Chapter 4:
Verbal Morphology

The Macedonian "Have" and "Be" Perfects

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Macedonian is the only Slavic language with "have" perfects plus non-inflecting past participles that has reached what Heine and Kuteva would call "a fourth stage" of grammaticalization.[1] Yet, alongside the "have" perfect, which developed as a result of language contact with non-Slavic Balkan languages, the "be" perfect inherited from Proto-Slavic, in which "be" auxiliaries combine with *l*-participles, is still being used in the language. Moreover, along with the "have" perfect plus invariable participles, a "be" perfect in which "be" auxiliaries combine with inflecting passive participles has been built up.[2] Accordingly, there are three

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1 Bernd Heine and Tania Kuteva, *The Changing Language of Europe* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 146.

2 These participles differ from the passive participles of other Slavic languages and Koneski and Friedman refer to them as "verbal adjectives," while Lunt uses the term "-*n/-t* participles." I stick to the term "passive participles" because they behave like the passive participles of many non-Slavic European languages (*cf.* 4.1 below). Blaže Koneski, *Gramatika na makedonskiot literaturen jazik* [Grammar of the Macedonian Literary Language] (Skopje: Kultura, 1967); Victor Friedman, "The Typology of Balkan Evidentiality and Areal Linguistics," in Olga Mišeska Tomić, ed., *Balkan Syntax and Semantics* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2004), pp. 101–134; Horace G. Lunt, *A Grammar of the Macedonian Literary Language* (1952): Reprinted in Ljudmil Spasov, *Dve amerikanski gramatiki na sovremeniot makedonski standarden jazik* (Skopje: Makedonska Akademija na naukite i umetnostite, 2003), pp. 35–154.

types of perfects in Macedonian, all of them sanctioned by the norm, but unevenly spread. The perfects with "be" auxiliaries plus *l*-participles are the only perfects used in the eastern and northwestern Macedonian dialects; the "have" perfects are intensively used in the southern and western parts of the territory where Macedonian is spoken and have spread to the northeast with increasingly diminishing strength; while the "be" perfects with passive participles are intensively spoken in the southwest.

1. Introduction

While in the Standard Average European (SAE) languages, which, according to Haspelmath,[3] include all the Romance and all the Germanic languages, as well as Modern Greek and Albanian, auxiliated possessive verbs co-occur with invariable past participles in constructions expressing the perfect, in the majority of Slavic languages, the perfect features are exclusively expressed by "be" auxiliaries accompanied by *l*-participles. The possessive auxiliaries of Slavic languages spoken at the periphery of the SAE languages, such as Sorbian, Czech or Slovenian, can occur in clauses with passive participles, but the participles in such clauses inflect for gender and number and act as modifiers of patients of transitive verbs.[4] Macedonian is the only Slavic standard language where an auxiliated possessive verb takes part in a perfect in which an

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3 Martin Haspelmath, "How Young Is Standard Average European?" *Language Sciences* 20:3 (1998), pp. 271–287.

4 In (i) below, a Czech example is given:

(i) *Mam   tu   knihu   že   přečtenú*.
    have.1Sg that.Acc book.Acc   already   read.Pass.Part.F.Sg.Acc
    "I have the book read already."

In the glosses of the examples, the following abbreviations are used: 1/2/3 = 1st/2nd/3rd person; Acc = accusative (case); Aor = aorist; Cl = clitic; Dat = dative (case); Eth = ethical; F = feminine; Imperf = imperfect (tense); Impf = imperfective (aspect); M = masculine; Mod = modal; N = neuter; Part = participle; Pass = passive (participle); Past = past (participle); Pf = perfective (aspect); Pl = plural; Pron = pronoun; Prox1 = proximate to first person; Refl = reflexive; Repet = repetitive; Sg = singular; Subjun.Mark = subjunctive marker.

invariable participle represents the main verb.[5] Since there are no re-
strictions on the kinds of verbs represented and the kinds of subjects
to which they relate, we can conclude that, in Macedonian, the "have"
perfect has reached what Heine and Kuteva would call the "fourth stage"
of grammaticalization.[6]

Macedonian actually has two systems of perfects, to which we may
refer as "A system" and "B system."[7] In the A system, forms of the "be"
auxiliary combine with *l*-participles inflecting for gender and number.
Constructions of this system have kept the original function of the perfect
as an expression of the result of actions, but are also used as exponents
of evidentiality – a modal category that expresses the subjective relation-
ship of the participants in the speech event to the narrated event.[8]

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5 Note, however, that Kashubian and the Rodopi dialect of Bulgarian have
fully grammaticalized "have" perfects.

6 Heine and Kuteva, *The Changing Language*, p. 146.

7 *cf.* Olga Mišeska Tomić, *Macedonian Grammar* (Bloomington, Ind: Slavica
Publishers, 2011).

8 Evidentiality is a category grammaticalized in a number of Balkan languag-
es – in Turkish, Macedonian, Bulgarian, Albanian, and Megleno-Romanian,
in particular. In Macedonian grammars, this category is labeled *prekažanost*
"retelling" (*cf.* Koneski, *Gramatika na makedonskiot jazik*), whereas Bulgar-
ian grammars make lists of paradigms expressing "unwitnessed events" (*cf.*
BAN 1982-83 (Sofija: Izdatelstvo na bălgarskata akademija na naukite); To-
dor Bojadžiev, Ivan Kucarov and Jordan Penčev, *Săvremenen bălgarski ezik*
[Contemporary Bulgarian] (Sofia: Petăr Beron, 1999)). The terms "retellling"
and "unwitnessed" do not, however, cover all the uses that the *l*-participles ac-
companied by "be" auxiliaries have as exponents of the category in question.
Following Friedman, I use the term "evidentiality." Friedman, "The Typology
of Balkan Evidentiality," p. 103. Friedman points out that Jacobsen describes
the category in question as a category involving the subjective relationship of
the participants in the speech event to the narrated event, thus reflecting (without
reference) Aronson's notional meanings of "status." Friedman, "The Typology
of Balkan Evidentiality," pp 103–104; William Jacobsen, "The heterogeneity of
Evidentials in Makah," in Wallace Chafe and John Soicer Nichols, eds., *Eviden-
tiality: The Linguistic Coding of Epistemology* (Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1986),
p. 5; Howard Aronson, "Interrelationships between Aspect and Mood in Bulga-
rian," *Folia Slavica* 1:1 (1977), p. 14.

