
da		ako	
ako	bi	da	ke
(dokolku)		dokolku	
-----		li	
koga bi	bi/ke		
ako bi			

Certain changes are occurring in the construction of conditional sentences in Macedonian, the types of changes are summarized in table one: in the apodosis of unfulfillable conditions speakers vacillate between *ke* and *bi*, while in the protasis the use of *da* is mandatory in unfulfillable hypothetical conditions. In unfulfillable expectative conditions, which are not marked for status, vacillation in particle choice occurs in both clauses. I have included *dokolku* here in parentheses because I predict that its use will continue to spread in past contexts.

In fulfillable conditions the use of *ke* and *bi* is fairly rigid. The only variation possible is the use of *ke* in the apodosis of a fulfillable hypothetical condition in which *bi* occurs in the protasis. Here, too, I have included *dokolku*. *Li* will most likely not spread to fulfillable hypothetical conditions since it is rapidly disappearing as an independent particle. Its use, therefore, will remain limited to fulfillable expectative conditions.

The only fixed positions for particles are those contexts in which status must be marked. Where this opposition is not marked, different particles spread to those contexts taking on, perhaps, stylistic colouring.

One final question should perhaps be posed. If within the conditional system of Macedonian *da* and *bi* are the markers of hypothetical status, do they occur in other modal contexts which are marked for mood and status? Gołab, while not overtly discussing double marking or the category of status, does suggest that within the modal system it is the optative which carries additional marking for speaker's volition. If we look at the formation of optatives and counterfactual wishes, i.e. 'if only ...' clauses, we discover that here, too, it is the particles *da* and *bi* which occur, e.g.:

Da mi e sega Elena mesto tebe!

(B. KONESKI, KARTOTEKA)

If only it were Elena now instead of you.

Da znaev!

If only I had known!

Kuršum da te udril!

May a bullet strike you!

Bi si rešil!

You should have / if only you had decided!

Whether the category of mood is a subjective or objective evaluation of an action has been argued by many linguists. The question arises because some modal constructions are doubly marked for both irreality and speaker's view. It is important that the categories of mood and status be kept separate since as we have demonstrated, differences between modal constructions rest on the existence of a separate category of status. Further work on the intersection of mood and status in Macedonian will have to take into account the use of *da* and *bi* in optatives and counterfactual wishes as in the examples just cited. For the present, it is clear that *bi* the most restricted modal particle in Macedonian, carries marking for both mood and status. The particle *da*, the least restricted, unmarked modal particle in the Macedonian modal system, can carry all types of modal meaning, e.g. optative, commands, conditionals, etc. so it is not surprising to find it used to convey hypothetical meaning as well.

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