

Balkan Sprachbund Morpho-syntactic Features

by
Olga Mišeska Tomić



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BALKAN SPRACHBUND MORPHO-SYNTACTIC FEATURES

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by

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The Netherlands*

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*To my daughters Biljana and Jasna
and my grandchildren Neven and Lea
with all my love*

Table of Contents

Preface	xiii
Less Common Alphabet Symbols	xvii
Abbreviations and Symbols.....	xix
<i>Chapter One</i>	
Introduction.....	1
1. The Balkan <i>Sprachbund</i> phenomenon.....	1
2. Which features count as Balkan <i>Sprachbund</i> features?.....	3
Sandfeld's concordances	3
Schaller's primary and secondary Balkanisms.....	15
Solta's morphological, syntactic and "other" Balkanisms.....	18
Gołąb's typological similarities.....	21
Lindstedt's Balkanization index.....	23
Balkan <i>Sprachbund</i> features singled out in general linguistics books.....	24
Summing up.....	26
3. How did the Balkan <i>Sprachbund</i> features develop?.....	27
4. The Balkan <i>Sprachbund</i> features in this book.....	29
<i>Chapter Two</i>	
Ethno-Historical Considerations.....	35
1. The Balkan peninsula.....	35
2. Ethnic Balkans.....	35
3. Greek in retrospective.....	36
4. Origin of the Balkan Romance languages.....	38
5. Albanian and Illyrian.....	40
6. The Balkan Slavic languages.....	42
7. Balkan Romani.....	45
8. Turkey and Turkish on the Balkans.....	46
<i>Chapter Three</i>	
Cases and Articles.....	49
1. Macedonian.....	49
Vocative case forms	50
Accusative case forms	52
Articles	55
Personal pronouns	63
Possessive clitics and non-clitic pronominal possessive modifiers	72
Use of prepositions to express case relations	81
2. Bulgarian.....	86
Vocative case forms.....	86
Accusative case forms.....	88
Articles.....	88
Personal pronouns.....	94
Possessive clitics and non-clitic pronominal possessive modifiers.....	101
Use of prepositions to express case relations.....	106
3. Serbo-Croatian.....	108
Nominal suffixes.....	109
Adjectival suffixes.....	110

Personal pronouns.....	111
Use of prepositions to express case relations.....	118
4. The South-Eastern Serbian dialects.....	118
Nominal cases.....	119
Definite articles.....	120
Personal pronouns.....	121
Possessive clitics.....	122
Use of prepositions to express case relations.....	123
5. Romanian.....	125
Case and definiteness.....	125
Personal pronouns.....	134
Possessive pronominal modifiers.....	139
Agreement clitics.....	140
Possessive clitics.....	143
Use of prepositions to express case relations.....	147
6. Megleno-Romanian.....	152
Articles.....	153
Personal pronouns.....	156
Pronominal possessive modifiers.....	162
Possessive clitics.....	164
Use of prepositions to express case relations.....	165
7. Aromanian.....	167
Case and definiteness.....	167
Personal pronouns.....	172
Pronominal possessive modifiers.....	177
Possessive clitics.....	178
Use of prepositions to express case relations.....	180
8. Albanian.....	186
Case and definiteness.....	186
Agreement clitics.....	190
Personal pronouns.....	194
Pronominal possessive modifiers.....	199
Use of prepositions to express case relations.....	200
9. Modern Greek.....	203
Nominal declensions.....	203
Articles.....	205
Personal pronouns.....	212
Possessive clitics.....	214
Use of prepositions to express case relations.....	219
10. Arli Balkan Romani.....	222
Nominal declensions.....	223
Articles.....	224
Personal pronouns.....	227
Pronominal possessive modifiers.....	233
Prepositions and case relations.....	235

Chapter Four

Clitic Clusters and Clitic Doubling.....	239
1. Macedonian.....	242
Macedonian clausal clitic system.....	242
Direct object clitic-doubling.....	252
Indirect-object clitic-doubling.....	255
Clitic-doubling of “wh” words.....	257
2. Bulgarian.....	259
Bulgarian clausal clitic system.....	260
Conditions for clitic-doubling of lexical nominals.....	265
Clitic-doubling of pronouns.....	268
Clitic-doubling of “wh” words.....	269

3. Serbo-Croatian.....	271
Serbo-Croatian clausal clitic system.....	271
Resumptive clitics.....	276
Clitic-doubling in the eastern periphery of the South-Eastern Serbian dialects	277
4. Romanian.....	279
Romanian clausal clitic system.....	279
Direct-object clitic-doubling.....	284
Indirect-object clitic-doubling.....	287
Clitic-doubling of “wh” words.....	288
5. Megleno-Romanian.....	292
Megleno-Romanian clausal clitic system.....	292
Direct-object clitic-doubling.....	295
Indirect-object clitic-doubling.....	297
Clitic-doubling of “wh” words.....	298
6. Aromanian.....	299
Aromanian clausal clitic system.....	300
Direct-object clitic-doubling.....	303
Indirect-object clitic-doubling.....	304
Clitic-doubling of “wh” words.....	305
7. Albanian.....	307
Albanian clausal clitic system.....	307
Indirect-object clitic-doubling.....	310
Direct-object clitic-doubling.....	310
Clitic-doubling of “wh” words.....	314
8. Modern Greek.....	315
Modern Greek clausal clitic system.....	315
Direct-object clitic-doubling.....	319
Indirect-object clitic-doubling.....	324
Clitic-doubling of “wh” words.....	326
Clitic-doubling in coordinate structures.....	328
9. Arli Balkan Romani.....	329
Arli Pronominal Clitics.....	329
Clitic-doubling.....	330

Chapter Five

The Perfect and the Evidential.....	333
1. Macedonian.....	336
Forms of the “be” and “have” present and past perfect.....	337
Use of the “be” perfect in subsystem (A).....	340
Use of the “be” past perfect.....	342
Uses of the “have” perfects.....	342
“Be” perfect with passive participles.....	345
Evidentials.....	346
2. Bulgarian.....	351
The Bulgarian perfect and its relationship to the aorist and the imperfect.....	351
Past perfect.....	357
Evidential functions of the Bulgarian perfects.....	359
The probabilitive mood of the Bulgarian village of Novo Selo	360
3. Serbo-Croatian.....	361
The Serbo-Croatian perfect.....	361
Past perfect	364
Present and past perfects in the South-Eastern Serbian dialects.....	366
4. Romanian.....	369
Simple and composite perfects.....	369
Past perfect.....	371

Use of the “be” auxiliary.....	372
Evidentiality.....	375
5. Megleno-Romanian.....	376
Forms of the Megleno-Romanian perfects.....	377
Use of the Megleno-Romanian present perfect.....	378
Use of the Megleno-Romanian past perfect.....	380
Use of the inverted present perfect.....	380
Use of the inverted past perfect.....	381
Use of the “be” auxiliary.....	381
6. Aromanian.....	383
Forms of the Aromanian “have” perfect.....	384
Use of the Aromanian present perfect.....	385
Use of the Aromanian past perfect.....	386
Use of the “be” auxiliary.....	387
Evidential forms.....	389
7. Albanian.....	389
Forms of the Albanian perfect tenses.....	390
Use of the perfect tenses in Standard and Tosk Albanian	391
Evidential forms.....	393
Use of the evidential forms.....	395
8. Northern Geg Albanian	397
Northern Geg Albanian perfect forms	397
Use of the perfect tenses in Northern Geg Albanian.....	398
9. Modern Greek.....	400
Forms of the Modern Greek perfect tenses.....	401
Use of the Modern Greek perfect tenses.....	402
Use of the “be” auxiliary.....	406
10. Arli Balkan Romani	407
The “be” auxiliary and its use in the formation of the Arli analytic tenses.....	407
Use of the Arli “be” perfect and its interrelationship with the composite past tense	410
<i>Chapter Six</i>	
Infinitives and Subjunctives.....	413
1. Macedonian.....	416
An Infinite-like function of verbal nouns	416
The subjunctive marker in contrast with indicative complementizers.....	417
Forms of verbs in the subjunctive construction.....	419
Typical uses of subjunctive constructions.....	424
Subjunctive constructions as complements of the impersonal modals <i>ima</i> and <i>nema</i>	431
Subjunctive complements with “wh” words as arguments or adjuncts.....	433
Subjunctive constructions as nominal modifiers or as adjuncts.....	435
Bare subjunctive constructions.....	439
Subjunctive constructions as complements of modal clitics.....	444
Macedonian future tenses.....	446
Conditional sentences.....	451
Sentences with temporal clauses.....	454
2. Bulgarian.....	456
Remnants of the infinitive.....	456
The subjunctive marker in contrast with indicative complementizers.....	457
Forms of verbs in the subjunctive construction.....	459
Typical uses of subjunctive constructions.....	462
Subjunctive complements with “wh” words as arguments or adjuncts.....	468
Subjunctive constructions as nominal modifiers or as adjuncts.....	470
Bare subjunctive constructions.....	473
Subjunctive constructions as complements of auxiliary modals.....	476
Bulgarian future tenses.....	476
Conditional sentences.....	482

3. Serbo-Croatian.....	484
The infinitive.....	484
Future tense with infinitives.....	485
The subjunctive marker.....	488
Forms of verbs in the subjunctive construction.....	489
Typical uses of the subjunctive construction.....	492
Subjunctive constructions as complements of the modals <i>imati</i> and <i>nemati</i>	499
Subjunctive constructions as complements of the frozen form of <i>biti</i>	499
Subjunctive complements with “wh” words as arguments or adjuncts.....	500
Subjunctive constructions as nominal modifiers or as adjuncts.....	502
Bare subjunctive constructions.....	503
Conditional sentences.....	507
Future tenses with subjunctive constructions.....	508
4. Romanians.....	511
“Short” and “long” infinitives.....	511
Romanian future tense with infinitives and present conditional tense.....	515
The subjunctive marker.....	517
Forms of verbs in the subjunctive construction.....	519
Typical uses of subjunctive constructions.....	521
Romanian future tenses with subjunctive constructions.....	527
Subjunctive constructions as complements of raising verbs.....	528
Subjunctive complements with “wh”-words as arguments or adjuncts.....	529
Subjunctive constructions as nominal modifiers or as adjuncts.....	531
Bare subjunctive constructions.....	534
Conditional sentences.....	537
5. Megleno-Romanian.....	540
Use of the Megleno-Romanian infinitive.....	540
The subjunctive marker.....	541
Forms of verbs in the subjunctive construction.....	542
Typical uses of subjunctive constructions.....	542
Subjunctive constructions as complements of the modal <i>ari</i>	547
Subjunctive complements with “wh”-words as arguments or adjuncts.....	548
Subjunctive constructions as nominal modifiers or as adjuncts.....	549
Bare subjunctive constructions.....	553
Conditional sentences.....	557
6. Aromanian.....	558
Use of the infinitive forms.....	558
The subjunctive marker.....	559
Forms of verbs in the subjunctive construction.....	560
Typical uses of subjunctive constructions.....	560
Subjunctive constructions as complements of the modal <i>are</i>	565
Subjunctive complements with “wh”-words as arguments or adjuncts.....	566
Subjunctive constructions as nominal modifiers or as adjuncts.....	568
Bare subjunctive constructions.....	573
Aromanian future tenses.....	576
Conditional sentences.....	578
Sentences with temporal clauses.....	580

7. Albanian..... 581

 Formation of the (Tosk) Albanian participle..... 581

 “Infinitival” usage of the Standard and Tosk Albanian participle..... 582

 Subjunctive constructions in contrast with indicative complements..... 585

 Forms of verbs in the subjunctive construction..... 587

 Typical uses of the subjunctive constructions..... 587

 Subjunctive complements with “wh” words as arguments or adjuncts..... 593

 Subjunctive constructions as nominal modifiers or as adjuncts..... 595

 Bare subjunctive constructions..... 597

 (Tosk) Albanian future tenses..... 603

 Conditional sentences..... 607

 Sentences with temporal clauses..... 608

8. Geg Albanian 609

 Forms of the infinitive in North Geg Albanian 609

 Use of the infinitive in North Geg Albanian 610

 Northern Geg Albanian future tenses..... 611

 Interaction of the infinitive and the subjunctive construction in conditional sentences..... 611

9. Modern Greek..... 613

 Use of infinitive forms..... 613

 The subjunctive marker in contrast with indicative complementizers..... 613

 Forms of verbs in subjunctive constructions..... 615

 Typical uses of subjunctive constructions..... 616

 Subjunctive constructions as complements of the modal *exo*..... 622

 Subjunctive constructions as complements of raising verbs..... 622

 Subjunctive complements with “wh” words as arguments or adjuncts..... 623

 Subjunctive constructions as nominal modifiers or as adjuncts..... 624

 Bare subjunctive constructions..... 629

 Modern Greek future tenses..... 632

 Conditional sentences..... 633

 Sentences with temporal clauses 635

10. Arli Balkan Romani..... 636

 The subjunctive marker in contrast with indicative complementizers..... 636

 Forms of verbs in subjunctive constructions..... 638

 Typical uses of subjunctive constructions..... 639

 Subjunctive constructions as complements of the modals *isi* and *na(n)e*..... 643

 Subjunctive complements with “wh” words as arguments or adjuncts..... 644

 Subjunctive constructions as nominal modifiers or as adjuncts..... 646

 Bare subjunctive constructions..... 648

 Arli future tenses..... 652

 Conditional sentences..... 654

 Sentences with temporal clauses..... 655

Appendix One

Core Vocabularies..... 657

Appendix Two

Sample Texts..... 683

Appendix Three

Languages Spoken on the Balkans..... 697

References..... 707

 Books and papers referred to in the text..... 707

 Reference grammars..... 718

Subject Index..... 721

Index of languages, dialects, ethnonyms and toponyms..... 741

Author Index..... 747

PREFACE

At the end of 1998, Professor Pieter Muysken was awarded the Spinoza prize of the Netherlands Organization of Scientific Research (NOW) and set up a research program entitled “Lexicon and Syntax”. The implementation of the Program started in the autumn of 1999 with research on the lexicon and syntax in a number of areas where contacts between different languages are intensive.¹ For the languages of many of the areas selected, basic data had to be collected. For most of the languages of the Balkan *Sprachbund* area, however, there are grammars and dictionaries. Moreover, quite a number of studies of the Balkan *Sprachbund* features have been published. Accordingly, when I joined the team of the Project, I aimed at a description of the state of art in the field.

After several months of research, I realized that Balkanists have mainly been concerned with compiling lists of similarities and making parallels between the lexical and grammatical forms of the Balkan languages, while analyses of the interaction of the Balkan *Sprachbund* morpho-syntactic features with other features in the structure of the DP or the sentence of a given language/dialect are scarce. This oriented me towards descriptions of Balkan *Sprachbund* morpho-syntactic features in the context of individual sub-systems in nine Balkan language to which they relate – the Slavic languages Macedonian, Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian; the Romance languages Romanian, Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian; Albanian; Modern Greek; and the Arli Balkan Romani dialect.

Serbo-Croatian is spoken as a majority language in Bosnia and Hercegovina, Croatia, and Serbia and Montenegro, and as a minority language in areas in Hungary and Romania adjacent to Croatia and Serbia.² Macedonian is spoken as a majority language in Macedonia, and as a minority language in a large area in Northern Greece, as well as in areas in Albania adjacent to Macedonia. Albanian is spoken as a majority language in Albania and the (Southern Serbian) province of Kosovo and Metonia, and as a minority language in Western Macedonia and North-Western Greece. Romanian is spoken as a majority language in Romania, and as a minority language in areas in Serbia and Bulgaria, adjacent to Romania. Modern Greek is spoken as a majority language in Greece and as a minority language in Southern Albania. Bulgarian is spoken as a majority language in Bulgaria and as a minority language in a restricted area in Serbia adjacent to Bulgaria. Aromanian, Megleno-Romanian and Balkan Romani are not spoken as majority languages in any country on the Balkans or anywhere else. Aromanian is spoken in Central and Western Macedonia, Southern Albania and Central and North-Western Greece. Megleno-Romanian is spoken by a few thousand people originally living in a few villages in what is now Southeastern Macedonia and the adjacent part of Greece. Balkan Romani is spoken by scattered communities throughout the Balkans; Arli is one of the Balkan Romani dialects spoken in and around the capital of Macedonia, Skopje. (see Map)

Unless otherwise specified, the examples for the Balkan Romance languages, the South Eastern Serbian dialects, Albanian, Modern Greek and Arli have been provided by Alexander Grosu, Virginia Hill, Dana Isac, Aleksandra Popescu (Romanian); Dionisie Papațafa (Megleno-Romanian); Matea and Klimentina Hadži-Lega, Kocea and Vergula Nica, Žiži Marković, Nikola Sofijanov (Aromanian); Nedeljko Bogdanović, Jordana Marković (the South-Eastern Serbian dialects); Alex Murzaku, Agim Poloska, Mirlinda Saračini, Valbona

¹ For information about the areas, the team and the specific task consult <http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/spls>

² Serbo-Croatian has been standardized as Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian.

Toska (Albanian); Eleni Bužarovska, Stella Grillia, Aleksandra Houzouris, Athina Sioupi, Melita Staurov, Marina Tsakosta, Assimakis Tseronis, (Modern Greek); Muarem Ramuš, Jusuf Šaip, Bajram Severdjan (Arli). Krasimira Aleksova, Io Manolesou and Zuzanna Topolinjska, were very helpful with historical data. To all of them I am extremely grateful.

For valuable comments on individual sections of the text, which they were kind enough to read, special thanks are due to Liljana Mitkovska (the sections on Macedonian), Tanja Miličev (the sections on Serbo-Croatian), Mila Dimitrova-Vulchanova, Ileyana Krapova, Hristo Stamenov, Jovka Tiševa (the sections on Bulgarian), Virginia Hill, Alexander Grosu (the sections on Romanian); Dionisie Papața (the sections on Megleno-Romanian); Klimentina Hadži-Lega, Marjan Marković (the sections on Aromanian); Dalina Kallulli, Alex Murzaku, Valbona Toska (the sections on Albanian); Eleni Bužarovska, Melita Stavrou, Yanis Veloudis (the sections on Modern Greek); Norbert Boretzky (the sections on Arli Balkan Romani). Special thanks are due to Pieter Muysken and Liliane Haegeman for their support. Needless to say, all errors are mine.

Map of the Balkans



LESS COMMON ALPHABET SYMBOLS³

<i>phonemes</i>	<i>symbols</i>								
	M	B	S-C	R	MR	Ar	Al	MG	ABR
<i>consonants</i>									
aspirated voiceless bilabial plosives									ph
aspirated voiced bilabial plosives									bh
aspirated voiceless alveolar plosives									th
aspirated voiced alveolar plosives									dh
voiceless post-alveolar plosives	c	c	c	c/ɥ	c/ɥ	ts	c		c
voiced post-alveolar plosives	dz				dz	dz	x		dz
voiceless palatalized plosives			ć						
voiceless palatal plosives	ć						q		kj
voiced palatal plosives	ǵ				gi	gi	gj		gj
aspirated voiceless velar plosives									kh
aspirated voiced velar plosives									gh
voiceless bilabial fricatives								v	
voiceless dental fricatives							th	th	
voiced dental fricatives							dh	dh	
voiceless palatal fricatives	x		x				h	x	x
voiced velar fricatives						y		gh	
voiceless palatal sibilants	š	š	š	ș	ș	sh	sh		š
voiced palatal sibilants	ž	ž	ž	j	j	j	zh		ž
voiceless palatal affricates	č	č	č		ci	ci	ç		č
aspirated voiceless palatal affricates									čh
voiced palatal affricates	dž	dž	dž				xh		dž
aspirated voiced palatal affricates									džh
palatalized lateral liquids	lj				lj	lj	l		lj
velarized lateral liquids			lj				ll		
voiced palatal nasals	nj		nj		nj	nj	nj		nj
alveolar flaps							r		
alveolar trills							rr		
palatal glides	j	j	j	i	i	i	j	j	j
<i>vowels</i>									
mid-central (schwa)		ă		ă/î	ă	ă	ě		
back-central				â					
high front rounded							y		
suprasegmentals:									
tone in Serbo-Croatian:	˘ = short rising; ˙˘ = short falling; ^ = long falling; ´ = long rising								
length in Serbo-Croatian:	- = long								
nasality in Geg Albanian	^ = nasal								

³ ABR = Arli Balkan Romani; Al = Albanian; Ar = Aromanian; B = Bulgarian; M = Macedonian; MG = Modern Greek; R = Romanian, MR = Megleno-Romanian, S-C = Serbo-Croatian. For Arli Balkan Romani, Albanian, Aromanian, Megleno-Romanian, Romanian and Serbo-Croatian the Latin alphabets that are usually used in these languages are used in the book. Bulgarian, Macedonian and Modern Greek texts have been transcribed with letters from the Latin alphabet.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Abbreviations for grammatical features in the glosses⁴

1	1 st person
2	2 nd person
3	3 rd person
Abl	ablative
Acc	accusative
Act	active
Adj	adjective
Admir	admirative
Affirm	affirmative
Agr	agreement
AgrDO(P)	direct object agreement (phrase)
AgrIO(P)	indirect object agreement (phrase)
AgrO(P)	object agreement (phrase)
AgrS(P)	subject agreement (phrase)
Anaph	anaphoric (particle)
Aor	aorist
Asp	aspect (marker)
Ass	assertive
Aux	auxiliary
Cl	clitic
Com	complementizer
Compar	comparative (marker)
Cont	continuous
CP	specifier phrase
D, Det	determiner
Dat	dative
Def	definite
Dimin	diminutive
Disc	discourse (particle)
Dist	distal
Distr	distributive (particle)
DP	determiner phrase
ECM	exceptional case marking
ELD	English left dislocation
Eth	ethical (dative clitic)
Evid	evidential
Excl	exclamatory (particle)
Exhort	exhortative (marker)
Expl	expletive
F, Fem	feminine
FocP	focus phrase

⁴ The nominative case of nouns and the present tense of verbs are, as a rule, not marked in the glosses; the marking of the present tense of perfective verbs in the Slavic languages is an exception. Gender and number of nouns are marked only when contrast has to be made.

Gen	genitive
Ger	gerund
GQ	generalized quantifier
GQ _∃	GQs that are construed in the position where they are interpreted
Hum	human
Imperf	imperfect (tense)/imperfective (aspect)
Imper	imperative
Impers	impersonal
Indic	indicative
Inf	infinitive
Instr	instrumental
Inter	interrogative
Interj	interjection
Inv	inverted (perfect)
LD	left dislocation
Loc	locative
/-Part	/-participle
M, Masc	masculine
Mark	marker
Mod(P)	modality/modal (phrase)
Modif	modifier
Mood(P)	mood (phrase)
M-P	medio-passive
N, Neut	neuter
Neg(P)	negation (phrase)
Nom	nominative
Non-Fin	non-finite
NP	noun phrase
Obl	oblique
Opt	optative
Part	participle
Pass	passive
Past	past
Perf	perfect (tense)/perfective (aspect)
Pl	plural
Pluperf	pluperfect
Poss	possessive
PP	prepositional phrase
Pres	present
Pron	pronoun
Prox	proximate
Prox1	proximate to 1 st person
Prox2	proximate to 2 nd person
Refl	reflexive
Repet	repetitive
Sg	singular
Spec	specifier
Subj	subjunctive
SubP	subordinator phrase
Sup	supine

Superl	superlative
TopP	topicalization phrase
TP	tense phrase
Voc	vocative

Symbols

*	= ungrammatical
?, ??	= possibly acceptable ⁵
%	= acceptable in some dialects or by some speakers ⁶
←, →	marks directionality of cliticization
–	links items pronounced as a single phonological word
capital letters	mark stressed words or syllables

⁵ The occurrence of *, ? or ?? to the immediate left of a bracket denotes that the bracketing is not allowed or is seldom allowed, i.e. that the item within the brackets has to occur obligatorily or preferably.

⁶ The Arli Balkan Romani, Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian have not been standardized. Yet, the percentage symbol (%) is used with reference to Aromanian, Megleno-romanian and Arli Romani only if the usage is not characteristic for all the speakers of the selected dialects.

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

1. The Balkan *Sprachbund* phenomenon

Though often genetically only remotely related (and in some cases totally unrelated), the Balkan languages share sets of typological features. Their nominal case systems are disintegrated and their verbal systems are analytical to a considerable degree. They have a general tendency towards explicit marking of grammatical functions with specific uninflected function words,¹ and towards uniformity of morphological markers.² As pointed out by Sandfeld (1930:6), moving through the territory covered by these languages, one notices that often only the lexicon and the inflections change, while the “manner of expression” remains the same.

1.1 The Balkan *Sprachbund* phenomenon was first signalled by Jernej Kopitar (1829), who pointed out that the languages spoken south of the Danube have analogous forms expressed through “different language material”. Miklosich (1861) examined the facts more closely and singled out a number of distinct common features of the languages in the area: (1) formation of the future with the help of the “will” auxiliary, (2) absence of infinitive forms; (3) a single common Dative/Genitive form; (4) postpositive articles; (5) simultaneous use of a “self-standing” and a “not self-standing” personal pronominal form; (6) formation of the numbers 11 to 19 with the help of the preposition with the meaning ‘on’; (7) frequent use of the sound *ǎ*; (8) initial syllabic *m* and *n*; (9) alternation of *n* and *r* in analogous lexemes. Trubetzkoy (1928:17-18) referred to relationships such as the ones exhibited among the languages on the Balkans as “*Sprachbund*”, arguing that the languages of a *Sprachbund* (a) are remarkably similar in sentence-structure and word-formation, but show no systematic sound correspondences and (b) have a great number of common “cultural” words, though their basic vocabularies may be diametrically different. Subsequently, Golab (1956) defined the Balkan *Sprachbund* languages as a group of languages that have a large number of common calques and identical formal structural models, which do not affect the content.³

1.2 The German balkanologist and founder of the Leipzig journal *Balkan Archives* Weigand (1928) sees Albanian, Romanian and Bulgarian as typically Balkan languages, taking Greek, Serbian and Turkish to be only “geographically Balkan”. Sandfeld (1930), on the other hand, finds that the Balkan features are typically exhibited in Greek, Bulgarian, Albanian and possibly Serbian, while Turkish has many lexical concordances with each and everyone of them. For Schaller (1975), Albanian, Romanian, Bulgarian and Macedonian are Balkan languages of first degree, Greek and Serbian – Balkan languages of second degree, while Turkish is a Balkan language of third degree. For Birnbaum (1965; 1968) Romanian and

¹ The borrowing of grammatical morphemes is, however, not very common and neighbouring languages tolerate direct cross-language clash between their phonological forms in the same semantic fields.

² As noted by Elson (2001:153) “the analytic tendency of East South Slavic is complemented, in the inflectional system, by a type of uniformity in the desinential strings of verbal paradigms, typically absent in fusional languages”.

³ Weinreich (1953, 1958) argues against the use of the term *Sprachbund*, its fault being that “it implies a unit, as if a language either was or was not a member of a given *Sprachbund*” (cf. Weinreich 1953:378). More recently, Reiter (1994) attempts to do away with the terms “balkanism” and “language union”. Hindrichs (1999), in the title of the book, as well as in the introductory chapter, avoids the term “Balkan” altogether, opting for the term *Südeuropa*. On the terms *Sprachbund*, “language union” and “balkanism” cf. also Hindrichs (1990); Joseph (2001b).

Aromanian are “most Balkan”; then come Bulgarian, Macedonian, Modern Greek and Albanian, in this order. Solta (1980:7) maintains that, when individual dialects are taken into consideration, the Northern Greek and Southern Serbian dialects could also be treated as “true Balkan language codes”.⁴ Joseph (1983) argues that the “centrally-located” languages Macedonian, Greek, Bulgarian and the South-Eastern Serbian dialects (in this order) show infinitive-loss to the highest degree, while the “more peripheral” languages Albanian, Romanian and Serbo-Croatian (as well as many of their dialects, though not the South-Eastern Serbian ones) show it to a lesser extent. Asenova (2002), qualifying the prevalence of the use of the aorist over the perfect as a Balkanism, points out that Southern Albanian, Southern Macedonian, Northern Aromanian and Northern Greek are the core Balkan languages with respect to this Balkanism.⁵

1.3 According to Sobolev (2004a), not the (standard) Balkan languages but rather individual dialects of those languages are responsible for the rise of the Balkan *Sprachbund*, because it was at the level of dialects that century-long language contacts were achieved; consequently, Balkan studies should aim at maximally deep descriptions of an optimal number of Balkan dialects, which would constitute a representative corpus of “balkanologically” relevant data.⁶

⁴ Balkan Romani has not been discussed by any of these authors. More recent research, however, shows that this Balkan language also exhibits many of the features that characterize the Balkan *Sprachbund*. Many Balkan *Sprachbund* properties can also be found in what we might call “peripheral” Balkan languages. Montoliu and Auwera (2004) show that Judeo-Spanish uses the indicative imperfect in both the *protasis* and the *apodosis* of conditional sentences with a vague *potentialis*/present *irrealis* as well as a past *irrealis* reading, as does Modern Greek as well. Compare (i), from Montoliu and Auwera (2004:464) to (ii), from Montoliu and Auwera (2004:468):

(i)	<i>Si</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>yamavan,</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>iva.</i>	Judeo-Spanish
	if	1Sg.Obl.Cl	call.3Pl.Ind.Imperf	Particle	go.1Sg.Ind.Imperf	
	‘If they called me, I would go.’					
	‘If they had called me, I would have gone’.					
(ii)	<i>An</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>leje,</i>	<i>tha</i>	Modern Greek
	if	1Sg.Dat.Cl	3Sg.N.Acc	say.3Sg.Ind.Imperf	will.Mod.Cl	
	<i>ton</i>	<i>pijena</i>	<i>EGO.</i>			
	3Sg.M.Acc.Cl	take.1Sg.Ind.Imperf	I.Pron			
	1. ‘If (s)he asked me, I personally would take him there.’					
	2. ‘If (s)he had asked me, I personally would have taken him there.’					

Some of the properties with respect to which Judeo-Spanish is similar to Modern Greek – vagueness reading between present and past *irrealis*, and mood harmony when the *apodosis* is in the imperfect – also appear in Old Spanish and the difference between Judeo-Spanish and (Old or Modern) Spanish may be due to a development internal to Judeo-Spanish. Yet, as argued by Montoliu and Auwera, the possibility that Modern Greek has had an influence upon Judeo-Spanish conditionals should be seriously considered. The more so, since constructions that allow both present and past *irrealis* readings are encountered in another peripheral Balkan language, Turkish.

⁵ As one moves south of these languages, the use of the aorist increases, whereas as one moves to the north of them, the use of the perfect increases.

⁶ Sobolev (2004a) maintains that the study of structural variants and their frequency in the dialects allows us to reconstruct the different developmental stages of a Balkanism, which can lead to tracing its diffusion and even its origin. Sobolev (2004a) analyses the areal distribution of 65 grammatical properties, partly mapped on 17 maps drawn by the team of the project “Small Atlas of the Balkan Dialects”, which in the period 1996–2000 collected data in eleven villages in Montenegro, Eastern Serbia, Western Macedonia, Eastern and Southern Bulgaria, central and Southern Albania and North-Western Greece (*cf.* Sobolev 2004b). The analysis suggests

2. Which features count as Balkan *Sprachbund* features?

A typological language feature has been assumed to be areal if (a) shared by at least three languages of the area, at least two of which belong to different genetic families, but (b) not present in all the languages of the genetic family to which the language of the area belongs (if it belongs to a language family, at all).⁷ Since the amount, the extent and the limit of areal typological features, necessary for granting membership into the Balkan union, has not and cannot be assessed independently, linguistic discussion on *Sprachbund* membership have centered around specific features.⁸ Different analyses single out different arrays of Balkan *Sprachbund* features, though most of them agree on one phonological feature – the presence of schwa, and six grammatical features: (1) substitution of synthetic declension markers by analytic ones; (2) grammaticalization of the category of definiteness through postpositive definite articles; (3) pronominal doubling of objects; (4) analytic expression of futurity; (5) analytic perfect with a “have” auxiliary; (6) loss of the infinitive and its substitution by subjunctive clauses.

2.1 *Sandfeld's concordances*

The Danish scholar Kristian Sandfeld registered over one hundred Balkan *Sprachbund* features in a book which is considered a classic (Sandfeld 1930). Referring to the shared features as “concordances”, he makes a distinction between “general concordances” and “concordances between different (i.e. individual) Balkan languages”.

2.1.1 Sanfeld's morpho-syntactic general concordances include: (a) postpositive articles; (b) extinction of the infinitive; (c) formation of the future with a “will” auxiliary; (d) common genitive-dative forms; (e) simultaneous use of a “self-standing” and a not “self-standing pronoun”, as well as “the use of a pronoun in association with a noun” (i.e. pronominal clitic-doubling); (f) constructions with a pronominal and a propositional complement in which the former has same reference as the subject of the latter; (g) verbs which take two direct objects (h) loss of distinction between question words which in Latin are represented by *ubi* and *quo*, on the one hand, and *ibi* and *eo*, on the other; (i) use of conjunctions with the meaning ‘and’ at the beginning of affirmative clauses which follow negative ones; (j) use of a paratactic conjunction with the meaning ‘and’ instead of a hypotactic one. Sandfeld (1930) offers numerous examples from Albanian; Balkan Romance – mostly from (Daco-)Romanian, but also from Aromanian and sometimes from Megleno-Romanian; Balkan Slavic – Bulgarian and Macedonian, though he refers to the latter as “Bulgarian speech in Macedonia”; and Modern Greek.⁹

that the traditional idea of existence of a common Balkan linguistic type should be rejected, while the set of “typical Balkan properties” should be relativized.

⁷ As pointed out by Birnbaum (1965), two or more languages can belong to the same language family as well as to the same language union. That is the case with Macedonian, Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian, on the one hand, and Romanian, Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian, on the other.

⁸ The creation of nation states with standard languages has put an end to active Balkan multilingualism and marked the start of divergent developments, which also explains nationalist hostilities (cf. Simeonov (1977:53-54). As a result of “linguistic patriotism”, some common features, developed in mutual contact, were abolished, and strong de-balkanizing normative tendencies showed up (cf. Asenova 1977:29-30; 1989:14).

⁹ Note that many of the examples quoted by Sandfeld (1930) are obsolete.

2.1.1.1 The postpositive article is illustrated with many examples from Albanian, Romanian and Bulgarian. Here are some of them:¹⁰

(1)	a.	<i>mik</i> friend 'man'	vs.	<i>miku</i> friend+the.M.Sg 'the friend'	Albanian
	b.	<i>fecior</i> boy 'boy'	vs.	<i>feciorul</i> boy+the.M.Sg 'the boy'	Romanian
	c.	<i>trup</i> corps 'corps'	vs.	<i>trupăt</i> corps+the.M.Sg 'the corps'	Bulgarian

2.1.1.2 As for the infinitive, according to Sandfeld (1930), in Modern Greek it functions as a noun; in the Southern (Tosk) Albanian dialects it is used only in some set expressions; in Bulgarian and Macedonian it marginally appears in some dialects; while in Romanian it is present in the standard language, but not in colloquial speech. I am quoting Sandfeld's examples from Modern Greek, Geg Albanian and dialectal Macedonian:

(2)	a.	<i>Kalos ine to</i> good be.3Sg the.N.Sg 'You look well.' (lit. 'Your looks are good.')	<i>idi su.</i> see.Inf 2Sg.Gen.Cl	Modern Greek
	b.	<i>do me</i> will.Mod.Cl to.Inf.Mark 'that is/that means'	<i>thënë</i> say.Inf	Geg Albanian
	c.	<i>Ne je nešto</i> not be.3Sg something 'It is not something that you can hide.'	<i>za kriti.</i> for hide.Inf	Dialectal Macedonian

2.1.1.3 The extinction of the infinitive is not as remarkable, Sandfeld (1930) points out, as the fact that it is being uniformly replaced by subjunctive structures introduced by distinct conjunctions – *să* in Romanian, *të* in Albanian, *na* in Modern Greek and *da* in Bulgarian (and Macedonian):¹¹

(3)	a.	<i>Dă-mi</i> give.2Sg.Imper-1Sg.Dat.Cl	<i>să</i> Subj.Mark	<i>beau!</i> drink.1Sg	Romanian	
	b.	<i>Daj</i> give.2Sg.Imper	<i>mi</i> 1Sg.Dat.Cl	<i>da</i> Subj.Mark	<i>pija!</i> drink.1Sg	Bulgarian
	c.	<i>A-më</i> give.2Sg.Imper-1Sg.Dat.Cl	<i>të</i> Subj.Mark	<i>pi!</i> drink.1Sg	Albanian	

¹⁰ Throughout the chapter, the glosses are mine.

¹¹ Sandfeld (1930) indicates that these conjunctions contrast with the “wh”-subordinators – Romanian *că*, Bulgarian *če*, Macedonian *što/ščo*, Alb *që*, Modern Greek *pos/pu* – which introduce indicative subordinate clauses, such as the Macedonian subordinate clause in (i):

(i)	<i>Mnogo zgrešil</i> much mistaken.M.Sg./-Part	<i>ščo</i> what	<i>ne</i> not	<i>gi</i> Pl.Acc.Cl	<i>dodržal.</i> kept.M.Sg./-Part	Dialectal Macedonian
- 'He made a great mistake not keeping them.'

d.	<i>Dos</i> give.2Sg.Imper	<i>mu</i> 1Sg.Gen.Cl	<i>na</i> Subj.Mark	<i>pju!</i> drink.1Sg	Modern Greek
	‘Give me to drink!’				

2.1.1.4 The future tense with modal auxiliaries with the meaning ‘will’ is exemplified in Southern (Tosk) Albanian, Balkan Slavic, Romanian and Modern Greek. In Romanian and Serbian, inflected forms of an auxiliary with the same meaning associate with the infinitive; in Tosk Albanian and Aromanian, a form of an auxiliary with the meaning of ‘will’ is followed by a subjunctive construction introduced by a subjunctive marker; while in Modern Greek, Bulgarian and Macedonian a single modal form with that meaning is followed by a tensed verb.¹²

(4)	a.	<i>voi</i> will.1Sg.Mod.Cl 'I will sing'	<i>cânta</i> sing.Inf			Romanian
	b.	<i>Ja</i> I 'I will sing'	<i>ću</i> will.1Sg.Mod.Cl	<i>pevati</i> sing.Inf	or	<i>pevaću</i> sing+will.1Sg.Mod.Cl Serbian
	c.	<i>do</i> will.Mod.Cl 'I will write'	<i>të</i> Subj.Mark	<i>shkruaj</i> write.1Sg		Albanian
	d.	<i>va-s</i> will.Mod.Cl-Subj.Mark 'I will write'		<i>skriu</i> write.1Sg		Aromanian
	e.	<i>tha</i> will.Mod.Cl 'I will write'	<i>grafo</i> write.1Sg			Modern Greek
	f.	<i>šte</i> will.Mod.Cl 'I will write'	<i>piša</i> write.1Sg			Bulgarian

¹² Sandfeld (1930) points out that in the Bulgarian “indefinite future tense”, there are traces of the formation of the future tense with an infinitive. Example:

(i)	<i>pisa</i> write.Inf ‘I will sing’	<i>šta</i> will.1Sg.Mod.Cl	or	<i>šta</i> will.1Sg.Mod.Cl	<i>pisa</i> write.Inf	Bulgarian

He also mentions that the modal-verb-plus-subjunctive construction was present in the older stages of Bulgarian, while in Macedonian it is still currently used. However, in the Macedonian example which Sandfeld (1930) quotes, given in (ii), the auxiliary has a volitional meaning, analogous to that in the Serbo-Croatian example (iii), which I have provided for the sake of comparison:

(ii)	<i>Nejke</i> not+will.Mod.Cl ‘(S)he doesn’t want to come back.’	<i>da</i> Subj.Mark	<i>se</i> Refl.Acc.Cl	<i>vrati.</i> come-back.3Sg.Perf.Pres	Macedonian
(iii)	<i>Neće</i> not+will.3Sg.Mod.Cl ‘(S)he doesn’t want to come back.’	<i>da</i> Subj.Mark	<i>se</i> Refl.Acc.Cl	<i>vrati.</i> come-back.3Sg.Perf.Pres	Serbian

g.	<i>ke</i> will.Mod.Cl 'I will write'	<i>pišam</i> write.1Sg	Macedonian

2.1.1.5 North (Geg) Albanian has no distinct constructions for the expression of futurity but uses the “have” auxiliary + subjunctive structures, which in Romanian and Macedonian,¹³ are used with intentional meanings:

(5)	a.	<i>kam</i> have.1Sg 'I will write/I have to write'	<i>me</i> to.Inf.Mark	<i>shkrue</i> write.Inf	Geg Albanian
	b.	<i>am</i> have.1Sg 'I have to write'	<i>să</i> Subj.Mark	<i>skriu</i> write.1Sg	Romanian
	c.	<i>imam</i> have.1Sg 'I have to write'	<i>da</i> Subj.Mark	<i>pišam</i> write.1Sg	Macedonian

2.1.1.6 In all the languages discussed, Gen and Dat relationships are expressed by the same formal devices. In Modern Greek, Genitive forms are generalized as common Gen/Dat forms, in Albanian and Romanian it is the Dat forms that are generalized as common Dat/Gen forms, while in Bulgarian (and Macedonian) prepositional phrases with the preposition *na* ‘on/to’, which basically have a dative meaning, are also used to denote genitive relationships. In the Macedonian spoken around Thessaloniki, however, the *na* plus noun construction denotes a direct object, as well:

(6)	<i>Go</i> 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl 'He found Jane.'	<i>najdel</i> found.M.Sg./-Part	<i>na</i> on/to	<i>Jane.</i> Jane	Dialectal Macedonian

2.1.1.7 Related to the Gen/Dat convergences is the “substitution of the possessive pronouns by possessive clitics”, as Sandfeld (1930:187-188) puts it. Pointing out that in Modern Greek the possessive clitics are exclusively used; in Bulgarian (and Macedonian) the (full) pronominal forms are used only in emphatic contexts; in Aromanian the clitic form is more frequent than the full form; whereas in Serbian and Romanian the clitic forms are not as frequent, but still appear; and assuming that the Albanian agreement clitics are analogous to Bulgarian and Romanian possessive clitics in phrases in which they encliticize to (other) noun modifiers, Sandfeld (1930) provides examples of possessive clitics such as the following ones:

(7)	a.	<i>to</i> the.N.Sg 'his house'	<i>spiti</i> house	<i>tu</i> 3Sg.M.Gen.Cl	Modern Greek
	b.	<i>gura</i> mouth	<i>tis</i> 3Sg.F.Gen.Cl		Archaic Aromanian
		'her mouth'			

¹³ Sandfeld (1930:184) points out that this kind of structure can be traced back to Byzantine Greek.

c.	<i>tatko im</i> father 3Pl.Dat.Cl 'their father'	Macedonian
d.	<i>Otac mi¹⁴ je doma.</i> father 1Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Sg at-home 'My father is at home.'	Serbian
e.	<i>cu obișnuita-i prietenie</i> with usualF.Sg-3Sg.Dat.Cl amicability 'with her usual amicability'	Romanian
f.	<i>Izgubi vsičkija si imot.</i> loose.3Sg.Aor all+the.M.Sg Refl.Dat.Cl fortune '(S)he lost all her/his fortune.'	Bulgarian
g.	<i>në pallat të tij</i> towards palace Agr.Cl his 'towards his palace'	Albanian

2.1.1.8 The “simultaneous use” of a “self-standing” and a “not self-standing” pronoun or a “not self-standing” pronoun plus a noun are illustrated with examples from Romanian, Macedonian and Albanian, such as those in (8):¹⁵

(8)	a.	<i>Mie mi se pare ...</i> me.Dat 1Sg.Dat.Cl Refl.Acc.Cl seem.3Sg 'it seems to me...'	Romanian
	b.	<i>Izejte go nego!</i> eat.2Pl.Imper 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl him.Acc 'Eat HIM!'	Macedonian
	c.	<i>A-më mua!</i> give.2Sg.Imper-1Sg.Dat.Cl me.Dat/Acc.Pron 'Give (it) to me!'	Albanian

2.1.1.9 A “not self-standing” pronoun to the left of the verb may also mark possession:

(9)	a.	<i>Mi-a fost elev.</i> 1Sg.Dat.Cl-have.3Sg been.Past.Part student 'He has been/was my student.'	Romanian
	b.	<i>Ķe im se storel</i> will.Mod.Cl 3Pl.Dat.Cl Refl.Acc.Cl become.M.Sg./-Part 'He will become my student.'	Macedonian

¹⁴ Note, that *mi* here is a clausal and not a DP clitic.