The B system uses two types of constructions – one with forms of the "have" auxiliary plus invariable past participles of transitive or intransitive verbs, and another with forms of the "be" auxiliary, plus inflecting passive participles of verbs that, as a rule, are intransitive.[9] Constructions with "have" auxiliaries plus participles of transitive verbs are used as exponents of the experiential perfect – a type of perfect that, according to Comrie,[10] indicates that a given situation has occurred at least once during some time in the past, leading up to the present, or as exponents of the perfect of result, in which a present state is referred to as being the result of some past situation,[11] while the constructions with "be" auxiliaries plus inflecting passive participles are, as a rule, used as exponents of the perfect of result of intransitive verbs.[12]

2. Forms and Functions of "Be" Perfects with *l*-participles

There are two types of "be" perfects with *l*-participles in Macedonian – the present "be" perfect and the past "be" perfect, both of which have *l*-participles of transitive and intransitive verbs, which, like their Proto Slavic ancestor, inflect for gender and number, but unlike the latter do not occur in an attributive position,[13] and are exclusively used with "be" auxiliaries.

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9 The constructions corresponding to the common Slavic perfect with forms of the "be" auxiliary clitics plus forms of the *l*-participle, are in this system used as exponents of evidentiality.

10 Bernard Comrie, *Aspect* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 56.

11 *cf.* Ibid., p. 38.

12 *cf.* Olga Mišeska Tomić, "Contrastive Reflexes in Contact Linguistics," in Vladimir Ivir and Damir Kalogjera, eds., *Languages in Contact and Contrast* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1991), pp. 451–467; Olga Mišeska Tomić, *Balkan Sprachbund Morpho-Syntactic Features* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2006), pp. 333-350.

13 In this respect, the Macedonian *l*-participles differ from their Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian counterparts, which occur not only as complements but also as attributes. As shown in (iii), the Macedonian equivalents of the Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian phrases with *l*-participles used as attributes are not *l*-participles:

(i)   *usnula*   *lepotica*   (Serbo-Croatian)
        sleeping.F.Sg.*l*-Part   beauty

2-1. Present "be" perfect

The present "be" perfect (a) represents an event which had taken place at an indefinite point of time in the past and has relevance in the present or (b) expresses evidentiality. When it refers to the third person, singular or plural, it features only *l*-participles, while when it refers to the first and second person, singular and plural, the *l*-participles are accompanied by the "be" auxiliary clitics *sum* [be.1Sg], *si* [be.2Sg], *sme* [be.1Pl] or *ste* [be.2P]'.

2-1-1. The forms of the present "be" perfect of the verb čita [read] are given in Table 1:[14]

Table 1: Forms of the present "be" perfect of the Macedonian lexical verb *čita* [read][15]

	Singular	Plural
1st	*sum čital/čitala*	*sme čitale*
2nd	*si čital/čitala*	*ste čitale*
3rd	*čital/čitala/čitalo*	*čitale*

2-1-2. When representing an event that had taken place at an indefinite point of time in the past, but is relevant at the moment of speaking, the present "be" perfect most frequently refers to first person subjects, singular or plural (*cf.* (1)), though in clauses that reflect the belief of the speaker in the truth of an eventuality, it may refer to any person (*cf.* (2)), while in questions, it usually refers to second- or third-person subjects (*cf.* (3)):

(ii) *zaspala*	*krasavica*	(Bulgarian)
sleeping.F.Sg.*l*-Part	beauty	
(iii) *zaspana*	*ubavica*	(Macedonian)
sleeping.F.Sg.Pass.Part	beauty	

14 Macedonian does not have infinitives. Citation forms of the verbs of this language are the third-person singular forms.

15 The readings of the participle are as follows: *čital* [read.M.Sg], *čitala* [read. F.Sg], *čitalo* [read.N.Sg], *čitale* [read.Pl]. The neuter participle is used only for reference to third-person subjects.

(1) a. *Ne   ednaš   sum   go   otvorila*
    not   once   be.1Sg 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl opened.F.Sg.*l*-Part
    srcevo   pred   tebe.
    heart+the.N.Sg.Prox1   before you.2Sg.Acc
    "More than once I have opened my heart to you."

  b. *Sum   ti   kažuval   sto   pati.*
    be.1Sg 2Sg.Dat.Cl   told.M.Sg.*l*-Part hundred   times
    "I have told you a hundred times."

  c. *Ne   sme   go   videle   od*
    not   be.1Pl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl seen.Pl.*l*-Part   from
    ponedelnikot.
    monday+the.M.Sg
    "We haven't seen him since Monday."

(2) a. *Ušte   ne   si   se   naspal   kako*
    still   not   be.2Sg Acc.Refl.Cl   slept.M.Sg.Pf.*l*-Part how
    što   treba.
    what   need.3Sg
    "You haven't yet had a good sleep." (*lit.* "You haven't yet slept as needed.")

  b. *Minal   kraj   niv   Kole.*
    passed.M.Sg.*l*-Part   by   them   Kole
    "Kole passed by them."

(3) a. *Dali   si   ja   videl/*
    whether   be.2Sg 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl   seen.M.Sg.*l*-Part
    ste   ja   videle   Ana?
    be.2Pl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl   seen.Pl.*l*-Part   Ana
    "Have you seen Ana?"

  b. *Što   videl   toj/   videle   tie?*
    what   seen.M.Sg.*l*-Part   he   seen.Pl.*l*-Part   they
    "What has he/have they seen?"

