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* porasnes!
   May you grow big /and strong/!
   *Da* paknes!
   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 mи* ja donosesk knigata.
   Please bring me the book.

4. Counterfactual wishes, e.g.:
   *Da* zaev!
   If only I had known!
   *Da* sum na tvoj godin!
   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.
   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.:

*poēna da pec* ‘he began to sing,’ *bez da* *man* ‘without my knowing.’ In its dependent function, *da* is not modally marked since 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; Kepeški 1975; Feleško 1974) generally treat Macedonian *da* as a conjunction. Unlike Bulgarian linguists (e.g., Andrejkij 1944; Popov 1963; Stojanov 1977; Janakiev 1982; Genadijev–Mutačileva 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., Feleško 1974; Koneski 1967; Cvetkovski 1973; Kepeški 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” sakoše *da* *zamine* ‘he wanted to set off’ which is modal, *poēna da pec* ‘he began to sing’ which is aspectually imperative, and *arno e* *da* molēsi ‘it is good for you to be quiet’ which may be interpreted either as aspectually imperative or as a type of condition, i.e., *arno e* *koga ke* molēsi ‘it is good whenever you are quiet’ or *arno e* *ako* molēsi ‘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.:

Stoječevski so prviot istrel uspeal da go pogodi (perfective non-past) volkot.
Stoječevski 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 marked as 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:
   Kazi mu da odi.
   Tell him to go.

Aspectual uses:

a. Inchoative:
   Pocina da pee.
   He began to sing.

b. Durative:
   Prodotisvna da pee.
   He continues to sing.

c. Conclusive:
   Uspeva da ja ispepjesnata.
   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 nades '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 odi.
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 odi.
You will/must go.

Lunt (1952:63) 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 ima da ja rjesi 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 odi 'You will/must go' but ima (pričina) da odi 'You have (a reason) to go.' Therefore, the conjugated form of ima can also be treated lexically.
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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 bi lo, ovaa negova prikasa ne se prestavuva kako skladna celost.
However it was, this story of his seemed to us as a consistent whole. (Koneski)
Koga da go vidam, sè ke me zapre.
(Rećnik 1979:1, 336)
Kolku da e ubavo i kolku da e ramnugusen covek na vakva situacija ne može da ne se počustuvuva 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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