¹⁵ Sandfeld (1930) points out that these “simultaneous uses” are optional, except in Macedonian. Thus in (i), the pronoun *im* could not be left out:

(i)	<i>Da im kaŹeš na majka ti</i> Subj.Mark 3Pl.Dat.Cl tell.2Sg to mother 2Sg.Dat.Cl <i>i na tatko ti...</i> and to father 2Sg.Dat.Cl 'Tell your mother and your father...'	Macedonian

drugar.

friend

‘He would become their friend.’

- c. *Ne znam gde mi je glava.* Serbian
not know.1Sg where 1Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Sg head
‘I do not know where my head is.’
- d. *E kap kasellënën.* Albanian
3Sg.Acc.Cl open.3Sg box+the.F.Sg.Acc
‘(S)he opens his/her box.’
- e. *...na tu kopsi* Modern Greek
Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Gen.Cl cut.3Sg
to kefali.
the head
‘...to cut his/her head.’

2.1.1.10 The constructions with a pronominal and a propositional complement, in which the former has same reference as the subject of the latter, is illustrated with examples from Romanian, Macedonian, Albanian and Modern Greek:

- (10) a. *Nu-l cunoscū că este zmeu.* Romanian
not-3Sg.Acc.Cl recognize.3Sg.Aor that be.3Sg dragon
‘He did not recognize that he was a dragon.’
- b. *Toj si ja znael* Macedonian
he Refl.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl known.M.Sg./-Part
oti mu bila prazna.
that 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl been.F.Sg./-Part empty.F.Sg
‘He appears to have known that it was empty.’
- c. *Gjeti të shogën, që s-ishte* Albanian
find.3Sg.Aor Agr.Cl wife+the.F.Sg.Acc that Subj.Mark+be.3Sg.Past
sëmurtur.
sick.Part
‘He found his wife sick.’ (lit. ‘He found his wife that she was sick.’)
- d. *Tus theorisan pos ine kaki.* Modern Greek
3Pl.M.Acc.Cl believe.3Sg.Aor that be.3Pl nasty
‘They believed them to be nasty.’

2.1.1.11 The double direct object constructions are illustrated with examples from Romanian, Albanian, Serbian, Bulgarian and Macedonian:

- (11) a. *Nevoia îl învită pe om* Romanian
need 3Sg.Acc.Cl teach.3Sg Acc.Mark man
minte.
ingenuity
‘Necessity teaches one to be ingenious.’
- b. *Mëson vajzën germë.* Albanian
teach.3Sg girl+the.F.Sg.Acc letter
‘(S)he teaches the girls to read and write.’ (lit. ‘He teaches the girls letter.’)

- c. *Naučio je svoje učenike* Serbian
 taught.M.Sg./-Part be.3Ss self.Pl.Acc pupils.Acc
neke nove molitve.
 some.Pl new.Pl prayers
 ‘He taught his pupils some new prayers.’
- d. *Naučvam go na kniga.* Bulgarian
 teach.1Sg 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl to book
 ‘I am teaching him to read and write.’ (lit. ‘I am teaching him to book.’)
- e. *... da te naučam na um.* Macedonian
 Subj.Mark 2Sg.Acc.Cl teach.1Sg to wisdom
 ‘... to teach you what to do.’ (lit. ‘...to teach you to wisdom.’)

2.1.1.12 Related to the double direct object constructions are constructions in which a direct object is a complement to another direct object, which are exemplified with examples from Modern Greek, Albanian, Macedonian, Romanian, Aromanian:

- (12) a. *Pola koritsia ton ithelan* Modern Greek
 many.Pl girls 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl want.3Pl.Aor
na ton parun andra.
 Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl take.Pl husband
 ‘Many girls wanted to have him for a husband.’
- b. *Atë e dua burrë.* Albanian
 this.M.Acc 3Sg.Dat.Cl want.1Sg husband
 ‘This one I want for a husband.’
- c. *Taja sade mene sin me* Dialectal Macedonian
 she only me.Acc son 1Sg.Acc.Cl
imat.
 have.3Sg
 ‘I am her only son.’ (lit. ‘She has only me as a son.’)
- d. *...a avea pe cineva prieten.* Romanian
 to.Inf.Mark have.Inf Acc.Mark someone friend
 ‘...to have somebody as a friend.’
- e. *...ca să lu aveam bărbat* Aromanian
 that.Mod Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl have.1Sg husband
gelădziul amirăului.
 cook+the.M.Sg king+the.M.Sg.Dat
 ‘...to have the king’s cook for a husband.’

2.1.1.13 The loss of distinction between the meanings of question words which in Latin are represented by *ubi* and *quo*, on the one hand, and those which in Latin are represented by *ibi* and *eo*, on the other, is illustrated with Modern Greek, Albanian, Romanian and Bulgarian *wh*-words which include the meanings of *ubi* and *quo* or *ibi* and *eo*:

- (13) a. the meaning of “ubi” and “quo”: *pu* Modern Greek
ku Albanian
unde Romanian
kăde Bulgarian

b.	the meaning of “ibi” and “eo”:	<i>eki</i>	Modern Greek
		<i>atje</i>	Albanian
		<i>acolo</i>	Romanian
		<i>tam</i>	Bulgarian

2.1.1.14 The use of conjunctions with the meaning of ‘and’ at the beginning of affirmative clauses which follow negative ones, is illustrated with examples from Romanian, Aromanian, Macedonian, Serbian, Albanian, Modern Greek. Here are a Dialectal Macedonian and an Aromanian example:

- (14) a. *Ošte ne izdumal a* Dialectal Macedonian
yet not finished-talking.M.Sg./Part and
lisicata go džasnala odzade.
fox+the.F.Sg 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl pushed.F.Sg./Part behind
‘He had not finished talking when the fox pushed him from behind.’
- b. *Nu tricură putsăne dzăle s-* Aromanian
not pass.3Sg.Aor several days Subj.Mark
lândzidză pânti morte.
approach.3Sg.Aor towards death
‘Hardly a few days passed when he died.’ (lit. ‘Not passed several day that he approached towards death.’)

2.1.1.15 For the use of paratactic conjunctions with the meaning of ‘and’, instead of hypotactic ones, examples are given from Romanian, Bulgarian, Modern Greek, Serbian, Albanian, Macedonian. Here are an Albanian, a Serbian and a Romanian example:

- (15) a. *Ç’ bëjmë e rrimë?* Albanian
what do.1Pl and stay.1Pl
‘Why are we staying?!’ (lit. ‘What are we doing and staying?!’)
- b. *Ce facem de rămănem aici?* Romanian
what do.1Pl and remain.1Pl here
‘Why are we remaining here?’ (lit. ‘What are we doing and remaining here?!’)
- c. *Što činiš te se ne ženiš?* Serbian
what do.2Sg and Refl.Acc.Cl not marry.2Sg
‘Why aren’t you getting married?’ (lit. ‘What are you doing and not getting married?!’)

2.1.2 The “concordances between different Balkan languages”, according to Sandfeld (1930), characterise a more limited number of languages and are often in contrast with features which characterise the others.¹⁶

2.1.2.1 As a concordance “between different Balkan languages” Sandfeld (1930) quotes the development of the “have” perfect in Macedonian, in conformity with the “have” perfects in Albanian, Romanian and Greek, but in contrast with the “be” perfects in the other Slavic languages.

¹⁶ Many of Sandfeld’s (1930) “concordances between individual Balkan languages” are actually common to quite a number of Balkan languages. On the other hand, many of his all-embracing Balkanisms are often exception rather than the rule (cf. Kazazis 1966:828) and few of the properties that are singled out as “typical *Sprachbund* properties” are general in the proper sense of the word.

- (16) a. *imav* *vrzano* Macedonian
have.1Sg.Past tied.Past.Part
- b. *kisha* *lidhur* Albanian
have.1Sg.Past tied.Part
- c. *avea* *mîcată* Romanian
have.1Sg.Past tied.Past.Part
- d. *ixa* *demeno* Modern Greek
have.1Sg.Past tied.Past.Part
- e. *Ja sam bio vezao* Serbian
I be.1Sg been.M.Sg./-Part tied.M.Sg./-Part
'I had tied (it)'

2.1.2.2 A further concordance of this type is the single negation in Aromanian, in accordance with that in Modern Greek and Albanian, but in contrast with the double negation in Romanian and the Slavic Balkan languages:

- (17) a. *Nu dzătse tsiva.* Aromanian
not say.3Sg.Aor something
'(S)he didn't say/hasn't said anything.'
- b. *Den le(g)i tiptoe.* Modern Greek
not say.3Sg.Aor something
'(S)he isn't saying anything.'
- c. *S'ka bërë gjë.* Albanian
not-have.3Sg said.Part something
'(S)he hasn't said anything.'
- d. *Nu spuse nimic.* Romanian
not say.3Sg.Aor nothing
'(S)he didn't say/hasn't said anything.'
- e. *Ne kaza ništo.* Macedonian
not say.3Sg.Past nothing
'(S)he didn't say/hasn't said anything'

2.1.2.3 Among the "concordance between different Balkan languages" we find a phenomenon which is very general – the use of "wh"-words with the meaning of 'where' as a relative pronoun and conjunction. Sandfeld (1930) gives examples from Modern Greek, Bulgarian, Macedonian and Albanian:

- (18) a. *i bula, pu tin ixë* Modern Greek
the.F.Sg ring where 3Sg.F.Sg.Acc.Cl have.3Sg.Past
krumeni kato apo tin
hidden.F.Sg.Pass.Part under from/of the.F.Sg.Acc
glosa tu
tongue 3Sg.Gen.Cl
'...the ring which he kept hidden under his tongue...'
- b. *tova deto mi kazvate...* Bulgarian
that where+to.Anaph 1Sg.Dat.Cl tell.2Pl
'...(that) what you are telling me...'

- c. *Deteto, kako videlo* Dialectal Macedonian
 boy+the.N.Sg how seen.N.Sg.I-Part
deka plakat majka mu...
 where cry.3Sg mother 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl
 ‘When the boy saw that his mother was crying...’
- d. *Ti që je një shpend...* Albanian
 you where be.3Sg a bird
 ‘You, who are a bird...’

2.1.2.4 A “concordance between different Balkan languages” is the omission of the preposition introducing partitive modifiers in Macedonian, Albanian and Modern Greek:

- (19) a. *edna kofa voda* Macedonian
 a bucket water
 ‘a bucketful of water’
- b. *një grushi lira* Albanian
 a handful money
 ‘a handful of money’
- c. *mia litra mali* Dialectal Greek
 a.F pound wool
 ‘a pound of wool’

2.1.2.5 Another concordance between Modern Greek, Aromanian and Macedonian is the omission of the preposition in expressions denoting end of a movement:

- (20) a. *Pao sxolio.* Modern Greek
 go.1Sg school
 ‘I am going to school.’
- b. *Mi duc Ohërda.* Aromanian
 1Sg.Acc.Cl go.1Sg Ohrid
 ‘I am going to Ohrid.’
- c. *Odat crkov.* Dialectal Macedonian
 go.3Pl church
 ‘They are going to church.’

2.1.2.6 A perspicuous concordance between Balkan Slavic, Balkan Romance and Albanian is the formation of the numbers from 11 to 19 in accordance with the common Slavic pattern which can be paraphrased as ‘put the number X on top of the number 10’. As noted by Sandfeld (1930), in Aromanian this pattern extends to the numbers between 21 and 29. Examples:

- (21) a. *edinajset* Dialectal Bulgarian
 lit. one+on+ten
 11
- b. *një-mbë-dhjetë* Albanian
 lit. one+on+ten
 11

c.	<i>un-spră-yinghits</i> lit. one+on+twenty 21	Aromanian

2.1.2.7 A concordance of the Balkan Romance languages with the Balkan Slavic ones is the Vocative nominal form. Examples:

(22)	a.	<i>sestra</i> sister.Nom	vs.	<i>sestro</i> sister.Voc	Bulgarian
	b.	<i>soră</i> sister.Nom	vs.	<i>soro</i> sister.Voc	Romanian

2.1.2.8 Another concordance of Balkan Romance with Balkan Slavic is the extensive use of impersonal constructions in reference to first and second person.¹⁷ Examples:

(23)	a.	<i>rodil</i> born.M.Sg./-Part 'I was born'		<i>săm se</i> be.1Sg Refl.Acc.Cl	Bulgarian
	b.	<i>m-am</i> 1Sg.Acc.Cl-be.1Sg 'I was born'		<i>năsut</i> born.Part	Romanian

2.1.2.9 A concordance of Aromanian and Meglenite (or Megleno-Romanian) with Balkan Slavic is the use of the "be" auxiliary in the formation of the perfect, whereas (Daco-)Romanian, according to Sandfeld, uses forms of the "have" auxiliary.¹⁸ Examples:

(24)	a.	<i>az</i> I		<i>săm doșăl</i> be.1Sg come.M.Sg./-Part 'I have come'	Bulgarian
	b.	<i>escu vinit</i> be.1Sg come.M.Sg.Pass.Part 'I have come'			Aromanian
	c.	<i>am</i> have.1Sg 'I have come'		<i>venit</i> come.Past.Part	Romanian

2.1.2.10 A concordance between Bulgarian and Macedonian, on the one hand, and Aromanian and Meglenite, i.e. Megleno-Romanian, on the other, is the use of the article with numerals. Examples:

(25)	a.	<i>dvata</i> two+the 'the two'	Bulgarian/Macedonian

¹⁷ The non-Balkan Romance languages predominately use them in reference to the third person.

¹⁸ Note, however, that not only Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian but also (Daco)Romanian uses forms of the "be" auxiliary for the formation of the perfect of intransitive verbs; for the formation of the perfect of transitive verbs, all three languages, as well as Macedonian, use forms of the "have"-auxiliary.

- b. *doili* Aromanian/Meglenite
two+the
'the two'

2.1.2.11 A concordance of Meglenite with Bulgarian and Macedonian is the use of the Romance preposition *la*, on a par with the Slavic preposition *na*, both with the basic meaning 'on', to express a Genitive relationship. Examples:

- (26) a. *capul la lamnia* Meglenite
head+the.M.Sg of dragon
'the head of the dragon'
- b. *glavata na lamnja* Bulgarian/Macedonian
head+the.F.Sg of dragon
'the head of a dragon'

2.1.2.12 A concordance between Macedonian and Albanian is the use of the perfect to mark an action as "unexpected and surprising", as Sandfeld (1930:119) puts it. Examples:

- (27) a. *Ky para paska shumë!* Albanian
he money have.Aor.Admir much
'He does have a lot of money, this one!'
- b. *Ti si imal novo* Macedonian
you be.2Sg had.M.Sg./-Part new.N.Sg
palto!
coat
'You have a new coat!'

2.1.2.13 Another concordance between Macedonian and Albanian is the use of the demonstrative determiner alongside the article. Examples:

- (28) a. *Ai mbreti kish një pelë.* Albanian
he/that king+the.M.Sg had a mare
'He, the king had a mare.'
- b. *Toj trgovecot imal edno dete.* Macedonian
he/that merchant+the.M.Sg had.M.Sg./-Part a.N.Sg child
'He, the merchant, had a child.'

2.1.2.14 A concordance between Macedonian and Romanian is the clause-initial position of the "not self-standing" pronouns, i.e. the clause-initial position of pronominal clitics. Examples:

- (29) a. *mi se pare* Romanian
1Sg.Dat.Cl Refl.Acc.Cl appear.3Sg
'it appears to mi'
- b. *mi se jade* Macedonian
1Sg.Dat.Cl Refl.Acc.Cl eat.3Sg
'I am hungry'

2.1.2.15 One of the many concordances between Romanian and Albanian is the use of the participle as a verbal noun. Examples:

- (30) a. *Am multe de făcut.* Romanian
 have.1Sg much of done.Past.Part
 ‘I have much to do.’
- b. *Kam për të lidhur* Albanian
 have.1Sg for Agr.Cl tied.Part
 ‘I have (things) to tie up.’

2.1.2.16 Another perspicuous concordance between Romanian and Albanian is the exclusive use of the “have” auxiliary in the composite tenses. Examples:

- (31) a. *am venit* Romanian
 have.1Sg come.Past.Part
- b. *kam erdhur* Albanian
 have.1Sg come.Part
 ‘I have come’
- b. *a murit* Romanian
 have.3Sg died.Past.Part
- ka vdek* Albanian
 have.3Sg died.Past.Part
 ‘(s)he has died’

2.1.2.17 Common to Romanian and Albanian is also the use of the plural form of the adjective as a neutral form. Examples:

- (32) a. *cele bune și cele rele* Romanian
 the.F.Pl good.F.Pl and the.F.Pl bad.Pl
 ‘the good ones and the bad ones’
- b. *të mira edhe të liga* Albanian
 Agr.Cl good+the.Pl and Agr.Cl bad+the.Pl
 ‘the good and the bad’

2.1.2.18 Another feature common to Romanian and Albanian is the absence of the article in nouns governed by prepositions. Examples:

- (33) a. *Se opri in prag* Romanian
 Refl.Acc.Cl stop.3Sg.Aor on threshold
 ‘(S)he stopped at the threshold (of the door).’
- b. *Vate në pallat.* Albanian
 go.3Sg.Aor to palace
 ‘(S)he went to the palace.’

2.2 Schaller’s primary and secondary Balkanisms

The German scholar Helmut Wilhelm Schaller in his book *Die Balkansprachen* (Schaller: 1975) makes a distinction between primary and secondary Balkanisms. The secondary Balkanisms are, according to him, phenomena that are restricted in coverage or play minor role in the structure of the language. Schaller (1975) includes seven morpho-syntactic phenomena in the primary Balkanisms: (a) merge of the Dative and the Genitive; (b) postpositive article; (c) analytic comparison; (d) loss of the infinitive and its replacement by subordinate clauses; (e) use of the “will” auxiliary in the construction of periphrastic future tenses; (f) doubling of

objects (by “short” pronominal forms); (g) use of the “short pronominal form” for the expression of possessiveness.

2.2.1 The merge of the Dat and the Gen are illustrated with examples from Bulgarian, Romanian and Albanian (which are inadequate, and will not be listed here). The merge in Modern Greek is not mentioned, though there is a note that in this language we often find the Accusative replacing the Old Greek Gen and Dat.

2.2.2 The postpositive article is illustrated by examples from Bulgarian, Romanian and Albanian, with a note that the Bulgarian examples can be applied to Macedonian, as well.¹⁹

(34)	a.	<i>voda</i>	vs.	<i>vodata</i>	Bulgarian
		water		water+the.F.Sg	
	b.	<i>fată</i>	vs.	<i>fata</i>	Romanian
		girl		girl+the.F.Sg	
	c.	<i>vajzë</i>	vs.	<i>vajza</i>	Albanian
		girl		girl+the.F.Sg	

2.2.3 Analytic comparison is illustrated with examples from Bulgarian, Romanian, Albanian and Modern Greek, though Macedonian is also listed among the languages that have it:

(35)	a.	<i>po-dobăr</i>	Bulgarian
		Compar.Mark-good	
	b.	<i>mai bun</i>	Romanian
		more good	
	c.	<i>më i madh</i>	Albanian
		more Agr.Cl good	
	d.	<i>pjo kalos</i>	Modern Greek
		more good	
		‘better’	

2.2.4 The infinitive is, according to Schaller (1975), replaced by “coordinate clauses”²⁰ or else by subordinate clauses introduced by the conjunctions *če* or *što* in Bulgarian, *ca* in Romanian, *se* or *qe* in Albanian, *pos*, *pu* or *oti* in Modern Greek; or else with conjunctions with *finaler Bedeutung* ‘finite meaning’ – *da* (Bulgarian), *să* (Romanian), *të* (Albanian). The Bulgarian conjunctions *če* and *što*, the Romanian conjunction *ca*, the Albanian conjunctions *se* and *qe* and the Modern Greek conjunctions *pos*, *pu* and *oti* do not, however, introduce clauses that have replaced the “lost” infinitive.

2.2.5 The periphrastic future tenses are illustrated by examples from Modern Greek, colloquial Romanian, Albanian, Bulgarian and Macedonian:

(36)	a.	<i>tha</i>	<i>dulevo</i>	Modern Greek
		will.Mod.Cl	work.1Sg	

¹⁹ Schaller (1975) points out that in Modern Greek we have a prepositive article.

²⁰ Schaller (1975) gives a Bulgarian example of coordinate clause conjoined by the conjunction *i*:

(i)	<i>Toj</i>	<i>započva</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>raboti.</i>	Bulgarian
	he	begin.3Sg	and	work.3Sg	
	‘He is beginning to work.’				

b.	<i>o</i> will.Mod.Cl	<i>sa</i> Subj.Mark	<i>lucrez</i> work.1Sg	Colloquial Romanian
c.	<i>do</i> will.Mod.Cl	<i>të</i> Subj.Mark	<i>punoj</i> work.1Sg	Albanian
d.	<i>šte</i> will.Mod.Cl	<i>rabotja</i> work.1Sg		Bulgarian
e.	<i>ќе</i> will.Mod.Cl	<i>rabotam</i> work.1Sg		Macedonian

‘I will work.’

2.2.6 The doubling of objects is illustrated with examples from Bulgarian, Macedonian, Albanian, Romanian and Modern Greek:

- (37) a. *A Gergo hič muxa ne (go)* Bulgarian
and Gergo at-all fly not 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
uxapala.
bitten.F.Sg./-Part
‘But Gergo was never bitten by a fly.’
- b. *Mu go podade žaketot.* Macedonian
3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl hand.3Sg.Perf.Past jacket+the.M.Sg
‘(S)he handed him the jacket over.’
- c. *(E) urdhëroi të mbesën.* Albanian
3Sg.Acc.Cl order.3Sg.Aor Agr.Cl niece+the.F.Sg.Acc
‘(S)he ordered his/her niece (to do something).’
- d. *(Il) duce pe fiu-sau* Romanian
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl take.3Sg Acc.Mark son-his/her.M.Sg.Cl
la școală.
to school
‘(S)he takes his/her son to school.’
- e. *(To) vlepō to vivlio.* Bulgarian
3Sg.N.Acc.Cl read.1Sg the book
‘I am reading the book.’

2.2.7 The use of the “short pronominal form” for the expression of possessiveness is illustrated with examples from Bulgarian, Macedonian, Romanian and Modern Greek:

- (38) a. *kăštata mu* Bulgarian
house+the.F.Sg 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl
‘his house’

b.	<i>glasot</i> voice+the.M.Sg 'his voice'	<i>mu</i> ²¹ 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl	Macedonian
c.	<i>păru-mi</i> hair-1Sg.Dat.Cl 'my hair'		Romanian
d.	<i>spiti mu</i> house 1Sg.Gen.Cl 'my house'		Modern Greek

2.3 *Solta's morphological, syntactic and "other" Balkanisms*

Solta (1980) concentrates on six grammatical Balkanisms, which he classifies in three groups. The first group, labelled "morphological Balkanisms" comprises the existence of the post-positive article and the merge of the Genitive and the Dative. The second group, called "syntactic Balkanisms" includes the loss of the infinitive and the synthetic expression of futurity. The third group, referred to as "other," "different" or "special" (*sonstiges*) contains the Vocative "as a living category" and periphrastic comparison of adjectives. According to Solta (1980:223), the phenomena of the third group "are not Balkanisms in the strict sense of the word, though they are characteristic for the Balkan languages".

2.3.1 The existence of postpositive article is illustrated by indefinite: definite correspondences of Albanian, Romanian and Bulgarian nouns:

(39)	a ₁	<i>gur</i> stone	: <i>guri</i> stone+the.M.Sg 'the stone'	a ₂	<i>vajzë</i> girl	: <i>vajza</i> girl+the.F.Sg 'the girl'	Albanian
	b ₁	<i>fecior</i> boy	: <i>feciorul</i> boy+the.M.Sg 'the boy'	b ₂	<i>fată</i> girl	: <i>fata</i> girl+the.F.Sg 'the girl'	Romanian
	c ₁	<i>trup</i> corps	: <i>trupăt</i> corps+the.M.Sg 'the corps'	c ₂	<i>voda</i> water	: <i>vodata</i> water+the.F.Sg 'the water'	Bulgarian

2.3.2 The merging of the Gen and the Dat is illustrated by the examples of noun phrases with possessive modifiers and clauses with indirect objects in Romanian, Bulgarian, Albanian and Modern Greek:

(40)	a ₁	<i>casa</i> house+the.F.Sg 'the house of the old man'	<i>moşului</i> old-man+the.M.Sg.Dat	Romanian

²¹ Note that in Macedonian, pronominal clitics actually occur to the immediate right of nouns other than those that denote close family relationship only when they function as clausal clitics. Thus, the sequence *glasot mu* can occur in a sentences such as (i):

(i)	<i>Glasot</i> voice+the.M.Sg 'His voice is heard afar.'	<i>mu</i> 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl	<i>se</i> Refl.Acc.Cl	<i>sluša</i> hear.3Sg	<i>nadaleku.</i> afar	Macedonian

a ₂	<i>A</i> have.3Sg '(S)he told the old man.'	<i>spus-o</i> said.Part-3Sg.F/N.Dat.Cl	<i>moşului.</i> old-man+the.M.Sg.Dat	Romanian	
b ₁	<i>kăştata</i> house+the.F.Sg 'the house of the old man'	<i>na</i> of	<i>starikăt</i> old-man+the.M.Sg	Bulgarian	
b ₂	<i>Reče</i> say.3Sg.Aor '(S)he said to the old man.'	<i>na</i> to	<i>starikăt.</i> old-man+the.M.Sg	Bulgarian	
c ₁	<i>shtëpia</i> house+the.F.Sg 'the house of the old man'	<i>e</i> Agr.Cl	<i>plakut</i> old-man+the.M.Sg.Dat	Albanian	
c ₂	<i>Ia</i> 3Sg.Dat.Cl+3Sg.Acc.Cl '(S)he said it to the old man.'	<i>tha</i> say.3Sg.Aor	<i>plakut.</i> old-man+the.M.Sg.Dat	Albanian	
d ₁	<i>to</i> the.N.Sg 'the house of the old man'	<i>spiti</i> house	<i>ton</i> the.N.Sg	<i>gerondon</i> old-man	Modern Greek
d ₂	<i>To</i> 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl '(S)he said to the old man.'	<i>ipe</i> say.3Sg.Aor	<i>ton</i> the.M.Sg.Acc	<i>gerondon.</i> old-man	Modern Greek

2.3.3 The loss of the infinitive is also illustrated by examples from Romanian, Bulgarian, Albanian and Modern Greek:

(41)	a.	<i>Dă-mi</i> give.2Sg.Imper+1Sg.Dat.Cl	<i>să</i> Subj.Mark	<i>beau!</i> drink.1Sg	Romanian	
	b.	<i>Daj</i> give.2Sg.Imper	<i>mi</i> 1Sg.Dat.Cl	<i>da</i> Subj.Mark	<i>pija!</i> drink.1Sg	Bulgarian
	c.	<i>A-me</i> give.2Sg.Imper+1Sg.Dat.Cl	<i>të</i> Subj.Mark	<i>pi!</i> drink.1Sg	Albanian	
	d.	<i>Dos</i> give.2Sg.Imper 'Give me to drink!'	<i>mu</i> 1Sg.Dat.Cl	<i>na</i> Subj.Mark	<i>pjo!</i> drink.1Sg	Modern Greek

2.3.4 Discussing the syntactic expression of futurity, Solta (1980) points out that five types of constructions are used on the Balkans: (a) forms of the "will" auxiliary + infinitive; (b) forms of the "will" auxiliary + tensed verb forms; (c) forms of the "will" auxiliary + subjunctive construction introduced by a subjunctive marker; (d) forms of the "have" auxiliary + infinitives introduced by an infinitive marker; and (e) forms of the "have" auxiliary + subjunctive constructions introduced by a subjunctive marker.

2.3.4.1 Type (a) is illustrated with examples from Romanian and Serbo-Croatian:

(42)	a.	<i>voi</i> will.1Sg.Cl	<i>cînta</i> sing.Inf	Romanian

'I will sing'

b.	<i>ja</i> I	<i>ću</i> will.1Sg.Cl	<i>pevati</i> sing.Inf	Serbo-Croatian
	'I will sing'			

2.3.4.2 Type (b) is illustrated with examples from Bulgarian and Modern Greek:

(43)	a.	<i>šte</i> will.Mod.Cl	<i>peja</i> sing.1Sg	Bulgarian
		'I will sing'		
	b.	<i>tha</i> will.Mod.Cl	<i>grafo</i> write.1Sg	Modern Greek
		'I will write'		

2.3.4.3 Type (c) is illustrated with examples from Romanian and Bulgarian:²²

(44)	a.	<i>o</i> will.Mod.Cl	<i>să</i> Subj.Mark	<i>cînt</i> sing.1Sg	Romanian
		'I will sing'			
	b.	<i>voi</i> will.1Sg.Cl	<i>să</i> Subj.Mark	<i>cînt</i> sing.1Sg	Dialectal Romanian
		'I will sing'			
	c.	<i>šta</i> will.1Sg.Cl	<i>da</i> Subj.Mark	<i>peja</i> sing.1Sg	Dialectal Bulgarian
		'I will sing'			

2.3.4.4 Type (d) is illustrated with examples from Geg Albanian:²³

(45)	<i>kam</i> have.1Sg	<i>me</i> to.Inf.Mark	<i>shkru</i> write.Inf	Geg Albanian
	'I will write'			

2.3.4.5 Type (e) is illustrated with negated expressions from Bulgarian:²⁴

(46)	<i>njama</i> not+have.Impers	<i>da</i> Subj.Mark	<i>peja</i> sing.1Sg	Bulgarian
	'I will not sing'			

2.3.5 The Vocative is illustrated with examples from Romanian and Bulgarian:

(47)	a ₁	<i>bărbat</i> : <i>bărbate</i> man man.Voc	a ₂	<i>soră</i> : <i>soro</i> sister sister.Voc	Romanian
	b ₁	<i>brat</i> : <i>brate</i> brother brother.Voc	b ₂	<i>žena</i> : <i>ženo</i> woman woman.Voc	Bulgarian

Special attention is drawn to the identity of the vowels marking the Vocative in the two languages.

²² According to Solta (1980), such constructions also occur in Serbo-Croatian, Modern Greek and Albanian, where they express intentions rather than futurity. In Serbo-Croatian, however, forms of the “will” auxiliary + subjunctives introduced by a subjunctive marker denote futurity, whereas in Modern Greek they do not exist.

²³ According to Solta (1980), this type was modelled on the common Albanian admirative.

²⁴ Solta (1980) mentions that both positive and negative expressions in which the “have”-auxiliary is followed by a subjunctive construction also occur in Modern Greek and Romanian, but there they have a modal meaning.

2.3.6 The periphrastic comparison of the adjectives is illustrated with examples from Romanian, Albanian, Bulgarian and Greek:

(48)	a ₁	<i>frumos</i> beautiful	a ₂	<i>mai frumos</i> more beautiful	Romanian
	a ₃	<i>cel</i> the.M.Sg	<i>mai frumos</i> more beautiful		
	b ₁	<i>i bukur</i> Agr.Cl beautiful	b ₂	<i>më i bukur</i> Compar.Mark Agr.Cl beautiful	Albanian
	b ₃	<i>më i</i> Compar.Mark Agr.Cl	<i>bukuri</i> beautiful+the.M.Sg		
	c ₁	<i>hubav</i> beautiful	c ₂	<i>po-xubav</i> Compar-beautiful	Bulgarian
	d ₁	<i>kalos</i> beautiful	d ₂	<i>pjo kalos</i> more beautiful	Modern Greek
			d ₃	<i>o pjo kalos/</i> the more beautiful <i>o kaliteros</i> the beautiful.Compar	

Since the Romanian forms pattern with the forms of the other Romance languages, while the Bulgarian forms patterns with the forms of the other Slavic languages, Solta (1980) concludes that the phenomenon is not typically Balkan. According to Solta (1980), the periphrastic expression of futurity in Albanian is due to the fact that, before the Slavs moved to the Balkans, Albanian and Romanian speakers lived in adjacency, while the periphrastic future tense forms in Modern Greek are a borrowing from Italian.

2.4 *Gołab's typological similarities*

Zbigniew Gołab (1984) is impressed by the “striking” similarity (or even identity) of the grammatical forms of the Balkan languages as opposed to the dissimilarity of their lexical substance. He singles out one negative and ten positive similar or identical structural patterns and illustrates them on the examples of two languages belonging to different language families: Macedonian – a Slavic language, and Aromanian – a Romance language.

2.4.1 The negative feature is the lack of infinitive and its “identical replacement (from comparative-historical standpoint) by the subjunctive clause” (Gołab 1984:7). Examples:

(49)	a.	<i>Mi</i> 1Sg.Acc.Cl	<i>bag</i> lie-down.1Sg	<i>s-dormu.</i> Subj.Mark-sleep.1Sg	Aromanian
		‘I am lying down to sleep.’			
	b.	<i>Legnuvam</i> lie-down.1Sg	<i>da</i> Subj.Mark	<i>spijam.</i> sleep.1Sg	Macedonian
		‘I am lying down to sleep.’			

2.4.2 The positive features are: (a) formation of the future tense with a particle which etymologically represents the third person singular of the verb with the meaning of ‘want’ + subjunctive mood of a given verb; (b) the future in the past – “a pattern derived from the future tense by the replacement of the present tense markers by past tense ones” (Gołab 1984:6); (c) present optative-subjunctive mood, formed by a modal particle + the present tense of the verb; (d) imperfect optative-subjunctive mood, formed in the same manner as the present optative-subjunctive mood, but with the imperfect tense of the verb; (e) compound perfect, formed by the present tense of the auxiliary verb “have” + an form of the perfect

participle; (f) compound pluperfect – a derivative of the compound perfect, through the replacement of the present tense of the auxiliary by its imperfect tense; (g) *futurum exactum* or future perfect – a derivative of the compound perfect, through the replacement of the present tense of the auxiliary by its future tense; (h) postpositive definite articles (i) dative-possessive as a single morpho-syntactic category. The features (a-i) are illustrated in (49-57), respectively:²⁵

(50)	a.	<i>va</i> will.Mod.Cl	<i>s-doarmă</i> Subj.Mark-sleep.3Sg.Subj	Aromanian
	b.	<i>ke</i> will.Mod.Cl	<i>da</i> Subj.Mark	Dialectal Macedonian
	c.	<i>ke</i> will.Mod.Cl	<i>spie</i> sleep.3Sg	(Standard) Macedonian
		'(s)he will sleep'		
(51)	a.	<i>va</i> will.Mod.Cl	<i>s-durnja</i> Subj.Mark-sleep.3Sg.Imperfect	Aromanian
	b.	<i>ke</i> will.Mod.Cl	<i>da</i> Subj.Mark	Dialectal Macedonian
	c.	<i>ke</i> will.Mod.Cl	<i>spieše</i> sleep.3Sg.Imperf.Past	(Standard) Macedonian
		'(s)he would sleep'		
(52)	a.	<i>s-doarmă</i> Subj.Mark-sleep.3Sg		Aromanian
	b.	<i>da</i> Subj.Mark	<i>spie</i> sleep.3Sg	Macedonian
		'(s)he should sleep'		
(53)	a.	<i>s-durnja</i> Subj.Mark-sleep.3Sg.Imperfect		Aromanian
	b.	<i>da</i> Subj.Mark	<i>spieše</i> sleep.3Sg.Imperf.Past	Macedonian
		'(s)he should have slept'		
(54)	a.	<i>are</i> have.3Sg	<i>durnjită</i> slept.Past.Part	Aromanian
	b.	<i>ima</i> have.3Sg	<i>spieno</i> slept.Past.Part	Macedonian
		'(s)he has slept'		
(55)	a.	<i>avea</i> have.3Sg.Past	<i>durnjită</i> slept.Past.Part	Aromanian

²⁵ Both the glosses and translations are mine.

	b.	<i>imaše</i> have.3Sg.Past	<i>spieno</i> slept.Past.Part		Macedonian
		‘she had slept’			
(56)	a.	<i>va</i> will.Mod.Cl	<i>s-aibă</i> Subj.Mark-had.3Sg.Subj	<i>durnjită</i> slept.Part	Aromanian
	b.	<i>ke</i> will.Mod.Cl	<i>ima</i> have.3Sg	<i>spieno</i> slept.Part	Macedonian
		‘she will have slept’			
(57)	a ₁	<i>omlu</i> man+the.M.Sg	a ₂	<i>muljarea</i> woman+the.F.Sg	Aromanian
	b ₁	<i>čovekot</i> man+the.M.Sg	b ₂	<i>ženata</i> woman+the.F.Sg	Macedonian
		‘the man’		‘the woman’	
(58)	a ₁	<i>kalu</i> horse+the.M.Sg	a	<i>omlui</i> man+the.M.Sg.Dat	Aromanian
	a ₂	<i>konjot</i> horse+the.M.Sg	na	<i>čovekot</i> man+the.M.Sg	Macedonian
		‘the horse of the man’			
	b ₁	<i>lji</i> 3Sg.Dat.Cl	<i>dzăk</i> tell.1Sg	a	<i>omlui</i> man+the.M.Sg.Dat
	b ₂	<i>mu</i> 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl	<i>velam</i> tell.1Sg	na	<i>čovekot</i> man+the.M.Sg
		‘I am telling the man’			

2.5 Lindstedt's Balkanization index

Jouko Lindstedt (2000a) singles out twelve grammatical Balkanisms and examines their distribution in five language groups of the *Sprachbund*.

2.5.1 The twelve Balkanisms fall into three groups. The first group contains six argument-marking Balkanisms: (a) enclitic articles, (b) object reduplication, (c) prepositions instead of case endings, (d) dative/possessive merger, (e) goal/location merger, and (f) *relativum generale*.²⁶ The second group includes five Balkanisms pertaining to the verbal system: (g) Aux (+ Comp) + finite verb,²⁷ (h) *volo* future, (i) past future²⁸ as conditional, (j) *habeo* perfect, (k) evidentials. The third group consists of only one Balkanism – analytic comparison (of adjectives and adverbs).

²⁶ In many Balkan languages, relative clauses are introduced by an invariant marker which does not distinguish number, gender, or syntactic role. Lindstedt (2000a) does not say whether this marker is the only marker of relative clauses (which it is not!), though admitting that the *relativum generale* is not manifested in all the dialects of the languages in question.

²⁷ This feature actually represents the replacement of the infinitive by the subjunctive.

²⁸ I.e. future-in-the-past.

2.5.2 The five language groups are: Greek, Albanian, Balkan Romance – including Romanian, Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian, Balkan Slavic – including Bulgarian, Macedonian and the South-Eastern Serbian dialects, and Balkan Romani.²⁹

2.5.3 Lindstedt (2000a:232) represents the presence of the twelve shared grammatical features in the five language groups in a table, reproduced here as Table 1:³⁰

Table 1: Lindstedt’s grammatical Balkanisms

	Modern Greek	Albanian	Balkan Slavic	Balkan Romance	Balkan Romani
<i>Argument marking</i>					
enclitic articles	(+)	+	+	+	–
object reduplication	+	+	+	+	+
prepositions instead of cases	(+)	(+)	+	(+)	(+)
dative/possessive merge	+	+	+	+	(+)
goal/location merge	+	+	+	+	(+)
<i>relativum generale</i> ³¹	+	+	+	+	+
<i>verb system</i>					
Aux (+Comp) + finite verb	+	(+)	+	(+)	+
<i>volo</i> future	+	(+)	+	+	+
past future as conditional	+	(+)	+	(+)	(+)
<i>habeo</i> perfect	+	+	(+)	(+)	–
evidentials	–	+	+	(+)	(+)
<i>other</i>					
analytic comparison	(+)	+	+	+	+

2.5.4 Giving one point for each plus sign and half a point for a plus sign in parentheses, Lindstedt (2000a) calculates the Balkanization indices of the language groups discussed and receives the following scores: Balkan Slavic 11.5; Albanian 10.5; Balkan Romance and Greek 9.5 each; Romani 7.5. According to this computation, the Balkan Slavic languages are the most Balkanized ones.³²

2.6 *Balkan Sprachbund features singled out in general linguistic books*

A number of Balkan *Sprachbund* features are listed in contemporary general linguistic books.