2-1-2-1. A present "be" perfect with a third-person subject and second-person dative or accusative pronominal clitic can be used in clauses expressing wishes or curses referring to the future.[16]

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16 The examples in (4) are from Koneski, *Gramatika na makedonskiot jazik*, p. 469, with my glosses and translation.

(4) a. *Dal*   *vi*   *Gospod*   *dobro!*
given.M.Sg.Pf.*l*-Part 2Pl.Dat.Cl   God   good
"May God be good to you!" (*lit.* "Let God give you good (things)!")

    b. *Vetrot*   *te*   *zaveal!*
wind+the.M.Sg   2Sg.Acc.Cl   ~~cover-with-snow.*l*-Part.M.Sg~~
"May the wind cover you with snow!"

2-1-3. When expressing evidentiality, the present "be" perfect may refer to first-, second- or third-person subjects, singular or plural. It typically imparts the speaker's non-awareness of the event to which the verb refers.[17]

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17 In (5a), we have a reported event; in (5b), a circumstantial deduction; in (5c), the *l*-participle is used in a definition. The verbs in the main clauses in (5a) and (5b) signal only the type of evidentiality, not evidentiality itself. The information imparted by these sentences can be rendered without the introductory main clauses, as in (i) and (ii), in which case the type of evidentiality is deduced from the circumstances or from a previous text. Thus, depending on context, (i) and (ii) could have either of the two listed readings:

(i) *Si*   *me*   *videl.*
be.2Sg   1Sg.Acc.Cl   seen.M.Sg.*l*-Part
    1. "I hear that you have seen me."
    2. "I see that you have seen me."

(ii) *Si*   *zboruvala*   *so*   *Ana.*
be.2Sg   talked.F.Sg.*l*-Part   with   Ana
    1. "I hear that you have spoken with Ana."
    2. "I see that you have spoken with Ana."

Non-awareness most often implies absence of the speaker from the environment where the event takes place. It is, however, possible that the speaker is convinced that the event is true, though he has not witnessed it, in which case no exponents of evidentiality are used. Thus, when you ring a doorbell and get no answer, if you believe that the person you were looking for did not answer because (s)he was not at home, but rather was in her/his office, you can communicate this to someone else by saying:

(iii) *Ne*   *beše*   *doma.*   *V*   *kancelarija*   *beše.*
not   be.Imperf   at-home   in   office   be.Imperf
    "He was not at home. He was in his office."

If not the person you were looking for, but rather somebody else answers the bell and tells you that the person you were looking for did not answer the bell

(5) a. *Veli   deka   si   me   videla.*
         say.3Sg   that   be.2Sg   1Sg.Acc.Cl   seen.F.Sg.*l*-Part
         '(S)he says that you have seen me.'

     b. *Se   gleda   deka   si   zboruvala   so*
         Acc.Refl.Cl   see.3Sg that   be.2Sg   spoken.F.Sg.*l*-Part with
         Ana.
         Ana
         'One can see that you have spoken to Ana.'

     c. *Ovaa   forma   se   upotrebuva za   dejstva što*
         this.F form   Acc.Refl.Cl   use.3Sg   for   actions what
         se   izvršile   pred   nekoe   drugo
         Acc.Refl.Cl   accomplished.*l*-Part before some.N.Sg other.N.Sg
         dejstvo   vo   minatoto.
         action   in   past+the.N.Sg
         "This form is used to express a actions that have taken place
         before some other action in the past."

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because (s)he was not at home, but rather was in her/his office, and you believe that (s)he told you the truth when (s)he told you that the person you were look-ing for was not at home, but you are not so sure that (s)he was in her/his office, you can use a simple past tense in the first clause and exponents of evidentiality in the second clause and say:

(iv) *Ne beše   doma. V   kancelarija   bil.*
     not be.Imperf   at-home in   office   be.*l*-Part
     "He was not at home. Reportedly, he was in his office."

If, however, you are not sure that the person that answered the bell has told you the truth when (s)he said that the person you were looking for was not at home, you can use exponents of evidentiality in both clauses and say:

(v) *Ne bil   doma. V   kancelarija   bil.*
    not be.Imperf   at-home in   office   be.Imperf
    "Reportedly, he was not at home, but rather in his office."

Note that Friedman points out that the use of the evidential forms depends on whether the speaker does or does not have reason to be convinced of the truth of the statement and uses an example similar to (iv). Friedman, "The Typology of Balkan Evidentiality," p. 105. However, he does not discuss the possibility of using evidential forms when the speaker is convinced that the event is true, though he has not witnessed it.

2-1-3-1. Related to non-awareness is the use of the present "be" perfect forms that express evidentiality is the expression of surprise, admiration, amazement, or irony.[18]

(6) a. *Ama   ti   si   bil   junak!*
         but   you   are.2Sg   been.M.Sg.*l*-Part   hero
         1. "You are such a hero!" (admiration)
         2. "(I am surprised to see that) you are a hero." (surprise)
         3 "You a hero!" (irony or mockery)

     b. *Kakva   ubava   šapka ti   isplela*
         what.kind beautiful.F.Sg hat   2Sg.Dat.Cl knitted.F.Sg.*l*-Part
         majka   ti!
         mother   2Sg.Dat.Cl
         "What a beautiful hat your mother has knitted for you!" (admiration)

     c. *Ti   si   go   skršila   bokalot!*
         you   are.2Sg 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl broken.F.Sg.*l*-Part jug+the.M.Sg
         "You've broken the jug?!" (amazement, wonder)

     d. *Ne   sum   znaela   deka   si   tolku*
         not   be.1Sg   known.F.Sg.*l*-Part that   are.2Sg that much
         silen!
         strong.M.Sg
         "I did not know that you were so strong!" (surprise, admiration, irony)

2-1-3-2. The forms of the present "be" perfect that express evidentiality can also be used in narratives:

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18 As we see in (6a), the same sentence, with different intonation, expresses surprise, admiration, irony or mockery. Without the emphatic intonation, it can also report an event or impart circumstantial deduction. Note that the evidential meaning of mockery can be imparted by constructions in which the *l*-participle, or a "be" auxiliary plus an *l*-participle, is preceded by the modal clitic *ḱe* – a construction that expresses counter-factuality:

(i) *Toj ḱe   me   natepal   mene!*
     he will.Mod.Cl   1Sg.Acc.Cl   beat.M.Sg.*l*-Part
me.Pron
     "Him beat me?!"

