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, Kurkowicz, 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 evidence 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 negation and negation here since their meanings appear to intersect several different categories and thus go beyond the scope of the present 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 oda te da tma te riene as well as future statements such as I will be in Ohrid this summer. Macedonian: Ke bidam te Ohrid letosko.

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: dojdte ‘He came’ gives the speaker’s personal confirmation of the truth of the event whereas the non-confirmative doshe ‘he came’, while indicative, does not specify the speaker’s confirmation.

There are also sentences which are doubtfully 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 došel ‘If only he would come!’ and conditional sentences of the type da dojde toj, jas bi mi gi dal para ‘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 simply list all possible conditional particles, as in Blaž 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. Typical of this type of analysis are the studies by Miše (1975) and Kepski (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.
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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.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cond.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unfulfillable</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fulfillable</td>
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<tr>
<td>Expect.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hypoth.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(+status)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(−status)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(+status)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(−status)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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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.

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. 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. 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 kogari may also be used to express if. In the apodosis, i.e. the then clause, two particles occur, ke 'will' and bri '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:

Paknati li, pivoot karijum moze da te pogodi.
(Malesej 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 be top, center or 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 Aslo, the Skopje dialect is in a zone whose dialects are transitional to South Serbian dialects.

4 Anikson (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.

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Britanskiot minister za ndvoreski raboti Fresni Pim izjave deka Velika Britanija ke prodolzi da se zalaga za miroljubiva rešenje na lokajndskata kriza, no dokolku propadnut site diplomatiski napori, verojato ke se obide ostevite da je vrati so slat.

(Večeře 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, planinarske organizacii ... organizirat ednoddnevno izlet vo Mavrovo. Cenata za ovoj izlet iznesuva 180 dinari ... no dokolku se prijavat pogolem broj zainteresirani, cenata moze 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 bevre xendikepirani ... venzvan deka dosegka "keramika" ke se natprevaruvave 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 prodolže taka za desetina godini, Dobridol ke broeš pesototini kući.
(Fotev, cited in K. Koneski 1979:230)
If it had continued like that for ten years, Dobridol would have numbered 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 expective:
A da znaev, ke se vratel mnogu pobrzu.
But if I had known, I would have returned much sooner.

Unfulfillable hypothetical:
Da znam deka s popustu, ... ne bi se zaolnil nikogaš pred toa vistinsko mačenje.
(Šopov, Kartoteka)
If I knew that everything were in vain, I would never hide from this real torture.

Fulfillable expective:
Ah da mu izleze popče pred oči, ke mu ja iskuje hradata.
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 goša ke se fatat.
(B. Konečki, 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).

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

Da sum/da bev ptica, bi letel na z utrosto 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 ...

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 Gokić (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 I-particle 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.:

Sigruma sum, deka ke dojde.
I am sure that he will come.

?Sigruma sum, deka bi došol ...

The second sentence is possible only if it is followed by some stated or understood condition, e.g. Sigruma 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 oscillation in particle choice:

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Unfulfillable                                Fulfillable
                        Expectative                Hypothetical
                          ke                     (bi)            bi                     (ke)
                          ke                     bi
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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:

A: Ako mi se javite, ke dojdam.
B: Ako mi se javite, bi doшла.
C: Ako mi se javite, 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 zasafet, ke dojdev.

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

Da ne bev zasafet, bi doшла.

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 grammararians, while ke is developing a colloquial nuance. Sentences such as the following are quite common in the Macedonian press:

Sekako zlostovstvoto bi imalo mnogo pomalu žrtvi ako pripadnice na lokalnata policija uspesa 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 bi, 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 vasillation 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 i rasturi 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 se popusto, deka nema ni smisla ni značenje, ne bi se zasol-nil 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, pomisti, 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 hypothetcalness does not need to be marked in both the protasis and apodosis. The fixed use of da permits some interchange in the apodosis.

* The reader may wonder why I place the ones 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:

\[ koga \rightarrow bi \]

(cartoon which depicts two men working under the street looking up through the manhole and peeking under women’s skirts)

Momča, koga bi rabotel v kancelarija, zar bi možel da go vidis 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?

\[ ako \rightarrow bi \]

Bi mogle kaj nas da se najdi ustne mnogo primeri. 

(Šol. 1964b: 19)

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

\[ da \rightarrow bi \]

Tej duri sega možže da se seti čto bi značelo za nego da ja ima pri sebe nežinata slika.

(B. Koneski, Karto) 

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

\[ ako \rightarrow bi \]

Jane najde eno mesto čto posebno i se dopaže, i čto reče taz, aco ne doža nikaj ... bi moželo da bide naše.

Jane found a place which especially pleased her and which, she said, if none 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 proboj let od Spibergh do Severnog pol, pa dokolku toj let se završi uspešno, toga bi organiziral transarktiko preletovanje. (Nova Makedonija 25-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 bi can all occur in the protasis. A summary of the usual correspondences between protasis and apodosis are given in the table below:

**TABLE ONE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fulfillable Hypothetical</th>
<th>Unfulfillable Expectative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Protasis</strong></td>
<td><strong>Apodosis</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da</td>
<td>bi/ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(dokolku)</td>
<td>li</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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 vone 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, vone 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? Golgh, 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. of only ‘...’ clauses, we discover that here, too, it is the particles da and bi which occur, e.g.:
Christina Kramer

Da mi e sega Elena mevdo tebel!
(B. Konesti, Kartoteka)
If only it were Elena now instead of you.

Da znaev!
If only I had known!

Kuršum da te udrjali!
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 unreality 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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