2.6.1 Lyle Campbell, in the chapter devoted to languages in contact in his introductory book on historical linguistics (Campbell 1998), singles out six morphosyntactic “salient traits” of the Balkan linguistic area: (a) syncretism of Dative and Genitive; (b) postposed articles; (c) periphrastic future (signalled by “want” or “have” auxiliaries); (d) periphrastic

²⁹ Lindstedt (2000a) uses “Balkan Romani” as an areal term comprising both Balkan Romani dialects proper and those Vlach Romani dialects that are spoken in the Balkan area.

³⁰ A plus sign in parentheses indicates that the feature is present as a tendency only or that it only occurs in some contact varieties.

³¹ Though this feature does not occur in all the dialects of the languages in question, Lindstedt (2000a) does not make use of a plus sign in parenthesis since “the impact of the literary traditions is difficult to assess” (cf. Lindstedt 2000:233).

³² As pointed out by Lindstedt (2000a), Macedonian would score full 12.0 points.

perfect (with “have” auxiliaries); (e) absence of infinitives; (f) use of a personal pronoun copy of animate objects.³³ Campbell illustrates these traits with examples from different languages:

- (59) a. *Am dat o carte fetei* Romanian
 have.1Sg given.Past.Part the.F.Sg letter girl+the.F.Sg.Dat
 ‘I gave the letter to the girl.’
 b. *frate fetei* Romanian
 brother girl+the.F.Sg.Dat
 ‘the girl’s brother’
- (60) *măžăt* Bulgarian
 man+the.M.Sg
 ‘the man’
- (61) a. *voi fuma* Romanian
 will.1Sg.Cl smoke.Inf
 ‘I will smoke.’
 b. *am a cînta* Romanian
 have.1Sg to.Inf.Mark sing.Inf
 ‘I am to sing.’
- (62) a. *Dă-mi să beau.* Romanian
 give.2Sg.Imper-1Sg.Dat.Cl Subj.Mark drink.1Sg
 b. *Daj mi da pija.* Bulgarian
 give.2Sg.Imper 1Sg.Dat.Cl Subj.Mark drink.1Sg
 c. *A-më të pi* Albanian
 give-2Sg.Imper-1Sg.Dat.Cl Subj.Mark drink.1Sg
 d. *Dos mu na pjo.* Modern Greek
 give-2Sg.Imper 1Sg.Dat.Cl Subj.Mark drink.1Sg
 ‘Give me to drink!’
- (63) a. *I-am scris lui Ion.* Romanian
 3Sg.Dat.Cl-have.1Sg written him.Dat John
 ‘I wrote to him.’
 b. *Ton vlepo ton Jani.* Modern Greek
 3Sg.Gen.Cl see.1Sg the.M.Sg John
 ‘I see John.’

2.6.2 Sarah Thomason, in her book on contact linguistics (Thomason 2001:105-109), lists seven “well-established” morphosyntactic Balkan areal features: (a) loss of inherited infinitive;³⁴ (b) postposed articles, (c) periphrastic future constructions with a verb with the meaning ‘want’; (d) periphrastic perfect with the “have” auxiliary; (e) pleonastic (“extra”) personal pronouns; (f) identity of locative and directional; (g) constructions translating as “one over/on ten” for numerals 11-19. Thomason (2001:105-109) points out that the Balkan areal features occur in different subsets of six languages – Romanian, Macedonian,

³³ Campbell quotes as his sources Sandfeld (1930) and Joseph (1992).

³⁴ According to Thomason, Albanian has subsequently developed infinitive-like structures.

Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, Albanian and Modern Greek³⁵ and remarks that there are a few other widespread features and a larger number of features confined to two languages, such as a plural suffix of Greek origin in Aromanian and masculine dative pronoun replacing feminine dative pronoun in Macedonian, as a result of Albanian influence.³⁶ She does not illustrate the listed features with examples from the Balkan languages, but rather simulates the structures using English words.³⁷

2.7 Summing up

2.7.1 The Balkan *Sprachbund* features discussed by individual authors are summed up in Table 2:

Table 2: Prominent morpho-syntactic Balkan *Sprachbund* features discussed by individual authors

	Sandfeld	Schaller	Solta	Gołąb	Lindstedt	Campbell	Thomason
postpositive articles	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
prepositional cases					+		
Dat/Gen merger	+	+	+		+	+	+
location/direction merger	+				+		+
clitic doubling of objects	+	+			+	+	+
two direct objects	+						
Dat clitics in NP		+		+			
Voc case markers			+				+
loss of infinitives (and use of subjunctives)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
“will” future	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
“will” future in the past + subjunctive				+			
“have” perfect				+	+	+	+
“have” past perfect					+		
future perfect (used as conditional)				+	+		
general relativizer					+		
periphrastic comparison				+			
“and” instead of “but”	+						

³⁵ For Thomason (2001:105-1009), Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian are dialects of Romanian, Greek is not a “core” Balkan *Sprachbund* language, while Serbo-Croatian belongs to the *Sprachbund* only through its South Eastern dialects. She also mentions that Balkan Romani is said to include some Balkan *Sprachbund* features.

³⁶ The masculine/feminine dative merger actually occurs only in some Southern Macedonian dialects, under the influence of Aromanian.

³⁷ Thus, the “pleonastic” personal pronoun is exemplified with the following (non-)English sentence:

(i) To him I wrote to him John.

2.7.2 The presence of the “prominent” Balkan *Sprachbund* properties in individual languages is represented in Table 3.³⁸

Table 3: Representation of prominent morpho-syntactic Balkan *Sprachbund* features in individual languages

	Ma	Bu	SC	Ro	Ar	MR	Al	MG	BR
postpos. articles	+	+		+	+	+	+		
Dat/Gen merger	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	(+)
Voc case marker	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	(+)	+
locat/dir merger	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	(+)
preposit. cases	+	+	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	(+)	(+)	(+)
clitic doubling	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	(+)
Dat/Gen clitic in DP	+	+	(+)	(+)				+	
subjunctives	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
“will” future	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+
“will” future in the past	+	+	(+)		+		+	+	(+)
“have” perfect	+			+	+	+	+	+	
“have” past perf	+				+	+	+	+	
evidentials	+	+				+	+		

3. How did the Balkan *Sprachbund* features develop?

The awareness of the existence of the Balkan *Sprachbund* features inevitably led to the construction of theories about their origin.

3.1 According to one theory, proposed in the 19th century by Kopitar (1829) and Miklosich (1861), but propagated most ardently in the first half of the 20th century by Weigand (1928), the Balkanisms developed under the influence of an ancient substrate – that of the indigenous Balkan languages Thracian, Dacian or Illyrian. The linguistic material “left” by those languages is, however, extremely limited to allow the verification of the presence or absence of any of the Balkan *Sprachbund* features in any of them. Moreover, the Balkan *Sprachbund* features developed in the post-Byzantine period, and it is unrealistic to assume that any feature of any substratal language had been dormant for centuries, to become active long after the language itself had disappeared.

3.2 On another theory, whose most distinguished proponent is Sandfeld (1930), the source of the Balkan *Sprachbund* features was Greek – the language which, “in spite of all decadences, has never ceased to transmit a civilisation superior to that of its neighbours” (cf. Sandfeld 1930:17). Sandfeld (1930:165) argues that for all his “general concordances”, except for the postpositive article, “the influence of Greek is the most natural explanation – sometimes the only possible one”. In Greek, however, the Balkanisms are postclassical innovations.³⁹

³⁸ The bracketed pluses denote partial representation, i.e. representation in some dialects or with some case relationships.

³⁹ Sandfeld (1930:215) admits that only some of the Balkan *Sprachbund* features can be traced to Ancient Greek; most of them developed in the *koine* (common language) attested in the New Testament or even later.

3.3 On a third theory, defended most recently by Solta (1980), the source of the Balkan *Sprachbund* features was a more recent substrate language – Latin, the language of the Roman empire which ruled over the Balkans for several centuries at the beginning of the new era. But, unfortunately, the Balkan *Sprachbund* features are hardly present in Latin.

3.4 Gołąb (1984:9) maintains that the Balkan *Sprachbund* results from relationship between language substrata and language superstrata, claiming that the Balkan features in Macedonian are actually structural borrowings or “linguistic calques” from Aromanian. But why should a language spoken by a limited number of inhabitants of the peninsula be the source of these calques? Moreover, since the Balkan *Sprachbund* features are not typical for all Romance languages, their provenance in Aromanian would still be in need of explanation.

3.5 It is definitely difficult to find a single donor of the Balkan *Sprachbund* features, and that not because of lack of knowledge of the history of the Balkan languages – at least Greek and Balkan Slavic are well documented for the relevant period. There simply isn’t a single donor. The Balkan *Sprachbund* features are the product of the specific socio-linguistic contact situation on the Balkans. As pointed out by Lindstedt (2000a), we are here dealing with a shared drift – parallel changes that are not simple transfers from a single substrate nor from one of the languages themselves. Lindstedt (2000a) sees the reasons for the drift in the use of several languages in a multilingual setting, whereby a selective environment for all of them is created, so that, among the random changes in each language, those are more easily spread that contribute most to direct inter-translatability between them.

3.6 A convergence model for the Balkan *Sprachbund*, similar to the one proposed by Lindstedt (2000a), was espoused several decades ago by Civjan (1965, 1979) and Rozencvejk (1969, 1976) for whom the linguistic situation on the Balkans is the result of the necessity of the use of language as a means of communication, so that “the ideal model is located not in the past but in the future” (Civjan 1965:9).⁴⁰ Discussing convergence, Jeffers and Lehist (1979:146) see it possible “to set up a sentence model toward which the languages are converging” and, as pointed out by Joseph (1983:199), Kazazis (1966) has in effect produced such a sentence model in his fragment of a transformational grammar for the Balkan languages, with “Pan-Balkan” rules that allow for language-specific lexical insertion.

3.7 The convergence model is corroborated by the fact that the Balkan *Sprachbund* features are most numerous in those parts of the Balkans where greatest number of languages are co-territorial.⁴¹ The epicenter of Balkanisms seems to be in the area around the southern parts of the lakes of Ohrid and Prespa, where Greek, Albanian, Macedonian, Aromanian and Balkan Romani intersect. The structures of the local dialects of the languages spoken in this area are actually very perspicuously similar to each other.⁴²

⁴⁰ Civjan has further developed this idea in her more recent books. Cf. Civjan (1990, 1999).

⁴¹ Throughout the period when the Balkan *Sprachbund* features were developing, Greek was most prestigious and most frequently used by speakers of the other languages in the area. Yet, it is not in Greek that the number of Balkan *Sprachbund* features is greatest, probably because, for the native speakers of Greek, the need of changes for the sake of communication has not been very urgent. Balkan Romani, on the other hand, is spoken by a relatively small number of non-native speakers and, accordingly, Balkan Romany has a relatively small number of Balkan *Sprachbund* features.

⁴² The Balkan *Sprachbund* actually developed at the dialect level, as a result of centuries-long contact between dialects of neighbouring languages.

3.8 It should, however, be borne in mind that the convergence involves more than a mere need for effective communication. As pointed out by Joseph (1983:249), “the need for communicative efficiency in a multi-lingual setting is not readily transferable to a feature such as the postposed definite article in Albanian, Macedonian, Bulgarian and Romanian, for there does not seem to be any obvious communicative advantage in any particular placement of the definite article”.

3.9 Many of the Balkan *Sprachbund* features are also present in non-Balkan languages. In some cases, there is a wider (Mediterranean or Central European) area in which the feature is witnessed.⁴³ The non-uniqueness of individual features does not, however, contradict the possible uniqueness of their combination. What is actually remarkable on the Balkans, is the combination of linguistic features whose dynamic equilibrium contributes to the uniqueness of the union (*cf.* Civjan 1979).

4. The Balkan *Sprachbund* features in this book

The present book discusses the morpho-syntactic Balkan *Sprachbund* features in nine languages in which they are most numerous.

4.1 The nine languages are: Macedonian, Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, Romanian, Megleno-Romanian, Aromanian, Albanian, Modern Greek and Balkan Romani.⁴⁴

4.1.1 The order in which the features of individual languages are discussed has been determined on the basis of degree of Balkanization, i.e. intensity of presence of Balkan *Sprachbund* features, genetic relationship and availability of analyses. I am always beginning with Macedonian, which appears to be “the most Balkanized” Balkan language and also is my mother tongue. Next, I discuss Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian – the Balkan languages genetically related to Macedonian. After the features in the Balkan Slavic languages,

⁴³ Ammann and Auwera (2004) demonstrate that the modal construction consisting of a complementizer and an independent main clause, i.e. the subjunctive construction which appears independently and not as a complement of a verb, is used to express volition not only in the languages of the Balkans, but also elsewhere in Southern Europe. Alongside Modern Greek (p. 293), Romanian (p. 294), and Macedonian (p. 295), Ammann and Auwera (2004) list a Puglian Southern Italian example (p. 304):

(i)	<i>Na</i>	<i>zísete!</i>			Modern Greek
	that.Mod	live.2Pl.Perf.Pres			
	‘May you live (a long life)!’				
(ii)	<i>Să</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>vedem</i>	<i>sănătoși!</i>	Romanian
	that.Mod	1Pl.Acc.Cl	see.1Pl.Pres	healthy.M.Pl	
	‘May we see each other healthy!’				
(iii)	<i>Da</i>	<i>pukneš!</i>			Macedonian
	that.Mod	burst.2Sg.Perf.Pres			
	‘May you burst!’				
(iv)	<i>Ku</i>	<i>fáttsa</i>	<i>ćće</i>	<i>bbóle!</i>	Southern Italian
	that.Mod	do.3Sg.Subj.Pres	what	want.3Sg.Pres	
	‘Let him do what he wants!’				

⁴⁴ With some exceptions, these languages are widely spoken. In the period when the Balkan *Sprachbund* features were developing, Turkish was the most widely spoken language on the Balkans. Nevertheless, a relatively small number of Balkan *Sprachbund* features is encountered in Balkan Turkish. Partly because of its non-Indo-European structure, which makes it difficult to find correspondent exponents for the phenomena exhibited in the other languages (all of them Indo-European), and partly because of its dominant social status, Turkish was an instigator for the development of the *Sprachbund*, more than a participant in it. So, this language is not included in the analysis.

I discuss the features in the three Balkan Romance languages, beginning with Romanian – the only Balkan Romance language discussed extensively in the literature. Then come the features of Albanian, Modern Greek and Arli Balkan Romani – ordered according to degree of Balkanization.

4.1.2 The term “Serbo-Croatian” refers to a language which has officially been dissolved and replaced by “Serbian”, “Croatian” or “Bosnian”. Since the formal aspects of the latter languages are practically equivalent, the all-embracing label “Serbo-Croatian” is here used, the specific terms “Serbian” or “Croatian” being employed for reference to the official Serbian and Croatian standards. Frequent reference is being made to the South-Eastern Serbian dialects, in which the Balkan *Sprachbund* features are intensively present.⁴⁵ The structure and use of the South-Eastern Serbian nominal expressions, which are strikingly different from the structure and use of the nominal expressions in Standard Serbian/Croatian, are discussed in a separate section.

4.1.3 Standard Albanian is predominately based on the Tosk dialects, which are in many respects conspicuously distinct from the Geg dialects.⁴⁶ In several places in the discussion, the differences between the two dialect groups are pointed out. The Geg Albanian infinitive and its distinct use of the perfect, are discussed in sections separate from those discussing the (Tosk) Albanian perfect, evidentials and subjunctives.

4.1.4 The Megleno-Romanian data are from the dialect spoken in the villages in the Meglenite mountains in Northern Greece.⁴⁷ The Aromanian data are from the Western Aromanian dialects; more specifically, from the dialect spoken in central Macedonia (the Kruševo-Bitola area), which is used in the mass media in Macedonia.⁴⁸ The Balkan Romani data are from the Arli dialect of the Romas living in the capital of Macedonia, Skopje,⁴⁹ which is used by several radio and TV stations in Macedonia, and in which the books for basic primary school instruction of the Romani children in Macedonia are written.

4.1.5 Many Balkan *Sprachbund* features are present in individual dialects of a language, and not in its standard code. Since an extensive discussion of dialectal variation is beyond the scope of this book, an endeavour has been made to register the presence of a Balkan *Sprachbund* feature in a dialect, if this feature is present in a number of languages discussed, but absent from the standard dialect of the language to which a particular dialect belongs.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ In fact, Serbo-Croatian is included in this book because in the South-Eastern Serbian dialects the Balkan *Sprachbund* features are very perspicuous.

⁴⁶ “Geg” has an alternative spelling – “Gheg”. “Geg” is the spelling used by native speakers of the dialect and linguists who work with Albanian.

⁴⁷ Since the informant, Dionisie Papaçafa, who formerly taught the language in his own village of Kupa and now prepares weekly contributions in Megleno-Romanian for the radio and TV programs in Skopje, lives in Macedonia, the lexicon abounds with Macedonian words. Note, however, that Papaçafa and his extended family (of four generations) use Megleno-Romanian as the only medium of communication in their homes.

⁴⁸ There are two major groups of Aromanian dialects: Western – spoken west of the Pindus range (in Greece, Albania and Western Macedonia), and Eastern – spoken east of the Pindus range (in Greece, Eastern Macedonia and Bulgaria).

⁴⁹ Arli is not a homogenous dialect; it has many varieties that differ from one another.

⁵⁰ None of the Balkan languages has all the features that can be encountered in individual dialects. As pointed out by Mladenov and Steinke (1978), the use of dialect data makes it possible to give more reliable and more

4.2 Apart from discussing the origin of balkanisms,⁵¹ Balkanists have mainly been concerned with compiling lists of similarities and making parallels between the lexical and grammatical forms of the Balkan languages,⁵² thus perpetuating a picture of uniformity. Such a picture is misleading. The Balkan languages differ rather dramatically in the extent to which they show the presence of a given feature and the divergences concerning the presence of a feature deserves as much emphasis as the general convergence or any of the specific convergences. Moreover, the core languages for the *Sprachbund* as a whole are not necessarily “core”-languages for each feature.⁵³

4.3 Accordingly, rather than making parallel lists of convergent phenomena, this book focuses on displaying similarities and differences in the representation of the most widely acknowledged Balkan *Sprachbund* morpho-syntactic features and their interaction with other features in the structure of the DP or the sentence of individual languages.⁵⁴ The analysis of the grammatical sub-systems in which Balkanisms operate – taking into consideration dialectal variation – are of primary concern in this book.

4.4 In addition to this introductory chapter, in which the character of the Balkan *Sprachbund* phenomena and the listings of individual authors have been discussed, the book has a chapter with ethno-historical considerations and four core chapters: “Cases and Articles”, “Clitic Clusters and Clitic-Doubling”, “The Perfect and the Evidential” and “Infinitives and Subjunctives.”⁵⁵

4.4.1 The chapter “Ethno-Historical Considerations” (Chapter 2) deals with the origin of the name “Balkan”, the boundaries of the spread of the Balkan *Sprachbund* features in

precise responses to the crucial questions of Balkan linguistics and to improve the homogeneous picture suggested by the standard languages.

⁵¹ Many writings on the Balkan *Sprachbund* phenomena are intensively concerned with diachronic developments of those phenomena Cf. Solta (1980), Joseph (1983), Demiraj (1994), Steinke and Vraciu (1999), Asenova (2002), among others.

⁵² The lists are copied and recopied without attention being paid to the time when they were collected. The copying perpetuates mistakes.

⁵³ What concerns the loss of the infinitive and its replacement by subjunctive constructions, Macedonian, Modern Greek, Bulgarian and the South-Eastern Serbian dialects are central, while Romanian, Albanian and Standard Serbian or Standard Croatian are peripheral (cf. Joseph 1983). The highly specific phonetic innovations combined with the preservation of grammatical archaisms in the Bulgarian Rodopi dialect (inflectional nominal morphology, use of morphological infinitive) makes this dialect peripheral within the Balkan *Sprachbund* (cf. Sobolev 2004a). Alternatively, the East Serbian Timok dialect gains full membership as far as the same features are concerned. Many Albanian linguistic properties that are highly idiosyncratic (e.g., the grammaticalization of the future form with “have” auxiliaries, the way modal or phrasal verbs are related to their objects, the position of pronominal clitics relative to imperative verbs) indicate its special status among the languages of the Balkans (cf. Soboljev 2004a).

⁵⁴ As pointed out by Belić (1936), the common Balkan features in each language combine with different local features and thus play different systemic roles. Feuillet (1986), arguing that Balkanisms have to be discussed in the framework of the phonological, morpho-syntactic and lexical systems prevailing in the Balkan languages, analyses the Balkan verb forms as exponents of a network of temporal, aspectual and modal oppositions.

⁵⁵ Most of the widely listed morpho-syntactic Balkan *Sprachbund* features and many of the not-so-widely listed ones, are covered. Two popular morphological or rather lexical features – (a) the analytic construction of comparison of adjectives (with the use of comparative particles or with the comparative of ‘much/more’), and (b) the Slavic-like construction of the numerals between 11 and 19, or between 11 and 29 (by a syntagm which can be paraphrased as ‘put the number X on top of the number 10’) – have been left out, since they do not interact with the features discussed in any significant way.

relation to the distinction between “ethnic” and “geographic” Balkans, and the migration of the peoples who speak the nine languages considered, as well as with their genetic affiliation and relationship.

4.4.2 The chapter “Cases and Articles” (Chapter 3) analyses the relationship between the exponents of case and the articles and describes the environments in which individual case markers and definite articles appear. The nominal and pronominal forms are listed in distinct tables. The occurrence of the definite article at the right edge of the first lexical word (in all languages except in Modern Greek and Balkan Romani) is discussed in connection with the ordering of constituents in the DP. A distinction is made between the use of personal and reflexive pronominal clitics, particular attention being paid to various uses of the latter. The use of the Dat/Gen clitics to express possessive relationships is compared to the use of possessive pronominal modifiers, as well as to possessively interpreted Dat/Gen clitics in argument positions. The question of inter-dependence between the use of a clitic possessor and type of possessum is brought up. Special attention is paid to the individual features of Romanian and Albanian agreement clitics. The use of prepositions for the expression of individual (abstract) case relationships and relationships between individual members in the DP are also discussed.

4.4.3 The chapter “Clitic Clusters and Clitic-Doubling” (Chapter 4) presents the linear ordering of the clausal clitics, lists the sets of pronominal and auxiliary clitics of individual languages (in tables) and discusses the phonological orientation of the clausal clitic clusters. The focus of this chapter is, however, on the conditions for clitic-doubling of direct objects, indirect objects and “wh”-words.

4.4.4 In the chapter “The Perfect and the Evidential” (Chapter 5), the structure of various perfect and evidential forms, listed in tables, are analysed and their uses are discussed. The use of the “have” auxiliary in the verbal system is contrasted with the use of the “be” auxiliary. In the section for Macedonian, two intersecting verb systems, in which two types of perfects operate, are outlined. It is shown that in some languages the use of the present perfect is distinct from the use of the simple past tense, while in other languages these uses intersect. It is also shown that in the languages without evidential forms, the perfect tenses take over their functions.

4.4.5 In the chapter “Infinitives and Subjunctives” (Chapter 6), the form and function of (remnants of) infinitive or infinitive-like constructions are examined. It is pointed out that, in most cases, the functions of the infinitive have been taken over by subjunctive constructions with tensed verbs. The subjunctive markers are contrasted with “that”-complementizers, as well as with the typically Balkan “wh”-complementizers. The forms of the verb in subjunctive construction are analysed and the specific subjunctive forms are listed in tables along with their indicative counterparts. The typical and specific uses of the subjunctive constructions are discussed. Special attention is paid to the use of (a) the past tense in subjunctive constructions; (b) subjunctive constructions in complement positions of the “have” modal verb; (c) subjunctive constructions as modifiers; and (d) the bare subjunctive constructions, i.e. subjunctive constructions that occur by themselves and not as complements of superordinate verbs. The “will” future tenses are shown to be intrinsically connected with the subjunctive constructions. The use of the tenses in conditional clauses is discussed, with special emphasis on temporal conditional clauses, where the “will” modal clitic appears both in the *protasis* and the *apodosis*.

4.4.6 In each of the core chapters, individual languages are discussed in separate sections – with an abundance of illustrative sentences, whose words are glossed with glosses that include grammatical information.⁵⁶

4.5 At the end of the book, there are (a) three appendices – “Core Vocabularies”, “Sample Texts”, and “Languages Spoken on the Balkans” and (b) References.

4.5.1 The “Core Vocabularies” contain modified Swadesh lists of words,⁵⁷ used in the “Spinoza Lexicon and Syntax Project” (Leiden-Nijmegen) – 233 words for each of the languages analysed.

4.5.2 The sample texts contain cca. 500 words each. The Macedonian, Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, Romanian, Tosk Albanian, Geg Albanian and Modern Greek texts are drawn from published translations of Ernest Hemingway’s novel *The Old Man and the Sea*. The Megleno-Romanian, Aromanian and Balkan Romani (Arli) texts have been especially translated for this book (from the Macedonian text).

4.5.3 The appendix “Languages Spoken on the Balkans” lists some 40 languages that are spoken on the Balkans. The languages are grouped in genetically related groups and subgroups. Basic information on number of speakers and the countries in which they live is given. Where appropriate, information on standardization and dialects is also provided.

4.5.5 In the “References”, in addition to the books and papers referred to in the text, reference grammars of the Balkan languages are listed.

4.6 Theoretical discussion is limited in the book. Nevertheless, reference is made to theoretical solutions of individual problems within the framework of the generative theory which evolved from early Standard Theory to Revised Extended Standard Theory into Government and Binding Theory, also known as Principles and Parameters Theory,⁵⁸ and led to the Minimalist Program (*cf.* Chomsky 1995, 1999). A syntactic structure is assumed in which, at the lowest VP level, merging occurs as the verb and its arguments are building up a tree. In the next IP (Inflection Phrase) level the sentence is anchored in time and space and case is assigned (in minimalist terms, case is checked or valued, rather than assigned). Then, the CP (Complement Phrase) level anchors the sentence to other sentences. The CP level may be dominated by discourse levels, such as FocP (Focus Phrase) and TopP (Topic Phrase). Every level includes lexical and/or functional projections, related to formal features – separate functional categories for each feature, or a syncretic functional head hosting several features.

⁵⁶ Note that, as a rule, only the marked category is represented. Thus, the nominative case of the nouns and the indicative mood and present tense of the verbs are signalled only if explicit contrast has to be made.

⁵⁷ Swadesh originally made a list of core vocabulary words for the purpose of estimating the degree of relationship between the Salish languages (*cf.* Swadesh 1950). Subsequently, this list underwent modifications (*cf.* Swadesh 1951, 1952, 1955).

⁵⁸ For an overview of these theories, *cf.* Haegeman (1994).

Chapter Two

ETHNO-HISTORICAL CONSIDERATIONS

1. The Balkan peninsula

The Balkan peninsula derives its name from the Turkish word for the Slavic toponym Stara Planina – the mountain range in Northern Bulgaria, to the south of the Danube.¹ The first person to use the term *Balkan Peninsula* was the German geographer Zeune (1808), who replaced the former reference to the peninsula as “European Turkey” with *Balkanhalbinsel*. Over a hundred years later, the Serbian geographer Cvijić supported this term, stating that there was *une répugnance évidente* ‘evident repulsion’ at the description of the Balkans as “Turkey in Europe” (cf. Cvijić 1918:2). The name *Balkan Peninsula* was readily accepted since it was parallel to the names of the other two peninsulas in Southern Europe, the Pyrenean and the Apennine one, which were also named after mountain ranges.

1.1. While the eastern, southern and western boundaries of the peninsula are defined by the borders of the Adriatic, Ionian, Mediterranean, Aegean and Black seas, its northern boundary is defined by two mighty rivers: the Sava, from its head-waters in the Alps, north of the Gulf of Trieste, to its junction with the Danube, and the Danube from here on, to its estuary in the Black Sea (cf. Cvijić 1918:2; Katičić 1976:11). Thus, unlike the northern boundaries of the Pyrenean and the Apennine peninsula, which are closed by high mountains – the Pyrenees and the Alps, respectively, the northern boundaries of the Balkan Peninsula are not sharply separated from the rest of continental Europe. Because of this, the Balkan peninsula has been very open to invasion from the north, and it is from the north that numerous invasions have come.² The invasions have driven into the peninsula a diversity of tribes and have turned it into a conglomeration of peoples and languages.

1.2 With the exception of Stara Planina and the Rhodope ranges, which are moderately high and have numerous mountain passes, the major mountain chains in the Balkans run north-south; so, the invaders have been able to penetrate deep into the peninsula. Having settled, the individual tribes were isolated, however, the high mountains hindering the creation of common states and encouraging linguistic localisms.

2. Ethnic Balkans

The modern Balkan states share a geographical unity and historical heritage dating back to inhabitation during the Lower Paleolithic times, 200,000-100,000 B.C. (cf. Carter 1977:1). In the course of the first millenium of the modern era, however, due to the uneven influence of Rome in the territories in and around the Balkans, which the empire had conquered, two different civilizations developed on the peninsula.

¹ *Stara planina* in all the Slavic languages means ‘old mountain’. The Turkish word *balkan* means ‘thickly wooded mountain range’ or ‘high ridge’.

² The Ottoman Turks, who appeared in the fourteenth century, were the first invaders who did not come from the north, their invasion being made possible by the fact that they first conquered Asia Minor.

2.1 During the period before Christ, Roman influence on the Balkans was chiefly along the Adriatic and Ionic coast, concentrating in coastal towns. In the first century A.D. the Romans began pushing their frontiers inland across the Balkans. As they advanced, they established forts and small towns and built roads to connect them with the coast. The countryside beyond the forts and the towns remained populated with indigenous population, however, and experienced little or no Roman influence.

2.2 In 324, the emperor Constantine chose to live in the east and established a new center there, Constantinople. This marked the beginning of the end of the centralized Roman rule, which was precipitated after the death of emperor Theodosius I, who divided the empire between his two sons, into Old Rome in the west and New Rome in the east. From the fifth century onwards, two distinct spheres of influence developed on the Balkans – Latin in the western part of the peninsula and Greek in its eastern part, eventually each with its own Christian church. The empire remained “Roman” and, despite the divisions of its territory, it was always seen as a single unit.³ The citizens of both the western and eastern part called themselves Romans, though Greek came to be the predominant language in the east. The term *Hellene* ‘Greek’ connoted a pagan; Christian Greeks called themselves “Romans” (cf. Fine 1991:15-16).

2.3 After the Slavic invasions of the late sixth and seventh centuries cut off east-west communications, the differences between the two parts of the Roman empire increased rapidly. The dividing line between Old Rome and New Rome ran from Sremska Mitrovica – a Serbian city on the river Sava, close to the border with Croatia, to Scadar – a city on a lake at the Montenegrin/Albanian border, close to the Adriatic sea. This is basically the line dividing the Catholic from the Orthodox sphere of influence to date.

2.4 When the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires came into the picture, the ethnic borders of the Balkans, distinct from its geographical borders, were definitely shaped. The western borders were moved eastwards – what is now Slovenia and part of Croatia (west of the river Una) “went out” of the “ethnic” Balkans, whereas in the north and north-east the boundary was extended far beyond the Danube, to encompass the Serbian province of Vojvodina and most of present-day Romania. It is throughout this “ethnic Balkans” that the Balkan *Sprachbund* linguistic features spread.

3. Greek in retrospective

Already in the Late Bronze Age, Greek was the most important language of what is now mainland Greece and was expanding its influence in Crete and the Archipelago. And yet, Greek is not the oldest language of the Aegean area. Herodotus writes that, originally, Greece was called Pelasgia and was inhabited by Pelasgians (cf. Katičić 1976). But the historical tradition that the Pelasgians were the Pre-Hellenic, barbarian population of almost the whole of Greece seems to be a product of the epics. The historical Pelasgians lived in a restricted area – in the town of Larisa and the Thessalian plain surrounding it. According to Meyer (1892), they were a Greek tribe that succumbed to the onslaught of another Greek tribe, which came from the same austere mountains of Epirus, from which the Pelasgians had once begun the conquest of Thessaly. Katičić (1976:22),

³ The term *Byzantine* is an invention of Renaissance scholars; it was not used by its contemporaries. (cf. Fine 1991:15-16).

however, assumes that the Pelasgians were a Pre-Greek autochthonous population, which lived in what is now Greece, along with other non-Greek and presumably Pre-Greek ethnic groups, such as the Lelegians, Eteocretans and Tursenians.

3.1 Scholars disagree as to whether the Pre-Greek languages were Indo-European and more or less related to Ancient Greek. There are, however, two established facts: (a) Ancient Greek was not the oldest language spoken in Greece and the Aegean area; and (b) Greek spread so universally over the entire Aegean area and imposed itself so successfully on the speakers of the substratum languages that a massive immigration of a substantial number of its speakers must be assumed. Katičić (1976:37) argues that around 1950 B.C. there occurred a violent break of the cultural development of the area, which re-shaped patterns of its spiritual and material life⁴ and concludes that the Greek-speaking tribes must have invaded the Greek mainland about that time and spread to Crete and the Archipelago somewhat later.

3.2 The tribes which invaded Greece around 1950 B.C. appear in the sources under the name of Achaians. More than seven hundred years later, about 1200 B.C., another group of Greek-speaking Indo-European tribes, connected with the name Dorians, entered Northern Greece (*cf.* Katičić 1976:98). The Ancient Greek dialects, as known from inscriptions and from the literature, belong to two strata: Arcado-Cypriot, Ionic and Aeolic belong to the first stratum (the one formed by the migration in 1950 B.C.), while Dorian and North-West Greek belong to the second stratum (the one formed by the migration in 1200 B.C.). Although direct evidence about the first migration is lacking, Katičić (1976:98-99) maintains that it is reasonable to assume that both groups came from the mountains of the continental part of the Balkans, and even from as far as the Danubian plains. Thus, the Greek language was brought to Greece from what in classical times were the barbarian continental Balkans.

3.3 While the migration of the Greek-speaking tribes is more or less explicitly documented, it is amazingly difficult to establish whether the people that were left behind in central Balkans – in Paenonia, Epirus and Macedonia⁵ – spoke Greek or not. The question of the ethnic affiliation and the language of the Ancient Macedonians is particularly consequential, due to the fact that the Slavs that settled in Macedonia in the sixth and seventh centuries, subsequently assumed the name “Macedonians”.

3.4 When in the fourth century B.C. Macedonia began to play an ever increasing role in Greek affairs, Greek authors described the Macedonians as barbarians. During the Persian wars, Alexander the Great's participation in the Olympic games, in which only

⁴ Modern archaeology shows that the foundations of the Aegean culture were laid in Pre-Greek time. Among the Pre-Greek geographic names there are not only oronyms and hydronyms, but also a considerable number of names of cities and towns. So, the Hellenes invaded a fully urbanized territory.

⁵ Paenonia was situated in the valley to the east of the river Axios/Vardar, in the surroundings of the modern Macedonian towns of Veles, Prilep and Štip. It lost its independence to the Macedonian king Philip II, but remained a separate kingdom under its own rulers. As far as literary evidence goes, Paenonia is a blank on the linguistic map of the ancient Balkans.

Epirus was a mountainous, rugged region, extending from the Pindus range to the Ionic sea shore. It was believed that it was the cradle of the Hellenes, who had descended from there to their historical lands. Ancient Macedonia was to the north of mount Olympus, in the valleys of the rivers Haliacmon, Lias and the lower Axios/Vardar river.

Hellenes could participate, was seriously challenged. If we add to this that Curtius Rufus describes a scene in which the difference between Greek and the ancestral speech of the Macedonians plays a role (*cf.* Katičić 1976:106), one should not wonder that the question of the ancient Macedonian language and of the ethnological substance of the Macedonians arose among scholars. Unfortunately, this question cannot be settled.

3.5 As pointed out by Andriotes (1979:13-14), the recorded Paleo-Macedonian linguistic material consists of no more than 140 words, noted by Hesychius – an Alexandrine lexicographer of the fifth century A.D.,⁶ and cca. 200 proper names of Macedonian rulers, nobles and glorious warriors, mentioned in various texts of the Alexandrine and Roman periods. The morphonological analysis of this very limited linguistic material has led to the conclusion that the language of the ancient Macedonians was different from the Ancient Greek dialects. In particular, whereas in Arcado-Cypriot, Ionic and Aeolic, as well as in Dorian and North-West Greek, the Indo-European consonants *bh*, *dh*, *gh* appear as *φ*, *θ*, *χ*, in the language of the ancient Macedonians they surface as *β*, *δ*, *γ* respectively, as they do in the *satem* Indo-European languages (*cf.* Kretschmer 1896; Wendland 1912; Schwyzler 1939, among others). Whether and to what an extent the language of the ancient Macedonians can be characterized as Thracian or Illyrian, or else should be treated as “a cousin” of Greek whose phonological system was heavily influenced by the phonology of its Thracio-Illyrian neighbours, is, however, impossible to say (*cf.* Meillet 1920:187).

4. Origin of the Balkan Romance languages

To the north-east of Macedonia, was in antiquity the territory of the Thracians. They were known to the Greeks since the most remote past and for all their tribal diversity, there was never a doubt as to their ethnic and linguistic unity. Most scholars assume that the Thracians immigrated to the Balkans along with other people speaking Indo-European languages; some archeologists, however, believe that the Thracian stratum is autochthonous in Thrace (*cf.* Katičić 1976:133).

4.1 Thrace proper extended from the Black sea to the river Mesta, and from the Balkan mountain to the Aegean sea. There were, however, Thracian tribes to the west and north of this area – around the Axios/Vardar river. The Mysian tribes, who lived around the lower Danube (in what today is Eastern Serbia), and the Dacian tribes situated in the South-Eastern Carpathian mountain range, were also related to them.

4.2 Our knowledge of Thracian, Mysian or Dacian is not proportionate to the numbers of its speakers and to its importance in the ancient world. No Thracian literacy was ever developed, although the Greek, and presumably also the Latin alphabet was sometimes used in a crude and awkward way. Etymological analyses of personal and other names show that the languages spoken by the Thracians belong to the Indo-European languages. The Bulgarian scholar Georgiev identified two patterns of sound change in Thracian toponymy – one with a consonant shift (*centum*) and another without (*satem*) (*cf.* Katičić 1976:137-153). While the place names with a consonant shift occur in Thrace proper, the

⁶ According to Andriotes (1979:13), a great portion of these words comes from a list made by the Ancient Macedonian grammarian Amerias, in the third century B.C.

place names without consonant shift are encountered in the territory of the Mysians and the Dacians.

4.3 In the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., a major movement of populations took place, during which the Daco-Mysians invaded Thrace and the Thracians were pushed from the Balkans to Asia Minor. When the Romans came to the Balkans, the Daco-Mysian ethnic and linguistic elements were mixed with the older Thracian ones. In the four surviving Balkan Romance languages that resulted from the Romanization of the population of Thrace – (Daco-)Romanian, Aromanian, Megleno-Romanian and Istro-Romanian – two substrata are discernible. It should, however, be borne in mind that, for all the Thracian and Dacian elements that they embody, (Daco-)Romanian, Aromanian, Megleno-Romanian and Istro-Romanian are Romance languages that developed from a common Romanian language, which was shaped during the Roman rule on the Balkans.

4.4 The Romance speakers on the Balkans enter history in the 12th century,⁷ while texts in the V(a)lach/Romanian language appear for the first time as late as the 16th century. What is known from Roman sources is that the Roman province of Dacia – situated in what is today Southern Romania – was conquered and colonized by the Roman emperor Trajan in 106 and abandoned by his successors in 271. With the Roman withdrawal, the area dropped out of recorded history; mediaeval historians only notice the passage of nomads – Gots, Huns, Avars, Bulgars, Magyars, Mongols.

4.5 While the Romans withdrew their legions, administrators, and many colonists, it seems unlikely that all the inhabitants of Dacia, which before the Roman conquest had been a fairly unified and formidable state, would have left; archaeological findings indicate a continuity of the material culture, even though the urban areas declined (*cf.* The Vlach Connection). What percentage of the population that remained in the area was Latin speaking and what percentage was still using the old Dacian language is, however, impossible to say.

4.6 The withdrawing colonists – probably mostly Latin speaking – settled in the Roman province of Upper Mysia, just across the Danube from what is now Eastern Serbia. Subsequently, Upper Mysia was subdivided into Upper Mysia proper and Dacia. The latter (sub)state had the fate of the original one: after the Avars and Slavs crossed the Danube (in 602 A.D.), it disappeared from history.

4.7 Since the Romance languages spoken in present-day Greece, Albania and Macedonia do not betray the influence of Ancient Greek that they should if they had originated where they are spoken at the present, it is safe to assume that the speakers of these languages had moved to the south of the Balkan peninsula,⁸ after the coming of the Slavs. The fact that nowadays Aromanians and Megleno-Romanians inhabit the most mountain-

⁷ In 1186, a revolt against the Byzantine empire was led by two Vlach brothers, one of which, John Asen styled himself, in Latin, *imperator omnium Bulgarorum et Blacorum* (*cf.* Vasiliev 1964).

⁸ The Greek influence never reached the Danube. Christianity spread to V(a)lachia from Bulgaria. The first V(a)lachian alphabet was Cyrillic; the V(a)lachians, or rather the (Daco-)Romanians converted to the Latin alphabet in the nineteenth century, during the Enlightenment period, when, along with the name “Romania”, the Roman alphabet was seen as a symbol of national identity.

ous parts of Macedonia, Albania and Northern Greece indicates that they might have moved there fleeing from invaders.⁹

4.8 A portion of the population of Dacia remained in what is now Eastern Serbia, where they have been living for 17 centuries, while another (small) portion withdrew westwards to Istria, where we nowadays find 1,200 to 1,500 speakers of Istro-Romanian. Nevertheless, when the Avars and Slavs came to the Balkans, the greatest part of Romance speakers on the Balkans must have crossed the Danube, returned to their original habitat in the Southern Carpathians and moved beyond – as far as what is nowadays Moldavia/Moldova.¹⁰ Otherwise, it would be impossible to explain the spread of the language of the Romans in areas which they never had conquered.

4.9 Thus, the coming of the Slavs split the language which the Roman colonizers had brought to the Balkans into four languages: (Daco-)Romanian, Aromanian, Megleno-Romanian and Istro-Romanian. Note, however, that the term “Romanian” began to be used in the nineteenth century, during the period of the Enlightenment, as a result of the development of national consciousness in the principalities of V(a)lachia and Moldavia. Even now, the Romance speakers on the Balkans are referred to as Vlachs.¹¹

5. Albanian and Illyrian

To the west and north-west of the territory of the Thracians was the Illyrian kingdom. It was a major naval power and thus a major threat to the Greek communities on the Ionian and the Adriatic shores. These communities were not able to free themselves of the Illyrian pressure, until they asked for Roman intervention which, after many vicissitudes, ended in 168 B.C. with a complete submission of the Illyrian state. The *Illyricum regnum* was thereby transformed into *Provincia Illyrica*, which subsequently extended far beyond its original borders (*cf.* Katičić (1976:156), so that the name “Illyrian” came to be used to lump together population speaking very different languages.