(ii) *Ti ḱe   si   me   natepal   mene!*
     he will.Mod.Cl   be.2Sg 1Sg.Acc.Cl beat.M.Sg.*l*-Part me.Pron
     "You beat me?!"

(7) a. *Sum (ti)*   *stanala*   *rano*   *i*   *sum*
       be.1Sg2Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl   got-up.F.Sg.*l*-Part early   and   be.iSg
       (ti)   *se*   *dala*   *na*   *rabota.*
       2Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl   Acc.Refl.Cl given.F.Sg.*l*-Part   on   work
       "Lo and behold, I got up early and got to work." (*lit.* "I got up
       early and gave myself to work.")

    b. *Si*   *bil*   *eden*   *car*   *i*
       Dat.Refl.Cl   been.M.Sg.*l*-Part a.M.Sg   king   and
       si   *imal*   *dva*   *sina.*
       Dat.Refl.Cl   had.M.Sg.*l*-Part   two   sons
       "There was a king and he had two sons."

    c. *Mislel,*   *se*   *čudel*
       thought.M.Sg.*l*-Part Acc.Refl.Cl   wondered.M.Sg.*l*-Part
       što   *da*   *pravi.*
       what   Subjun.Mark   do.3Sg
       "He was thinking and wondering what to do."

    d. *Odel,*   *odel,*   *ta*   *došol*
       gone.M.Sg.*l*-Part   gone.M.Sg.*l*-Part   and come.M.Sg.*l*-Part
       do   *eden*   *saraj.*
       to   a.M.Sg   palace
       "He was going, going and came to a palace."

2-2. Past "be" perfect

    The past "be" perfect, in which the *l*-participles co-occur with imper-
fect forms of the "be" auxiliary−*bev* [1Sg], *beše* [2/3Sg], *bevme* [1Pl],
bevte [2Pl], *bea* [3Pl], basically refers to a past event that had taken place
before another event in the past.

2-2-1. The forms of the past "be" perfect of the verb *pročita* [read-
through] are given in table 2:[19]

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   19 The bases from which the past tense forms of the "be" auxiliary are formed
differ from those from which the present tense clitic "be" auxiliaries are
formed.

Table 2: Past "be" perfects of the Macedonian perfective verb *pročita* [read-through][20]

	Singular	Plural
1st	*bev pročital/pročitala*	*bevme pročitale*
2nd	*beše pročital/pročitala*	*bevte pročitale*
3rd	*beše pročital/pročitala/pročitalo*	*bea pročitale*

2-2-2. Currently the past "be" perfect is most frequently used to denote a past event that had taken place before another event in the past (*cf.* 8),[21] but in older descriptions it referred to a past event that had taken place in the remote past (*cf.* 9).[22]

(8) a. *Go   bea   napišale   pismoto,*
3Sg.N.Acc.Cl be.3Pl.Imperf   written.Pl.Pf.*l*-Part letter+the.N.Sg
koga   im   se   javivme.
when   3Pl.Dat.Cl   Acc.Refl.Cl   call.1Pl.Aor
"They had written the letter when we called them."

b. *Koga toj   dojde,   nie   veḱe   bevme*
when   he   come.3Sg.Aor   we   already be.1Pl.Imperf
završile   so   jadenjeto.
finished.Pl.Pf.*l*-Part   with   eating
"When he came, we had already finished eating."

c₁ *Ušte   pred   da   dojde,   ja*
even   before Subjun.Mark   come.3Sg.Aor 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
beše   rešaval   taa   rabota.
be.3Sg.Imperf solved.M.Sg.Impf.*l*-Part that.F   matter
"Even before he came, he had been working on that matter."

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20 The neuter participle is used only for reference to a third person.

21 The examples (8c₁–c₂) are from Lunt, *A Grammar of the Macedonian*, p. 147.

22 The examples are from Koneski, *Gramatika na makedonskiot jazik*, pp. 482–483, with my glosses and translation. Mindak notes that in Cepenkov's famous nineteenth century collections of folk tales, the "be" past perfect denotes changes of situations important in story-telling. Jolanta Mindak, "Prekažanost i perfektivnost. Za formata plusquamperfectum kaj Marko Cepenkov [Reportedness and Perfectivity. On the Form of the Plusquamperfect in Marko Cepenkov's Folk Tales]," in *Jazičnite pojavi vo Bitola i bitolsko deneska i vo minatoto* (Skopje, 1988), pp. 127–133.

c₁ *Ušte   pred   da   dojde,   ja*
even   before Subjun.Mark   come.3Sg.Aor   3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
beše   rešil   taa   rabota.
be.3Sg.Past   solved.M.Sg.Pf.*l*-Part   that.F   matter
"Even before he came, he had solved (the problem of) that matter."

(9) a. *Bev   slušal   za   nea.*
be.1Sg.Imperf   heard.M.Sg.Impf.*l*-Part   for   her.F.Sg.Acc
"I had heard about her."

b. *Po   nekoj   den,   beše   si*
after   some.M.Sg   day   be.3Sg.Imperf   Acc.Refl.Cl
umrel.
died.M.Sg.Pf.*l*-Part
"A few days later, he died."

c. *Veterot   beše   dosta   stivnal.*
wind+the.M.Sg   be.3Sg.Imperf   enough quietened.M.Sg.Pf.*l*-Part
"The wind had considerably quietened."

d. *Beše   bilo   kako što   sakaa*
be.3Sg.Imperf   been.N.Sg.Impf.*l*-Part   as   what   want.3Pl.Imperf
tie.
they
"Things were as they wanted." (*lit.* "It had been as they wanted.")

2-2-2-1. In clauses with pronominal clitics, the past tense forms of the "be" auxiliary, which are not clitics, serve as hosts to the pronominal clitics. However, unlike tensed lexical verbs, and the (non-clitic) "have" auxiliaries, which always occur to the right of the clitics, the past tense forms of the "be" auxiliaries can occur either to the right or to the left of the clitics (*cf.* 10).

(10) a. *Si   go   bea   završile*
Refl.Dat.Cl   3Sg.M.Acc.Cl   be.3Pl.Imperf finished.Pl.Pf.*l*-Part
proektot.
project+the.M.Sg

b. *Bea   si   go   završile*
be.3Pl.Imperf   Refl.Dat.Cl   3Sg.M.Acc.Cl   finished.Pl.Pf.*l*-Part
proektot.
project+the.M.Sg
"They had finished the project."

2-2-2-2. It might be supposed that in clauses such as (10b), the clitics could either procliticize to the *l*-participle or encliticize to the "be" auxiliary. However, the fact that, as shown in (11), non-clitic constituents can occur between the clitics and the *l*-participle, but not between the "be" auxiliary and the clitics, indicates that, when the past tense "be" auxiliary occurs to the left of clitics, they encliticize to it.

(11) a. *Bea*   *(*veḱe)*   *si*   *go*   *(veḱe)*
         be.1Pl.Imperf already   Refl.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl already
         završile   *proektot.*
         finished.Pl.Pf.*l*-Part   project+the.M.Sg
         "They had (already) finished the project."

    b. *Beše*   *(*TOJ)* *ti*   *go*   *(TOJ)*
         be.1Pl.Imperf he   2Sg.Dat.Cl   3Sg.M.Acc.Cl he
         dal.
         given.M.Sg.Pf.*l*-Part
         "It was he who had given it to you."

3. Forms and Functions of the "Have" Perfects

3-1. The two sets of "be" perfects have corresponding sets of "have" perfects – present "have" perfects and past "have" perfects. Both sets have invariant participles ending on the suffixes -*no* or -*to*,[23] formally corresponding to the Old Church Slavonic neuter form of the past passive participle. Since they are constructed not only from transitive but also from unergative and unaccusative verbs – types of verbs that never undergo passivization, we shall refer to them as "past participles," a label used for invariant Romance and Germanic "have" participles.[24]

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 23 The distinction between the two suffixes is formal – the -*to* suffix occurs in verbs with **n** bases.

 24 While not common in the Slavic languages, past participles analogous to the Macedonian ones, occur in the Romance Balkan languages. In Macedonian, these participles are equivalent to the neuter forms of the passive participles, in Romanian and Megleno-Romanian, they are equivalent to the masculine, and in Aromanian, they are equivalent to the feminine forms of the passive participles of these languages. Unlike the "have" past participles of French and Italian, which are selected only by unaccusative verbs (unergative verbs selecting the

3-2. In the present "have" perfect, the past participle combines with the present tense forms of the auxiliary *ima* [have] or its negated counterpart *nema* [not+have], whereas in the past "have" perfect it combines with the past tense forms of these auxiliaries.[25]

3-2-1. The present and past tense forms of the Macedonian "have" auxiliaries are given in table 3:

Table 3: Present and past tense forms of the Macedonian verbs *ima* [have] and *nema* [not+have]

	Present tense forms		Past tense forms	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st	imam/nemam	imame/nemame	imav/nemav	imavme/nemavme
2nd	imaš/nemaš	imate/nemate	imaše/nemaše	imavte/nemavte
3rd	ima/nema	imaat/nemaat	imaše/nemaše	imaa/nemaa

3-2-2. When used with transitive verbs, both the present and past "have" perfects have an experiential or resultative reading.[26] The past "have" perfect, however, has an anteriority reading, as well.

3-2-2-1. The functions of the present and past "have" perfects with experiential readings are illustrated in (12).

(12) a. *Nikogaš* *go* *nemam* *videno*
never 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl not+have.1Sg seen.Past.Part
nasmean.
smiling.M.Sg.Pass.Part
"I have never seen him smiling."

"be" auxiliary), the Balkan Romance past participles are selected by both unaccusative and unergative verbs, as are their Macedonian counterparts.

25 The forms of the present and past tense of the Macedonian "have" auxiliary and their negated counterparts are equivalent to corresponding forms of the lexical verbs *ima* [have] and *nema* [have+not].

26 The difference between the two readings can be established through context or through the presence of adverbs or adverbial expressions. Thus, *nikogaš* [never] and *poveḱe pati* [more than once/often] signal the experiential reading in (12a-b), while *sé ušte* [still] and *veḱe* [already] signal the resultative reading in (13a-b).

b. *Koga   go   vidov   se   setiv*
   when   3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Aor Acc.Refl.Cl remember.1Sg.Aor
   deka   poveḱe pati go   imav
   that   more   times 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl   have.1Sg.Imperf
   sretnato   na   istoto   mesto.
   met.Past.Part   on   same+the.N.Sg   place
   "When I saw him, I remembered that I had met him more than
   once at the same place."