5.1 The analyses of the Illyrian linguistic material do not reach the standard of the analyses of the Thracian material. For all the systematic etymological research, Illyrian has remained a shadowy entity. The generally held view that the North-Western Balkans already in ancient times belonged to the Indo-European linguistic area seems to be confirmed; but the reflexes of the Indo-European gutturals remain a problem, so that

⁹ The Megleno-Romanians are assumed to have settled in the Meglenite mountains north-east of Thessaloniki in the thirteenth century, after the fall of the Bulgaro-Valachian kingdom. This assumption is based on linguistic facts: (a) Megleno-Romanian shares some features with Romanian, which Aromanian does not share; (b) it has some borrowings from Bulgarian, which are not present in Daco-Romanian or Aromanian; and (c) the borrowings from Greek into this language are of very recent origin.

¹⁰ The Hungarian and Romanian nationalists have a dispute as to who was first in the area east and south of the Carpathian mountain range, which today is called Transylvania. The Romanians insist that the (Daco-)Romanian movement to that area was actually a “return” to the territory which they inhabited from antiquity. The Hungarians, on the other hand, argue that the ancient Dacian tribes were assimilated by the Romans and Slavs and the Romanians did not “come back” to Transylvania, but rather moved there from south of the Danube, pushing out the Hungarian tribes which had settled in the region after the withdrawal of the Romans.

¹¹ Romania and the Romanians actually preserve the name of the Romans, which the country where Rome is, Italy, does not.

whether the Illyrians spoke a *centum* or a *satem* language remains a controversial issue. It is also possible that “Illyrian” was a cover term for many languages, like “Amerindian” or “Aboriginal”.¹²

5.2 Once it became clear that Albanian was an independent Indo-European language, and autochthonous on the Balkan since antiquity, etymological investigations of Albanian concentrated on proving that it is the direct descendent of Illyrian. Among Albanian intellectuals and politicians the idea that Albanian “was spoken” in what is now Albania and adjacent areas at least two thousand years ago, has obtained serious political dimensions. But though the Albanian speaking areas on the Balkans lie almost completely within ancient Illyrian territory, and though there are Illyrian toponyms for which Albanian correspondences can be established, the descendency of Albanian from Illyrian is hard to prove. Written texts in Albanian are extant only from the fifteenth century onwards. In order to reconstruct the language of earlier periods, recourse has been made to all kinds of indirect evidence: spoken dialects, genetically related languages, evidence from substratum languages, toponyms. The results are, however, inconclusive.

5.3 Since Albanian has undergone a consonant shift, those scholars who believe Illyrian to be a *centum* language are denying the Illyrian descent of Albanian and opt for Thracian (Dacian) affiliation. But even if it could be proven that Illyrian was a *centum* language, the controversy would not be solved, since there are reasons to believe that in Albanian the assibilation of the palatal stops was very late, in part not before the Middle Ages (*cf.* Katičić 1976:185).

5.4 The existence of many correspondences between Romanian and Albanian has also been thought of as an argument for the Daco-Mysian, rather than Illyrian origin of Albanian. Nevertheless, Romanian and Albanian are not closely related genetically; the common elements most probably result from linguistic contact. Pre-Albanian and Pre-Romanian were by all appearances spoken for a considerable time in close contiguity. Taking into account information offered by the arrival of the Slavs on the Balkans, it could be argued that the area of Pre-Albanian and Pre-Romanian contiguity is Southern Serbia and adjacent regions of present-day Macedonia and perhaps Bulgaria and Montenegro (*cf.* Vermeer 1996:129).¹³

5.5 Since our knowledge of Illyrian is scanty and since it is very likely that different groups of Illyrians spoke different languages, the question of the Albanian descendency from Illyrian has no linguistic content. As pointed out by Vermeer (1996:130-131), the view that the origin of Albanian is politically relevant at all is a consequence of a regrettable Balkan prejudice according to which the identity and even the rights of individual human beings should be derived from their ancestors and from myths about the rise of collectives.

¹² On the language of the Illyrians *cf.* Krahe (1964).

¹³ After the migration of the Slavs, the population of the Balkans had three major components: (a) inhabitants of coastal towns, who spoke continuations of Latin; (b) mountain pastoralists, who spoke (Pre-)Albanian, (Pre-)Romanian and possibly other languages that have not survived; (c) agriculturalists, who spoke Slavic. Many areas were linguistically mixed, with, say, Slavic being spoken by the peasants in the valleys and Pre-Albanian or Pre-Romanian by the pastoralists in the mountains.

6. The Balkan Slavic languages

The presence of the Slavs on the Balkans is for the first time registered in the fifth century. On the basis of linguistic and archeological evidence, it is assumed that they had come to the Balkans from the Ukraine, following the same path toward the Danube that was used by a large number of Turkic peoples – Huns, Avars, Bulgars, Pechenegs and Cumans.

6.1 Byzantine sources report that in the fifth and sixth centuries, north of the Danube, there were many disunited tribes who spoke the same language and in looks did not differ from one another, but were divided into two groups – the Slaveni and the Antes. The presence of a large number of early Iranian loanwords in the Slavic vocabulary of these tribes, including the word *Antes*, indicates that, in their “original” homeland, they would have had contact with Iranian tribes.¹⁴ The existence of an equally large number of early Germanic loanwords, on the other hand, testifies that along their rout to the Danube, they would have run into many Germanic peoples.

6.2 When they crossed the Danube, at the beginning of the seventh century, the Slavs came in contact with the older settlers of the Balkans – the descendants of the Illyrians and the Tracians. Awing to their superior numbers, the newcomers assimilated the indigenous peoples, and imposed their language upon them.

6.3 Whereas the eastern Balkans were easily overrun by Slavs, the Western Balkans seem to have suffered Avar (Turkic) raids throughout the sixth and seventh centuries. Yet, from the beginning of the seventh century the Slavs came to be the dominant power in the Western Balkans, as well. By the middle of the seventh century, the whole of the Balkans, except for the Greek islands and a few walled cities along the Dalmatian and Greek coast, was lost to Roman control.

6.4 In the 670s, the Bulgars – a Turkic tribe that had moved out of the lower Volga region, pushed by another Turkic tribe, the Khazars – began crossing the Danube and set about subjecting or pushing out the Slavic tribes living in modern Bulgaria. A century later, the Bulgarian rulers, the khans, were ruling the whole of present-day Bulgaria, but the more numerous Slavs slavized their Bulgar masters, who came to speak Slavic.¹⁵ In the second half of the ninth century, the Bulgarian king (not khan) Boris decided to accept Christianity, and invited the pupils of Constantine and Methodius – the two brothers from Thessaloniki, who had adapted the Greek alphabet to the needs of the Slavic phonology and had translated the Bible from Greek to the language of the Slavs (as spoken in Thessaloniki and its surroundings),¹⁶ to introduce it to his subjects. The conversion to Christi-

¹⁴ The Antes might not have originally been Slavs. They might have been a conquering group, which had asserted authority over various Slavic tribes and had thereby donated their name, but had in time become linguistically and culturally assimilated by the larger number of Slavs (*cf.* Fine:1991:25-26).

¹⁵ Into the ninth century, the Byzantine authors distinguish between two groups of people living to the north of Byzantium – Slavs and Bulgars. In the late ninth and early tenth centuries, however, reference is made only to (Slavic speaking) Bulgars. Linguists claim that no more than a dozen words in modern Bulgarian go back to the language of the Turkic Bulgars.

¹⁶ Constantine and Methodius, sons of an imperial official in Thessaloniki, translated the Bible at the request of the Moravian king Rustislav, who had invited them to introduce Christianity in Moravia. However, the Franks were displeased with the fact that the “Eastern version” of the religion was being disseminated, in a

anity through the language of the Slavs helped Boris to stand high above his boyars, and the fact that the preaching was neither in Latin nor in Greek, but rather in Slavic,¹⁷ enabled him to distance himself from both Rome and Constantinople. But above all, the new religion was a force that united the Bulgars and the local Slavs into a single people.

6.5 The Bulgarian kings were constantly attacking the Eastern Roman, i.e. Byzantine empire and at the beginning of the ninth century, during the rule of khan Krum, conquered a greater portion of what is now Northern Greece, Macedonia and Southern Romania, so that, to the north-west, Bulgaria came to border with the kingdom of the Franks, whose king Charlemagne had in 796 won a major victory in a campaign against the Avars, thus making the Franks overlords of the Croats in Northern Dalmatia, Slavonia and Panonia. Later into the ninth and during the tenth centuries, the Byzantine emperors recovered Macedonia and pushed the Bulgarians north, towards the Danube. They also recovered the territories in the interior of the Greek mainland and the Peloponnesus hinterland, where the Slavs had penetrated. To increase the number of Greek speakers, many Greeks from Sicily and Asia Minor were resettled in the interior of Greece.¹⁸ Moreover, with the restoration of Byzantine administration, which strongly supported an active church missionary program, the Slavs were Christianized and Hellenized. Thus, by the tenth century, all the Peloponnesus and the southern part of the Greek mainland was “purely Greek” again.¹⁹

6.6 In the 960s, the Byzantine emperor Tzimiskes and the Russian tzar Svjatoslav waged a war against Bulgaria. In 871 Tzimiskes won the war, annexed Bulgaria and converted it into a province, referred to as “theme”. The Byzantine rule did not, however, affect the territory of present-day Macedonia, which before the Russian-Byzantine war was part of the Bulgarian kingdom. Tzimiskes might have intended to direct another campaign to annex this territory, but he never did that; having conquered the Russians, he had to battle the Arabs at his eastern frontier. Soon after Tzimiskes’s death in 976, there

language other than Latin, and the two brothers were summoned to Rome soon after they started preaching. Constantine fell ill there, became a monk assuming the name of Cyril (from which the name of the alphabet of the Russians, Serbs, Macedonians and Bulgarians is derived) and died in 869. After his brother’s death, Methodius returned to Moravia, but was expelled from there a year later, when Rastislav was overthrown by a member of a pro-Frank party in Moravia. As a result, the Slavic liturgy died in Moravia. But it flourished in many Balkan Slavic lands and in Russia.

¹⁷ This language is what is now referred to as “Old Church Slavonic”. Note that the alphabet that Cyril and Methodius devised was not Cyrillic, but rather Glagolitic. Cyril’s students who came to the Balkans from Moravia brought texts in this alphabet and began teaching it. Subsequently, Clement and his disciples (the Ohrid school), replaced the Glagolitic alphabet by the Cyrillic one.

¹⁸ Note that the resettlement of the Greeks from Asia Minor was repeated after World War One, when the Slavic population was forced to leave Northern Greece.

¹⁹ As pointed out by Fine (1991:64), in this period, a great deal of ethnic mixture between Slavs and Greeks occurred, so that few pure-blooded Greeks – if such existed prior to the Slavic invasion – were left. A few centuries later, many Albanians migrated into these regions and further increased the ethnic mixture. Thus, there is no reason to believe that the contemporary Greeks are “purer blooded” than any of the other Balkan peoples. But, of course, it is culture rather than blood lines, that matter.

broke out a “revolt” in the lands west from the river Axion/Vardar, which ended up with the establishment of the kingdom of tzar Samuel,²⁰ with centers in Ohrid and Prespa.

6.7 While the Bulgarian scholars treat Samuel’s kingdom as a continuation of the former Bulgarian state, the Macedonian scholars stress the fact that it was established by the son of a local nobleman, Nicholas, in an area which the Bulgarian kings conquered relatively late. Evaluating these positions, we have to take into account the lack of evidence that any of the Bulgarian noblemen came west to serve Samuel. Moreover, having expanded his state in all directions to incorporate Bulgaria, Western Thrace and Macedonia (excluding Thessaloniki), Thessaly, Epirus, Albania and Durazzo, Samuel was crowned tzar not by a Balkan archbishop, but by the Roman pope.

6.8 Main argument for the position of the Bulgarian scholars is the fact that, in the Byzantine sources, Samuel is referred to as a “Bulgarian king”. But, by the tenth century Byzantium stopped distinguishing the Slavs from the Bulgars, who were all speaking Slavic; reference was made only to (Slavic speaking) Bulgars. As for the use of the name “Macedonia”, after the Romans arrived on the Balkans, it lost its original ethnic, political and administrative meaning and acquired geographic denotation. Subsequently, the geographic area began to be related with and attached to the people who lived in and traveled out of the region to various parts of Europe – first for commerce, afterwards for education and cultural purposes, as well. Returning to Europe, these “travelers” brought the name back. As time passed, the Slavic population in Macedonia began to look upon the name “Macedonia” as their own and to refer to the language it spoke as “Macedonian”.²¹

6.9 For historical reasons, what is nowadays the republic of Macedonia has been (and still is) looked upon as Greek, Bulgarian or Serbian. For the Greeks, it is the land of “their” Alexander the Great; for the Bulgarians it is part of the glorious mediaeval Bulgarian state; for the Serbs it is the region which their most powerful king, Dušan, chose as the center of its kingdom.

6.10 At the time when the Bulgarian kingdom flourished, we find the Serbs living in separate states, of which Duklja (later referred to as Zeta)²², Bosna and Raška were the most powerful. The rulers of all of these states were Samuel’s vassals. When, after Samuel’s death, his kingdom was conquered by the Byzantine king Basil II, Byzantium extended its rule as far as the Danube. The Byzantine empire was, however, permanently attacked by Turkic tribes and could not keep adequate control of the lands over which it ruled. Thus, the Serbian states, which were at the periphery of the empire, were gradually

²⁰ Some scholars suggest that Samuel’s family was of Armenian origin; if so, it is not clear whether the Armenian ancestors came to the Balkans in the ninth or the tenth century. It has also been alleged that Samuel’s parents had been Bogumils; but the Old Testament names of the four sons of Nicola (Samuel, Aaron, Moses and David) are a strong reason to discard this allegation.

²¹ In the nineteenth century, under the influence of the Romantic movement, and with the aim of enhancing patriotism and focusing the attention of enlightened Europe on the struggles of the Balkan peoples to free themselves from the Turkish yoke, Ancient Macedonia and the glorious deeds of Alexander the Great were revived – both by the Slavic population of the area, which strived for freedom from the Ottoman empire, and by the Greeks, who sought to create “Great Greece”, which would encompass all the territories on the Balkans that were ruled by Alexander the Great. These “historical references” have led to inter-ethnic hostilities.

²² After the fifteenth century both terms were replaced by “Montenegro”.

freeing themselves from Byzantine control. By the end of the eleventh century, Raška had become the most powerful Serbian state; it rose against the empire and began to expand southwards, along the Vardar river. The Byzantine rulers were able to put down this and a number of subsequent uprisings, but Serbia never remained pacified. Between 1166 and 1168 a major change occurred in Raška. The old dynasty was replaced by a new one, headed at first by a certain Tihomir, soon to be replaced by his brother Stefan Nemanja. The Nemanja dynasty was to reign in Serbia until 1371, when Serbia and the whole of the Balkans were conquered by the Turks. Stefan Nemanja expanded to the south and to the west and annexed all of Zeta, which was incorporated into his state of Raška. The most powerful ruler of the dynasty, Dušan, extended his kingdom to cover the whole of Macedonia and Bulgaria, as well as parts of Thessaly and what is now Romania. He crowned himself as *tzar* of Serbia in Skopje, the present capital of the republic of Macedonia.

6.11 Under the Turkish rule, the Serbs, Bulgarians and Macedonians leveled their differences, since they had a common enemy (which was also the enemy of the other peoples subjugated by the Turks). Nevertheless, after the fall of the Ottoman empire, old disputes were revived and new ones arose.

6.11.1 In the 1850s, following the Vienna Literary Agreement of 1850 between Serbian and Croatian men of letters (*cf.* Herrity 1992), a common language for the Serbs and the Croats, Serbo-Croatian, was standardized. The Serbs, who had fought their freedom from the Turkish Empire, looked upon this standard as a replacement for the “Slavenoserbski” literary dialect, which had many Old Church Slavonic and Russian features, making it usable only to the literary elite. The Croats saw in it a powerful tool in their strife for independence from the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Political developments during the last decade of the 20th century have, however, led to the replacement of Serbo-Croatian by three languages: Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian, the latter being the language of the Serbs and Croats who had accepted the Muslim religion. There are no significant structural differences between the Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian standard languages, however (at least not yet). While socio-linguistically we definitely have three distinct languages, from the point of view of structural linguistics we are dealing with one language system.

7. Balkan Romani²³

The Romani area of origin was North-Central India; their language belongs to the Indic subgroup of the Indo-Iranian Indo-European languages.

7.1 We know a fair amount about the pre-history of the Romas from loan words (*cf.* Kaufman 1973; Gilsenbach 1997; Campbell 1998). Sometime before the second century B.C. they moved to North-West India (where they borrowed words from Dardic – a sister language to Sanskrit, itself a mother language to Romani). Somewhat later, they moved to Iran (where Persian and Kurdish words were borrowed). As there are no Arabic words in Romani, it is assumed that they must have left Iran before the Muslim conquest in AD 900. At the beginning of the 11th century, the Romas moved to the Caucasus (where Ossetic, Armenian and Georgian words were borrowed). Around AD 1200 we can trace their movement to Anatolia, Asia Minor, where their language came under the influence of Greek, from which not only words but also grammatical patterns were borrowed. In

²³ The name of the people derives from the word *rom* ‘man’.

their fifth move, the Romas came to the Balkans; the absence of common, systematic Turkish influence suggests that this took place before the arrival of the Turks, i.e. before the end of the 13th century A.D.

7.2 Having come to the Balkans, some Roma tribes settled in present-day Greece, Albania, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Serbia and Bosnia, while others crossed the Danube and spread throughout Europe.²⁴ In the nineteenth century, however, some of the tribes that had gone north, returned to the Balkans.

7.3 The Romas that settled on the Balkans speak Balkan Romani, while the ones that went north speak Vlax Romani. The “Balkan” traits are most clearly visible in the Balkan Romani dialects, though they also appear in the Vlax Romani dialects of the communities of Romas who returned to the Balkans in the nineteenth century.²⁵

8. Turkey and Turkish on the Balkans

From the end of the 14th century to the beginning of the twentieth, the Balkans were under Turkish Rule and Turkish was the language used for all administrative purposes, as well as for commercial transactions.

8.1 In the 12th and 13th centuries, various Turkish tribes, who had migrated to Asia Minor from Central Asia, under the pressure of the Mongols, had been crossing the Marmora sea and plundering the South-Eastern Balkans. In the second half of the 14th century, the Osmanlis or Ottomans²⁶ – the Turkish tribe that in the second half of the 13th century had established an emirate to the immediate south of Constantinople, not only

²⁴ The presence of the Romas in Europe was actually first recorded in the territory of present-day Romania, which until World War One was referred to as “Vlachia” or “Walachia” (*cf.* Gilsenbach 1997).

²⁵ “Balkan Romani” and “Vlax Romani” are technical terms referring to specific, relatively diverse, groups of dialects, which share a number of linguistic features. The Vlax Romani dialects are called “Vlax” because of the Vlax (Romanian) influence on those dialects. The Balkan Romani dialects are predominately spoken by people residing south of the Danube. There are, however, Balkan Romani dialects spoken north of the Danube (e.g. Ursari). As pointed out by Peter Bakker (p.c.), some Romani dialects spoken in Iran also belong to the Balkan group, while there is a Romani dialect spoken on the Balkans – Havati, which has no Balkan features. Not only the Vlax Romani dialects spoken in Romania, but also the Northern Romani dialects (spoken in Western Europe, from Spain and Southern Italy to Finland), and the Central Romani dialects (spoken in Hungary, Slovakia, Czechia and bordering areas) have gone through some kind of “Balkanization process” (loss of infinitive, most clearly).

²⁶ “Osmanli” is a possessive adjective derived from Osman – the name the grandson of the Turkish emir who in the first half of the 13th century led one of the Turkish tribes from Asia towards Asia Minor. In Anatolian Turkish, the name Osman was transformed into Ootmaan – the sibilant of the original Arabic form of the name being replaced by the plosive t. “Ottoman” is a Europeanized version of Ootmaan (Lars Johanson, p.c.).

Osman was a brave soldier and a sagacious leader, who pushed with great persistency the policy of enlarging the territory in North-Western Anatolia, where his father had formed his emirate. Having accepted the Moslem religion, Osman directed his efforts not against the Turkish Moslem emirates lying to the south and the west of his emirate, but against the Christian population of the Byzantine Empire, to the north and west of his emirate (*cf.* Eversley 1967). In his thirty-eight years of leadership, he extended his dominion to the Bosphorus and the Black Sea and is credited of the inception of the Ottoman empire.

raided, but also started the occupation of the peninsula and laid the foundations of the Ottoman empire.²⁷

8.2 When the Ottomans started their raids of the Balkans, the Byzantine Empire was no longer an empire and after *tzar Dušan's* death, neither was Serbia. The peninsula was split into a number of petty principalities in the hands of nobles who fought for their own independence and expansion. When in 1371, at the river Marica, the Serbian prince Uglješa confronted the Ottoman army of Murat I, neither the Bulgarian, nor the Greek rulers came to fight along with him. Having won the battle, the Ottoman Turks established suzerainty over Bulgaria, Macedonia and a great portion of Byzantium. Soon after the Battle of Kosovo (1389) the rulers of Serbia also became Ottoman vassals.²⁸ In 1453 Constantinople fell and the whole of the Balkans was subdued. In the following two centuries, there were frequent raids into Austro-Hungarian territory, the capital of Hungary, Buda, was occupied, and Vienna was under siege on two occasions.

8.3 In addition to the weakness of their opponents, the military success of the small emirate in North-Western Anatolia was due to the fact that the Ottoman rulers, the sultans, were all capable leaders, who moved gradually, annexed a small region, consolidated their hold on it, and only then moved further (*cf.* Fine 1990: 604-611). Even before they reduced a state to vassalage, they had certain local nobles under their suzerainty. The vassalage – the next stage in the process of conquest, further weakened the rule of the native rulers and made the population become used to the Turks. The final stage, the annexation – the removal of the native dynasty and the incorporation of the state under Ottoman administration – thus, came as an inevitability.²⁹

8.4 The Ottoman empire reached its zenith towards the end of the 16th century. After the second siege of Vienna (1682) the Turks were pushed south of the Danube. Thenceforth down to World War One, there were successions of defeats with but few intermissions. At the beginning of the 19th century, first the Serbs (in 1804) and then the Greeks (1921), rebelled and established independent states, which were not long-lived but paved the road for autonomy. The Serbs won this autonomy after a second uprising, followed by negotiations, while the Greeks obtained it with the help of “the Powers” (Russia, Germany, France and England),³⁰ who also helped the establishment of the

²⁷ In the 15th century, the Ottomans put under their rule the Turkish emirates in Asia Minor and the Ottoman sultans became sultans of all the Turks, though even after this “unification” they referred to themselves as “Osmanlis” (*cf.* Eversley 1967). Gradually, however, the term “Turk” began to include the Osmanlis or Ottomans, and Europe began to use the term “Turkish empire” as a (dispreferred) alternative for the term “Ottoman empire”.

²⁸ Though it appeared to be a draw, since both the Serbian *tzar Lazar* and the Ottoman sultan Murat were killed, the battle was actually won by the Turks.

²⁹ Making the pill easier to swallow for those absorbed, were the policy of tolerance for Christianity and, at least in the beginning of the Ottoman rule, the job opportunities for the Christian administrative elite.

³⁰ Having won their independence, the Greeks had been merciless to the Turks, which caused bloody reprisals when the Turks struck back and regained territory – both in Southern Greece, where the independent Greek state was established, and in Constantinople. A great number of distinguished Greeks, including the archbishop, had been massacred, which stirred Western Europe into action.

autonomy of Bulgaria (in 1867).³¹ On the eve of World War One, Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria fought and won a battle against the Turks in Macedonia, which reduced Turkish presence on the Balkans to Constantinople and a few towns around it.³²

8.5 Throughout the Turkish rule, Turkish was the official and most widely spoken language on the Balkans. But though spoken by many non-native speakers, it adopted fewer Balkan *Sprachbund* features than the other Balkan languages. Partly because of its non-Indo-European structure, which makes it difficult to find correspondent exponents for the phenomena exhibited in the other languages (all of them Indo-European), and partly because of its dominant social status, Turkish was an instigator for the development of the *Sprachbund*, more than a participant in it. Thus, the Turkish spoken on the Balkan peninsula at present, though differing from Standard Osmanli Turkish, is less “Balkan” than Balkan Slavic, Balkan Romance, Albanian or Modern Greek.

³¹ Walachia, the Ottoman province to the north of the Danube (the predecessor of Romania), being far from the main routes on the Balkans, was practically autonomous throughout the Ottoman rule.

³² Having freed Macedonia, the Greeks, Serbs and Bulgarians partitioned it. Towards the end of World War Two, the part obtained by Serbia became a republic in the Yugoslav federation, which after the break of Yugoslavia in the early nineties of the 20th century evolved into the Republic of Macedonia.

Chapter Three

CASES AND ARTICLES

The nominal inflections in the Balkan languages are to a great extent replaced by prepositions. In Macedonian, Bulgarian and Megleno-Romanian there are only vestiges of the declensions – dative (Dat) and accusative (Acc) forms of personal pronouns and Acc forms of masculine proper names, though, in some dialects, Acc forms for common nouns have been preserved and Dat relationships are represented by distinct Dat forms preceded by a preposition. There are also vocative (Voc) forms of proper names and a short list of other nouns.¹ In Romanian and Aromanian there are distinct Dat forms for all nouns and Dat and Acc forms for personal pronouns. In Albanian both nouns and personal pronouns have three distinct oblique case forms – Dat, Acc and ablative (Abl), though with nouns the Acc forms are often equivalent to the nominative (Nom) ones, while the Abl ones are equivalent to the Dat ones. In Modern Greek, masculine nouns with *o*-stems have distinct genitive (Gen), Acc and Voc forms; masculine nouns with other stems have only one oblique form, though Gen and Acc case is overtly marked on the article; feminine and neuter nouns have a distinct Gen form, which also occurs in Dat positions, while Acc forms are equivalent to the Nom ones. The Modern Greek articles and personal pronouns carry distinct Gen/Dat and Acc case markers. In Arli Balkan Romani there are full nominal and personal pronominal paradigm with distinct Gen, Abl, Dat, Acc, Voc, instrumental (Instr) and locative (Loc) case forms, though the Abl and Loc forms alternate freely with prepositional phrases with nouns in the Nom case. In Serbo-Croatian, there are paradigms with distinct Gen, Dat, Acc, Voc, Instr and Loc forms for all nominal types, as in the non-Balkan Slavic languages, though the Loc case is represented by prepositional phrases with nouns in the Dat case, when expressing location, and by prepositional phrases with nouns in the Acc case, when expressing direction.

The tendency towards analyticity of the nominal system, by itself, is not specific to the Balkan languages – it is encountered in many other Indo-European languages. Characteristic for the Balkan Sprachbund, however, are a number of phenomena that accompany this tendency, such as unification of declension types, syncretism of the Gen and Dat cases, analogous selection of prepositions for the expression of case relations, postpositive articles, pronominal clitics and clitic doubling of direct and indirect objects.²

1. Macedonian

Macedonian is described as a typically caseless Slavic language. Nevertheless, not only the personal pronouns, but also some of the nouns of this language carry morphological markers for oblique cases. The postpositive definite articles of the language are classic examples of such articles.

¹ Note that the Voc forms are not case forms in the proper sense of the word, since they cannot act as arguments or adjuncts.

² Clitic doubling and the syntactic behaviour of the postpositive articles have been in the center of theoretical discussions. Clitic doubling is discussed in the chapter “Clausal Clitics and Clitic Doubling”. As for the postpositive definite articles, in earlier generative analyses they were derived in the determiner node and were attached to the noun or the adjective through overt movement to the specifier of the determiner phrase (*cf.* Tomić 1996a; Arnaudova 1996). A number of facts, such as (a) the relative ordering of nouns and adjectives, (b) the impossibility to move non-constituents, (c) the obligatory occurrence of adverbial modifiers of adjectives to the left of articulated adjectives, (d) the occurrence of the article in both adjectives in co-ordinated adjective phrases in Albanian and the Romance Balkan languages, have subsequently led to the conclusion that articulated nouns and articulated adjectives should be inserted in the DP along with their definite articles. Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1998) argue that in Bulgarian, Romanian and Albanian, demonstratives and indefinite articles should be derived in D, whereas articulated nouns or adjectives should raise to D covertly, in LF, to check their definiteness features. Accordingly, the Balkan definite articles are morphemes – parts of nouns and adjectives.

1.1 *Vocative case forms*

All Macedonian [+ human] and some [- human] nouns have specific Voc forms, while some of them can also have general oblique case forms, to which Koneski (1967:243) refers as “genitive/-accusative” forms.³

1.1.1 The Voc markers depend on the gender of the noun and the final phoneme of the Nom forms.

1.1.1.1 Voc forms of masculine names ending on a consonant are constructed by the addition of the vowel *-e*.⁴ Examples:

- (1) a. *Stojane!* (Nom *Stojan*)
Stojan.M.Voc
b. *Vardare!* (Nom *Vardar*)
Vardar.M.Voc

1.1.1.2 Voc forms of masculine singular common nouns ending on a consonant are marked by the vowels *-u* or *-e*.⁵ Determiners and possessive modifiers that may accompany such nouns, as a rule, occur postnominally, while adjectives can occur postnominally or prenominally.⁶ Examples:

- (2) a. *Oj ovčaru!* or *Oj ovčare!* (Nom *ovčar*)
Interj shepherd.M.Sg.Voc
'You, shepherd!'

³ Balkanists (e.g. Sandfeld 1930; Koneski 1967; Topolinjska 1995) have been pointing out that the Balkan languages, Macedonian in that number, have clauses with two direct objects. Macedonian examples of such sentences are given in (i-ii):

- (i) *Go zedoa Petreta vojnik.*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl take.1Pl.Perf.Past Petre.Acc soldier
'Petre was enlisted.' (lit. 'They took Petre soldier.')
- (ii) *Go napolnija tendžereto voda.*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl fill.1Pl.Perf.Past pot+the.N.Sg water
'They filled the pot with water.'

The second “direct object” in such sentences (*vojnik* in (i) and *voda* in (ii)) is, however, a small clause predicate and can never include an article – whether definite or indefinite.

⁴ Masculine names ending on a vowel other than *-a* do not have any specific Voc markers.

⁵ Koneski (1967:237) argues that there is a tendency for monosyllabic words to take the vowel *-u* and for polysyllabic words to take the vowel *-e*, but admits that in many cases this tendency is overruled. As observed, there are nouns that can take either *-u* or *-e*.

⁶ Masculine singular adjectives that in Voc expressions occur prenominally, end on *-i*. This ending is actually the Old Church Slavonic definite adjectival form. In Macedonian, it is preserved in masculine singular adjectives and passive participles that are part of vocative expressions, such as (2g); in articulated adjectives, as in (i); in toponyms, as in (ii), and in the word *sveti* ‘holy’, when it appears with the name of a saint, as in (iii):

- (i) *denešniot leb* (ii) *Gorni Saraj*
today's.M.Sg.Def.Pass.Part+the.M.Sg bread upper.M.Sg.Def palace
'today's bread' 'Gorni Saraj'
- (iii) *Sveti Nikola*
holy.M.Sg.Def Nikola
'St Nikola'

In Serbo-Croatian, masculine adjectives have distinct long or definite and short or indefinite forms (*cf.* 3.2). According to the norm, definite forms should be used in attributive and indefinite ones in predicative positions. Nevertheless, the definite forms appear in both appositive and predicative positions.

b.	<i>Bože</i> ⁷ God.M.Sg.Voc 'My god!'	<i>moj!</i> my.M.Sg	but not	<i>*Bogu moj!</i> (Nom <i>bog</i>)
c.	<i>Mažu</i> husband.M.Sg.Voc 'You, my husband!'	<i>moj!</i> my.M.Sg	but not	<i>*Maže moj!</i> (Nom <i>maž</i>)
d.	<i>Konju</i> horse.M.Sg.Voc 'You, my horse!'	<i>moj!</i> my.M.Sg	but not	<i>*Konje moj!</i> (Nom <i>konj</i>)
e.	<i>Gradu</i> town.M.Sg.Voc 'This town of ours!'	<i>naš!</i> our.M.Sg	or	<i>Grade naš!</i> (Nom <i>grad</i>)
f.	<i>Denu</i> day.M.Sg.Voc 'What a day!' (lit. 'You, God's day!')	<i>božji!</i> God's.M.Sg.Def	but not	<i>*Dene božji!</i> (Nom <i>den</i>)
g.	<i>Dragi</i> dear.M.Sg.Def.Adj '(My) dear teacher!'	<i>učite!</i> teacher.M.Sg.Voc	or	<i>?Dragi Učitelu!</i> (Nom <i>učitel</i>)

1.1.1.3 Voc forms of singular nouns ending on *-a*, irrespective of their gender, are marked by the vowel *-o*, which replaces the final vowel of the nominative form.⁸ Examples:

(3)	a.	<i>Marijo!</i> Maria.F.Sg.Voc	(Nom. <i>Marija</i>)
	b.	<i>Iljo!</i> Ilija.M.Sg.Voc	(Nom. <i>Ilija</i>)
	c.	<i>Sestro!</i> sister.F.Sg.Voc	(Nom. <i>sestra</i>)
	d.	<i>Sudijo!</i> judge.M.Sg.Voc	(Nom. <i>sudija</i>)
	e.	<i>Zemjo</i> <i>moja!</i> country.F.Sg.Voc my.F.Sg 'You, my (dear) country!'	(Nom. <i>zemja</i>)

⁷ The consonant to the left of the vowel *e* is often palatalized.

⁸ The suffix *-o* is a Voc marker for feminine nouns in all Slavic and Romance languages of the Balkans. Its use is, however, gradually being restricted. In Macedonian, proper names with Voc forms ending on *-o* are predominately used in rural areas; in the cities, these forms are considered derogatory and the Nom forms are used instead.

Nouns ending on *-džija* have Voc forms in *-dži*:

(i)	<i>Adži!</i> pilgrim.Voc	(Nom. <i>adžija</i>)
(ii)	<i>Čorbadži!</i> rich-man/master.Voc	(Nom. <i>čorbadžija</i>)

1.1.1.4 In Voc forms of feminine human nouns ending on *-ka*, *-ga* or *-ca* the vowel *-a* is replaced by *-e*:⁹

(4)	a.	<i>Olge!</i> Olga.F.Sg.Voc	(Nom. <i>Olga</i>)
	b.	<i>Elice!</i> Elica.F.Sg.Voc	(Nom <i>Elica</i>)
	c.	<i>Učitelke!</i> teacher.F.Sg.Voc	(Nom. <i>učitelka</i>)
	d.	<i>Profesorka!</i> professor.F.Sg.Voc	(Nom. <i>profesorka</i>)
	e.	<i>Mila sestričke!</i> dear.F.Sg sister.Dimin.F.Sg.Voc 'My dear little sister!'	(Nom. <i>sestrička</i>)

1.2 Accusative case forms

Dat and Acc cases are, as a rule, marked by clitic-doubling.¹⁰ Nevertheless, some nouns have Acc case forms, distinct from the Nom ones.

1.2.1 Masculine proper names and nouns denoting close family relationships have Acc case forms ending on the vowel *a*.¹¹ Examples:¹²

⁹ Diminutives also have an *-e* ending. Note, however, that in the diminutives of the nouns ending on *-ka*, *-ga* or *-ca*, which also can be used as Voc forms, the consonant before the diminutive is palatalized. For example:

(i)	<i>Oldže</i> Olga.F.Sg.Dimin
(ii)	<i>Milče</i> Milka.F.Sg.Dimin

¹⁰ See the Chapter entitled "Clitic Clusters and Clitic Doubling."

¹¹ In nouns ending on *-o*, the final vowel is replaced by the vowel *-a* (cf. 5d). In nouns ending on *-i* the Acc marker *-a* is preceded by *j* (cf. 5c). In composite names (name plus surname) both parts can have an Acc ending, as in (i)

(i)	<i>Go</i>	<i>spomnavme</i>	<i>Dimitra</i>	<i>Jordanova.</i>
	3Sg.M.Acc.Cl	mention.1Pl.Perf.Past	Dimitar.M.Sg.Acc	Jordanov.M.Sg.Acc
	'We mentioned Dimitar Jordanov.'			

In many Western dialects, including my own Ohrid dialect, demonstrative pronouns also have Acc forms; the ending being *-ega*:

(ii)	% <i>Go</i>	<i>gledaš</i>	<i>onega?</i>
	3Sg.M.Acc.Cl	see.2Sg	that.Dist.Acc
	'Do you see the one over there?'		
(iii)	% <i>Ne</i>	<i>odam</i>	<i>so</i>
	not	go.1Sg	with
			this.Prox1.Acc
	'I am not going with this one.'		

The sequence *koj drug* 'who else', which may be treated as a compound interrogative, in the Western dialects has a special Acc form *kogo drugogo*, as well as a Dat form – *komu drugemu*:

(iv)	% <i>Za</i>	<i>kogo</i>	<i>drugogo</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>grizam?</i>
	for	who.M.Acc	other.M.Acc	Subj.Mark	Acc.Refl.Cl	take-care.1Sg
	'But of who else should I take care?'					

- (5) a. *Go* *videl* *Stojana.* (Nom *Stojan*)
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl seen.M.Sg./-Part Stojan.M.Sg.Acc
 ‘He has (reportedly) seen Stojan.’
- b. *Mu* *go* *dadov* *na* *Ivana* (Nom *Ivan*)
 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl give.1Sg.Perf.Past to Ivan.M.Sg.Acc
 ‘I gave it to Ivan.’
- c. *Ja* *zel* *kerka* *mu* (Nom *Ġorgi*)
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl taken.F.Sg./-Part daughter 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl
od Ġorgija.
 of Ġorgi.M.Sg.Acc
 ‘He has taken (as a wife) Ġorgi’s daughter.’
- d. *Dojdov* *bez* *tatka.* (Nom *tatko*)
 come.1Sg.Perf.Past without father.M.Sg.Acc
 ‘I came without father.’

1.2.2 Masculine proper names and nouns denoting family relationships ending on the vowel *-e* have Acc case forms ending on *-ta*.¹³ Examples:

- (6) a. *Go* *vidov* *Petreta.*
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Perf.Past Petre.M.Sg.Acc
 ‘I saw Petre.’
- b. *Mu* *go* *dadov* *pismoto*
 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl give.1Sg.Perf.Past letter+the.N.Sg
na Dimčeta.
 to Dimče.M.Sg.Acc
 ‘I gave the letter to Dimče.’
- c. *Dojdov* *so* *vujčeta.*
 come.1Sg.Perf.Past with uncle.M.Sg.Dimin.Acc
 ‘I came with my uncle.’

1.2.3 In the Northern Macedonian dialects, which border with the Southern Serbian dialects, Acc case markers are widespread.¹⁴ In these dialects, the Acc case markers are actually general oblique markers, which, accompanied by prepositions, can mark oblique case relationships other than that of direct object. Thus, in the dialect of Kumanovo we have:¹⁵

- (v) %*Komu drugemu* *da* *mu* *go* *dam?*
 who.Dat other.Dat Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.1Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘To who else should I give it?’

¹² *L*-participles are signals of evidentiality. Cf. 1.6 in the chapter entitled “The Perfect and the Evidential”.

¹³ These nouns were originally diminutives, which are of neutral gender. The ending *(-e)ta* is transferred from the Old Church Slavonic *-e/-et-* declension of nouns of neutral gender.

¹⁴ Note that analogous case markers occur in the South-Eastern Serbian dialects (cf. 4.1).

¹⁵ Note that in the dialect of Kumanovo there are no postpositive articles and demonstrative determiners are used instead:

- (i) %*Daj* *mi* *gu* *tuj* *topku!*
 give.2Sg.Imper 1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl that.F.Sg ball.Acc
 ‘Give me the ball!’

The tense system in this dialect is also different from the one in Standard Macedonian. Thus, the aorist is still viable (cf. the glosses in (7)).

- (7) a. %Vide gu profesorku.
see.Sg.Aor 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl profesor.F.Sg.Acc
'I/you/(s)he saw the professor.'
- b. %Vide gu sestru vu.
see.Sg.Aor 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl sister.F.Sg.Acc 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl
'I/you/(s)he saw her sister.'
- c. %Vide ga brata vu.
see.Sg.Aor 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl brother.M.Sg.Acc 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl
'I/you/(s)he saw her brother.'
- d. %Dade vu na profesorku/ njuma.
give.Sg.Aor 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl to professor.F.Sg.Acc her.F.Sg.Acc
'I/you/(s)he gave (it) to the professor/to her.'
- e. %On otide kude profesorku.
he go.3Sg.Aor at professor.F.Sg.Acc
'He went to the professor.'
- f. %Nemamo nikakvu zaštitu od državu.
not+have.1Pl no-kind.F.Sg.Acc protection.F.Sg.Acc from state.F.Sg.Acc
'We have no protection from the state.'

1.2.4 In the Western Macedonian dialects, including my own Ohrid dialect, masculine singular nouns often appear in the Acc form when modified by possessive clitics (see 1.3.3):¹⁶

¹⁶ Up to the beginning of the 20th century, forms of many other cases were preserved. Thus, in Marko Cepenkov's folk tales (second half of the 19th century) and in the folk tales collected by Kuzman Šapkarev (from approximately the same period) nouns carry Acc and Dat markers. Examples (i-ii) are from Cepenkov (*cf.* Koneski 1967:144), examples (iii-iv) from Šapkarev (*cf.* Sandfeld 1930:172), in both cases with my glosses and translation.

- (i) %Sum isteran od stopana mi.
be.1Sg dismissed.M.Sg.Pass.Part from master.M.Sg.Acc 1Sg.Dat.Cl
'I have been dismissed by my master.'
- (ii) %Sum došol grobu na vrata...
be.1Sg come.M.Sg.I-Part grave.M.Sg.Dat on door
'I have come at the door of my grave....'
- (iii) %Xamalot go fārli popatogo vo more.
porter+the.M.Sg 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl throw.3Sg.Perf.Past priest+the.M.Sg.Acc in sea
'The porter threw the priest in the sea.'
- (iv) %Mažot je velit žene si...
husband+the.M.Sg 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl say.3Sg wife.F.Sg.Dat Dat.Refl.Cl
'The husband is telling his wife...'