3-2-2-2. The functions of the present and past "have" perfects with resultative readings are illustrated in (13).[27]

(13) a. *Séušte ja   nemam   pročitano   knigata.*
        still   3Sg.F.Acc.Cl   not+have.1Sg read.Past.Part book+the.F.Sg
        "I haven't yet finished reading the book."
     b. *Koga ti   dojde,   toj   veḱe   ja*
        when   you.Sg   come.3Sg.Aor   he   already 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
        imaše   pročitano   knigata.
        have.3Sg.Imperf   read.Past.Part   book+the.F.Sg
        "When you came, he had already finished reading the book."

3-2-2-3. With intransitive verbs, the "have" perfects have only experiential readings.

(14) a. *Imam   dojdeno   ovde   poveḱe   pati.*
        have.1Sg   come.Past.Part here   more   times
        "I have come here more than once."
     b. *Go   znaev   patot.*
        3Sg.M.Acc.Cl know.1Sg.Imperf   way+the.M.Sg
        Imav   otideno   tamo   poveḱe pati.
        have.1Sg.Imperf   gone.Past.Part there more   times
        "I knew the way. I had gone there more than once."

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27 In the case of the present "have" perfect, resultativeness relates to the moment of speaking, while in the case of the past "have" perfect it relates to a past moment.

4. Forms and Functions of the "Be" Perfect with Passive Participles

To express the result of the action of an intransitive verb, Macedonian employs the present and past tense forms of the "be" auxiliary, plus inflecting passive participles marked by *-n/-t* for M.Sg, *-na/-ta* for F.Sg, *-no/-to* for N.Sg, or *-ni/-ti* for all persons plural. These constructions are typically used in passive clauses, but when they express resultativeness, we refer to them as "present and past 'be' perfects with passive participles."

4-1. The modifier "passive" is avoided in many grammars of Macedonian,[28] since, unlike the passive participles in other Slavic languages, the Macedonian passive participles are not formed only from transitive verbs, but also from intransitive ones. I use the term "passive participles" because, while differing from the passive participles of other Slavic languages, the Macedonian passive participles behave like the passive participles of many non-Slavic European languages, which have verbal as well as adjectival properties and do not form a uniform grammatical category.[29]

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28 *cf.* Koneski, *Gramatika na makedonskiot jazik*; Friedman, "The Typology of Balkan Evidentiality"; Lunt, *A Grammar of the Macedonian Literary Lancuage.*

29 It has been argued that there are two types of morphologically equivalent passive participles – adjectival and verbal. For Levin and Rappaport, the two types differ in their semantics. Beth Levin and Malka Rappaport, "The Formation of Adjectival Passives," *Linguistic Inquiry* 17 (1986), p. 625. While the adjectival participles describe a state that results from a previous event and do not introduce an implicit agent, the verbal participles characterize an event that has taken place and imply the existence of an agent. Wasow claims that, while verbal passive participles are derived in syntax, adjectival passive participles must be formed in the lexicon, because they involve a category change when a verb is reinterpreted as an adjective. Thomas Wasow, "Transformation and the Lexicon," in Peter Culicover, Thomas Wasow and Adrian Akmajian, eds., *Formal Syntax* (New York: Academic Press, 1977). pp. 327–360. Jackendoff (1977) and Abney (1987) challenge this view, arguing that both types of pas-

4-2. The present and past "be" perfects with passive participles of the perfective verb *dojde* [come.Pf] are given in table 4:

Table 4: "Be" perfects with passive participles of the perfective verb *dojde* 'come'[30]

	"Be" present perfect		"Be" past perfect	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st	*dojden sum*	*dojdeni sme*	*dojden bev*	*dojdeni bevme*
2nd	*dojden si*	*dojdeni ste*	*dojden beše*	*dojdeni bevme*
3rd	*dojden e*	*dojdeni se*	*dojden beše*	*dojdeni bea*

4-3. The "be" present perfect with a passive participle expresses an event that happened in the past but has present relevance, like the "have" present perfect, whereas the "be" past perfect with a passive participle expresses an event that happened in the past before another past event, like the "have" past perfect. However, while the "have" perfects are used with transitive and intransitive verbs and can have either resultative or experiential readings, the "be" perfect with passive participles is, as a rule, used only with intransitive verbs. Some examples are as follows:

(15) a₁ *Dojdena   sum   da   si*
      come.F.Sg.Pf.Pass.Part be.1Sg.Cl Subjun.Mark Dat.Refl.Cl
      pozboruvame.
      talk.1Pl.Repet
      "I have come to have a word with you." (*lit.* "I have come for us to talk to each other.")

   a₂ *Toj   e   dosta   šetan.*
      he   be.3Sg.Cl   enough   walked.M.Sg.Impf.Pass.Part
      "He has been walking around." (*lit.* "He has been walking enough.")

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sives are built in syntax, though in the case of adjectival passives the participial morphology is a sister to V, while in the case of verbal passives the participial morphology is adjoined to VP. Ray Jackendoff, *X-bar Syntax* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1977); Steven Abney, "The English Noun Phrase in Its Sentential Aspect," Ph.D. Dissertation (MIT, 1987).

30 The Readings of the participle are as follows: *dojden* [come.M.Sg], *dojdena* [come.F.Sg], *dojdeno* [come.N.Sg], *dojdeni* [read.Pl]. The feminine and neuter singular forms of the participles are not listed in the table.

a₃ *Jas   sum   dosta dolgo   seden.*
I   be.1Sg enough long.Adv seated.M.Sg.Impf.Pass.Part
"I have been sitting long enough."

b₁ *Bev   dojdena   da   si*
be.1Sg.Imperf come.F.Sg.Pf.Pass.Part Subjun.Mark Dat.Refl.Cl
pozboruvame.
talk.1Pl.Repet
"I had come to talk to you." (*lit.* "I had come so that we talk to
each other.")

b₂ *Koga ti   stana,   tie   veḱe   bea*
when   you   get-up.3Sg.Aor he   already be.3Pl.Imperf
otideni.
leave.Pl.Pf.Pass.Part
"When you got up, they had already left."