Dat forms of proper names and nouns denoting close family relationship are still in use in some Western Macedonian dialects, e. g. in the dialects of Galičnik and neighbouring villages:

- (v) %Stojanu 'Stojan.M.Sg.Dat'
(vi) %Jankove 'Janko.M.Sg.Dat'
(vii) %Mare 'Mara.F.Sg.Dat'
(viii) %sestre 'sister.F.Sg.Dat'

In some Macedonian dialects in South-Eastern Albania, the Dat form of personal names is used even in possessive expressions. The following example is from Topolinjska (1995:81), with my glosses and translation:

- (ix) %Milanu Zengovomu snava mu
Milan.M.Sg.Dat Zengov's.M.Sg.Dat sister/daughter-in-law 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl
'Milan Zengov's sister/daughter-in-law'

- (8) a. %Go videl brata si.
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl seen.M.Sg./-Part brother.M.Sg.Acc Refl.Dat.Cl
'He has (reportedly) seen his brother.'
- b. %Mu go dal na strika
3Sg.M.Dat.Cl it.Acc.Cl given.M.Sg./-Part to uncle.M.Sg.Acc
ti.
2Sg.Dat.Cl
'He has (reportedly) given it to your uncle.'
- c. %Zboruvala so tatka mi.
spoken.F.Sg./-Part with father.M.Sg.Acc 1Sg.Dat.Cl
'She has (reportedly) spoken to my father.'

1.2.5 In the standard dialect, there are syntactic reflexes of the Instr case. Koneski (1967:264) quotes the following examples:

- (9) a. Frla puška.
throw.3Sg gun.F.Sg
'(S)he fired (with the gun).'
- b. Ķe mi sviri gajda.
will 1Sg.Dat.Cl play.3Sg bagpipe.F.Sg
'(S)he will play to me with the bagpipe.'

1.3 Articles

In Macedonian, definiteness is typically encoded by definite and indefinite articles, though it is featured by determiners, in general, and is also embodied in proper and geographic names.¹⁷

1.3.1 Like the indefinite article of other European languages that have indefinite articles, the Macedonian articles originate in the numeral one.¹⁸ The forms of the Macedonian indefinite articles are listed in Table 1.

In the archaic South-Western Macedonian dialect of Bobošćica – a village in South-Eastern Albania, the use of the Dat case is wide-spread. The following examples are from Topolinjska (1995:80-85); with my glosses and translation:

- (x) %golemutemu sinu
big.M.Sg.Dat+the.M.Sg.Dat son.Acc
'to the older son'
- (xi) %drugim ljudi
other.Pl.Dat people
'to (the) other people'
- (xii) %...da se zemi ljābo ćeljatam
Subj.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl take.3SgPerf.Pres bread+the.M.Sg children+the.Pl.Dat
i da mu se farli kućeniščatam.
and Subj.Mark 3Sg/Pl.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl throw.3Sg dogs+the.Pl.Dat
'...to take the bread from the children and throw it to the dogs.'

As it may be observed in example (x), the Dat marker may appear both on the noun and on the article.

¹⁷ In modified singular DPs in the Voc case, definiteness is represented through a specific suffix of the modifier. Cf. example (2g).

¹⁸ The status of the Bulgarian indefinite article (whose behaviour is in many respects analogous to that of the Macedonian article) has been questioned. Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1998:357) would rather speak of "indefinite adjectives", since they can co-occur with and actually carry the definite article in expressions such as:

- (i) Ednata žena dojde.
one.F.Sg+the.F.Sg woman come.3Sg.Perf.Past
'One of the women came.'

Table 1: Macedonian indefinite articles

	Masc	Fem	Neut
Sg	<i>eden</i>	<i>edna</i>	<i>edno</i>
Pl	= = =	<i>edni</i>	= = =

1.3.2 The definite articles exhibit triple spatial differentiation. There are actually three sets of definite articles: **v**, **t** and **n**.¹⁹ The members of the **t**-set are used for anaphoric reference, but also refer to objects close to the addressee; the members of the **v**-set refer to objects close to the speaker; whereas the members of the **n**-set refer to objects which are distant from both the speaker and the addressee. Since each of the sets has four forms, there are twelve definite article forms altogether:

Table 2: Macedonian definite articles

	1	2	3	4
t	<i>-ot</i>	<i>-ta</i>	<i>-to</i>	<i>-te</i>
v	<i>-ov</i>	<i>-va</i>	<i>-vo</i>	<i>-ve</i>
n	<i>-on</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>-no</i>	<i>-ne</i>

1.3.3 The forms in columns 1, 3 and 4 are traditionally referred to as “masculine singular”, “neuter singular” and “masculine/feminine plural”, respectively, while the forms in column 2 function as “feminine singular” or “neuter plural” forms. The behaviour of the articles, however, does not always vouch these labels (*cf.* Tomić 1996a).

1.3.3.1 While the definite articles that are carried by feminine singular and neuter singular nouns have the “feminine singular” and “neuter singular” article form, respectively, irrespective of the type of their final phoneme, with the definite articles that are carried by masculine singular nouns

- (ii)
- Edniot*
one.M.Sg.Def+the.M.Sg
čitaše.
read.3Sg.Imperf.Past
'One of the guards was sleeping, while the other was reading.'

čuvār
guard
sleep.3Sg.Imperf.Past

spieše
and
other.M.Sg.Def+the.M.Sg

However, unlike adjectives, the indefinite articles cannot be preceded by determiners or adjectives (*cf.* the unacceptability of iii); they actually have to occur DP-initially.

- (iii)
- *Ovaa/*
this.F.Sg

ubava
beautiful.F.Sg

edna
one.F.Sg

žena
woman

dojde.
come.3Sg.Perf.Past

I will continue to use the term “indefinite articles”, with the proviso that in distributive expressions such as (i-ii) we actually do not have articles. The lower frequency of occurrence of the Macedonian indefinite article, as compared to the English indefinite article, is due to the fact that in the Macedonian DP/NP there is a three-way distinction with regard to definiteness – zero, indefinite and definite. In many environments in which in English an indefinite article is used, in Macedonian we have a zero article. Compare the following Macedonian clauses to their English translations (Example (v) is from a novel; it is registered in Mirkulovska (To appear); glosses and translation are mine.):

- (iv)
- Pred*
before

stancata
station+the.F.Sg

stoeše
stand.3Sg.Imperf.Past

policaec.
policeman
- 'In front of the station, there was a policeman.'
- (v)
- Zadocnet*
belated.M.Sg.Pass.Part

pazardžija
marketer

panično butaše
in-panic push.3Sg.Imperf.Past

količka.
cart
- 'A belated marketer was in panic pushing a cart.'

While in English, zero articles occur only with some specified noun classes, in Macedonian, and in general in all the Balkan languages, they can occur with any noun class.

¹⁹ Analogous triple distinction is made in the Macedonian demonstrative determiners/pronouns. *Cf.* footnote 29.

that is not the case. The latter nouns take “masculine singular” articles only if they end in a consonant. When the masculine singular nouns end in the vowels *a* or *o*, the choice of the form of the article is phonologically conditioned – it depends on the final vowel of the noun. Thus, both feminine nouns in (10) take the form of the article which is characteristic for feminine singular nouns, whereas only the masculine noun in (11a₁), which ends on a consonant takes the form of the article characteristic for masculine singular nouns; the noun in (11b₁), which ends on the vowel *a* takes the form of the article characteristic for feminine nouns, and the noun in (11c₁), which ends on the vowel *o* takes the form of the article which is characteristic for neuter nouns:²⁰

(10)	a ₁	<i>zima</i> winter.F.Sg ‘winter’	a ₂	<i>zimata</i> winter.F.Sg+the.F.Sg ‘the winter’
	b ₁	<i>prolet</i> spring.F.Sg ‘spring’	b ₂	<i>proletta</i> ²¹ spring.F.Sg+the.F.Sg ‘the spring’
(11)	a ₁	<i>čovек</i> man.M.Sg ‘man’	a ₂	<i>čovекот</i> man.M.Sg+the.M.Sg ‘the man’
	b ₁	<i>vladika</i> archbishop.M.Sg ‘archbishop’	b ₂	<i>vladikata</i> archbishop.M.Sg+the.F.Sg ‘the archbishop’
	c ₁	<i>dedo</i> grandfather.M.Sg ‘grandfather’	c ₂	<i>dedoto</i> grandfather.M.Sg+the.N.Sg ‘the grandfather’

1.3.3.2 Feminine plural nouns take “corresponding” articles, and so do neuter nouns. Masculine plural nouns, however, take the “masculine/feminine plural” article only if they end in the vowel *i*, which is the most frequent plural suffix. When a masculine plural noun ends on a vowel other than *i*, the form of the article depends on that vowel. Thus, the noun in (12a) takes the form of the article characteristic for plural nouns, while the noun in (12b) takes the form of the article characteristic for neuter nouns:

(12)	a.	<i>studentite</i> students.Pl+the.Pl ‘the students’
	b.	<i>luĝeto</i> people.Pl+the.N.Sg ‘the people’

1.3.4 In the Eastern and Northern Macedonian dialects, the definite article does not exhibit a three-partite distinction, the *t*-set being the only set of definite articles. In some southern dialects,

²⁰ Note that in (10), (11) and (12) the gender/number labels of the articles are formal, i.e. refer to one of the four typical uses of the articles in the columns in Table 2. In subsequent examples, the gender/number features of the articles will reflect the morphological features of the noun.

²¹ When *-t* is preceded by *-s*, however, it is dropped if any of the three article forms are added. Thus, we have:

- (i) *radosta*
joy+the.F.Sg
- (ii) *mladosva*
youth+the.Prox1.F.Sg

on the other hand, the final consonants of the masculine singular forms of the definite article is dropped and, consequently, there is only one masculine singular form of definite articles, *-o*. The following sentences are from the dialect of Bitola:²²

- (13) a. %*Učitelo* *dojde*
 teacher+the.M.Sg come.3Sg.Perf.Past
 ‘The teacher came.’
- b. %*Mi* *padna* *nožo.*
 1Sg.Dat.Cl fall.3Sg.Perf.Past knife+the.M.Sg
 ‘I dropped the knife.’ (lit. ‘To me fell the knife.’)

1.3.5 The Macedonian definite articles occur with nouns of a variety of classes.

1.3.5.1 Generic nouns, whether in the singular or the plural, as a rule, carry the definite article:²³

- (14) a. *Kučeto* *e* *umno* *životno.*
 dog+the.N.Sg be.3Sg clever.N.Sg animal
 ‘The dog is a clever animal.’
- b. *Kučinjata* *se* *umni* *životni.*
 dogs+the.Pl²⁴ be.3Pl clever.Pl animals
 ‘Dogs are clever animals.’

1.3.5.2 Names of mountain ranges and states in the plural also carry the definite article:

- (15) a. *Alpите* *se* *najvisokite* *planini* *vo* *Evropa.*
 Alps+the.Pl be.3Pl Superl+high.Pl+the.Pl mountains in Europe
 ‘The Alps are the highest mountains in Europe.’
- b. *Soedinetite* *Državi se* *moćni.*
 United.Pl+the.Pl States be.3Pl powerful.Pl
 ‘The United States are powerful.’

1.3.5.3 An article can be carried by geographic names (of any number) and proper names ending on *e* if they occur in emphatic environments. Examples:

- (16) a. *Vardarot* *nadošol!*
 Vardar+the.M.Sg come-up.M.Sg./Part
 ‘The level of the (river) Vardar has risen!’
- b. *Mareno* *bilо* *umno* *moniče!*
 Mare.Dimin+the.Dist.N.Sg been.N.Sg./Part clever.N.Sg girl.Dimin
 ‘(I didn’t know that) Mare was a so clever girl!’

1.3.5.4 In the Eastern Macedonian dialects, proper names ending on *e*, which originally were diminutives, very often occur with an article:²⁵

²² Note that, with feminine nouns, a three-partite article distinction is made in this dialect.

²³ The indefinite article is not used generically, but the zero article can be used generically in prepositional phrases:

(i) *Se* *plaši* *od* *kuče.*
 Acc.Refl.Cl fear.3Sg from dog
 ‘(S)he is afraid of dogs.’

²⁴ Formally, this article is F.Sg, but semantically it is N.Pl.

²⁵ There is no agreement between the gender of the article and the gender of a participle in the predicate. Thus, in (17b) the article is neuter and agrees with the form of the noun *Mare*, while the participle is feminine and agrees with the gender of the person that carries the name *Mare*.

- (17) a. %Go vidov Dimčeto.
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Perf.Past Dimče+the.N.Sg
'I saw Dimče.'
- b. %Mareto došla.
Mare+the.N.Sg come.F.Sg.I-Part
'Mare has come.'
- c. %Dadox paltoto na Lenčeto.
give.3Sg.Aor coat+the.N.Sg to Lenče+the.N.Sg
'I gave the coat to Lenče.'

1.3.5.5 Nouns denoting family relationships carry definite articles when used anaphorically; otherwise, they are accompanied by possessive clitics. Thus, we have the following contrasts:

- (18) a₁ Majka mi pleteše, a tatko
mother 1Sg.Dat.Cl knit.3Sg.Imperf.Past and father
mi čitaše.
1Sg.Dat.Cl read.3Sg.Imperf.Past
'My mother was knitting while my father was reading.'
- a₂ Majkata pleteše, a tatko
mother+the.F.Sg knit.3Sg.Perf.Past and father+the.N.Sg
čitaše.
read.3Sg.Imperf.Past
'The mother was knitting while the father was reading.'
- b₁ Sestra mu dojde, a brat
sister 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl come.3Sg.Perf.Past and brother
mu ne.
3Sg.M.Dat.Cl not
'His sister came but his brother didn't.'
- b₂ Sestrata dojde, a bratot ne.
sister+the.F.Sg come.3Sg.Perf.Past and brother+the.M.Sg not
'The sister came but the brother didn't.'

1.3.6 If the noun is not the only constituent of the DP, the article, as a rule, does not show up on the noun, but rather on the first modifier to its left (though not on the modifier of the modifier).²⁶

- (19) a. crvenana šapka
red.F.Sg+the.Dist.F.Sg hat
'the red hat over there'
- b. crvenana volnena šapka
red.F.Sg+the.Dist.F.Sg woolen.F.Sg hat.F
'the red woolen hat over there'

²⁶ The fact that in DPs with modifiers the article shows up on the first modifier originally led to analyses in which the noun or the adjective moved to D or SpecDP to pick up the article, which was derived in D. As pointed out in footnote 2, a number of facts, among which the impossibility to move non-constituents and the obligatory occurrence of adverbial modifiers of adjectives to the left of articulated adjectives, have led to the conclusion that articulated nouns and articulated adjectives should be inserted in the DP along with their articles.

- c. *mnogu pogolemana* *crvena* *volnena* *šapka*
 much Compar+large.F.Sg+the.Dist.F.Sg red.F.Sg woolen.F.Sg hat.F
 ‘the much larger red woolen hat over there’

1.3.6.1 Numerals and possessive modifiers, in this order, as a rule, precede adjectives:²⁷

- (20) a. *prvata* *rabotna* *nedela*
 first.F.Sg+the.F.Sg working.F.Sg week.F
 ‘the first working week’
- b. *dvete* *rabotni* *nedeli*
 two.F+the.Pl working.Pl weeks.F
 ‘the two working weeks’
- c. *dvete* *prvi* *rabotni* *nedeli*
 two.F+the.Pl first.Pl working.Pl weeks.F
 ‘the two first working weeks’
- d. *prvite* *dve* *rabotni* *nedeli*
 first.Pl+the.Pl two.F working.Pl weeks.F
 ‘the first two working weeks’
- (21) a. *mojata/* *Stojanovata* *rabotna* *nedela*
 my+the.F.Sg Stojan’s.F.Sg+the.F.Sg working.F.Sg week.F
 ‘my/Stojan’s working week’
- b. *mojata/* *Stojanovata* *prva* *rabotna* *nedela*
 my+the.F.Sg Stojan’s.F.Sg+the.F.Sg first.F.Sg working.F.Sg week.F
 ‘my/Stojan’s first working week’
- c. *moite/* *Stojanovite* *dve* *rabotni* *nedeli*
 my+the.Pl Stojan’s.Pl+the.Pl two.F working.Pl weeks.F
 ‘my/Stojan’s two working weeks’
- d. *dvete* *moi/* *Stojanovi* *rabotni* *nedeli*
 two.F+the.Pl my.Pl Stojan’s.Pl working.Pl weeks.F
 ‘my/Stojan’s two working weeks’

1.3.6.2 The form of the articles that are carried by modifiers may differ from those carried by the nouns they modify. Compare the form of the article in (22a) to that in (22b):

²⁷ In emphatic environments, however, they can occur to its right, as in (i-ii) – examples from novels, quoted by Liljana Mitkovska (To appear):

- (i) *Potem* *go* *vadi* *od* *torbata* *pojasot*
 after-that 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl take-out.3Sg from bag+the.F.Sg belt+the.M.Sg
Kostadinov...
Kostadin’s.M.Sg
 ‘Then, (s)he takes from the bag Kostadin’s belt....’
- (ii) *A* *kutri* *majki* *vaši* *ništo* *ne* *znaat.*
 but poor.Pl mothers your.Pl nothing not know.3Pl
 ‘But your poor mothers do not know anything.’

- (22) a. *decava*
children.Pl+the.Prox1.Pl
'the children'
- b. *malive* *deca*
small.Pl+the.Prox1.Pl children.Pl
'the small children'

While in (22a) the choice of the form of the definite article depends on the final vowel of the noun, in (22b) it depends on the morphological features of the noun which the adjective that carries the article modifies. Thus, in (22a) we have a form which is typical for feminine singular nouns, *-va*, while in (22b) we have a form typical for plural nouns, *-ve*. As a matter of fact the articles of the modifiers are, as a rule, morphologically conditioned.

1.3.6.3 The article does not, as a rule, occur both at the right edge of the adjective and at the right edge of the noun it modifies. When the adjective is highly emphasized, it can occur to the right of the noun to which it refers and both the noun and the adjective can carry a definite article.²⁸ However, as shown by the commas and the translations in (23), the adjectives in these cases are in appositional relationship to the nouns:

- (23) a. *Daj* *mi* *ja* *šapkata,* *crvenata!*
give.2Sg.Imper 1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl hat+the.F.Sg red+the.F.Sg
'Give me the hat, the red one!'
- b. *Go* *kupiv* *fustanot,* *šareniot.*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl buy.1Sg.Perf.Past dress+the.M.Sg patterned+the.M.Sg
'I bought the dress, the patterned one.'

1.3.6.4 Demonstrative determiners, which always occur in initial or leftmost DP-position, do not carry definite articles and, as a rule, void its occurrence with any other member of the DP.²⁹ Thus, the DP in (24a), where we have a demonstrative determiner but no article, and the one in (24b), where we have an article but no demonstrative determiner, are well-formed, whereas the DP in (24c), where we have both a demonstrative determiner and an article, is ungrammatical:

- (24) a. *ovoj* *ubav* *leten* *den*
this.M.Sg beautiful.M.Sg summer.M.Sg.Adj day
'this beautiful summer day'
- b. *ubaviov* *leten* *den*
beautiful+the.Prox1.M.Sg summer.M.Sg.Adj day
'this beautiful summer day'
- c. **ovojov* *ubav* *leten* *den*
this+the.Prox1.M.Sg beautiful.M.Sg summer.Adj.M.Sg day

²⁸ Adjectives may occur to the right of nouns in the Voc case. Cf. 1.1.1.2.

²⁹ Demonstrative determiners have the same roots as the articles – **t**, **v** or **n**. There is one-to-one correspondence between the 12 articles listed in Table 2 and the 12 demonstrative determiners listed below:

Macedonian demonstrative determiners/pronouns

	M	F	Neut	Pl	
t	<i>toj</i>	<i>taa</i>	<i>toa</i>	<i>tie</i>	'that'
v	<i>ovoj</i>	<i>ovaa</i>	<i>ova</i>	<i>ovie</i>	'this'
n	<i>onoj</i>	<i>onaa</i>	<i>ona</i>	<i>onie</i>	'the one over there'

1.3.6.5 In emphatic cases, the demonstrative determiner can occur to the immediate left of a proper name or an articulated modifiers, especially if the noun to the right of the modifier is deleted:³⁰

- (25) a. *Ovoj Stojan seušte go nema.*
 this Stojan still 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl not+have.3Sg
 ‘Stojan hasn’t yet come.’ (lit. ‘This Stojan is still not there.’)
- b. *Me izede ovoj mojav*
 1Sg.Acc.Cl eat.3Sg.Perf.Past this.M.Sg my+the.Prox1.M.Sg
maž/ sin.
 husband son
 ‘This husband/son of mine is eating up my guts.’ (lit. ‘This husband/son of mine is eating me up.’)
- c. *Go sakam toj siniot*
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl want.1Sg that.M.Sg blue+the.M.Sg
(cvet/ fustan).
 flower dress
 ‘I want that blue one/(dress/flower).’

1.3.6.6 There are cases when a quantifier that carries the definite article precedes a demonstrative determiner.³¹

- (26) a. *site ovie studenti*
 all+the.Pl these.Pl students
 ‘all of these students’

³⁰ The modifier that carries the definite article agrees with the determiner in gender, number and proximity. Note that sentences with a demonstrative determiner to the immediate left of a noun that carries the definite article are not generally acceptable. Thus, a sentence such as (i) would be accepted by some, but not by all native speakers of Macedonian:

- (i) *?Me naluti ona čovečeno.*
 1Sg.Acc.Cl anger.3Sg.Perf.Past that.Dist.N.Sg man.Dimin+the.Dist.N.Sg
 ‘That little man made me angry.’

As pointed out by Topolinska (1995:52), the occurrence of the demonstrative determiner to the left of DPs with definite articles is most frequent in the areas that are in direct contact with Greek. Thus, in the Macedonian spoken in Northern Greece, north of Thessaloniki, we have:

- (ii) *%...vlevat tia dvete deca.*
 enter.3Pl those two+the.Pl children
 ‘...the two children are entering.’
- (iii) *%Tos vnučeto beše mnogu učeno.*
 that grandchild.Dimin+the.N.Sg be.3Sg.Imperf.Past much learned.N.Sg.Pass.Part
 ‘...the grandchild was very learned.’

(The examples are from Tolilińska 1995:52; with my glosses and translation.)

³¹ There are good grounds to believe that the quantifier + article items are formed in the lexicon. If it were not so, floating quantifiers that are stranded in the VP could not be articulated, and the sentences in (i) and (ii) would be ungrammatical:

- (i) *Ovie orevi se site šuplivi.*
 these nuts be.3Pl all+the.Pl rotten.Pl
 ‘These nuts are all rotten.’
- (ii) *Ovoj ostrov e celiot negov.*
 this.M.Sg island be.3Sg whole+the.M.Sg his.M.Sg
 ‘This island is, all of it, his.’

- b. *celiov* *ovoj* *ostrov*
whole+the.Prox1.M.Sg this.M.Sg island.M
‘this whole island’

1.4 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns have full and clitic Dat and Acc forms for 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular and plural; in 3rd person singular, there are distinct forms for masculine and feminine gender.³² There is a (full) reflexive invariant pronominal form, with distinct Dat and Acc clitics.

1.4.1 The paradigm of the Macedonian personal pronouns is as follows:

Table 3: Macedonian personal pronouns

	Nom	Dat		Acc	
		Full	Cl	Full	Cl
1Sg	<i>jas</i>	<i>mene</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>mene</i>	<i>me</i>
1Pl	<i>nie</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>nas</i>	<i>ne</i>
2Sg	<i>ti</i>	<i>tebe</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>tebe</i>	<i>te</i>
2Pl	<i>vie</i>	<i>vam</i>	<i>vi</i>	<i>vas</i>	<i>ve</i>
3Sg.M	<i>toj</i>	<i>nemu</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>nego</i>	<i>go</i>
3Sg.Neut	<i>toa</i>	<i>nemu</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>nego</i>	<i>go</i>
3Sg.F	<i>taa</i>	<i>nejze</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>nea</i>	<i>ja</i>
3Pl	<i>tie</i>	<i>nim</i>	<i>im</i>	<i>niv</i>	<i>gi</i>
Refl	-	<i>sebe</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>sebe</i>	<i>se</i>

1.4.2 The third person nominative forms *toj* ‘he’, *taa* ‘she’, *toa* ‘it’, *tie* ‘they’ are equivalent to the demonstrative determiners/pronouns constructed from the root *t-* (cf. footnote 29).

1.4.3 In the Northern Macedonian dialects, different third person personal pronouns, analogous to those used in Serbo-Croatian, are used: *on* ‘3Sg.M’, *ona* ‘3Sg.F’, *ono* ‘3Sg.N’, *oni* ‘Pl’.³³

1.4.4 The clitic forms appear as the only exponents of the Dat or Acc cases or else “double” full pronominal or nominal arguments.³⁴

1.4.4.1 The use of the (doubled) oblique full pronominal forms is emphatic. Thus, we have the following contrasts:³⁵

- (27) a. *Me* *vide*.
1Sg.Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Perf.Past
‘He saw me.’
- b. *Me* *vide* *mene*.
1Sg.Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Perf.Past me
‘He saw ME.’
- (28) a. *Mi* *go* *dade*.
1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Perf.Past
‘He gave it to me.’

³² The neuter gender forms are equivalent to those of the masculine gender ones.

³³ The Northern Macedonian dialects border with the Southern Serbian dialects.

³⁴ See the chapter entitled “Clitic Clusters and Clitic Doubling”.

³⁵ Reflexive clitics double the full reflexive pronoun *sebe* ‘self’ even when it is modified by the Dat reflexive clitic *si* Cf. footnote 59.

- b. *Mi go dade mene.*
 1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Perf.Past me.Pron
 He gave it to ME.'

1.4.4.2 In prepositional phrases, only full Acc pronominal forms occur; pronominal clitics do not function as objects of prepositions. Thus, (29a) is well formed, while (29b) is not:

- (29) a. *Dojde so nea.*
 came.3Sg with her.Acc
 '(S)he came with her.'
- b. **Dojde so ja.*
 came.3Sg with 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl

1.4.5 In some South-Western Macedonian dialects, namely in the dialect of Bitola as well as in the adjoining Macedonian dialect spoken in Northern Greece (in Lerin/Florina and Voden/Edessa), the dative clitic has lost distinctions for number and gender, in favour of the masculine/neuter singular form *mu*.³⁶ In the Bitola dialect, the form which in most Macedonian dialects represents the masculine and neuter singular Dat clitic, can refer to nouns of any gender or number:

- (30) a. *%Mu go dade na sestra*
 3Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M/N.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Perf.Past to sister.F.Sg
ti.
 2Sg.Dat.Cl
 '(S)he gave it to your sister.'
- b. *%Mu go dade na decata.*
 3Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M/N.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Perf.Past to children+the.N.Pl
 '(S)he gave it to the children.'

1.4.6 In the South-Western dialect of Ohrid, the feminine dative singular and plural pronouns are used not only in indirect, but also in direct object position:³⁷

-
- (ii) *(Si) misleše vo sebe(si).*
 Dat.Refl.Cl think.3Sg.Imperf.Past in self+Dat.Refl.Cl
 '(S)he thought in herself/himself.'

Note that the first reflexive clitic in (ii) is part of the lexical meaning of the verb (*cf.* 1.4.7.5).

³⁶ In the area of Bitola, Lerin/Florina and Voden/Edessa, Aromanian has been and is extensively spoken, and it is in areal contact with this language, in which there are no distinct pronominal forms for any gender, that the Macedonian third person pronominal clitics in these dialects have lost their gender distinctions. *Cf.* Tomić (2004b, 2006).

³⁷ In the dialect of Ohrid, there is also a common Dat/Acc feminine singular pronominal clitic *e*. Note that in the Debar dialect, the common Dat/Acc feminine singular pronominal clitic has two variants: *je* – used in preverbal and *ja* – used in post-verbal position.

- (i) *%Je vidov.*
 3Sg.F.Dat/Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Perf.Past
 'I saw her.'
- (ii) *%Vidi ja!*
 see.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.F.Dat/Acc.Cl
 'See her!'

In the south-westernmost area where Macedonian is spoken (in the Kostur area, in Northern Greece), the Acc forms, including the reflexive ones, have completely disappeared and Dat forms are used in direct object positions. Topolinjska (1995:80-85) records the following examples (with my glosses and translation):

- (31) a. %*Nejze* *e* *go* *dade.*
 her.Dat 3Sg.Dat/Acc.Cl 3Sg.M/N.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Perf.Past
 ‘(S)he gave it to HER.’
- b. %*Nejze* *e* *vide.*
 her.Dat 3Sg.Dat/Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Perf.Past
 ‘(S)he saw HER.’
- (32) a. %*Nimi* *im* *gi* *dade.*
 them.Dat 3Pl.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Perf.Past
 ‘(S)he gave it to THEM.’
- b. %*Nimi* *gi* *vide.*
 them.Dat 3Pl.Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Perf.Past
 ‘(S)he saw THEM.’

1.4.7 While the personal pronominal clitics are used only for anaphoric reference, the reflexive pronominal clitics are also used in passive, absolutive,³⁸ middle and impersonal constructions, as well as in constructions in which they are actually part of the lexical meaning of the verb.³⁹

1.4.7.1 For anaphoric reference, both the Dat and the Acc reflexive clitics are used. Reference can be made to single referents (as in 33a₁ and 34a₁) or to multiple ones; in the latter case, we may have a multiple number of individual references (as in 33b₁ and 34b₁ with reading 1) or reciprocals (as in 33c₁ and 34b₁ with reading 2). In all cases, usage is contingent on the coreferentiality of the referent of the clitic and the subject of the clause;⁴⁰ when the subject has distinct reference, a non-reflexive pronominal clitic is used. Thus, we have the following pairs of contrast:⁴¹

- (33) a₁ *Petre se briči.*
 Petre Acc.Refl.Cl shave.3Sg
 ‘Petre is shaving himself.’

- (iii) %*mi* *nosixa*
 1Sg.Dat/Acc.Cl carry.3Pl.Imperf.Past
 ‘they carried me’

- (iv) %*Mi* *čudi to na men.*
 1Sg.Dat/Acc.Cl wonder.3Sg that to me.Dat/Acc
 ‘I do wonder.’ (lit. ‘It wonders me.’)

- (v) %*Maxni* *mi si od tuka!*
 move-out.2Sg.Imper 1Sg.Dat/Acc.Cl Dat/Acc.Refl.Cl from here
 ‘Move out of my sight!’ (lit. ‘Move out of here!’)

³⁸ The term “absolutive” was introduced by Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999), who argues that the absolutes are a case of ultimate suppression of the initiator of the event. Dimitrova-Vulchanova does not speak of middle *se*-constructions, but the examples in w.4.7 and 2.4.7 will show that there are *se*-middles distinct from *se*-absolutives in Macedonian (as well as in Bulgarian).

³⁹ The label “reflexive” does not correspond to all of these uses. I stick to it, however, because different labels might imply the existence of more than one homophonous form, which is not the case. There is only one Dat *si* form, and one Acc *se* form, though they may have different functions.

⁴⁰ In Marelj’s (2004:22-23) analysis, the clitic represents an internal θ -role, but is related to or bound by an external θ -role.

⁴¹ The examples have human subjects. Note, however, that there is no restriction on the semantics of the subject. In (i), the reflexive *se* is coreferential with an inanimate subject.

- (i) *Kamenjata se strkalaa nadolu.*
 rocks+the.Pl Acc.Refl.Cl roll.3Pl.Perf.Past downwards
 ‘The rocks rolled downwards.’

- a₂ *Petre me briči.*
 Petre 1Sg.Acc.Cl shave.3Sg
 ‘Petre is shaving me.’
- b₁ *Decata se oblekuvaat.*
 children+the.N.Pl Acc.Refl.Cl dress-up.3Pl
 ‘The children are dressing (themselves) up.’
- b₂ *Decata me oblekuvaat.*
 children+the.N.Pl 1Sg.Acc.Cl dress-up.3Pl
 ‘The children are dressing me up.’
- c₁ *Decata se sakaat.*
 children+the.N.Pl Acc.Refl.Cl love.3Pl
 ‘The children love each other.’
- c₂ *Decata me sakaat.*
 children+the.N.Pl 1Sg.Acc.Cl love.3Pl
 ‘The children love me.’
- (34) a₁ *Petre si pee.*
 Petre Dat.Refl.Cl sing.3Sg
 ‘Petre is singing to himself.’
- a₂ *Petre mi pee.*
 Petre 1Sg.Dat.Cl sing.3Sg
 ‘Petre is singing to me.’
- b₁ *Decata si peat.*
 children+the.N.Pl Dat.Refl.Cl sing.3Pl
 1. ‘Everyone of the children is singing to himself.’
 2. ‘The children are singing to each other.’
- b₂ *Decata mi peat.*
 children+the.N.Pl 1Sg.Dat.Cl sing.3Pl
 ‘The children are singing to me.’

1.4.7.2 Passives, absolutes, middles and impersonals employ only the Acc reflexive clitic. According to Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999), whose analysis is carried out in a framework currently called “The Sign Model”,⁴² passives represent degrees of demotion of the initiator of the event/-action and impersonals are passives in which the initiator of the event/action is conceptually present, whereas in absolutes the initiator of the event/action is suppressed, with the implication that the event occurred on its own accord, with no outside causation involved.⁴³ For Marelj (2004:217-250), whose analysis is in the framework of Tanya Reinhart’s Theta Theory (cf. Reinhart 2002), not only in passives, but also in middles and impersonals, the external argument of the verb is saturated.⁴⁴ There is a difference in the type of saturation, however. In passives, the external argument of the verb is existentially closed, while in middles and impersonals we have arbitrary saturation with a sortal restriction to humans, which is both syntactically and semantically projected

⁴² The model has been developed at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim.

⁴³ Consequently, appropriate contexts for such constructions are when the external conditioning factors of a situation are either unknown, even though physically present, or totally irrelevant (unlike the passives). Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999:133) mentions that the English correlates of the Bulgarian absolutes are unaccusatives or ergatives.

⁴⁴ While Dimitrova-Vulchanova applies the Sign model to the analysis of Bulgarian *se*-constructions, Marelj applies the Theta Theory to the analysis of Serbian *se*-constructions.

in the form of a distinguished index – “arb”. Whereas in middles “arb” is non-agentive and incompatible with agentive adverbs, in impersonals it is agentive and compatible with agentive adverbs.

1.4.7.2.1 Examples of passives, absolutes, middles and impersonals are given in (35), (36), (37) and (38), respectively.⁴⁵ Note that in middles the verbs are imperfective and typically in the present tense, thus contrasting with absolutes, where the verbs are typically perfective and in the past tense.⁴⁶

- (35) a. *Knigata* *i* *se* *pečati* *vo* *Rim.*
book+the.F.Sg 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl print.3Sg in Rome
'Her book is being printed in Rome.'
- b. *Ovaa* *kuka* *dolgo* *se* *gradeše.*
this.F.Sg house long.Adv Acc.Refl.Cl build.3Sg.Imperf.Past
'This house was being built for a long time.'
- (36) a. *Deneska* *se* *skršija* *mnogu* *čaši.*
today Acc.Refl.Cl break.3Pl.Perf.Past many glasses
'Today, many glasses got broken.'
- b. *Mlekoto* *se* *svari.*
milk+the.N.Sg Acc.Refl.Cl boil.3Sg.Perf.Past
'The milk boiled.'
- c. *Ćerka* *mu* *se* *omaži* *lani.*
daughter 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl marry.3Sg.Perf.Past last year
'His daughter got married last year.'

⁴⁵ Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999:140) argues that a verb can either have a *se*-passive or a *se*-absolute. So, the distinction between the passives and the absolutes is rooted in the lexical content of the verb.

⁴⁶ Middles typically contain adverbs of manner, but in contrastive environments can be used without such adverbs. Thus, (36a₂) implies that there are other books that are not readable. In non-contrastive contexts, a *se*-clause without an adverb of manner can be interpreted both as passive and as middle. Example:

- (i) *Ne znam kade se kupuvaat ovie knigi.*
not know.1Sg where Acc.Refl.Cl buy.3Pl these books
1. 'I do not know where these books are being bought.'
2. 'I do not know where these books can be bought.'

Mitkovska (1995b:31) distinguishes three kinds of middles (pseudo-passives, in her terminology): potential, normative and generalizing. The examples in (36) would be potential middles. She exemplifies the normative middles by (ii) and (iii) and the generalizing middles by (iv) and (v):

- (ii) *Ne se igra so ogan.*
not Acc.Refl.Cl play.Impers with fire
'One shouldn't play with fire.'
- (iii) *Prašanjeto taka ne se postavuva.*
question+the.N.Sg that-way not Acc.Refl.Cl put.Impers
'You shouldn't put the question that way.'
- (iv) *Nekoi raboti se pravat od učtivost.*
some.Pl things Acc.Refl.Cl do.3Pl from politeness
'Some things are done out of politeness.'
- (v) *Imeto ne se preveduva.*
name+the.N.Sg not Acc.Refl.Cl translate.3Sg
'The name is (usually/normally) not translated.'

- (37) a₁ *Ovaa kniga brgu se čita.*
 this.F.Sg book fast Acc.Refl.Cl read.3Sg
 ‘This book reads fast.’
- a₂ *Ovaa kniga se čita.*
 this.F.Sg book Acc.Refl.Cl read.3Sg
 ‘This book is readable.’
- b. *Slamenite pokrivi (lesno) se palat.*
 straw.Adj+the.F.Pl roofs easily Acc.Refl.Cl set-on-fire.3Pl
 ‘Straw roofs are easily set on fire.’
- (38) a. *Ovde ne se pee.*
 here not Acc.Refl.Cl sing.Impers
 ‘One does not sing here.’
- b. *Mnogu ubavo se jadeše vo ovaa*
 much beautifully Acc.Refl.Cl eat.Impers.Imperf.Past in this.F.Sg
kuka.
 house
 ‘One ate very well in this house.’
- c. *Rano se stemnuva.*
 early Acc.Refl.Cl get-dark.Impers
 ‘It gets dark early.’

1.4.7.2.2 Impersonals with expressed objects are, as a rule, not acceptable. When the object is expressed, we have passive *se*, though some speakers accept some impersonals with expressed non-articled direct objects:

- (39) a₁ **Ovde ne se pee pesni.*
 here not Acc.Refl.Cl sing.3Sg songs
 ‘One does not sing songs here.’
- a₂ *Ovde ne se peat pesni.*
 here not Acc.Refl.Cl sing.3Pl songs
 ‘No songs are sung here.’
- b₁ *?Roditeli(*te) se počituva.*
 parents+the.Pl Acc.Refl.Cl respect.3Sg
 ‘One respects parents.’
- b₂ *Roditeli(te) se počituvaat.*
 parents+the.Pl Acc.Refl.Cl respect.3Pl
 ‘Parents are (to be) respected.’

1.4.7.3 In clauses with verbs of a set including *tepa* ‘beat’, *butka* ‘push’, *udira* ‘hit’, *pluka* ‘spit’, *prska* ‘splash with water’, *grize* ‘bite’, *bacuva* ‘kiss’, *grebe* ‘scratch’, which could go under the general name of “inter-personal contact verbs”, the *se*-clitic can “impersonate” the object. Marelj (2004:247-250) argues that in *se*-constructions with such verbs, there is saturation of the internal role; she refers to such constructions as “object arbitrarizations”. Examples:⁴⁷

⁴⁷ The examples are mine. Marelj gives analogous Serbian examples.

- (40) a. *Petre se tepla.*
 Petre Acc.Refl.Cl beat.3Sg
 1. ‘Petre is beating some people/others’.
 2. ‘Petre beats people (in general)’.
- b. *Marija se grize.*
 Marija Acc.Refl.Cl bite.3Sg
 1. ‘Marija is biting some people/others.’
 2. ‘Marija bites people (in general).’

1.4.7.4 There are *se*-constructions in clauses with Dat pronominal clitics or Dat phrases doubled by Dat clitics that are not part of the argument structure of the verb.

1.4.7.4.1 In *se*-constructions with anti-causative verbs, the dative clitic and the Dat prepositional phrase that they may double are interpreted as a possessor or involuntary agent:⁴⁸

- (41) a. *Mi se skrši golemata vazna.*
 1Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl break.3Sg.Perf.Past big+the.F.Sg vase
 1. ‘My big vase broke on me.’
 2. ‘My big vase got broken.’
 3. ‘I involuntarily caused the big vase to break.’
- b. *(Na Marija) i se skina fustanot.*
 to Marija 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl tear.3Sg.Perf.Past
 dress+the.M.Sg
 1. ‘(Marija’s)/her dress got torn.’
 2. ‘(Marija)/she involuntarily caused her dress to get torn.’
- c. *Ti se rodila ќerka.*
 2Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl born.F.Sg.I-Part daughter
 ‘You got a daughter, I hear.’ (lit. ‘A daughter was born to you.’)

1.4.7.4.2 There are *se*-constructions that appear in clauses with non-argumental datives that have a “feel-like X” reading, in which relationship is established between an individual and an event.⁴⁹ Rivero (2004:242-243) refers to this reading as “Dative Disclosure”,⁵⁰ and argues that the dative is here identified as an implicit agent of the verb, which functions as the equivalent of an obligatory

⁴⁸ Rivero (2004) argues that these constructions involve Argument Suppression. Note that the occurrence of the Dat clitic (or the clitic doubled Dat prepositional phrase) is not obligatory. Thus, (41a) and (42b) have as counterparts constructions without personal pronominal clitics (and without Dat prepositional phrases), to which Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999) refers as “absolute” (cf. 1.4.7.2) – (i) and (ii), respectively:

- (i) *Se skrši golemata vazna.*
 Acc.Refl.Cl break.3Sg.Perf.Past big+the.F.Sg vase
 ‘The big vase got broken.’
- (ii) *Se skina fustanot.*
 Acc.Refl.Cl tear.3Sg.Perf.Past dress+the.M.Sg
 ‘The dress got torn.’

⁴⁹ Impersonal constructions with “feel like X” readings occur in Balkan Slavic, Albanian, Arli Balkan Romani, Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian, but not in Romanian and Modern Greek Cf. the discussions on reflexive clitics in the sections devoted to individual languages in this chapter.

⁵⁰ Rivero gives examples from Bulgarian and Albanian.

controller.⁵¹ For Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999:203) the “feel-like X” constructions are characterized by the suppression of the initiator of the event, witnessed by the fact that the initiator does not receive overt realization, as in passives; but the “feel-like X” constructions are either impersonal, as in (42), or realize overtly as subject a non-initiator element, as in (43):⁵²

- (42) a. *Ni se igra.*
1Pl.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl play.3Sg
‘We feel like playing.’ (lit. ‘To us it feels like playing.’)
- b. *Na Ivana mu se spieše.*
to Ivan.Acc 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl sleep.3Sg.Imperf.Past
‘Ivan felt like sleeping.’ (lit. ‘To Ivan it felt like sleeping.’)
- c. *Í se odi na prošetka.*
3Sg.F.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl go.3Sg.Pres to walk
‘She feels like going for a walk.’ (lit. ‘To her it feels like going for a walk.’)
- d. *Ne mu se umira.*
not 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl die.3Sg
‘He doesn’t feel like dying.’ (lit. ‘To him it does not feel like dying.’)
- e. *Na Petko ne mu se raboteše*
to Petko not 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl work.3Sg.Imperf.Past
vo fabrika.
in factory
‘Petko didn’t feel like working in a factory.’ (lit. ‘To Petko it didn’t feel like working in a factory.’)

⁵¹ “Feel-like X” constructions report an attitude rather than an activity. Thus, (42b) tells us about the speaker’s past urge to read, but does not imply that he did read, so the sentence can be uttered truthfully without a reading event, and completed without contradiction as in (i).

- (i) *Na Ivana mu se čitaše, no nemaše*
to Ivan.Acc 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl read.3Sg.Imperf.Past but not+have.3Sg.Past
što da čita.
what Subj.Mark read.3Sg
‘Ivan felt like reading, but there was nothing to read.’

⁵² The non-argumental datives in passive *se*-constructions with an overtly realized non-initiator element (i.e. theme) may also have another “ordinary” passive reading. Thus, (43a) may also have the reading (i), while (43b) may also have the reading (ii):

- (i) ‘Songs were being sung to us.’
(ii) ‘No house is being built for Petko.’

It is not, however, the case that every *se*-construction with overtly realized non-initiator element that has a “feel-like X” reading also has the “ordinary” passive reading. The following sentences have only the “feel-like X” reading:

- (iii) *Mi se jade riba.*
1Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl eat.3Sg fish
1. ‘I feel like eating fish.’
2. ‘*A fish is being eaten to me.’
- (iv) *Mu se pie voda.*
3Sg.M.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl drink.3Sg water
1. ‘He feels like drinking water.’
2. ‘*A water is being drunk to him.’

- (43) a. *Ni se peea pesni.*
 1Pl.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl sing.3Pl.Imperf.Past songs
 ‘We felt like singing songs.’ (lit. ‘To us it felt like singing songs.’)
- b. *Na Petko ne mu se gradi kuća.*
 to Petko not 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl build.3Sg house
 ‘Petko doesn’t feel like building a house.’ (lit. ‘To Petko it doesn’t feel like building a house.’)

1.4.7.5 The Acc or Dat reflexive clitic can be part of the lexical meaning of a closed class of verbs.⁵³ Contrast (44a) to (44b) and (45a) to (45b):

- (44) a. *Ne znam kako da go najdam*
 not know.1Sg how Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl find.1Sg.Perf.Pres
ovoj grad.
 this.M town
 ‘I do not know how to find this town.’
- b. *Ne znam kade se naođa ovoj grad.*
 not know.1Sg where Acc.Refl.Cl find.3Sg this.M town
 ‘I do not know where this town is.’
- (45) a. *Utre odam Skopje.*
 tomorrow go.1Sg Skopje
 ‘I am going to Skopje tomorrow.’
- b. *Si odam utre.*
 Dat.Refl.Cl go.1Sg tomorrow
 ‘I am leaving tomorrow.’

The verb *naođa* without the Acc reflexive clitic means ‘find’, whereas with the clitic it means ‘be (exist)’. The verb *odi* without the Dat reflexive clitic means ‘go’, whereas with the clitic it means ‘leave’. We are actually dealing with distinct lexical items.

⁵³ These non-productive constructions (which are not subject to syntactic alternations) include, for example: *se smee* ‘laugh’, *se raduva* ‘rejoice’, *se plaši* ‘be afraid’, *se pojavuva* ‘appear’, *se naođa* ‘be (found)’, *se čini* ‘seem’, *si odi* ‘depart’.

Note that many verbs can optionally be accompanied by the Dative reflexive clitic:

- (i) *Toa (si) doađa samo od sebe.*
 that Dat.Refl.Cl come.3Sg alone from self
 ‘It comes/happens by itself.’
- (ii) *Andon znaeše i (si) molčeše.*
 Andon know.3Sg.Imperf.Past and Dat.Refl.Cl keep-silent.3Sg.Imperf.Past
 ‘Andon knew, but kept silent.’
- (iii) *Životot (si) go pomina so les.*
 life+the.M.Sg Dat.Refl.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl pass.3Sg.Perf.Past with ease
 ‘(S)he had an easy life.’ (lit. ‘(S)he passed his/her life with ease.’)
- (iv) *(Si) stanuvam vo pet i vednaš (si) pijam*
 Dat.Refl.Cl get-up.1Sg in five and immediately Dat.Refl.Cl drink.1Sg
kafe.
 coffee
 ‘I get up at five and drink coffee immediately.’

The use of the dative reflexive clitic in these cases has a stylistic effect – it adds a note of intimacy.

1.4.7.6 In story-telling the Dat reflexive clitic is regularly used:

- (46) *Si* *bil* *eden* *car* *i* *si*
 Dat.Refl.Cl been.M.Sg./-Part a.M.Sg king and Dat.Refl.Cl
imal *dva* *sina*.
 had.M.Sg./-Part two sons
 ‘There was a king and he had two sons.’

1.4.8 Both personal and reflexive pronominal clitics are used as DP possessive clitics.

1.5 Possessive clitics and non-clitic pronominal possessive modifiers

1.5.1 The DP possessive clitics are formally identical to Dat personal pronominal clitics (cf. Table 3).⁵⁴

1.5.2 The semantic features of the possessive clitics are the same as the semantic features of corresponding non-clitic pronominal possessive modifiers;⁵⁵ the use of the two types of possessives is, however, contingent on discourse factors – whenever a pronominal clitic is available, the use of the non-clitic pronominal possessive modifier is contrastive:⁵⁶

- (47) a. *Pismoto* *se* *naoĝa* *kaj* *ķerka*
 letter+the.N.Sg Acc.Refl.Cl find.3Sg at daughter
ti.
 2Sg.Dat.Cl
 ‘Your daughter has the letter.’
- b. *Pismoto* *se* *naoĝa* *kaj* *tvojata*
 letter+the.N.Sg Acc.Refl.Cl find.3Sg at your+the.F.Sg
ķerka.
 daughter
 ‘YOUR daughter has the letter (not mine).’

1.5.3 Nevertheless, non-clitic pronominal possessive modifiers differ from DP possessive clitics both in their agreement properties and in the selection of the possessum.

1.5.3.1 The DP possessive clitics show agreement with the person, number and (in the case of 3rd person singular) gender features of the possessor, whereas the non-clitic pronominal possessive modifiers reflect the person, number and (in the case of 3rd person singular) gender of the possessor, and show agreement with the gender and number features of the possessum. Thus, while there are only eight possessive clitic forms (*mi* ‘1Sg.Dat.Cl’, *ti* ‘2Sg.Dat.Cl’, *mu* ‘3Sg.M/N.Dat.Cl’, *i* ‘3Sg.F.Dat.Cl’, *ni* ‘1Pl.Dat.Cl’, *vi* ‘2Pl.Dat.Cl’, *im* ‘3Pl.Dat.Cl’, *si* ‘Refl.Dat.Cl’), there are 36 pronominal possessive modifiers:

⁵⁴ In all the Balkan languages, Dat relationships within the sentence (CP) and Gen relationships within the DP are expressed by the same forms. This does not (or at least does not always) imply that pre-existent Dat or Gen forms had become extinct. There is no clear evidence that possessive clitics in Balkan Slavic and Balkan Romance had ever occurred in a Gen form (cf. Pancheva 2004).

⁵⁵ The term “possessive modifier” refers to both possessive determiners and possessive pronouns. In Macedonian, and in the languages of the Balkans in general, there is no formal distinction between these two categories.

⁵⁶ In strongly emphasized utterances, the possessive clitic can co-occur with a non-clitic pronominal possessive modifier, which in this case occurs to the right of the possessive clitic:

- (i) *Majka* *mi* *moja* *mnogu* *te* *saka*.
 mother 1Sg.Dat.Cl my.F.Sg much 2Sg.Acc.Cl like.3Sg
 ‘MY mother likes you very much.’

Table 4: Macedonian pronominal possessive modifiers

	M.Sg	F.Sg	N.Sg	Pl
1Sg	<i>moj</i>	<i>moja</i>	<i>moe</i>	<i>moi</i>
2Sg	<i>tvoj</i>	<i>tvoja</i>	<i>tvoe</i>	<i>tvoi</i>
3Sg.M	<i>negov</i>	<i>negova</i>	<i>negovo</i>	<i>negovi</i>
3Sg.F	<i>nejzin</i>	<i>nejzina</i>	<i>nejzino</i>	<i>nejzini</i>
1Pl	<i>naš</i>	<i>naša</i>	<i>naše</i>	<i>naši</i>
2Pl	<i>vaš</i>	<i>vaša</i>	<i>vaše</i>	<i>vaši</i>
3Pl	<i>niven/%nixov</i>	<i>nivna/%nixova</i>	<i>nivno/%nixovo</i>	<i>nivni/%nixovi</i>
3Sg.Refl	<i>svoj</i>	<i>svoja</i>	<i>svoe</i>	<i>svoi</i>

1.5.3.2 Whereas non-clitic pronominal possessive modifiers can refer to any possessum, possessive (Dat) clitics refer only to possessums denoting family relationships,⁵⁷ and are used as a preferred alternative to definite articles (cf. Tomić 1996a).⁵⁸ Thus, while (48a-c) are grammatical, (49a-c) are not.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ In Bulgarian, examples analogous to (49a-c) are well-formed (cf. 2.5.4). The Macedonian nominal clitics actually seem to be on the way to become permanently attached to their antecedents.

⁵⁸ The meanings of the articulated nouns are distinct from those of the nouns with possessive clitics:

- (i) *Majka i plačeše.*
mother 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl cry.3Sg.Past
'Her mother was crying.'
- (ii) *Majkata plačeše.*
mother+the.F.Sg cry.3Sg.Past
'The mother was crying.'

Possessive clitics do not attach to articulated nouns expressing family relationships, and (iii) is not acceptable:

- (iii) **Ja vidov majkata mu.*
her.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Perf.Past mother+the.F.Sg 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl
purported reading: 'I saw his mother.'

Note however, that in many Macedonian dialects, sentences in which possessive clitics encliticize to definite modifiers of nouns denoting family relationship are acceptable:

- (iv) *%Postariot mi sin e vo Amerika.*
Compar+old.Def+the.M.Sg 1Sg.Dat.Cl son be.3Sg in America
'My older son is in America.'
- (v) *%Pomladiot i brat ne e ovde.*
Compar+young.Def+the.M.Sg 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl brother not be.3Sg here
'Her younger brother is not here.'

In clauses of endearment, such as (vi) and (vii), which are currently used in my (Ohrid) dialect, possessive clitics encliticize to noun modifiers that carry the definite article:

- (vi) *%Ubavoto mi momiče!*
beautiful+the.N.Sg 1Sg.Dat.Cl girl.Dimin
'My beautiful little girl!'
- (vii) *%Moeto mi momiče!*
my+the.N.Sg 1Sg.Dat.Cl girl.Dimin
'My (own) little girl!'

Possessive relationships to nouns that do not denote family relationships are often expressed by (full) pronominal modifiers. Accordingly, the Macedonian pronominal modifiers often appear in non-emphatic environments, whereas their Bulgarian counterparts are as a rule used in emphatic ones (cf. Tomić to appear b).

- (48) a. *majka* *mi/ti/mu/i*
 mother 1Sg/2Sg/3Sg.M/3Sg.F.Dat.Cl
 ‘my/your/his/her mother’
- b. *sin* *i/vi/im*
 son 3Sg.F/2Pl/3Pl.Dat.Cl
 ‘her/your/their son’
- c. *tetki* *mu/ni/vi*
 aunts 3Sg.M/1Pl/2Pl.Dat.Cl
 ‘his/our/your aunts’

Note that, in emphatic contexts, possessive pronouns can co-occur in the same DP with possessive clitics with same person/number features:

- (viii) *Tatko* *mu* *negov* *nikako* *da*
 father 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl his.M.Sg not+anyway Subj.Mark
razbere *vo* *što* *e* *rabotata.*
 understand.3Sg.Perf.Pres in what be.3Sg matter+the.F.Sg
 ‘His father cannot come to understand what is the matter.’
- (ix) *Ne* *ti* *pieme* *od* *tvojata* *čaša.*
 not 2Sg.Dat.Cl drink.1Pl from your+the.F.Sg glass
 ‘We are not drinking from YOUR glass.’

⁵⁹ In the older stages of the language, the Dat clitics could refer to nouns other than those denoting family relationship. Here is an example from Cepenkov’s folk tales (second half of 19th century), quoted by Koneski (1967:144).

- (i) *%Sum* *isteran* *od* *stopana* *mi.*
 be.1Sg dismissed.M.Sg.Pass.Part from master.Acc 1Sg.Dat.Cl
 ‘I have been dismissed by my master.’

In contemporary colloquial Macedonian there are some set phrases in which Dat clitics refer to common nouns, such as:

- (ii) *%Toj* *e* *doma* *mi.*
 he be.3Sg home 1Sg.Dat.Cl
 ‘He is at my home.’
- (iii) *%Toj* *e* *doma* *si.*
 he be.3Sg home Dat.Refl.Cl
 ‘He is at his home.’

The Dat reflexive clitic *si* modifies the full reflexive pronoun *sebe* ‘self’ – when the latter functions as an indirect object obligatorily, and when it functions as a direct object or an object of a preposition optionally:

- (iv) *Prvo* *se* *izmiv* *sebe(si),* *a* *potoa* *i*
 first Acc.Refl.Cl wash.1Sg.Perf.Past self+Dat.Refl.Cl and after and
deteto.
 child+the.N.Sg
 ‘First I washed myself and then the child, too.’
- (v) *Si* *go* *dade* *sebe*(si).*
 Dat.Refl.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Perf.Past self+Dat.Refle.Cl
 ‘(S)he gave it to herself/himself.’
- (vi) *Go* *zede* *so* *sebe(si).*
 3Sg.M/N.Acc.Cl take.3Sg.Perf.Past with self+Dat.Refl.Cl
 ‘(S)he took it with her/him.’ (lit. ‘(S)he took it with herself/himself.’)
- (vii) *(Si)* *misleše* *vo* *sebe(si).*
 Dat.Refl.Cl think.3Sg.Imperf.Past in self+Dat.Refl.Cl
 ‘(S)he thought in herself/himself.’

Note that the first reflexive clitic in (vii) is part of the lexical meaning of the verb (cf. 1.4.7.5).

- (49) a. **kniga(ta)* *mi/ti/mu/i*
 book+the.F.Sg 1Sg/2Sg/3Sg.M/3Sg.F.Dat.Cl
 purported reading: ‘my/your/his/her book’
- b. **son(ot)* *i/vi/im*
 dream+the.M.Sg 3Sg.F/2Pl/3Pl.Dat.Cl
 purported reading: ‘her/your/their dream’
- c. **želbi(te)* *mu/ni/vi*
 desires+the.Pl 3Sg.M/1Pl/2Pl.Dat.Cl
 purported reading: ‘his/our/your desires’

1.5.3.3 Possessive modifiers can also co-occur with the indefinite article, whereas possessive clitics cannot. This is illustrated by the well-formedness of (50a) and the non-acceptability of (50b-c):

- (50) a. *edna moja bratučetka*
 a.F.Sg my.F.Sg cousin.F.Sg
 ‘a cousin of mine’
- b. **edna bratučetka mi*
 a.F.Sg cousin.F.Sg 1Sg.Dat.Cl
- c. **edna mi bratučetka*
 a.F.Sg 1Sg.Dat.Cl cousin.F.Sg

1.5.4 When the possessive clitic has disjoint reference with a third person referred to by the subject of the clause, a personal possessive clitic is used:

- (51) *Í rekla na sestra i/ *si.*
 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl said.3Sg.F./-Part to sister 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl Refl.Dat.Cl
 ‘She_i (reportedly) said to her_j sister.’

1.5.5 With possessums functioning as (direct or indirect) objects that have same reference as the subject of the clause, reflexive pronominal possessive clitics are, however, used:⁶⁰

- (52) *Ja videl sestra si/ *i.*
 3Sg.Acc.Cl seen.M.Sg./-Part sister Refl.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl
 ‘He_i has (reportedly) seen his_i (own) sister.’

1.5.6 Possessive clitics often double prepositional possessor phrases referring to nouns denoting family relationships:⁶¹

⁶⁰ Thus, Macedonian contrasts with Bulgarian, where in this case either a reflexive or a personal possessive (Dat) clitic can be used. Cf. 2.5.7.

Note that the noun-plus-possessive-clitic sequence can be followed by the name of the person referred to:

- (i) *Ja videl sestra i Elena.*
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl seen.M.Sg./-Part sister 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl Elena
 ‘He_i has (reportedly) seen her_j sister Elena.’
- (ii) *Ja videl sestra si Elena.*
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl seen.M.Sg./-Part sister Refl.Dat.Cl Elena
 ‘He_i has (reportedly) seen his_i (own) sister Elena.’

⁶¹ In emphatic environments, the possessive clitics can co-occur with corresponding full (non-clitic) possessive pronouns:

- (i) *Tatko mu negov ne glasal za negovata*
 father 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl his.M.Sg not voted.M.Sg./-Part for his+the.F.Sg

- (53) a. *Ja* *videl* *sestra* **(i)*
 3Sg.Acc.Cl seen.M.Sg./-Part sister 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl
od /na Ana.
 from to Ana
 ‘He has (reportedly) seen Ana’s sister.’
- b. *Im* *go* *dal* *na* *tetki*
 3Pl.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M/N.Acc.Cl given.M.Sg./-Part to aunts
**(im) od/ ?na devojčinjava.*
 3Pl.Dat.Cl from to girls+the.Prox1.N.Pl
 ‘He has (reportedly) given it to the aunts of these girls.’

1.5.7 When they refer to subjects (as in 54a) or to objects or adjuncts in the Left Periphery of the clause – whether in a topic, as in (54b₁) and (54c₁), or in a focus position, as in (54b₂) and (54c₂),⁶² the DP possessive clitics can appear to the left of the verb:

- (54) a. *Ćerka* *im* *došla.*
 daughter 3Pl.Dat.Cl come.F.Sg./-Part
 ‘Their daughter has (reportedly) come.’
- b₁ *Sina* *ti* *go* *videl* *PETRE.*
 son.Acc 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl seen.M.Sg./-Part Petre
 ‘As for your son, it was Petre that (reportedly) saw him.’
- b₂ *SINA* *ti* *go* *videl* *Petre.*
 son.Acc 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl seen.M.Sg./-Part Petre
 ‘It was your son that Petre (reportedly) saw.’
- c₁ *So* *majka* *mu* *gi* *ostavile*
 with mother 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl left.Pl./-Part
DECATA.
 children+the
 ‘As for who they left with his mother, it was (reportedly) the children.’

partija.
 party

‘His own father did not, reportedly, vote for his party.’

- (ii) *Na* *sestra* *mi* *moja* *ne* *i* *se* *patuva.*
 to sister 1Sg.Dat.Cl my.F.Sg not 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl travel.3Sg
 ‘MY sister doesn’t feel like travelling.’

While prepositional possessor phrases with lexical possessors can appear to the left of the possessums (*cf.* iii), full pronouns cannot (*cf.* iv):

- (iii) *Ja* *videl* *od/* *na* *Ana* *sestra* *i.*
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl seen.M.Sg./-Part from ?to Ana sister 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl
 ‘He has (reportedly) seen Ana’s sister.’
- (iv) **Na* *moja* *sestra* *mi* *ne* *i* *se* *patuva.*
 to my.F.Sg sister 1Sg.Dat.Cl not 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl travel.3Sg
 purported reading: ‘MY sister doesn’t feel like travelling.’

⁶² I make a distinction between a topic and a focus position in the Left Periphery. The information expressed in the topic is familiar to the participants in the discourse, the information expressed in the focus is new (I am representing it by capital letters). Both the topic and the focus can occur in a post-verbal position or in the Left Periphery. In the latter case, the topic always precedes the focus. *Cf.* the introduction in the chapter “Clitic Clusters and Clitic Doubling.”

- c₂ *So* *MAJKA* *mu* *gi* *ostavile*
 with mother 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl left.Pl./-Part
decata.
 children+the
 ‘It is with his mother that they (reportedly) left the children.’

1.5.8 The mere appearance to the left of the verb in cases such as those in (54), does not qualify the Dat clitics as “preverbal”.⁶³ The Dat clitics in (54) are DP possessive clitics distinct from pre-verbal Dat clitics even in cases such as (55) when the latter clitics are given possessive interpretation:

- (55) a. *Ubava* *im* *e* *snaata.*
 beautiful.F.Sg 3Pl.Dat.Cl be.3Sg daughter-in-law+the.F.Sg
 ‘Their daughter-in-law is beautiful.’
- b. *Bolno* *mi* *e* *deteto.*
 sick.N.Sg 1Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Sg child+the.N.Sg
 ‘My child is sick.’
- c. *Bledo* *mu* *e* *liceto.*
 pale.N.Sg 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Sg face+the.N.Sg
 ‘His face is pale.’
- d. *Edno pismo ni* *zaginalo.*
 a.N.Sg letter 1Pl.Dat.Cl lost.N.Sg./-Part
 ‘A letter of ours got lost, I understand.’
- e. *Kolata* *im* *ja* *ukrale.*
 car+the.F.Sg 3Pl.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl stolen.Pl./-Part
 Their car got stolen.’
- f. *Mnogu* *nivi* *ne* *mi* *se*
 many cornfields not 1Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Pl
izorani.
 ploughed.Pl.Pass.Part
 ‘Many of my cornfields are not ploughed.’

⁶³ Note that the clitics in (54b) and (54c) can easily be separated from the verb by moving the subject (whether focused or not) to a position between the two clitics:

- (i) *Sina* *ti* *PETRE* *go* *videl.*
 son.Acc 2Sg.Dat.Cl Petre 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl seen.M.Sg./-Part
 ‘As for your son, it was Petre that (reportedly) saw him.’
- (i)’ *SINA* *ti* *Petre* *go* *videl.*
 son.Acc 2Sg.Dat.Cl Petre 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl seen.M.Sg./-Part
 ‘It was your son that Petre (reportedly) saw.’
- (ii) *So* *majka* *mu* *DECATA* *gi* *ostavile.*
 with mother 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl children+the.Pl 3Pl.Acc.Cl left.Pl./-Part
 ‘As for who they left with his mother, it was (reportedly) the children.’
- (ii)’ *So* *MAJKA* *mu* *decata* *gi* *ostavile.*
 with mother 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl children+the.Pl 3Pl.Acc.Cl left.Pl./-Part
 ‘It is with his mother that they (reportedly) left the children.’

Neither the subject nor any other lexical constituent could be placed between two verbal clitics.

- g. *Ednolični* *im* *se* *dnite.*
monotonous.Pl 3Pl.Dat.Cl be.3Pl days+the.Pl
'Their days are monotonous.'
- h. *Vi* *gi* *znam* *greškite.*
2Pl.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl know.1sg faults+the.Pl
'I know your faults.'

1.5.8.1 While the DP possessive clitics can refer only to nouns denoting family relationships to which no articles are attached, the clausal Dat clitics with possessive interpretation can refer to any noun, and this noun can be either definite or indefinite (*cf.* (55)).⁶⁴ Moreover, while the clausal Dat clitics with possessive interpretation cannot co-occur with Dat argument clitics, the DP possessive clitics can co-occur with Dat argument clitics just as they can co-occur with Dat clausal clitics with possessive interpretation (*cf.* Tomić to appear b). Thus, we have (56a-b) as well as (56c-d):

- (56) a. *Mu* *go* *dal* *podarokot* *na*
3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl given.M.Sg./-Part present+the.M.Sg to
sina *i.*
son.Acc 2Sg..Dat.Cl
'He (reportedly) gave the present to her son.'
- b. *Vujko* *mu* *mu* *rekol* *da*
uncle 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl said.M.Sg./-Part Subj.Mark
dojdat.
come.3Sg.Perf.Pres
'His uncle (reportedly) told him that they should come.'
- c. *Mu* *došla* *vo* *poseta* *kerka* *ti.*
3Sg.M.Dat.Cl come.F.Sg./-Part in visit daughter 2Sg.Dat.Cl
'Your daughter has (reportedly) come to visit him.'
- d. *Sin* *mu* *mu* *e* *bole.*
son 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Sg sick.M.Sg
'His son is sick.'

1.5.8.2 Dat preverbal clitic with possessive interpretation have been referred to as "external possession" clitics (*cf.* Payne and Barshi 1999).⁶⁵ As argued by Haspelmath (1999) and Fried (1999) the

⁶⁴ In emphatic environments, the clausal Dat clitics can co-occur with non-clitic pronominal possessive modifiers:

- (i) *Ne* *sekiraj* *se,* *ne* *ti* *go* *zagubiv*
not worry.2Sg.Imper Acc.Refl.Cl not 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl lose.1 Sg.Perf.Past
tvojot *sat.*
your+the.M.Sg watch
'Don't worry, I did not lose YOUR watch!'
- (ii) *Treba* *da* *kaže* *što* *mu* *e*
should.3Sg Subj.Mark say.3Sg.Perf.Pres what 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Sg
negovata *želba.*
his+the.F.Sg wish
'He should say what is HIS wish.'

⁶⁵ External possessor clitics are not a specifically Balkan Sprachbund feature; they appear in many other languages, in the languages of Central and Southern Europe, in particular. Haspelmath (1999) argues that the external possession constructions go back to an early stage of the history of the Indo-European family, but was lost in the western and northern periphery of Europe, and can be characterised as an areal feature of a Central and South-European Sprachbund.

external possessor clitics express the affectedness of the objects that they represent.⁶⁶ Accordingly, they are discourse clitics, which can conveniently be labelled “beneficiary” (cf. Tomić to appear b).⁶⁷ In the Balkan languages, the beneficiary pronominal clitics are formally typically identical to both the Dat argument clitics and to the DP pronominal clitics. Syntactically they behave like the Dat argument clitics, whereas their interpretation is analogous to the interpretation of the DP pronominal clitics.

1.5.8.3 There have been two lines of explanations for the external possessors in generative analyses of the Balkan languages. While one line maintains that the possessor originates in the CP and the possessive interpretation arises through binding of an anaphoric element in the possessum, another line argues that it originates DP-internally and moves to a position typically occupied by verbal arguments. A movement analysis for external possessive clitics is proposed in Avram and Coene (2000) for Romanian, and Stateva (2002) for Bulgarian. Advocates of base-generation of external possessive clitics are Schürks and Wunderlich (2000) for Bulgarian, and Schick (2000) for Bulgarian and Macedonian. Schick refers to these clitics as “free Datives”, the label reflecting the fact that they are not arguments. Though their relationship with the verb is “free”, the external possessors are, however, discourse-linked.

1.5.8.4 Clausal Dat clitics with possessive interpretation should be distinguished from ethical Dat clitics, such as the one in (57), which are parenthetical devices for expressing intimacy and, unlike the clausal Dat clitics with possessive interpretation, are not discourse-linked:

- (57) *Deneska* *sum* *ti* *stanala* *vo* *pet.*
 today be.1Sg 2Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl get-up.F.Sg./-Part in five
 ‘Today I got up at five, you know.’

1.5.8.5 Both DP possessive clitics and clausal Dat clitics with possessive interpretation, as well as argument Dat clitics, can co-occur with ethical Dat clitics.⁶⁸ In (58a) we have a sequence of a DP possessive clitic, ethical Dat clitic and argument Dat clitic; in (58b) a sequence of a DP possessive clitic, ethical Dat clitic and clausal Dat clitic with possessive interpretation; in (58c) a sequence of an ethical Dat clitic, argument Dat clitic and argument Acc clitic; in (58d) a sequence of a DP possessive clitic, ethical Dat clitic and argument Dat clitics.

- (58) a. *Ķerki* *im* *ti* *mu* *došle*
 daughters 3Pl.Dat.Cl 2Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl come.Pl./-Part
 vo *poseta.*
 in visit
 ‘Their daughters have (reportedly) come to visit him, you know.’

Minčeva (1964) points out that the fact that adnominal datives disappeared later than clausal datives leads to the conclusion that the possessive clitics in the noun phrase developed from possessively interpreted clausal dative clitics.

⁶⁶ Affectedness can easily be interpreted as ownership. Cf. Fried (1999:497).

⁶⁷ Note that not all beneficiary clitics receive possessive interpretation. The dative clitic in (i), for example is three-ways ambiguous. It can be a beneficiary Dat clitic with possessive interpretation, a beneficiary Dat clitic with “true” beneficiary interpretation and an “ordinary” dative clitic:

- (i) *Mi* *ja* *otvori* *vratata.*
 1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl open.3Sg.Perf.Past door+the.F.Sg
 1. ‘(S)he opened my door.’
 2. ‘(S)he opened the door instead of me (since I could not put the key in the keyhole).’
 3. ‘(S)he opened the door for me.’

⁶⁸ Note that, when co-occurring with argumental dative clitics, the ethical dative clitics appear to the left of the latter. Unlike the argument and beneficiary Dat clitics, however, they can appear either to the left of to the right of auxiliary clitics.

- b. *Sin mu ti mu bil bolen.*
son 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 2Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.M.Sg./-Part sick.M.Sg
'His son is (reportedly) sick, you know.'
- c. *Goran ti mu go dal*
Goran 2Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 2Sg.M.Acc.Cl given.M.Sg./-Part
podarokot.
present+the.M.Sg
'Goran has (reportedly) given him the present, you know.'
- d. *Vujko ti ti im rekol*
uncle 2Sg.Dat.Cl 2Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Dat.Cl said.M.Sg./-Part
da dojdāt.
Subj.Mark come.3Pl.Perf.Pres
'Your uncle has (reportedly) told them to come, you know.'

1.5.8.6 In (58) we have second person singular ethical Dat clitic. Though most frequent, this clitic is not the only ethical Dat clitic. Moreover, there are cases when two ethical datives appear in a sequence. In (59a-c) we have examples of first person singular and plural and second person plural ethical Dat clitics; in (59d-e) examples of a third person masculine singular ethical Dat clitic; in (59f-g) examples of two ethical clitics in a sequence:

- (59) a. *Kako mi/ni ste?*
how 1Sg/Pl.Eth.Dat.Cl be.3Pl
'How are you, my/our dear ones?'
- b. *Da ne mi nastineš?*
Subj.Mark not 1Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl catch-cold.2Sg
'Aren't you going to catch cold, my dear?' (lit. 'Shouldn't you catch cold?')
- c. *Sum ti/vi stanala rano i sum*
am 2Sg/Pl.Eth.Dat.Cl got-up.F.Sg./-Part early and am
ti/vi ja sredila seta
2Sg/Pl.Eth.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl put-in-order.F.Sg./-Part all+the.F.Sg
kūka.
house
'I got up early and put in order the entire house, you know.'
- d. *Ķe mu udram edno spienje.*
will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.M.Eth.Dat.Cl hit.1Sg a.N.Sg sleeping
'I will sleep to my heart's content.' (lit. 'I will hit a sleeping.')
- e. *Nemoj da mu misliš mnogu!*
not+can.2Sg.Imper Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Eth.Dat.Cl think.2Sg much
'Don't hesitate!' (lit. "Do not think much!")
- f. *Takva mi ti rabota.*
such.F.Sg 1Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl 2Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl thing
'That is how things are, you know.'
- g. *Sum ti mu udrila edno*
am 2Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Eth.Dat.Cl hit.F.Sg./-Part a.N.Sg
spienje.
sleeping
'I slept to my heart's content, you know.' (lit. 'I hit a sleeping.')

1.6 Use of prepositions to express case relations

Abstract case or thematic relations other than those of the agent and the patient are, as a rule, expressed by prepositional phrases with prepositions with basic locative or directional meanings.

1.6.1 Prepositional phrases with the preposition *na* regularly express dative or indirect object relationships.⁶⁹ Compare the use of *na* in (60a) to that in (60b-c):

- (60) a. *Javi mu na Stojana!*
 notify.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl to Stojan.Acc
 ‘Notify Stojan!’
- b. *Mu ja dadov knjiga na*
 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.1Sg.Perf.Past book+the.F.Sg to
Stojana/ studentot/ edno dete.
 Stojan.Acc student+the.M.Sg a boy
 ‘I gave the book to Stojan/the student/a boy.’
- c. *Reči mu na strika ti da*
 say.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl to uncle.Acc 2Sg.Dat.Cl Subj.Mark
dojde!
 come.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘Tell your uncle to come!’

1.6.2 The preposition *na* is not used when the invariant “general relativizer” *što* ‘what’ is in indirect object, i.e. in Dat position:⁷⁰

- (61) *Ženata što i gi dadovme*
 woman+the.F.Sg what 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.1Pl.Perf.Past
jabolkata.
 apples+the.F.Sg
 ‘The woman to whom we gave the apples.’

1.6.3 For the expression of possessive relationships – whether the possessor is within the DP or in the nominal predicate, the prepositions *na* ‘to’ or *od* ‘from’, combined with Nom or Acc lexical

⁶⁹ The preposition *na* originates as a locative preposition with the meaning ‘on’. Sobolev (2004a:73) gives an example from a dialect in which a preposition is used with a noun in the Dat case – i.e. an example with a combined synthetic-analytic case marking:

- (i) *%(Mu) dava na Stojanu.*
 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl give.3Sg to Stojan.Dat.Sg
 ‘(S)he is giving (it) to Stojan.’

⁷⁰ However, when the general relativizer *što* is preceded by the inflecting “wh” words *koj* ‘who.M’, *koja* ‘who.F’, *koe* ‘who.N’, *koi* ‘who.Pl’ (cf. 1.4.5 in the chapter “Clitic Clusters and Clitic Doubling”), the direct object has to be introduced by the preposition *na*:

- (i) *Ženata na kojašto i gi dadovme*
 woman+the.F.Sg to who.F.Sg+what 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl give.1Pl.Perf.Past
jabolkata.
 apples+the.N.Pl
 ‘The woman to whom we gave the apples.’

Note that in prepositional phrases expressing case relationships other than Nom, Dat or Acc, *što* is regularly preceded by an inflecting “wh” word:

- (ii) *Ženata so kojašto zboruvavme.*
 woman+the.F.Sg with who.F.Sg+what speak.1Pl.Imperf.Past
 ‘The woman with whom we spoke.’

forms, are used. While *na* expresses a static relation between two entities, *od* has an ablative component (origin, source or reason).

- (62) a. *Ja zaginavme knjigata na/ od*
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl lose.1Pl.Perf.Past book+the.F.Sg to from
Ana/Stojan(a).
Ana/Stojan.(Acc)
 'We lost Jana's/Stojan's book.'
- b. *Ja popraviv nogata ?na/ od*
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl repair.1Sg.Perf.Past leg+the.F.Sg to from
masata.
table+the.F.Sg
 'I repaired the leg of the table.'
- (63) a. *Knjigata e na/ od Ana/ Stojana.*
 book+the.F.Sg be.3Sg to from Ana Stojan.Acc
 'The book is Jana's/Stojan's.'
- b. *Ovaa noga e *na/ od onaa masa.*
 this.F.Sg leg be.3Sg to from that.Dist.F.Sg table
 'This leg belongs to that table over there'. (lit. This leg is of that table over there.)

1.6.3.1 The use of *na* or *od* is in many cases dialectally conditioned: In the Eastern and North-Eastern dialects, *na* is predominant. The use of *od* increases as one moves westwards in the Macedonian-speaking territory and is the only choice in the South-Western dialects. A survey conducted by Liljana Mitkovska (2001) showed that in the language as a whole the use of *na* is more prominent, while *od* is more readily used when the possessor is inanimate⁷¹ and is exclusively used (a) in partitive modifiers⁷² and (b) when the possessor is a complement of a prepositional phrase:⁷³

- (64) a. *Daj mi parče od mladoto sirenje!*
 give.2Sg.Imper 1Sg.Dat.Cl piece from young+the.N.Sg cheese
 'Give me a piece of the young cheese!'
- b₁ *Javi mi se na adresata*
 notify.2Sg.Imper 1Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl to address+the.F.Sg
od Aneta!
of Aneta
 'Notify me at the Aneta's address!'
- b₂ *Ne naidovme na razbiranje od*
 not encounter.1Pl.Perf.Past to understanding of
načalnikot.
head-official+the.M.Sg
 'We did not meet the approval of the head-official.'

⁷¹ When an inanimate possessor is within the predicate, as in (63b), the use of *na* is ruled out.

⁷² Note, however, that when the modifier is without an article, no preposition is used:

- (i) *Daj mi parče mlado sirenje!*
 give.2Sg.Imper 1Sg.Dat.Cl piece young cheese
 'Give me a piece of young cheese!'

⁷³ The examples are from Mitkovska (2001:132-133).

1.6.3.2 Prepositional phrases with lexical possessors which refer to nouns denoting family relationship can be and most often are doubled by possessive clitics (*cf.* 1.5.6):⁷⁴

- (65) a. *Ja vidov majka i na/ od*
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Perf.Past mother 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl to from
Jana.
 Jana
 'I saw Jana's mother.'
- b. *Mu go dadov pismoto*
 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl give.1Sg.Perf.Past letter+the.N.Sg
na sestra mu ?na/ od Petreta.
 to sister 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl to from Petre.Acc
 'I gave the letter to Petre's sister.'

1.6.3.3 Some speakers of the Eastern⁷⁵ and Northern Macedonian dialects accept sentences in which the preposition *na* introduces (full) pronominal possessors (in the Acc case), especially if they relate to possessums that do not denote family relationships:⁷⁶

- (66) a. *%?Ja vidov sestrata na nego.*
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Perf.Past sister+the.F.Sg to him.Acc
 'I saw his sister.'
- b. *%Knigata e na nea.*
 book+the.F.Sg be.3Sg to her.Acc
 'The book is hers.'

1.6.4 In the dialects of South-Eastern Macedonia, as well as in the Macedonian dialects in Northern Greece, there is actually a tendency to generalize the use of the preposition *na*: it is used not only in expressions featuring dative (indirect object) relationships, but also in expressions featuring accusative (direct object) relationships:⁷⁷

- (67) a. *%Ja vidov na Jana/ nea.*
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Perf.Past to Jana her.Acc
 'I saw Jana/her.'

⁷⁴ When contrastively stressed, the prepositional phrase with lexical possessor can move to the left of the possessum:

- (i) *Ja vidov od JANA majka i.*
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Perf.Past from Jana mother 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl
 'I saw JANA's mother.'

⁷⁵ Eastern are the dialects east of the Vardar river, whether in what is now the republic of Macedonia or in Aegean (or Greek) Macedonia.

⁷⁶ Throughout the Macedonian speaking area, pronominal possessors are rendered by possessive modifiers and (if the possessum is a noun denoting family relationship) by possessive clitics:

- (i) *Ja vidov nejzinata sestra/sestra i.*
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Perf.Past her+the.F.Sg sister sister 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl
 'I saw her sister.'
- (ii) *Ja izgubiv nejzinata kniga.*
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl lose.1Sg.Perf.Past her+the.F.Sg book
 'I lost her book.'

⁷⁷ Thus, in these dialects, the preposition *na* is turning into a general marker for oblique relationships.

- b. %Go *vikna* *na* *Petreta*.
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl call.3Sg.Perf.Past to Petre.Acc
 ‘(S)he called Petre.’
- c. %Go *fatija* *i* *na* *nego*.
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl catch.3Pl.Perf.Past and to him.Acc
 ‘They caught him, as well.’

1.6.5 Partitive genitive relationships to nouns denoting a group are usually expressed by the mere position of two nominal expression next to each other. I obtained the following acceptability judgments:⁷⁸

- (68) a. *stado* (**na*/ ?*od*) *ovci*
 flock to from sheep.Pl
 ‘a flock of sheep’
- b. *grupa* (?*od*/ ?*na*) *studenti*
 group from to students
 ‘a group of students’
- c. *edna* *od* *serijata* (**od*/ ?*na*) *zabavni*
 one.F.Sg from series+the.F.Sg from to entertaining.Pl
 emisii
 programs
 ‘one of the series of entertaining TV programs’

1.6.6 The preposition *na* introduces definite objects of verbal nouns. Non-articled objects can be introduced by *na*, but preferably occur to the immediate right of their governors. Compare (69a) to (69b):

- (69) a. *izdignivanje* *na* *lugeto*
 education to people+the.Ne.Sg
 ‘education of the people’
- b. *berenje* (?*na*) *tutun*
 picking to tobacco
 ‘tobacco picking’

1.6.7 The preposition *vo* ‘in’ can be used in both locative and directional PPs:

- (70) a. *Živee* *vo* *golem* *grad*.
 live.3Sg in big.M.Sg city
 ‘(S)he lives in a big city.’
- b. *Otide* *vo* *golem* *grad*.
 go.3Sg.Perf.Past in big.M.Sg city
 ‘(S)he went to a big city.’

⁷⁸ According to Mitkovska (2002), with the noun *grupa* ‘group’, both *od* ‘from’ and *na* ‘to’ are possible. When the NP is definite, the preposition cannot be left out. Compare (i) to (ii):

- (i) *tri* *vreki* *šeķer*
 three sacks sugar
 ‘three sacks of sugar’
- (ii) *tri* *vreki* *od* *najkvalitetniot* *šeķer*
 three sacks from Superl+quality.Adj+the.M.Sg sugar
 ‘three sacks of the sugar of superior quality’

1.6.8 When expressing direction to a geographic place, the preposition *vo* can be left out:⁷⁹

- (71) *Odam* (v)⁸⁰ *Ohrid.*
go.1Sg in Ohrid
'I am going to Ohrid.'

1.6.9 In some hackneyed phrases expressing direction, such as those in (72), the preposition *vo* is always left out:

- (72) a. *Si odam doma.*
Dat.Refl.Cl go.1Sg home
'I am going home.'
- b. *%Odam crkov.*
go.1Sg church
'I am going to church.'