4-3-1. As observed in (16), the passive participles in the "be" perfect can
occur to the left or to the right of the "be" auxiliary. In both cases, the
present tense forms of the "be" auxiliary, that is, the auxiliary clitics, can
be followed by dative pronominal clitics:

(16) a. *Sum   ti   dojdena   vo   poseta.*
be.1Sg.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl come.F.Sg.Pf.Pass.Part in   visit
"I have come to pay you a visit."

b. *Dojdena   sum   ti   vo   poseta.*
come.F.Sg.Pf.Pass.Part be.1Sg.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl in   visit
"I have come to pay you a visit."

5. Origin and Spread of the Macedonian Perfects

While the Macedonian "be" perfects with *l*-participles were inher-
ited from Proto-Slavic, the "be" perfects with passive participles and the
"have" perfects developed at the time when the Balkans were part of the
Ottoman Empire (second half of the fourteenth century to the beginning
of the twentieth century AD).

5-1. The "be" perfects with passive participles and the "have" perfects
developed as a result of language contact with non-Slavic languages spo-
ken in the Balkan territories adjacent to the territories where Macedonian

was spoken – Greek, Albanian, Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian in the case of the "have" perfects and Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian in the case of the "be" perfect with passive participles.[31]

5-2. While the auxiliaries of the "be" perfects with passive participles relate to lexical verbs denoting existence, the auxiliaries of the "have" perfects relate to lexical verbs denoting possession. But the auxiliation of these verbs had occurred before they took part in the perfects. While the "be" auxiliaries had previously been used with *l*-participles, the "have" auxiliaries were used in constructions expressing the future – Old Church Slavonic referred to the future with forms of *imĕti* [have], *xъtĕti/xotĕti* [be willing/want] and *načęti /vyčęti* [begin/start] plus infinitives.[32] In order to obtain a pattern equivalent to the patterns of the corresponding model languages, both the Macedonian "have" perfect and the Macedonian "be" perfect with passive participles combined the auxiliaries with participial forms that had existed in Old Church Slavonic (863–950 AD). But while the participial forms used in the "be" perfects with passive participles are, as a rule, formed exclusively from transitive verbs, as were the Old Church Slavonic participles they exploit, the participial forms of the "have" perfects have extended the usage of these participial forms to intransitive verbs.

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31 The "be" perfect with passive participles does not appear in Greek or Albanian. The fact that it appears not only in Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian – the two Balkan Romance languages spoken in territories adjacent to those where Macedonian is spoken, but also in Romanian (*cf.* Tomić, *Balkan Sprachbund*, chapter 5), a Balkan Romance language remote from Macedonian, speaks in favor of arguing that the Balkan Romance languages were the model for the development of the Macedonian "be" perfect.

32 *cf.* Zdzisław Stieber, *Zarys gramatyki porównawczej języków słowiańskich, Część II, zeszyt 2: Fleksja werbalna*. [A Comparative Grammar of the Slavic Languages, Part 2, book 2, verbal inflection] (Warszawa: Państwowe wydawnictwo naukowe, 1973). Nowadays, in Macedonian constructions expressing futurity, auxiliaries relating to the lexical verb *xъtĕti/xotĕti* [be willing/want] are basically used. Constructions with auxiliaries relating to the lexical verb *načęti /vyčęti* [begin/start] have gone out of use, while the auxiliaries relating to the lexical verb *imĕti* [have] may be used only for the expression of negated futurity.

5-2-1. The participle of the earliest example of the Macedonian "have" perfect, attested in a manuscript written in 1706 at the Monastery of Krnino,[33] which I list in (17),[34] relates to a transitive verb and agrees in gender and number with the pronominal clitic representing a direct object.

(17) %*Imam   go   aforesan   i*
      have.1Sg   1Sg.M.Acc.Cl   excommunicated.M.Sg.Past.Part and
      proklet.
      cursed.M.Sg.Pass.Part
      "I have excommunicated and cursed him."

According to Koneski, participles such as those in (17) are neutral with respect to voice.[35] Heine & Kuteva argue that such a neutralization is an important factor in the extension of the usage of the participle and its advancement to the fourth stage of grammaticalization "when it no longer encodes an action performed on the patient by some outside agency, but an action performed by the sentential subject."[36]

5-3. Along with the "be" perfects with *l*-participles, both the "have" perfects and the "be" perfects with passive participles have been sanctioned by the norm. But they are not used uniformly.

5-3-1. Having originated in the dialects of southernmost and westernmost Macedonia, which were closest to territories with native speakers of Greek, Albanian, Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian, the "have" perfects, spread throughout the western Macedonian dialects, though with a gradually diminishing intensity from southwest to northeast.

5-3-1-1. In the southwestern Macedonian dialects of Ohrid and Struga, there are "have" perfects even with participles from the verbs *ima*

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33 *cf.* Blaže Koneski, *Istorija na makedonskiot jazik* [History of Macedonian] (Skopje: Kultura, 1986/[1965]), p. 171.

34 With my glosses and translation.

35 Koneski, *Istorija na makedonskiot jazik*, p. 153.

36 Heine and Kuteva, *The Changing Language of Europe*, p. 169.

"have" and *sum* "be," from which in other dialects no past participles are constructed:[37]

(18) a. *%Imam imano vakov fustan.*
      have.1Sg   had.Past.Part   such.M.Sg   dress
      "I have had a dress like this one."
   b. *%Imam bideno vo ovoj grad.*
      have.1Sg   been.Past.Part   in   this.M.Sg   town
      "I have been in this town."

5-3-1-2. In the west-central dialect of Kičevo, however, the older "have" perfect forms with inflecting passive participles are preserved:[38]

(19) *%Edna kuḱa imat najdena epten*
     a.F.Sg   house.F.Sg have.3Sg found.F.Sg.Pass.Part   extremely
     uba.
     beautiful
     "(S)he has found an extremely beautiful house."