1.6.10 Direction can sometimes be expressed by prepositional phrases with a sequence of prepositions:⁸¹

- (73) a. *Dojde od kaj majka ti.*
come.3Sg.Perf.Past from at mother 2Sg.Dat.Cl
'(S)he came from your mother's.'
- b. *Otide nakaj majka ti.*
go.3Sg.Perf.Past to+at mother 2Sg.Dat.Cl
'(S)he went towards your mother's.'
- c. *Da otideme do na lozje.*
Subj.Mark go.1Pl.Perf.Pres by on vineyard
'Let's go to the vineyard.'

⁷⁹ In many southern Macedonian dialects spoken in northern Greece, locative prepositions are missing. The following examples are from Topolinjska (1995:111), with my glosses and translation:

- (i) *%I taka kinisax prav pat.*
and so set-off.1Sg.Perf.Past straight road
'And so I set off on a straight road.'
- (ii) *%Ama ne moga da plivam moretu.*
but not can.1Sg Subj.Mark swim.1Sg sea+the.N.Sg
'But I cannot swim in the sea.'

⁸⁰ *V* is used with nouns beginning in a vowel and in expressions such as *v selo* 'in/to the village' or *v grad* 'in/to town', when the nouns are familiar to the interlocutors and do not carry definite articles. Compare (i) to (ii):

- (i) *Vo seloto nema mnogu luge.*
in village+the.N.Sg not+have.Impers many people.
'There are not many people in the village.'
- (ii) *Petre e v selo.*
Petre be.3Sg in village
'Petre is in the village.'

⁸¹ Prepositional phrases can also co-occur with adverbs:

- (i) *vnatre vo kukata*
inside in house+the.F.Sg
'inside the house'
- (ii) *srede vo moreto*
middle in sea+the.M.Sg
'in the middle of the sea'

- d. *Zemete* *xrana* *za* *po* *pat!*
take.2Pl.Imper food for along way
'Take food for the journey!' (lit. 'Take food for along the way!')
- e. *Ova* *kilimče* *e* *za* *pred* *vrata.*
this.N.Sg carpet.Dimin be.3Sg for before door.
'This little carpet should be put in front of the door.' (lit. 'This little carpet is for in front of the door.')

1.6.11 Objects of prepositions may, but need not, carry definite articles. The readings of the objects with articles, however, differ from those of the arguments without articles:⁸²

- (74) a₁ *Stavi* *go* *na* *masa!*
put.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl on table
1. 'Put it on the table!' (Neither the speaker nor the addressee need to be aware which table or there is just one table in the room, which is well-known to the speaker and the addressee.)
- a₂ *Stavi* *go* *na* *masata!*
put.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl on table+the.F.Sg
'Put it on the table!' (The table is close to the addressee.)
- b₁ *Fati* *go* *za* *raka!*
catch.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl for hand
'Hold his hand!'
- b₂ *Fati* *go* *za* *rakata!*
catch.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl for hand
'Hold him by the hand!'
- (75) a. *nogata* *od* *čovekot*
leg+the.F.Sg from man+the.M.Sg
'the leg of the man'
- b. *noga(ta)* *od* *eden* *čovek*
leg+the.F.Sg from a.M man
'(the) leg of a man'
- c. *noga* *od* *čovek*
leg from man
'human leg'

2. Bulgarian

In the Bulgarian standard language only the Voc case is regularly morphologically marked. There is a set of postpositive articles with four distinct forms.

2.1 Vocative case forms

The majority of Bulgarian human and many non-human animate nouns have Voc case forms.

2.1.1 The Voc case forms depend on the gender of the noun and the final phoneme of the Nom, i.e. neutral forms.⁸³

⁸² Cf. Dimitrova-Šmiger & Šmiger (2001).

⁸³ The inventory of Voc markers is the same as in Macedonian (cf. 1.1.1). Their distribution is, however, different.

2.1.1.1 The most frequent Voc marker for masculine nouns ending on a consonant, including personal names, is *-e*.⁸⁴

- (76) a. *Vasile!* (Nom. *Vasil*)
Vasil.M.Sg.Voc
- b. *Junače!* (Nom. *junak*)
hero.M.Sg.Voc
- c. *Starče!* (Nom. *starec*)
old-man.M.Sg.Voc
- d. *Bože* *moj!* (Nom. *bog*)
god.M.Sg.Voc my.M.Sg
'My God!'

2.1.1.2 Voc forms of masculine singular nouns ending on *-ik* or *-in* are marked by the vowel *-o*:

- (77) a. *Rabotniko!* (Nom. *rabotnik*)
worker.M.Sg.Voc
- b. *Bългарino!* (Nom. *Bългарin*)
Bulgarian.M.Sg.Voc

2.1.1.3 A number of common masculine singular nouns ending on liquids or thrills may have Voc forms ending on the vowel *-u*.⁸⁵ Examples:

- (78) a. *Učitelju!* (Nom. *učitel*)
teacher.M.Sg.Voc
- b. *Carju!* (Nom. *car*)
tzar.M.Sg.Voc

2.1.1.4 Voc forms of feminine singular nouns ending on *-a* are marked by the vowel *-o*, which replaces the vowel *-a*.⁸⁶ Examples:

- (79) a. *Marijo!* (Nom. *Marija*)
Maria.F.Sg.Voc
- b. *Sestro!* (Nom. *sestra*)
sister.F.Sg.Voc
- c. *Partijo!* (Nom. *partija*)
party.F.Sg.Voc

2.1.1.5 The Voc case marker of feminine singular nouns ending on *-ka* or *-ca* is *-e*, rather than *-o*. Examples:

- (80) a. *Bonke!* (Nom. *Bonka*)
Bonka.F.Sg.Voc
- b. *Elice!* (Nom. *Elica*)
Elica.F.Sg.Voc

⁸⁴ There are consonant alterations to the left of the *-e* suffix: *k>č*, *c>ć*, *g>ž*, *x>š*.

⁸⁵ Historically, these liquids and thrill were palatalized. As a reflex from former regularity, the Voc ending is preceded by the semivowel *j*. Cf. footnote 93.

⁸⁶ These Voc forms are avoided (they sound rude) and the Nom forms are used instead.

2.2 Accusative case forms

According to BAN (1982-83:113), standard Bulgarian has no case forms other than those of the Voc case, though “in some of its dialects masculine personal names and nouns denoting family relationships have a genitive-accusative form.”⁸⁷ Examples (from BAN 1982-83:113).⁸⁸

- (81) a. %Povikajte Stojana!
call.2Pl.Imper Stojan.M.Sg.Acc
‘Call Stojan!’
- b. %Do baj Marka sedexa deca.
beside uncle Marko.M.Sg.Acc seat.3Pl.Aor children
‘Next to uncle Marko there were some children seating.’
- c. %...za da ostavi edno pismo na
...for Subj.Mark leave.3Sg.Perf.Pres a letter to
djada Moska.
grandpa.M.Sg.Acc Mosko.M.Sg.Acc
‘... in order to leave a letter to grandpa Mosko.’

2.3 Articles

Like Macedonian, Bulgarian has indefinite and definite articles.

2.3.1 The indefinite article⁸⁹ appears in DP-initial position and has distinct forms for M.Sg, F.Sg, N.Sg and Pl (all genders). These forms are listed in Table 5.

⁸⁷ For Jovka Tisheva and Mila Dimitrova Vulchanova (p.c.) these forms are archaic, rather than dialectal. (They might have been dialectal for the past generation.) Note that Sobolev (2004a) reports that in the Rhodopi Bulgarian dialects, not only Acc, but also Dat and Loc case forms are currently used. In (i) we have an example of a Dat form, in (ii) an example of a Loc form. Example (i) is quoted in Sobolev (2004a:74), example (ii) has been drawn from Sobolev’s data collected during his fieldwork in the Rhodopi village of Široka Lăka in the period 1996-2000), published in Sobolev (2004b); glosses and translation are mine:

- (i) %Udnesi gu dedu mu da
carry.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl grandpa.M.Sg.Dat 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl Subj.Mark
să sviva cāgara!
Dat.Refl.Cl wrap.3Sg cigarette
‘Take it to his grandpa to wrap up a cigarette for himself!’
- (ii) %U Uzuncex ima māžo...
in Uzunce.M.Pl.Loc have.3Sg party
‘In the Uzunce’s (family) there is a party...’

⁸⁸ Note that the Acc marker for masculine nouns is the same as in Macedonian, though in Macedonian its use is much more common (cf. 1.2).

⁸⁹ Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1998:357) would speak of “indefinite adjectives” rather than “indefinite articles”, pointing out that they co-occur with and actually carry the definite article on a particular reading, as in:

- (i) Ednata žena dojde.
one+the.F.Sg woman come.3Sg.Aor
‘One of the women came.’

I will, however, continue to use the term “indefinite article”, allowing for an adjective with the same phonological form in distributive expressions such as (i) (cf. footnote 18). The lower frequency of occurrence of the Bulgarian indefinite article, as compared to the English indefinite article, is due to the fact that in Bulgarian there is a three-way opposition – zero, indefinite and definite. In many environments in which in English an indefinite article is used in Bulgarian we have a zero article. Compare the Bulgarian sentence in (i) to its English translation:

- (ii) Pred kăštata stoeše mlada žena.
before house+the.F.Sg stand.3Sg.Imperf young.F.Sg woman
‘In front of the house stood a young woman.’

Table 5: Bulgarian indefinite articles

	Masc	Fem	Neut
Sg	<i>edin</i>	<i>edna</i>	<i>edno</i>
Pl	= = = <i>edni</i> = = =		

2.3.2 The definite articles formally correspond to the Macedonian *t*-set forms, but cover the functions of the three Macedonian sets: ⁹⁰

Table 6: Bulgarian definite articles

1	2	3	4
<i>-(j)ăt</i>	<i>-ta</i>	<i>-to</i>	<i>-te</i>

2.3.2.1 The forms in columns 1, 2, 3 and 4 are traditionally referred to as “masculine singular”, “feminine singular”/“neuter plural”, “neuter singular” and “masculine/feminine plural”, respectively. ⁹¹ Nevertheless, as in Macedonian, there is no one to one correspondence between these labels and the gender of the nouns. Masculine singular nouns take “masculine singular” articles only if they end in a consonant, while masculine plural nouns take “plural” articles only if they end in the vowel *i*, which is the most frequent masculine/feminine plural suffix. The form of the articles of masculine singular nouns ending on a vowel and those of masculine plural nouns ending on a vowel other than *-i* is phonologically conditioned – it depends on the final vowel of the noun. Thus, we have the following contrasts: ⁹²

(82)	a ₁	<i>studentăt</i> student.M+the.M.Sg ‘the students’	a ₂	<i>vladikata</i> bishop.M+the.F.Sg ‘the bishop’	a ₃	<i>djadoto</i> grandpa.M+the.N.Sg ‘the grandpa’
	b ₁	<i>studentite</i> students.Pl+the.Pl ‘the students’	b ₂	<i>xorata</i> people.Pl+the.F.Sg ‘the people’	b ₃	<i>selata</i> villages.Pl+the.F.Sg ‘the villages’

2.3.2.2 While in each of the columns 2, 3 and 4 in Table 6 we have one form, in column 1 there are two forms: *-ăt* and *-jăt*. The *-jăt* form is actually a phonological variant of the *-ăt* form. ⁹³ Examples:

⁹⁰ A three-member article system occurs in the dialect of the Rhodopi mountain in Southern Bulgaria and in a small pocket around Trăn, near the Serbian border. The Rhodopi articles are analogous to the Standard Macedonian ones, though the form of the proximate-to-1st-person articles have the root *s*, rather than *v*:

	1	2	3	4
t	<i>-ot</i>	<i>-ta</i>	<i>-to</i>	<i>-te</i>
s	<i>-os</i>	<i>-sa</i>	<i>-so</i>	<i>-se</i>
n	<i>-on</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>-no</i>	<i>-ne</i>

⁹¹ Scatton (1980) argues that there is only one article *-t-*, treating the vowels in columns 2, 3 and 4 of Table 6 as gender-agreement markers. He also posits a central vowel following *t* in the clitics in column 1. This vowel is assumed to agree with the central vowel preceding *-t-*, *ă*, which is treated as a masculine stem ending, comparable to the feminine, neuter and plural endings *-a*, *o/e* and *i*, respectively.

⁹² Note that the gender/number labels in (82) refer to one of the four typical uses of the articles in the columns in Table 6. Morphologically, *vladikata* ‘the archbishop’ and *dedoto* ‘the grandfather’ are masculine singular, while *xorata* ‘the ‘people’ and *selata* ‘the villages’ are plural. In subsequent examples (except in footnote 95) the gender/number features of the articulated nouns will be morphological.

⁹³ The forms with *j* are used with agentive nouns ending with *-ar* and *-tel*, such as *ovčar* ‘shepherd’ and *pisatel* ‘writer’, as well as with ten masculine nouns ending in a consonant: *den* ‘day’, *săn* ‘dream’, *kon* ‘horse’, *ogăn* ‘fire’, *car* ‘tzar’, *kral* ‘king’, *zet* ‘brother-in-law/son-in-law’, *păt* ‘way/road’, *lakăt* ‘elbow’, *nokăt* ‘nail’. Historically, all of these nouns ended in a palatalized consonant; thus, the exceptional usage is a reflex from a former regularity.

- (83) a. *čovekăt*
man+the.M.Sg
'the man'
- b. *učiteljăt*
teacher+the.M.Sg
'the teacher'

2.3.3 The masculine singular form of the definite article *-ăt* has a variant with the final consonant dropped, *-ă*. Bulgarian grammars tell us that the "long form" of the masculine singular definite article *-ăt* is used in subject position, while its "short" counterpart is used in all other positions (cf. BAN 1982-1983:119):

- (84) a. *Učiteljăt* *kaza* *da* *dojdem* *v*
teacher+the.M.Sg tell.3Sg.Aor Subj.Mark come.1Pl.Perf.Pres in
pet *časa*.
five hour+the.Acc
'The teacher said that we should come at five.'
- b. *Pokazax* *mu* *pătja*.
show.1Sg.Aor 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl road+the.M.Sg
'I showed him the way.'
- c. *Dadox* *pismoto* *na* *učitelja*.
give.1Sg.Aor letter+the.N.Sg to teacher+the.M.Sg
'I gave the letter to the teacher.'
- d. *Šte* *se* *namerim* *v* *centăra* *na*
will.Mod.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl find.1Pl in center+the.M.Sg of
grada.
town+the.M.Sg
'We shall meet in the center of the city.'

There is, however, no consistency in usage. The "short form" actually originated in some dialects by dropping the final consonant (analogous to the dropping in some Southern Macedonian dialects), and was subsequently codified as a form used in direct and indirect objects as well as in objects of preposition, adjuncts etc.⁹⁴

2.3.4 The Bulgarian definite articles occur with nouns of a variety of classes.

2.3.4.1 Generic nouns, whether in the singular or the plural, as a rule, carry the definite article:

- (85) a. *Kučeto* *e* *umno* *životno*.
dog+the.N.Sg be.3Sg clever.N.Sg animal
'The dog is a clever animal.'
- b. *Kučetata* *sa* *umni* *životni*.
dogs+the.N.Pl be.3Pl clever.Pl animals
'Dogs are clever animals.'

2.3.4.2 With diminutive proper names ending on *-če* and *-ka*, the definite article also appears almost regularly. Examples:

⁹⁴ The short and long forms have a complex dialectal distribution.

- (86) a. *Marčeto* *e umno* *momiče.*
 Marče.Dimin+the.N.Sg be.3Sg clever.N.Sg girl.N
 ‘Marče is a clever girl.’
- b. *Vidjax* *Borkata.*
 see.1Sg.Aor Borka.Dimin+the.N.Sg
 ‘I saw Borka.’

2.3.4.3 Adjectives used as nouns in the Voc case can also carry definite articles:

- (87) a. *Xajde, malkata!*
 come-on little+the.F.Sg
 ‘Come on, my little girl!’ (lit. ‘Come on, you little one!’)
- b. *Ej kāsokrakija!*
 Interj short-legged+the.M.Sg
 ‘You, the short-legged one!’

2.3.4.4 The article occurs with the names of most mountains in the plural, as well with the names of some mountains of masculine gender in the singular. Thus, it occurs in (88a-c) but not in (88d):

- (88) a. *Rodopite sa na jugoiztok od Sofija, a Balkanāt*
 Rodopi+the.Pl be.3Pl on south-east of Sofia and Balkan+the.M.Sg
na severoiztok.
 on north-east
 ‘The Rhodopi (mountains) are in the south-east (of the country), whereas the Balkan is in the north-east.’
- b. *Alpите sa naj-goljamata planina vāv Evropa.*
 Alps+the.Pl be.3Sg Superl+big.F+the.F.Sg mountain in Europe
 ‘The Alps are the biggest mountain in Europe.’
- c. *Običam Balkana.*
 love.1Sg Balkan+the.M.Sg
 ‘I love the Balkan (mountain).’
- d. *Običam Rila(*ta).*
 love.1Sg Rila+the.F.Sg
 ‘I love the Rila (mountain).’

2.3.5 The Bulgarian definite articles are, as a rule, carried by the leftmost constituent of the DP, whether it is an adjective, a possessive modifier or a numeral;⁹⁵ but they are not carried by

⁹⁵ As in Macedonian, a cardinal and an ordinal numeral can co-occur, and they do so in any order:

- (i) *prvite dve bukvi*
 first.Pl+the.Pl first.F letters.F
 ‘the first two letters’
- (ii) *dvete prvi bukvi*
 two.F+the.Pl first.Pl letters.F
 ‘the two first letters’

As exemplified in (89c-d) a cardinal or an ordinal number can co-occur with a possessive modifier. When the possessive modifier is pronominal, however, a Dat pronominal clitic is preferably used (*cf.* 2.5.3 – 2.5.7). This is especially true when both an ordinal and a cardinal numeral co-occur with a pronominal possessive modifier. Examples:

- (iii) *prvite ti dve izrečenija*
 first.Pl+the.Pl 2Sg.Dat.Cl two.F sentences
 ‘your first two sentences’

determiners or by modifiers of modifiers.⁹⁶ Thus, while (89a-e) are well-formed Bulgarian DPs, (89f-g) are not:

-
- (iv) *dvete* *ti* *prvi* *izrečeniya*
 two.F+the.Pl 2Sg.Dat.Cl first.Pl sentences
 'your two first sentences'

Whereas the choice of the form of the article that is carried by nouns may be guided by phonological principles, the choice of the article that is carried by modifiers is always guided by morphological principles. It may depend on the gender/number features of the modifier to which the article attaches (which, as a rule, agree with the person number features of the head noun), or even on the morphological class of the modifier. Consider (i-vi), where the features of the articles refer to the usual uses of the articles in the columns in Table 6:

- (v) *selata*
 villages.N.Pl+the.F.Sg
 'the villages'
- (vi) *knigite*
 books.F.Pl+the.Pl
 'the books'
- (vii) *măžete*
 men.M.Pl+the.Pl
 'the men'
- (viii) *stote* *sela/* *knigi/* *măže*
 hundred+the.Pl villages books men
 'the one hundred villages/books/men'
- (ix) *mnogoto* *sela* *knigi* *măže*
 many+the.N.Sg villages books men
 'the many villages/books/men'
- (x) *povečeto* *sela/* *knigi/* *măže*
 more+the.N.Sg villages books men
 'most of the villages/books/men'

The forms of the articles carried by the nouns in (v-vii) are different, whereas the forms of the articles that are attached to their modifiers in (viii-x) are the same. In (ix) it might seem that the choice of the article is phonologically conditioned. But the form of the article in (x) is identical to the form of the article in (ix), though the elements that carry them end on different phonemes. The fact that the modifier in (ix) ends on a phoneme that is identical to that of the modifier in (viii) indicates that the article *-to* has been chosen because the element that carries it is a certain type of a quantifier.

⁹⁶ As pointed out in footnote 2, in earlier generative treatments the articles were derived in the head of the DP and were placed in second position by raising the leftmost element of the NP to Spec DP. It is currently believed, however, that article nouns and article adjectives should be inserted in the DP along with their definite articles. Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1998) argue that in Bulgarian, Romanian and Albanian, the demonstratives and the indefinite articles are derived in D, whereas the article nouns or adjectives raise to D covertly, in LF, to check their definiteness features. According to Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1998:344-345), a conclusive argument which excludes the theory in which the article is generated in D is provided by the possibility in Bulgarian to have a head-complement configuration in a left branch, with the article attached to the leftmost modifier:

- (i) *mnogo* *vernijat* *na* *žena* *si* *măž*
 much faithful+the.M.Sg to wife Acc.Refl.Cl man
 'the man very faithful to his wife'

If the article were inserted in D, we would expect it to appear after the complement of the adjective *na žena si* 'to his wife':

- (ii) **[mnogo veren na žena si]* *-ăt*
 much faithful to wife Acc.Refl.Cl the.M.Sg

- (89) a. *xubavata* *letna* *roklja*
 beautiful.F+the.F.Sg summer.F.Sg.Adj dress.F
 ‘the beautiful summer dress’
- b. *tvojata/* *Penkinata* *xubava* *letna*
 your Penka’s.F.Sg+the.F.Sg beautiful.F.Sg summer.Adj.F.Sg
roklja
 dress.F
 ‘your/Penka’s beautiful summer dress’
- c. *tvojata/* *Penkinata* *prva* *xubava* *roklja*
 your Penka’s.F.Sg+the.F.Sg first.F.Sg beautiful.F.Sg dress.F
 ‘your/Penka’s first beautiful dress’
- d. *dвете* *tvoi/* *Penkini* *xubavi* *letni*
 two.F+the.Pl your.Pl Penka’s.Pl beautiful.Pl summer.Adj.Pl
rokli
 dresses.F
 ‘your/Penka’s two beautiful summer dresses’
- e. *mnogo xubavata* *letna* *roklja*
 much beautiful.F.Sg+the.F.Sg summer.Adj.F.Sg dress.F
 ‘the very beautiful summer dress’
- f. **tazita* *xubava* *letna* *roklja*
 this.F.Sg+the.F.Sg beautiful.F.Sg summer.Adj.F.Sg dress.F
- g. **mnogoto* *xubava* *letna* *roklja*
 much+the.N.Sg beautiful.F.Sg summer.Adj.F.Sg dress.F

2.3.6 When the adjective is highly emphasized, it can occur to the right of the noun and both the noun and the adjective can carry a definite article.⁹⁷ But, as in Macedonian, these postnominal adjectives are in apposition:

- (90) a. *Daj* *mi* *šapkata,* *červenata!*
 give.2Sg.Imper 1Sg.Dat.Cl hat+the.F.Sg red+the.F.Sg
 ‘Give me the hat, the red one!’
- b. *Kupix* *rokljata,* *pāstrata.*
 buy.1Sg.Aor dress+the.F.Sg patterned+the.F.Sg
 ‘I bought the dress, the patterned one.’

2.3.7 A determiner can immediately precede a possessive modifier or an adjective that hosts the article.⁹⁸

- (91) a. *Onjā* *mojāt* *māž/* *sin* *mi*
 that.M.Sg my.M+the.M.Sg husband son 1Sg.Dat.Cl
izjade *glavata.*
 eat.3Sg.Aor head+the.F.Sg
 ‘This husband/son of mine is eating up my guts.’

⁹⁷ Adjectives regularly occur to the left of nouns in the Voc case.

⁹⁸ These cases are discussed in Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1998). When the demonstrative determiner appears to the immediate left of an articulated noun, there seems to be a pause between the demonstrative and the noun, indicating that the articulated noun is in apposition. Note that in Macedonian no such a pause appears (*cf.* (25b-c)).

- b. *Iskam onăzi, sinjata (roza/ roklja).*
want.1Sg that.F blue.F+the.F.Sg rose dress
'I want that one/(rose/dress), the blue one.'

2.3.8 Quantifiers co-occurring with demonstrative determiners can also host articles:⁹⁹

- (92) a. *cjalijat tozi ostrov*
whole.Def+the.M.Sg this.M island.M
'this whole island'
- b. *vsičkite tezi studenti*
all+the.Pl these students
'all of these students'

2.4 *Personal pronouns*

There are general oblique (full) pronominal case forms for 1Sg, 2Sg, 3Sg.M, 3Sg.F, 3Sg.N, Pl and reflexive forms. A Dat and an Acc clitic pronominal form correspond to each of the singular forms, as well as to the Pl and reflexive form. The 1Pl and 2Pl full pronominal forms have common Dat/Acc corresponding clitic forms.

2.4.1 The paradigm of the Bulgarian personal pronouns is as follows:

Table 7: Bulgarian personal pronouns

	Nom	Obl	Cl.Dat	Cl.Acc
1Sg	<i>az</i>	<i>men(e)</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>me</i>
1Pl	<i>nie/nij</i>	<i>nas</i>	= = = <i>ni</i>	= = =
2Sg	<i>ti</i>	<i>teb(e)</i> ¹⁰⁰	<i>ti</i>	<i>te</i>
2Pl	<i>vie/vij</i>	<i>vas</i>	= = = <i>vi</i>	= = =
3Sg.M	<i>toj</i>	<i>nego</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>go</i>
3Sg.Neut	<i>to</i>	<i>nego</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>go</i>
3Sg.F	<i>tja</i>	<i>neja</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ja</i>
3Pl	<i>te</i>	<i>tjax</i>	<i>im</i>	<i>gi</i>
Refl	-	<i>%sebe</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>se</i>

2.4.2 The third person nominative forms relate to the proximate demonstrative determiners, but are distinct from them.¹⁰¹

2.4.3 The oblique (full) pronominal forms are used in both direct and indirect objects expressions, though in the latter case, they are preceded by the preposition *na* (cf. 2.6).¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Quantifiers occur to the left of demonstrative determiners. As in Macedonian, articulated modifiers preserve the Old Church Slavonic long or definite adjectival form (cf. footnote 6).

¹⁰⁰ The short forms *nij*, *vij*, *men* and *teb* are most often used in poetry, for metrical purposes.

¹⁰¹ There are two sets of Bulgarian demonstrative determiners/pronouns – a proximate and a distal one:

Bulgarian demonstrative determiners/pronouns

	Proximate		Distal	
M.Sg	<i>toz(i)/toja</i>	'this.M'	<i>onzi/onja</i>	'that.M'
F.Sg	<i>taz(i)/taja</i>	'this.F'	<i>onaz(i)/onaja</i>	'that.F'
N.Sg	<i>tova/tuj</i>	'this.N'	<i>onova/onuj</i>	'that.N'
Pl	<i>tez(i)/tija</i>	'these'	<i>onez(i)/onija</i>	'those'

¹⁰² When the first and second person singular pronouns occur in direct object position, the final *-e* cannot be left out.

2.4.4 Each of the full oblique or clitic forms can appear in internal argument position,¹⁰³ though the use of the full pronominal form is emphatic.¹⁰⁴ Thus, we have the following contrasts:

- (93) a. *Vidja* *me*.
see.3Sg.Aor 1Sg.Acc.Cl
'(S)he saw me.'
- b. *Vidja* *MENE*.
see.3Sg.Aor me
'(S)he saw ME.'
- (94) a. *Dade* *mi* *go*.
give.3Sg.Aor 1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
'(S)he gave it to me.'
- b. *Dade* *go* *na* *MEN(E)*, *a* *ne* *na* *Ivan*.
give.3Sg.Aor 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl to me and not to Ivan
'(S)he gave it to ME, and not to Ivan.'

2.4.5 Only full pronominal forms can function as objects of prepositions. The clitic pronominal forms can, however, occur as objects of adverbials such as *vǎrxu* 'above/on top of' (a derivative from *vrǎx* 'top') or *nasreštu* 'opposite' (a derivative from *srešta* 'meeting'). Examples of prepositional phrases with clitics as objects are given in (95):

- (95) a. *Visi* *vǎrxu ti*.
hang.3Sg above 2Sg.Acc.Cl
'It is hanging above you.'
- b. *Idva* *nasreštu ni*.
come.3Sg opposite 1Pl.Acc.Cl
'(S)he is coming towards us.'

2.4.6 The form *sebe* is archaic. In contemporary Bulgarian, the Dat reflexive clitics obligatorily accompanies the full reflexive pronoun *sebe*:¹⁰⁵

- (96) *Smeex* *se* *vǎv* *sebe* *si*.
loughed.1Sg.Imperf Acc.Refl.Cl in self Dat.Refl.Cl
'I was laughing in myself.'

2.4.7 While the personal pronominal clitics are used only for anaphoric reference, the reflexive clitics are used in passives, absolutes,¹⁰⁶ middles and impersonals, as well as in constructions in which they are part of the lexical meaning of the verb.

¹⁰³ The clitic forms accompany or "double" full pronominal forms, or nouns, only if these are topicalized. Cf. the chapter entitled "Clitic Clusters and Clitic Doubling".

¹⁰⁴ Note that, in colloquial speech, the pronoun may occur in the Nom case:

- (i) %*Az* *me* *boli* *glava*.
I 1Sg.Acc.Cl hurt.3Sg head
'Me, I have a headache.'

¹⁰⁵ Nicolova (1986:67) treats the sequence *sebe si* as a "non-clitic" Dat reflexive pronoun, which can be clitic-doubled. Cf. 2.3.3 in the chapter "Clitic Clusters and Clitic Doubling".

¹⁰⁶ The term "absolute" was introduced by Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999), for whom the absolutes are a case of ultimate suppression of the initiator of the event. Dimitrova-Vulchanova does not include the middles among the Bulgarian *se*-constructions, but the examples below will show that there are *se*-middles distinct from the *se*-passives and *se*-absolutes.

2.4.7.1 For anaphoric reference, both the Dat and the Acc reflexive clitics are used. As in Macedonian, reference can be made to single referents (as in 97a₁ and 98a₁) or to multiple ones; in the latter case, we may have a multiple number of individual references (as in 97b₁ and 98b₁ with reading 1) or reciprocals (as in 97c₁ and 98b₁ with reading 2). In all cases, usage is contingent on the coreferentiality of the referent of the clitic and the subject of the clause; when the subject has distinct reference, a non-reflexive clitic is used. Thus, we have the following pairs of contrast:

- (97) a₁ *Petko se mie.*
 Petko Acc.Refl.Cl wash.3Sg
 ‘Petko washes himself.’
- a₂ *Petko go mie.*
 Petko 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl wash.3Sg
 ‘Petko is washing him.’
- b₁ *Decata se obličat.*
 children+the.N.Pl Acc.Refl.Cl dress-up.3Pl
 ‘The children are dressing (themselves) up.’ (Each child is dressing himself up.)
- b₂ *Decata me obličat.*
 children+the.N.Pl 1Sg.Acc.Cl dress-up.3Pl
 ‘The children are dressing me up.’
- c₁ *Decata se obiĉat.*
 children+the.N.Pl Acc.Refl.Cl love.3Pl
 ‘The children love each other.’
- c₂ *Decata me obiĉat.*
 children+the.N.Pl 1Sg.Acc.Cl love.3Pl
 ‘The children love me.’
- (98) a₁ *Petko si pee.*
 Petko Dat.Refl.Cl sing.3Sg
 ‘Petko is singing to himself.’
- a₂ *Petko mi pee.*
 Petko 1Sg.Dat.Cl sing.3Sg
 ‘Petko is singing to me.’
- b₁ *Decata si peat.*
 children+the.N.Pl Dat.Refl.Cl sing.3Pl
 1. ‘Everyone of the children is singing to himself.’
 2. ‘The children are singing to each other.’
- b₂ *Decata mi peat.*
 children+the.N.Pl 1Sg.Dat.Cl sing.3Pl
 ‘The children are singing to me.’

2.4.7.2 In passives, absolutes, middles and impersonals only the Acc reflexive clitic is used.

2.4.7.2.1 According to Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999) passives are constructions representing degrees of demotion of the initiator of the event/action, whereas for Marelj (2004) they are constructions in which the external argument of the verb is existentially closed. Examples are given in (99):¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ In addition to *se*-passives, Bulgarian has periphrastic passive constructions, involving forms of the “be” auxiliary plus passive participles. Both passives allow the agent to be expressed by a “by”-phrase (as a matter of fact, the

- (99) a. *Knigata i se pečata vāv Rim.*
 book+the.F.Sg 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl print.3Sg in Rome
 ‘Her book is being printed in Rome.’
- b. *Tazi kážta mnogo vreme se stroeše.*
 this.F house much time Acc.Refl.Cl build.3Sg.Imperf
 ‘This house took a long time being built.’

2.4.7.2.2 In absolutes, the initiator of the event/action is suppressed and cannot be expressed with a “by” phrase.¹⁰⁸ According to Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999:141-142) the implications of an absolute are that the event occurred on its own accord, with no outside causation involved. Consequently, appropriate contexts for such constructions are when the external conditioning factors of a situation are either unknown, even though physically present, or totally irrelevant (unlike the passives). Examples:

- (100) a. *Dneska se ščupixa mnogo čaši.*
 today Acc.Refl.Cl break.3Pl.Aor many glasses
 ‘Today, many glasses got broken.’
- b. *Dážterjata mu se omáži*
 daughter+the.F.Sg 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl marry.3Sg.Aor
minalata godina.
 last+the.F.Sg year
 ‘His daughter got married last year.’
- c. *Mljakoto se svari.*
 milk+the.N.Sg Acc.Refl.Cl boil.3Sg.Aor
 ‘The milk boiled.’

2.4.7.2.3 In middles, according to Marelj (2004:217-250), we have arbitrary saturation of the initiator of the event/action, and there is a sortal restriction to humans, which is both syntactically and semantically projected in the form of a distinguished index – “arb”. The verbs are imperfective and typically in the present tense, thus contrasting with the absolutes, where the verbs are typically perfective and in the past tense. Compare the examples in (100) to those in (101):

- (101) a. *Tazi kniga se čete bārzo.*
 this.F book Acc.Refl.Cl read.3Sg fast
 ‘This book reads fast.’

acceptance of the “by”-phrase is a test of whether the construction qualifies as passive or not), but differ with respect to the aspectual and tense forms of the verb – the periphrastic passive constructions have to be perfective and past, while the *se*-passives do not have this restriction. The following examples are from Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999:138).

- (i) *Kážtata beše postroena/ *stroena (ot*
 house+the.F.Sg be.3Sg.Imperf.Past built.F.Sg.Perf built.Imperf.Pass.Part by
rabotnicite).
 workers+the.Pl
 ‘The house was built (by the workers).’
- (ii) *Kážtata se stroeše/ postroi (ot rabotnicite).*
 house+the.F.Sg Acc.Refl.Cl build.3Sg.Imperf build.3Sg.Aor by workers+the.Pl
 ‘The house was (being) built (by the workers).’

¹⁰⁸ As argued by Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999:140), a verb can either have a *se*-passive or a *se*-absolute. So, the distinction between the passives and the absolutes is rooted in the lexical content of the verb.

- b. *Slamenite pokrivi lesno se paljat.*
 straw.Adj.Pl roofs easily Acc.Refl.Cl set-on-fire.3Pl
 ‘Straw roofs are easily set on fire.’

2.4.7.2.4 According to Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999:151-154), impersonals are passives in which the initiator of the event/action is conceptually present. For Marelj (2004:217-250), however, the initiator of the event/action is saturated, with a sortal restriction to humans, which as in middles, is both syntactically and semantically projected in the form of a distinguished index – “arb”. Whereas in middles “arb” is non-agentive and is incompatible with agentive adverbs, in impersonals it is agentive and compatible with agentive adverbs. Examples:

- (102) a. *Tuk ne se pee.*
 here not Acc.Refl.Cl sing.3Sg
 ‘One does not sing here.’
- b. *Zdravo se jadeše v tazi kážta.*
 a lot Acc.Refl.Cl eat.3Sg.Imperf in this.F.Sg house
 ‘One ate a lot in this house.’
- c. *Ne se vižda ništo.*
 not Acc.Refl.Cl see.3Sg nothing
 ‘One cannot see anything.’

2.4.7.2.5 Impersonal clauses with expressed objects are not acceptable; when the object is expressed, the *se*-sentence is passive. Thus, we have the following acceptability contrasts:

- (103) a₁ **Tuk ne se pee pesni.*
 here not Acc.Refl.Cl sing.3Sg songs
 purported reading: ‘One does not sing songs here.’
- a₂ *Tuk ne se pejat pesni.*
 here not Acc.Refl.Cl sing.3Pl songs
 ‘No song are sung here.’
- b₁ **Roditeli(te) se počita/uvažava.*
 parents+the.Pl Acc.Refl.Cl respect.3Sg
 purported reading: ‘One respects parents.’
- b₂ *Roditelite/ *roditeli se počitat/uvažavat.*
 parents+the.Pl parents Acc.Refl.Cl respect.3Pl
 ‘Parents are (to be) respected.’

2.4.7.3 There are *se*-constructions that appear in clauses with non-argumental Dat clitics or Dat phrases (which may be doubled by Dat clitics).

2.4.7.3.1 In *se*-constructions with anti-causative verbs, the dative clitic and the Dat prepositional phrase are interpreted as possessors or involuntary agents: ¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹ Rivero (2004) argues that these constructions involve Argument Suppression. Note that the occurrence of the Dat clitic (or the clitic doubled Dat prepositional phrase) is not obligatory. Thus, (104a) and (104b) have as counterparts constructions without personal pronominal clitics (and Dat prepositional phrases), to which Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999) refers as “absolutive” (cf. 2.4.7.2.2) – (i) and (ii), respectively:

- (i) *Ščupi se goljamata vaza.*
 break.3Sg.Aor Acc.Refl.Cl big+the.F.Sg vase
 ‘The big vase got broken.’

- (104) a. *Ščupi mi se goljamata vaza.*
 break.3Sg.Aor 1Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl big+the.F.Sg vase
 1. 'My big vase broke on me.'
 2. 'My big vase got broken.'
 3. 'I involuntarily caused the big vase to break.'
- b. *(Na Marija) i se skāsa rokljata.*
 to Marija 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl tear.3Sg.Aor dress+the.F.Sg
 1. '(Marija's)/her dress got torn.'
 2. '(Marija)/she involuntarily caused her dress to get torn.'
- c. *Rodila ti se dāšterja!*
 born.F.Sg./-Part 2Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl daughter
 'You got a daughter! (lit. A daughter was born to you!)

2.4.7.3.2 There are *se*-constructions that appear in clauses with non-argumental datives that have a "feel-like X" reading, in which relationship is established between an individual and an event. Rivero (2004:242-243) refers to this reading as "Dative Disclosure" and argues that the dative is here identified as an implicit agent of the verb, which functions as the equivalent of an obligatory controller. For Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999:203) the "feel-like X" constructions are characterized by the suppression of the initiator of the event, witnessed by the fact that the initiator does not receive overt realization, as in passives; but the "feel-like X" constructions are either impersonal, as in (105), or realize overtly as subject a non-initiator element, as in (106).¹¹⁰

- (105) a. *Igrae ni se.*
 play.3Sg 1Pl.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl
 'We feel like playing.' (lit. 'To us it feels like playing.')
- b. *Spieše mi se.*
 sleep.3Sg.Imperf 1Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl
 'I felt like sleeping.' (lit. 'To me it felt like sleeping.')
- c. *Xodi i se na razxodka.*
 go.3Sg 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl to walk
 'She feels like going for a walk.' (lit. 'To her it feels like going for a walk.')
- d. *Ne mu se umira.*
 not 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl die.3Sg
 'He doesn't feel like dying.' (lit. 'To him it does not felt like dying.')
- e. *Na Petko ne mu se raboteše*
 to Petko not 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl work.3Sg.Imperf

-
- (ii) *Skāsa se rokljata.*
 tear.3Sg.Aor Acc.Refl.Cl dress+the.F.Sg
 'The dress got torn.'

¹¹⁰ Rivero (2004:238-239) gives Bulgarian, Albanian, Modern Greek and Romanian examples with the structure of the sentences in (105) and (106) and points out that the "feel like" interpretation exists in Bulgarian and Albanian, but not in Modern Greek and Romanian. Note that the non-argumental datives in passive *se*-constructions with an overtly realized non-initiator element (i.e. theme) may also have an "ordinary" passive reading. Thus, (105a) may also have the reading (i):

(i) 'Songs were being sung to us.'

văv *fabrika.*
in factory

‘Petko didn’t feel like working in a factory.’ (lit. ‘To Petko it didn’t feel like working in a factory.’)

- (106) a. *Peexa* *ni* *se* *pesni.*
sing.3Pl.Imperf 1Pl.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl songs
‘We felt like singing songs.’ (lit. ‘To us it felt like singing songs.’)
- b. *Na* *Petko* *ne* *mu* *se* *stroi* *kăšta.*
to Petko not 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl build.3Sg house
‘Petko doesn’t feel like building a house.’ (lit. ‘To Petko it didn’t feel like building a house.’)

2.4.7.4 The Acc or Dat reflexive clitic can be part of the lexical meaning of a closed class of verbs.¹¹¹ Contrast (107a) to (107b) and (108a) to (108b):

- (107) a. *Ne* *znam* *kak* *da* *go* *namerja.*
not know.1Sg how Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl find.1Sg.Perf.Pres
‘I do not know how to find him.’
- b. *Ne* *znam* *kăde* *se* *namira.*
not know.1Sg where Acc.Refl.Cl find.3Sg
‘I do not know where (s)he/it is.’
- (108) a. *Utre* *otivam v* *Sofija.*
tomorrow go.1Sg in Sofia
‘I am going to Sofia tomorrow.’
- b. *Otivam* *si* *utre.*
go.1Sg Dat.Refl.Cl tomorrow.
‘I am leaving tomorrow.’

The verb *namiram* without the Acc reflexive clitic means ‘find’, whereas with the clitic it means ‘be (exist)’. The verb *otivam* without the Dat reflexive clitic means ‘go’, whereas with the clitic it means ‘leave’. As in Macedonian, we are here dealing with distinct lexical items.

2.4.8 Both personal and reflexive Dat pronominal clitics are used as possessive clitics in the DP.¹¹²

¹¹¹ These non-productive constructions (which are not subject to syntactic alternations) include, for example: *smeja se* ‘laugh’, *radvam se* ‘rejoice’, *boja se* ‘be afraid’, *namiram se* ‘be (found)’, *otivam si* ‘depart’. Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999:156) refers to the reflexive clitics that appear with this closed class of verbs as “non-argumental reflexives instantiating canonical linking of the Source to subject”.

As in Macedonian, Dat reflexive clitics can optionally accompany some verbs for stylistic effects – to add a note of intimacy:

- (i) *Po* *cjal* *den* *(si)* *vali.*
along whole day Dat.Refl.Cl rain.3Sg
‘It is raining the whole day.’
- (ii) *Mašinite* *(si)* *ležat* *na* *snega.*
machines+the.Pl Dat.Refl.Cl lie.3Pl on snow+the.M.Sg
‘The machines are lying on the snow.’