5-3-2. The "be" perfect with passive participles, which originated in the southeastern corner of the territory, spread very sparingly.

5-3-2-1. In the southwesternmost dialects of Ohrid and Struga, "be" per-fects with passive participles may even be constructed with passive par-ticiples derived from transitive verbs:

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37 The percentage symbol (%) shows that the examples are not used in the standard language.

Note that there is no dialect from which past participles can be constructed from the modal verbs *može* [can/be able/be possible/may], *mora* [must], *smee* [dare/may/be allowed] or *treba* [have to]. Thus, the "have" perfect forms in (i)–(iv) are unacceptable:

   (i)   **imam moženo*
   (ii)   **imam morano*
   (iii) **imam smeeno*
   (iv) **imam trebano*

38 The forms of the "have" perfects in the Kičevo dialect correspond to the form of the "have" perfect in the earliest attested example of the Macedonian "have" perfect, listed in (17).

(20) %*Pijana   sum   kafe!*
     drunk.F.Sg.Pass.Part   be.1Sg   coffee
     "I have had coffee." (*lit.* "I have drunk coffee.")

5-3-2-2. In the west-central Prilep dialect, on the other hand, resulta-
tiveness is expressed by "be" auxiliaries followed by the invariable past
participle, which is characteristic of the "have" perfect:

(21) %*Ne   ti   je   Stojan   umreno.*
     not   2Sg.Eth.Dat   be.3Sg Stojan.M.Sg   died.Past.Part
     "Your Stojan has not died."

5-4. In the standard language, any of the perfects may be used. The
Macedonian dialects, however, have preferences of various degrees.
Thus, in the majority of the eastern dialects and the northernmost west-
ern dialects, only the "be" perfects with *l*-participles are used, and in the
southernmost Macedonian dialects there are no "be" perfects, whereas
in the southwesternmost dialects, the "be" perfects with *l*-participles are
used only if they function as expressions of evidentiality. In the latter
dialects, the forms that were formerly used to express an event that had
taken place at an indefinite point of time in the past and have relevance
at the present have actually developed into specific exponents for the
category of evidentiality.[39]

5-4-1. In the southernmost Macedonian dialects of Kostur (Kastoria) in
Northern Greece and Korča (Korçë) in Southern Albania, as well as in
the dialects of the southern Macedonian towns of Bitola and Resen, the
"have" perfect has taken over all the functions of the former perfects
with "be" auxiliaries plus *l*-participles.

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39 According to Friedman, "The geographic distribution of evidentiality in
Balkan Slavic argues for a socio-linguistically based explanation for the spread
of the phenomenon,... regions with heavy concentrations of Turkish-speakers in
urban centers serving as sources of innovation." Friedman, "The Typology of
Balkan Evidentiality," pp. 124–125. And the south-westernmost Macedonian
city of Ohrid is such a center.

5-4-2. In the southwesternmost Macedonian dialects of Ohrid and Struga, in which "be" clitics plus *l*-participles are exponents of the category of evidentiality, these exponents are often used along with forms of the "have" perfect:[40]

(22) a. *Reče   deka   si   me   imala*
       say.3Sg.Aor   that   be.2Sg 1Sg.Acc.Cl   had.F.Sg.*l*-Part
       videno.
       seen.Past.Part
       "(S)he said that you had seen me."
    b. *Se   gledaše   deka   si   imala*
       Acc.Refl.Cl   see.3Sg.Imperf that   be.2Sg had.F.Sg.*l*-Part
       zboruvano   so   Ana.
       spoken.Past.Part   with   Ana
       "One could see that you had spoken to Ana."
    c. *Do utre   napladne ḱe   sme   go*
       till tomorrow at-noon   will.Mod.Cl   be.1Pl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
       imale   završeno   proektot.
       had.3Pl.*l*-Part   finished.Past.Part project+the.M.Sg
       "By tomorrow at noon we will, reportedly, have finished the project."

6. Summing Up

   Macedonian, the only Slavic standard language that has advanced to the final stage of grammaticalization of the "have" perfect,[41] actually has three types of constructions functioning as perfects: (a) "be" auxiliaries plus inflecting (for gender and number) *l*-participles, (b) "be" auxiliaries plus inflecting (for gender and number) passive participles, and (c) "have" auxiliaries plus uninflected past participles. The perfects with "be" auxiliaries plus *l*-participles, which appear in all Slavic languages,

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   40 In (22c), *ḱe* is an exponent of expectative modality, *sme* contains features of person, number, tense and reported evidentiality, *imale* contains features of the "have" perfect and evidentiality, while *završeno* contains features of the "have" perfect and perfective aspect. Traditional grammars, however, treat such structures as having either temporal (future-in-the-past) or modal (counterfactual) value.

   41 cf. Heine and Kuteva, *The Changing Language of Europe*, p. 146.

were inherited from Proto-Slavic. The "have" perfects and the perfects with "be" auxiliaries plus passive participles, however, developed at the time when the territory where Macedonian is spoken became part of the Ottoman Empire (second half of the fourteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century AD), and were the result of close contact with non-Slavic Balkan languages spoken in neighboring territories that had also fallen under the Ottoman rule. The patterns of the latter two perfects were equivalent to corresponding patterns of the non-Slavic model languages but used auxiliaries that had already been grammaticalized and participles that had existed in Old Church Slavonic.

The three types of Macedonian perfects have been sanctioned by the norm, but are not uniformly used. The perfects with "be" auxiliaries plus *l*-participles, which function in many Slavic language and are the only perfects in the neighboring standard Bulgarian and Serbian languages, are the only perfects used in the eastern and northwestern Macedonian dialects. The "have" perfects, which originated in the southern and western parts of the territory where Macedonian has been spoken, are intensively spoken in those parts and have spread from the southwest to the northeast with increasingly diminishing strength. The "be" perfect with passive participles is intensively spoken in the southwest, where it originated.