¹¹² Pancheva (2004) argues that the identity of the morpho-phonological form of the clausal Dat clitics and the possessive clitics in the DP – in Bulgarian, as well as in Macedonian and Romanian, is due to identity of formal features and not to case syncretism.

2.5 Possessive clitics and non-clitic pronominal possessive modifiers

Like their Macedonian counterparts, the Bulgarian possessive clitics are semantically related to corresponding non-clitic pronominal possessive modifiers.

2.5.1 The forms of the non-clitic pronominal possessive modifiers are given in Table 8:

Table 8: Bulgarian pronominal possessive modifiers

	M.Sg	F.Sg	N.Sg	Pl
1Sg	<i>moj</i>	<i>moja</i>	<i>moe</i>	<i>moi</i>
2Sg	<i>tvoj</i>	<i>tvoja</i>	<i>tvoe</i>	<i>tvoi</i>
3Sg.M	<i>negov</i>	<i>negova</i>	<i>negovo</i>	<i>negovi</i>
3Sg.F	<i>nein</i>	<i>nejna</i>	<i>nejno</i>	<i>nejni</i>
1Pl	<i>naš</i>	<i>naša</i>	<i>naše</i>	<i>naši</i>
2Pl	<i>vaš</i>	<i>vaša</i>	<i>naše</i>	<i>vaši</i>
3Pl	<i>texen</i>	<i>tjaxna</i>	<i>tjaxno</i>	<i>texni</i>
3Sg.Refl	<i>svoj</i>	<i>svoja</i>	<i>svoe</i>	<i>svoi</i>

2.5.2 The semantic features of the possessive clitic are the same as the semantic features of corresponding non-clitic pronominal possessive modifiers; the use of the two types of possessives is, however, contingent on discourse factors – whenever a pronominal clitic is available, the use of the non-clitic pronominal possessive modifier is contrastive:

- (109) a. *Pismoto* *se* *namira* *pri* *dăšterja*
 letter+the.N.Sg Acc.Refl.Cl find.3Sg at daughter
ti.
 2Sg.Dat.Cl
 ‘The letter is with your daughter.’
- b. *Pismoto* *se* *namira* *pri* *tvojata*
 letter+the.N.Sg Acc.Refl.Cl find.3Sg at your+the.F.Sg
dăšterja.
 daughter
 ‘The letter is with YOUR daughter (not with mine).’

2.5.3 Nevertheless, the non-clitic pronominal possessive modifiers differ from possessive clitics in their agreement properties: While the possessive clitics show agreement with the person, number and (in the case of 3rd person singular) gender features of the possessor, the non-clitic pronominal possessive modifiers inflect for person, number and (in the case of third person singular) gender, and show agreement with the gender and number features of the possessum.

2.5.4 Whereas the Macedonian possessive clitics modify only nouns denoting family relationship, the Bulgarian possessive clitics modify any definite noun. Examples:¹¹³

- (110) a. *majka* *mi*
 mother.F.Sg 1Sg.Dat.Cl
 ‘my mother’

¹¹³ The nouns *majka* ‘mother’ and *bašta/tatko* ‘father’ are inherently definite and regularly occur without a definite article, whereas the other singular nouns denoting family relationship can but need not be inherently definite and can occur with or without an article (*djado* ‘grandpa’, *baba* ‘grandma’, *lelja* ‘aunt’ and *vujčo* ‘uncle’ are often used without an article, while *sin* ‘son’, *dăšterja* ‘daughter’, *măž* ‘husband’ and *žena* ‘wife’ are preferably used with articles). In all other cases the occurrence of the article is obligatory.

- b. *djado(to)* *mu*
grandfather+the.M.Sg 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl
'his grandfather'
- c. *sin(ăt)* *i*
son.M.Sg+the.M.Sg 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl
'her son'
- d. *răkata* *mi*
hand+the.F.Sg 1Sg.Dat.Cl
'my hand'
- e. *molivăt* *i*
pencil+the.M.Sg 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl
'her pencil'
- f. *bolkata* *mu*
pain+the.F.Sg 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl
'his pain'
- (111) a. *Spečelix* *pari* *za* *trima* *ni.*
earn.1Sg.Aor money for three.M.Hum 1Pl.Dat.Cl
'I earned money for the three of us.'
- b. *Dade* *podarăci* *na* *decata* *im.*
give.3Sg.Aor presents to children+the.N.Pl 3Pl.Dat.Cl
'(S)he gave presents to their children.'
- c. *Izplași* *kokoškite* *ni.*
frighten.3Sg.Aor hens+the.F.Pl 1Pl.Dat.Cl
'(S)he/it frightened our hens.'

2.5.5 While non-clitic pronominal possessive modifiers can co-occur with the indefinite article, the possessive clitics cannot.¹¹⁴ This is illustrated by the well-formedness of (112a) and the non-acceptability of (112b):

- (112) a. *edna* *moja* *bratovčedka*
a.F.Sg my.F.Sg cousin.F
'a cousin of mine'
- b. **edna* *bratovčetka* *mi*
a.F.Sg cousin.F 1Sg.Dat.Cl

2.5.6 The possessive clitic can be part of an expanded phrase including demonstratives, single-word modifiers, modifiers that themselves are modified by prepositional phrases, or coordinated DPs (*cf.* Dimitrova-Vulchanova 2000, 2003; Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti 1998, 1999). As pointed out by Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1998:354), being a typical second position

¹¹⁴ Examples, such as (i) might be counter-examples to this statement:

- (i) *ednata* *mi* *bratovčetka*
one+the.F.Sg 1Sg.Dat.Cl cousin.F
'one of my cousins'

But, as pointed out in footnote 89, in distributive phrases such as (i) we do not have indefinite articles but rather indefinite adjectives.

clitic in the sense of Zwicky (1985), the possessive clitic is not selective with respect to the category it attaches to, neither is it related to phrasal constituents of a particular type/size.¹¹⁵

- (113) a. *pārvata* *mi* *žena*
 first.F.Sg+the.F.Sg 1Sg.Dat.Cl wife
 ‘my first wife’
- b. *po-starata* *mu* *sestra*
 Compar+old.F.Sg+the.F.Sg 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl sister
 ‘his older sister’
- c. *običaniĵāt* *mu* *vujčo*
 beloved.Def.M.Sg+the.M.Sg 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl uncle
 ‘his beloved uncle’
- d. *tazi/ onazi* *mu* *nova* *kniga*
 this.F that.F 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl new.F.Sg book.F
 ‘this/that new book of his’
- e. *povečeto* *mi* *stari* *koli*
 most+the.N.Sg 1Sg.Dat.Cl old.Pl cars
 ‘most of my old cars’¹¹⁶
- f. *izvojuvanata* *ni* *sās* *māka* *pobeda*
 won.F.Sg.Pass.Part+the.F.Sg 1Pl.Dat.Cl with pain victory.F
 ‘the victory which we won with pain’
- g. *otdadenijat* *na* *deloto* *mu*
 devoted.M.Sg.Pass.Part+the.M.Sg to cause+the.N.Sg 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl

¹¹⁵ Example (113e) is from Pancheva (2004:202), example (113g) from Dimitrova-Vulchanova (2000:140), example (113h) from Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1998:355). Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1998:354-355) derive the possessive clitic in the head of a clitic phrase to the left of the DP, while the constituents to the left of these clitics are moved to the specifier of the clitic phrase. The fact that in the coordinated structure in (113h) the clitic appears only after the second DP, is pointed out as a testimony that the coordinated structure to the left of the possessive clitic is of A'-type. Note, in this connection, that Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti's analysis cannot be applied to Macedonian where with nouns denoting family relationships, the possessive clitic is actually used as a preferred alternative to the article (cf. 1.5.3.2). The Macedonian nominal possessive clitics are actually getting permanently attached to the Macedonian nouns denoting family relationship. Accordingly, they should be inserted in the DP along with the nouns denoting family relationship.

¹¹⁶ As noted by Pancheva (2004:202), (113e) can have two interpretations:

- (i) ‘most of my previous cars’
 (ii) ‘most of my aged cars’

If, instead of the pronominal clitic, one uses a (full) possessive modifier, the ambiguity disappears when the possessive modifier is placed to the immediate left of the noun, though when the possessive modifier is placed to the left of the adjective *star* ‘old’ the phrase is still ambiguous (cf. Pancheva 2004:202):

- (iii) *povečeto* *stari* *moi* *koli*
 most+the.N.Sg old.Pl my.1Pl cars
 1. ‘most of my previous cars’
 2. *‘most of my aged cars’
- (iv) *povečeto* *moi* *stari* *koli*
 most+the.N.Sg my.1Pl old.Pl cars
 1. ‘most of my previous cars’
 2. ‘most of my aged cars’

prijatelj
friend.M
'his friend devoted to the cause'

- h. *kāštata i kolata mu*
house+the.F.Sg and car+the.F.Sg 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl
'his house and his car'

2.5.7 When the possessor is the subject of the clause, either a personal or an anaphoric reflexive pronominal clitic can be used:¹¹⁷

- (114) a. *Az ogledax novata mi/si kvartira.*
I view.1Sg.Aor new+the.F.Sg 1Sg/Refl.Dat.Cl lodgings.F.Sg
'I took a look around my new lodgings.'
- b. *Tja obleče novata i/si roklja.*
she put-on.3Sg.Aor new+the.F.Sg 1Sg.F/Refl.Dat.Cl dress.F
'She put on her new dress.'

2.5.8 Possessive clitics can double prepositional possessive modifiers with lexical possessors, which can appear to the right or to the left of the possessum:¹¹⁸

- (115) a. *Dal go e na sestra i*
given.M.Sg./-Part 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl be.3Sg to sister 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl
na Ana.
to Ana
'He gave it to Ana's sister.'
- b. *Xaresvat mi na Ivan novite mu knigi.*
please.3Pl 1Sg.Dat.Cl to Ivan new+the.Pl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl books
'I like Ivan's new book.'

2.5.9 Dat clitic occurring in clausal clitic clusters in sentences such as those in (116) are given interpretations analogous to those of the interpretations of sentences with possessive clitics.¹¹⁹

- (116) a. *Bolno mi e deteto.*
sick.N.Sg 1Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Sg child+the.N.Sg
'My child is sick.'

¹¹⁷ Example (114a) is from Moskovsky (2004:225).

¹¹⁸ Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1998:354-355) argue that clitic-doubled prepositional possessor phrases appearing to the left of constituents that host clitics (as in (115b)), raise to the specifier of a topic phrase (TopP) to the left of the clitic phrase in which the clitic and its host are. They also argue that topicalized lexical possessors contrast with focused lexical possessors, which move to the specifier of a focus phrase to the left of the DP: while the topicalized lexical possessors are clitic-doubled, the focused ones are not.

¹¹⁹ Note that, in this case, when the possessor is the subject of the clause, only the reflexive pronominal clitic form can be used. Compare (114a), for convenience repeated as (i), to (ii):

- (i) *Az ogledax novata mi/si kvartira.*
I view.1Sg.Aor new.F+the.F.Sg 1Sg/Refl.Dat.Cl lodgings.F.Sg
- (ii) *Az *mi/si ogledax novata kvartira.*
I 1Sg/Refl.Dat.Cl view.1Sg.Aor new.F+the.F.Sg lodgings.F.Sg
'I took a look around my new lodgings.'

Moskovsky (2004:227) points out that this fact leads to the conclusion that possessive clitics in the DP are bound within their narrow domain.

- b. *Bledo mu e liceto.*
pale.N.Sg 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Sg face+the.N.Sg
'His face is pale.'
- c. *Ednoobrazni sa i dnite.*
monotonous.Pl be.3Pl 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl days+the.Pl
'Her days are monotonous.'
- d. *Interesni sa im vāprosite.*
interesting.Pl are.3Pl 3Pl.Dat.Cl questions+the.Pl
'Their questions are interesting.'

2.5.9.1 The "external possession" clitics in sentences such as the ones in (116) refer to objects affected by the action expressed by the verb and can conveniently be referred to as "beneficiary datives" (*cf.* the discussion in 1.5.8.2 and 1.5.8.3). In spite of the frequent ambiguity between beneficiary clitics and DP possessive clitics,¹²⁰ the beneficiary dative clitics are distinct from the DP possessor clitics. If that was not so, the two types of clitics could not occur in the same clause with the latter. However, DP possessive clitics do co-occur with beneficiary clausal clitics, though this co-occurrence is much more selective than in Macedonian: in Bulgarian the two clitics have to have different person/number features. Thus, while (117a) is a well-formed sentence, (117b) is not:¹²¹

- (117) a. *Dāšterja ti mu došla na gosti.*
daughter 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl come.F.Sg./-Part on guests
'Your daughter has come to visit him.'
- b. **Sina mu mu e bolen.*
son+the.M.Sg 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Sg sick.M.Sg
purported reading: 'His son is sick.'

2.5.9.2 Yet, for the position of the Dat clitic in sentences with transitive verbs, such as (118), from Moskovsky (2004:222), DP to CP clitics raising of possessive clitics is the only interpretation (*cf.* Stateva 2001; Moskovsky 2004):¹²²

- (118) *Tja ni poluči kolednata kartička.*
she 1Pl.Dat.Cl receive.3Sg.Aor Christmas.Adj.F+the.F.Sg card.F
'She received our Christmas card.'

2.5.9.3 Clausal Dat clitics with possessive interpretation should be distinguished from ethical Dat clitics, such as the ones in (119), which are parenthetical devices for expressing intimacy. Unlike

¹²⁰ The possessive clitic doubling a topicalized phrase, such as the one in (i), can also be treated as a beneficiary clitic:

- (i) *Na Ivan mu e xubava ženata.*
to Ivan 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Sg beautiful.F.Sg wife+the.F.Sg
'Ivan's wife is beautiful'.

¹²¹ There is a haplology restriction – two identical clitics cannot appear next to each other. Note that in Macedonian there is no such restriction (*cf.* example 56).

¹²² Note that (118) does not have a Macedonian equivalents with a pronominal clitic. The possessive clitic in (118) can only be rendered in Macedonian by a possessive modifier:

- (i) *Taa ja dobi našata božikna kartička.*
she 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl receive.3Sg.Perf.Past our.F+the.F.Sg Christmas.Adj.F card.F
'She received our Christmas card.'

As mentioned above, possessive relationships can in Bulgarian also be expressed by pronominal possessive modifiers. But the possessive clitics are much more commonly used.

the clausal Dat clitics with possessive interpretation, the ethical datives are not discourse-linked and can appear in sequences of two:¹²³

- (119) a. *Kak si mi dnes?*
 how be.2Sg 1Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl today
 ‘How are you today, my dear?’
- b. *Kakvo mi pišeš tam?*
 what 1Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl write.2Sg there
 ‘What are you writing there, my dear?’
- c. *Takava mi ti rabota.*
 such.F.Sg 1Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl 2Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl thing
 ‘That is how things are.’
- d. *Ne mu misli mnogo!*
 not 3Sg.M.Eth.Dat.Cl think.3Sg much
 ‘Don’t hesitate!’ (lit. ‘Don’t think much!’)
- e. *Pustijat mu Johnny... i toj e*
 wretched+the.M.Sg 3Sg.M.Eth.Dat.Cl Johnny and he be.3Sg
kato mene.
 like me.Pron
 ‘The wretched Johnny...he also is like me.’
- f. *Šte mu udamim po edno*
 will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.M.Eth.Dat.Cl hit.1Sg.Perf.Pres Distr a.N.Sg
šišence slivova.
 bottle.Dimin plum.Adj.F
 ‘We shall each drink a small bottle of plum brandy.’

2.6 Use of prepositions to express case relations

Abstract case or thematic relations, other than those of the agent and the patient are, as a rule, expressed through the use of prepositions with basic locative or directional meanings.

2.6.1 The most frequently used preposition *na* ‘to’,¹²⁴ is regularly used to denote a dative relationship of nouns and pronouns. Examples:

¹²³ Examples (128e) and (128f) are from Topolinjska (1996:28), with my glosses and translation. As noted in Topolinjska (1996:28), in Bulgarian, ethical datives occur more often than in Macedonian. Unlike the Macedonian sequences of ethical dative clitics, the Bulgarian sequences of ethical dative clitics can appear in any position in the clause. This may qualify them as “frozen discourse markers” (cf. Ivanova 2004).

¹²⁴ As in Macedonian, the original meaning of this preposition is locative – ‘on’.

- (120) a. *Dadox knigata na Jana/ Stojan/ djadoto.*¹²⁵
 give.1Sg.Aor book+the.F.Sg to Jana Stojan grandpa+the.N.Sg
 'I gave the book to Jana/Stojan/the grandpa.'
- b. *Na neja dadox knigata.*
 to her give.1Sg.Aor book+the.F.Sg
 'I gave the book to HER.'

2.6.2 The preposition *na* is also used to denote a possessive relationship with human possessors:

- (121) a. *Zagubixme knigata na Jana/ Stojan/ dedoto.*
 lose.1Pl.Aor book+the.F.Sg to Jana Stojan grandpa+the.N.Sg
 'We lost Jana's/Stojan's/grandpa's book.'
- b. *Knigata e na Jana/ Stojan/ dedoto.*
 book+the.F.Sg be.3Sg to Jana Stojan grandpa+the.N.Sg
 'The book is Jana's/Stojan's/grandpa's.'

2.6.3 Partitive relationships to nouns denoting groups are usually expressed by the mere position of two nominal expressions next to each other:

- (122) a. *stado (*na) ovci*
 flock to sheep.Pl
 'a flock of sheep'
- b. *grupa (*na) studenti*
 group to students
 'a group of students'

2.6.4 The preposition *v/vāv* can be used in both locative and directional PPs:

- (123) a. *Živee v Sofija.*
 lives in Sofia
 '(S)he lives in Sofia.'
- b. *Otide vāv Sofija.*
 go.3Sg.Aor in Sofia
 '(S)he went to Sofia.'

¹²⁵ In the Rhodopi and Misian Bulgarian dialects, human common nouns in the Acc case are also encountered. Sentence (i) is from a Rhodopi dialect; sentence (ii) from a Misian one; both of them registered in Sobolev (2004b), with my glosses and translation:

- (i) %...i je gu zanesux na deda.
 and 3Pl.Dat.Cl 3Sg/Pl.Acc.Cl bring.1Sg.Aor to grandpa.Acc
 '... and I took them to grandpa.'
- (ii) %Kazvam na dada...
 tell.1Sg to older-sister.Acc
 'I am telling my older sister....'

2.6.5 Direction can be expressed by complex prepositions:¹²⁶

- (124) *Dojde otkám garata.*
 come.3Sg.Aor from+to/towards station+the.F.Sg
 ‘(S)he came from the station.’

2.6.6 Prepositional complements of prepositions are less common than in Macedonian, but they do occur – especially in expressions denoting purpose. Examples:

- (125) a. *Zemete si xrana za iz pátja!*
 take.2Pl.Imper Dat.Refl.Cl food for through road.
 ‘Take food for the road!’ (lit. ‘Take food for through the road!’)
- b. *Poe pátja za u doma si.*
 take.3Sg.Aor road+the.M.Sg for at home Dat.Refl.Cl
 ‘(S)he took the road home.’ (lit. ‘S(h)e took the way for at her home.’)

2.6.7 NP arguments of prepositions usually carry definite articles. Thus, we have the following acceptability judgements:

- (126) a. *Složí go na masa*(ta)!*
 put.2Sg.Aor 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl on table+the.F.Sg
 ‘Put it on the table!’
- b. *Xvani go za rǎka*(ta)!*
 catch.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl for hand+the.F.Sg
 ‘Take his hand!’ (lit. Catch him by the hand!’)

2.6.8 Article-less objects are, however, possible in generic contexts:

- (127) *Da sednem na masa i da se razberem!*
 Subj.Mark seat.Pl.Perf.Pres on table and Subj.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl
 understand.1Pl.Perf.Pres
 ‘Let us seat down and clear things up!’ (lit. ‘Let us seat at a table and understand each other!’)

3. Serbo-Croatian

Serbo-Croatian has seven cases: Nominative, Genitive, Dative, Accusative, Vocative, Instrumental and Locative. Case is morphologically marked by suffixes, which are portmanteau morphemes representing gender, number and case with nouns and pronouns, and gender, number, case and definiteness with adjectives. Not all gender/number/case/(definiteness) complexes of features are, however, represented by distinct suffixes; the same suffix often represents two, and sometimes even three underlying case relationships. There are no articles, though definiteness is actually encoded in demonstrative determiners and adjectives.

¹²⁶ Note that any of the two prepositions in (124) can be used by itself:

- (i) *Dojde ot garata.*
 come.3Sg.Aor from station+the.F.Sg
 ‘(S)he came from the station.’
- (ii) *Otide kám garata.*
 go.3Sg.Aor towards station+the.F.Sg
 ‘(S)he went towards the station.’

3.1 Nominal suffixes

The nominal suffixes encode gender, number and case. The nominal forms are grouped into three types of declensions, which, on the basis of the Gen.Sg suffix, are referred to as Type **a**, Type **e** and Type **i**. There is syncretism in all the declension types, so that the maximum number of different forms for a given noun is nine.

3.1.1 The suffixes of the Serbo-Croatian nouns are given in Table 9 (on the basis of Barić *et. al.* 1997).¹²⁷

Table 9: Suffixes marking case in Serbo-Croatian nouns

Type a			
[+animate,+masculine]			
Nom.Sg	Ø/-o/-e	(e.g. <i>jèlen</i> -Ø)	'deer'
Gen/Acc.Sg	-a	(e.g. <i>jèlen</i> -a)	
Dat/Loc.Sg	-u	(e.g. <i>jèlen</i> -u)	
Voc.Sg	-e/-u	(e.g. <i>jèlen</i> -e)	
Instr.Sg	-om/-em	(e.g. <i>jèlen</i> -om)	
Nom/Voc.Pl	-i	(e.g. <i>jèlen</i> -i)	
Gen.Pl	-ā/-ī	(e.g. <i>jelēn</i> -ā)	
Acc.Pl	-e	(e.g. <i>jèlen</i> -e)	
Dat/Instr/Loc.Pl	-ima	(e.g. <i>jèlen</i> -ima)	
[-animate,+masculine]			
Nom/Acc.Sg	Ø/-o/-e	(e.g. <i>izvor</i> -Ø)	'spring (of water)'
Gen.Sg	-a	(e.g. <i>izvor</i> -a)	
Dat/Loc.Sg	-u	(e.g. <i>izvor</i> -u)	
Voc.Sg	-e/-u	(e.g. <i>izvor</i> -e)	
Instr.Sg	-om/-em	(e.g. <i>izvor</i> -om)	
Nom/Voc.Pl	-i	(e.g. <i>izvor</i> -i)	
Gen.Pl	-ā/-ī	(e.g. <i>izvōr</i> -ā)	
Acc.Pl	-e	(e.g. <i>izvor</i> -e)	
Dat/Instr/Loc.Pl	-ima	(e.g. <i>izvor</i> -ima)	
[+neuter]			
Nom/Acc/Voc.Sg	-o/-e/-ø	(e.g. <i>kolo</i> -Ø)	'ring'
Gen.Sg	-a	(e.g. <i>kol</i> -a)	
Dat/Loc.Sg	-u	(e.g. <i>kol</i> -u)	
Instr.Sg	-om/-em	(e.g. <i>kol</i> -om)	
Nom/Acc/Voc.Pl	-a	(e.g. <i>kol</i> -a)	
Gen.Pl	-ā	(e.g. <i>kol</i> -ā)	
Dat/Instr/Loc.Pl	-ima	(e.g. <i>kol</i> -ima)	
Type e			
Nom.Sg	a/-o/-e	(e.g. <i>rib</i> -a)	'fish'
Gen.Sg	-ē	(e.g. <i>rib</i> -ē)	
Dat/Loc.Sg	-i	(e.g. <i>rib</i> -i)	
Voc.Sg	-o/-e/-a	(e.g. <i>rib</i> -o)	
Instr.Sg	-om/-em	(e.g. <i>rib</i> -om)	

¹²⁷ Serbo-Croatian has length and tone. Length is represented by a dash (-) over the vowel. Tone is always combined with length. We have the following four length+tone possibilities: (a) short rising (ˊ); (b) short falling (ˋ); (c) long falling (ˆ); (d) long rising (ˊ̄). In some cases, the only distinction between two cases is suprasegmental. In this book, the suprasegmentals are represented in the tables, but not in the sample phrases and sentences.

Nom/Acc/Voc.Pl	-e	(e.g. <i>rib -e</i>)	
Gen.Pl	-ā/-ī/-ū	(e.g. <i>rib-ā</i>)	
Dat/Instr/Loc.Pl	-ama	(e.g. <i>rib-ama</i>)	
Type i			
Nom/Acc.Sg	-∅	(e.g. <i>stvár-∅</i>)	‘thing’
Gen/Dat/Voc/Loc.Sg			
and Nom/Acc/Voc.Pl	-i	(e.g. <i>stvár -i</i>)	
Instr.Sg/Loc.Sg	-i/-ju/-u	(e.g. <i>stvár -i</i>)	
Gen.Pl	-ī/-ijū	(e.g. <i>stvár - ī</i>)	
Dat/Instr/Loc.Pl	-ima	(e.g. <i>stvár-ima</i>)	

3.1.2 It may be observed that the Loc suffixes are practically always equivalent to the Dat ones. Locative case is actually expressed by prepositional phrases with nouns in the Dat case (cf. 3.4). In some dialects, however, the old locative suffixes have been preserved. The following example is from the Zeta-Lovćen dialect in Montenegro (cf. Sobolev 2004a:73):

- (128) %Dolazi o Vidovu dne.
come.3Sg on/about St-Vit.Loc day.Loc
‘He is coming on St Vit’s day.’

3.2 Adjectival suffixes

The Serbo-Croatian adjectives encode not only gender, number and case, but also definiteness. With masculine singular adjectives, the definiteness feature is represented by the suffix *-ī*; in masculine plural and feminine and neuter singular or plural adjectives, it is encoded only through suprasegmentals.

3.2.1 The suffixes of the Nom forms of the Serbo-Croatian adjectives are represented in Table 10:

Table 10: Suffixes of Nom forms of Serbo-Croatian adjectives

	Indefinite	Definite
M.Sg	-∅	-ī
M.Pl	-i	-ī
F.Sg	-a	-ā
F.Pl	-e	-ē
Neut.Sg	-o/-e	ō/-ē
Neut.Pl	-a	-ā

3.2.2 The suffixes of the oblique cases of the masculine and neuter indefinite adjectives are analogous to the suffixes of the nouns of Type **a**, while the suffixes of the oblique cases of the feminine definite adjectives are analogous to the suffixes of the nouns of Type **e**. Definite adjectives, however, have distinct paradigms.¹²⁸

Table 11: Suffixes of Serbo-Croatian definite adjectives

	Masc	Neut	Fem
Nom.Sg	-ī	- ō/-ē	-ā
Gen.Sg	-ōg(a)/-ēga	=M.Gen.Sg	-ē
Dat.Sg	-ōm(u)/-ēm(u)	=M.Dat.Sg	-ōj
Acc.Sg	=Nom/Gen.Sg	=Nom.Sg	-ū

¹²⁸ For all the three genders we have only 14 distinct forms. The Acc of the masculine adjectives agrees with the Gen if the head noun is animate and with the Nom if it is inanimate.

Analogous forms appear with demonstrative and possessive determiners.

Voc.Sg	=Nom.Sg	=Nom.Sg	=Nom.Sg
Instr.Sg	- <i>īm</i>	=M.Instr.Sg	- <i>ōm</i>
Loc.Sg	=Dat.Sg	=M.Dat.Sg	=Dat.Sg
Nom.Pl	=Nom.Sg	=Nom.Sg	- <i>ē</i>
Gen.Pl	- <i>ih</i>	=M.Gen.Pl	=M.Gen.Pl
Dat.Pl	- <i>īm(a)/-ima</i>	=M.Dat.Pl	=M.Dat.Pl
Acc.Pl	- <i>ē</i>	=Nom.Sg/Pl	=Nom.Pl
Voc.Pl	=Nom.Sg/Pl	=Nom.Sg/Pl	=Nom.Sg/Pl
Instr.Pl	=Dat.Pl	=M.Dat.Pl	=M.Dat.Pl
Loc.Pl	=Dat.Pl	=M.Dat.Pl	=M.Dat.Pl

3.2.3 Prescriptive grammars specify that the indefinite adjectival forms are used in predicative positions, while the definite ones are used in attributive positions.¹²⁹ Examples:

- (129) a. *Ovaj sto je beo.*
 this table be.3Sg white.M.Sg.Indef
 ‘This table is white.’
- b. *B(ij)eli¹³⁰ sto je okrugao.*
 white.M.Sg.Def table be.3Sg round.M.Sg.Indef
 ‘The white table is round.’

3.3 Personal pronouns

The Serbo-Croatian personal pronouns have distinct Nom forms for 1Sg, 1Pl, 2Sg, 2Pl, 3Sg.M, 3Sg.F, 3Sg.N, 3Pl.M 3Pl.F and 3Pl.N, and clitic counterparts for the Gen, Dat and Acc forms.¹³¹

3.3.1 The paradigm of the Serbo-Croatian personal pronouns is presented in Table 12:

Table 12: Serbo-Croatian personal pronouns

	Nom		Gen		Dat		Acc		Instr	Loc
	Full	Cl	Full	Cl	Full	Cl	Full	Cl	Full	Full
1Sg	<i>jā</i>		<i>mène</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>mèni</i>	<i>mi</i>	=Gen		<i>mnóm</i>	=Dat(Full)
1Pl	<i>mī</i>		<i>nās</i>	<i>nas</i>	<i>nàma</i>	<i>nam</i>	=Gen		=Dat(Full)	=Dat(Full)
2Sg	<i>tī</i>		<i>tèbe</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>tèbi</i>	<i>ti</i>	=Gen		<i>tobom</i>	=Gen(Full)
2Pl	<i>vī</i>		<i>vās</i>	<i>vas</i>	<i>vàma</i>	<i>vam</i>	=Gen		=Dat(Full)	=Dat(Full)
3Sg.M	<i>ón</i>		<i>njèga</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>njèmu</i>	<i>mu</i>	=Gen	<i>ga/nj</i>	<i>njīm</i>	=Dat(Full)

¹²⁹ The adjectives, as a rule, precede the nouns and in this case the shorter Gen and Dat forms are used. In emphatic environments and in poetry, however, the adjective can follow the noun and in that case the longer, definite Gen and Dat forms are used. Compare (i) to (ii):

- (i) *Osedlaj mi b(ij)elog konja!*
 saddle.2Sg.Imper 1Sg.Dat.Cl white.Indef.M.Sg.Gen horse.Gen
 ‘Saddle me the white horse!’
- (ii) *Jaše konja b(ij)eloga.*
 ride.3Sg horse.Gen white.Def.M.Sg.Gen
 ‘(S)he is riding a white horse.’

The use of the indefinite forms is, however, diminishing – the definite forms being increasingly used in all environments.

¹³⁰ The alternatives represent the differences between the Serbian and Croatian standards.

¹³¹ Generally speaking, the paradigms of the Serbo-Croatian determiners and pronouns, other than the personal ones, are analogous to the paradigms of the definite adjectives. The pronouns do not exhibit definite/indefinite formal distinctions, however.

3Sg.F	<i>òna</i>	<i>njê</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>njôj</i>	<i>joj</i>	<i>njû</i>	<i>je/ju</i>	<i>njôm</i>	=Dat(Full)
3Sg.N	<i>òno</i>	=====				3Sg.M	=====		
3Pl.M	<i>òni</i>	<i>njîh</i>	<i>ih</i>	<i>njîma</i>	<i>im</i>	=Gen		=Dat(Full)	=Dat(Full)
3Pl.F	<i>òne</i>	=====				3Sg.M	=====		
3Pl.F	<i>òna</i>	=====				3Sg.M	=====		
Refl		<i>sèbe</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>sèbi</i>	<i>si</i>	=Gen		<i>sobom</i>	=Dat(Full)

3.3.2 Both the full and the clitic forms appear in argument positions as exponents of Acc or Dat cases,¹³² though the use of the full forms is emphatic. Examples:

- (130) a₁ *Vid(j)ela* *me* *je*.
 see.F.Sg./-Part 1Sg.Acc.Cl be.3Sg
 ‘She saw me.’
- a₂ *Vid(j)ela* *je* *mene*.
 see.F.Sg./-Part be.3Sg me.Acc
 ‘She saw ME.’
- b₁ *Dao* *mi* *ga* *je*.
 give.M.Sg./-Part 1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl be.3Sg
 ‘He gave it to me.’
- b₂ *Dao* *ga* *je* *meni*.
 give.M.Sg./-Part 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl be.3Sg me.Dat
 ‘He gave it to ME.’

3.3.3 In prepositional phrases, only the full (Acc) pronominal forms occur; pronominal clitics never function as objects of prepositions. Thus, (131a) is well formed, while (131b) is not:

- (131) a. *Govori* *o* *meni*.
 speak.3Sg about me
 ‘(S)he is speaking about me.’
- b. **Govori* *o* *mi*.
 speak.3Sg about 1Sg.Dat.Cl

3.3.4 While the personal pronominal clitics are used only for anaphoric reference, the reflexive pronominal clitics are also used in passive, absolutive,¹³³ middle and impersonal constructions, as well as in constructions in which they are actually part of the lexical meaning of the verb.

3.3.4.1 Used anaphorically, the Acc reflexive pronominal clitics can refer to single referents (as in 132a₁) or to multiple ones;¹³⁴ in the latter case, we may have a multiple number of individual referents (as in 132b₁) or reciprocals (as in 132c₁). In all cases, usage is contingent on the correferentiality of the referent of the clitic and the subject of the clause; when the subject has distinct reference, a non-reflexive clitic is used. Thus, we have the following pairs of contrast:

¹³² There is no clitic-doubling of either pronouns or nouns in Croatian or standard Serbian, though it occurs in the South-Eastern Serbian dialects. Cf. 3.3 in the chapter “Clitic Clusters and Clitic Doubling”.

¹³³ The term “absolutive” was introduced by Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999). Cf. footnote 38.

¹³⁴ In colloquial Croatian, Dat reflexive pronominal clitics can be used in emotive contexts with almost every verb. Example:

- (i) %*Kupila* *si* *je* *novu* *haljinu*.
 buy.F.Sg./-Part Dat.Refl.Cl be.3Sg new.Acc dress
 ‘She bought herself a new dress.’

- (132) a₁ *Brijem* *se*.
 shave.1Sg Acc.Refl.Cl
 ‘I am shaving myself.’
- a₂ *Pera* *me* *brije*.
 Pera 1Sg.Acc.Cl shave.3Sg
 ‘Pera is shaving me.’
- b₁ *Deca* *se* *oblače*.
 children Acc.Refl.Cl dress-up.3Pl
 ‘The children are dressing (themselves) up.’ (Each child is dressing himself.)
- b₂ *Deca* *me* *oblače*.
 children 1Sg.Acc.Cl dress-up.3Pl
 ‘The children are dressing me up.’
- c₁ *Deca* *se* *vole*.
 children Acc.Refl.Cl love.3Pl
 ‘The children love each other.’
- c₂ *Deca* *me* *vole*.
 children 1Sg.Acc.Cl love.3Pl
 ‘The children love me.’

3.3.4.2 The use of the Serbo-Croatian Acc reflexive pronominal clitics in impersonals differs from that in Macedonian and Bulgarian. While in Bulgarian impersonals with overt direct objects do not occur, and in Macedonian their use is questionable, in Serbo-Croatian they are currently used. In (133) we have impersonals without overt objects, in (134) impersonals with overt direct objects:¹³⁵

- (133) a. *Ovd(j)e* *se* *ne* *peva*.
 here Acc.Refl.Cl not sing.3Sg
 ‘One does not sing here.’
- b. *U* *toj* *kući* *se* *(%oje)*¹³⁶ *puno*
 in that.F.Sg.Loc house.F.Sg.Loc Acc.Refl.Cl be.3Sg a lot
 radilo.
 work.N.Sg./-Part
 ‘One worked a lot in that house.’
- (134) a. *Roditelje* *se* *poštuje*.
 parents.Acc Acc.Refl.Cl respect.3Sg
 ‘One does/should obey his parents.’
- b. *Starce* *se* *ne* *tuče*.
 old-people.Acc Acc.Refl.Cl not beat.3Sg
 ‘One should/does not beat old people.’
- c. *Danas* *se* *(%oje)* *sломilo* *mnogo čaša*.
 today Acc.Refl.Cl be.3Sg broken.N.Sg./-Part much glasses.Gen
 ‘Today, a lot of glasses got broken.’

¹³⁵ As a matter of fact, the use of impersonals with objects decreases as one moves south-westwards in Balkan Slavic and is non-existent in Bulgarian.

¹³⁶ In Standard Serbian and in many Serbian dialects the third person singular “be”-auxiliary is left out when co-occurring with the reflexive clitic *se*. It is, however, used in Croatian.

- d. *Upozorava te se, ali ti ne slušaš.*
 warn.3Sg 2Sg.Acc.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl but you not listen.2Sg
 ‘One is warning you, but you don’t listen.’

3.3.4.3 The use of the reflexive clitic in passives, absolutes and middles is analogous to that in Macedonian and Bulgarian.¹³⁷ In (135) we have passives; in (136) absolutes; in (137) middles.

- (135) a. *Knjiga joj se štampa u Rimu.*
 book 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl print.3Sg in Rome.Loc
 ‘Her book is being printed in Rome.’
- b. *Ova kuća se (%je) dugo gradila.*
 this.F.Sg house Acc.Refl.Cl be.3Sg long.Adv build.F.Sg./-Part
 ‘This house was being built for a long time.’
- c. *Roditelji se poštuju.*
 parents Acc.Refl.Cl respect.3Pl
 ‘Parents should be respected.’
- d. *Starci se ne tuku.*
 old-people Acc.Refl.Cl not beat.3Pl
 ‘Old people should not be beaten.’
- (136) a. *Danas su se slomile mnoge čaše.*
 today be.3Pl Acc.Refl.Cl broken.F.Pl./-Part many.Pl
 glasses
 ‘Today, a lot of glasses got broken.’
- b. *Udala mu se kćer.*
 married.F.Sg./-Part 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl daughter
 ‘His daughter got married.’
- c. *Mleko se (%je) skuvalo.*
 milk Acc.Refl.Cl be.3Sg boiled.3Sg.N./-Part
 ‘The milk boiled.’
- (137) a. *Ova knjiga se brzo čita.*
 this.F.Sg book Acc.Refl.Cl fast read.3Sg
 ‘This book reads fast.’
- b. *Slameni krovovi se (lako) pale.*
 straw.Adj.F.Pl roofs Acc.Refl.Cl easily set-on-fire.Pl./-Part
 ‘Straw roofs are easily set on fire.’

3.3.4.4 In clauses with verbs that could go under the general name of “inter-personal contact verbs” (cf. 1.4.7.3), the *se*-clitic can “impersonate” the object. Marelj (2004:247-250) argues that in *se*-constructions with these verbs, there is saturation of an internal role; she refers to such constructions as “object arbitrarization” constructions:¹³⁸

¹³⁷ Since impersonals with overt objects do occur, the use of passives is somewhat less frequent than in Macedonian and Bulgarian. The distinctions between passives, absolutes, middles and impersonals are discussed in 1.4.7.2.

¹³⁸ Some of these clauses may also have a passive and an anaphoric reciprocal reading. Thus, (i) may have any of the four listed readings:

- (i) *Ova deca se ne tuku.*
 these children Acc.Refl.Cl not beat.3Pl

- (138) a. *Pera se tuče.*
 Pera Acc.Refl.Cl beat.3Sg
 1. 'Pera is beating some people/others'.
 2. 'Pera beats people (in general)'.
- b. *Marija se grize.*
 Marija Acc.Refl.Cl bite.3Sg
 1. 'Marija is biting some people/others'.
 2. 'Marija bites people (in general)'.

3.3.4.5 There are *se*-constructions in clauses with Dat pronominal clitics or Dat lexical phrases that are not part of the argument structure of the verb.

3.3.4.5.1 In *se*-constructions with anti-causative verbs, the Dat clitic (or the Dat phrase) is interpreted as a possessor or involuntary agent:¹³⁹

- (139) a. *Slomila mi se velika vaza.*
 broken.F.Sg./Part 1Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl big.F.Sg vase
 1. 'My big vase broke on me.'
 2. 'My big vase got broken.'
 3. 'I involuntarily caused the big vase to break.'
- b. *Mariji se (%je) pocepala haljina.*
 Marija.Dat Acc.Refl.Cl be.3Sg torn.F.Sg./Part dress
 1. 'Marija's dress got torn.'
 2. 'Marija involuntarily caused her dress to get torn.'
- c. *Rodila ti se kćer!*
 born.F.Sg./Part 2Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl daughter
 'You got a daughter!' (lit. 'A daughter was born to you!')

3.3.4.5.2 There are *se*-constructions that appear in clauses with non-argumental datives that have a "feel-like X" reading, in which relationship is established between an individual and an event (cf. 1.4.7.4.2).¹⁴⁰ These constructions can be impersonal, as in (140), or, as pointed out by Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999:203), can realize overtly as subject a non-initiator element, as in (141):¹⁴¹

- (140) a. *Igra nam se.*
 play.3Sg 1Pl.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl
 'We feel like playing.' (lit. 'To us it feels like playing.')
- b. *Spavalo mi se.*
 slept.N.Sg./Part 1Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl
 'I felt like sleeping.' (lit. 'To me it felt like sleeping.')

1. 'These children are not beating anybody/others'.
2. 'These children do not (ever) beat anybody'.
3. 'These children should not be beaten'.
4. 'These children do not beat each other'.

¹³⁹ These constructions were discussed by Rivero (2004). Cf. footnote 48.

¹⁴⁰ The "feel-like X" constructions were discussed by Rivero (2004) on the example of Bulgarian and Albanian and by Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999) on the example of Bulgarian. Cf. 1.4.7.4.2.

¹⁴¹ The non-argumental datives in passive *se*-constructions with an overtly realized non-initiator element (i.e. a theme) may also have another "ordinary" passive reading. Thus, (141a) may also have the reading (i), while (141b) may also have the reading (ii):

- (i) 'Songs were being sung to us.'
- (ii) 'No house is being built for Petko.'

- c. *Ide* *joj* *se* *u* *šetnju.*
 go.3Sg 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl in walk.Loc
 ‘She feels like going for a walk.’ (lit. ‘To her it feels like going for a walk.’)
- d. *Ne* *umire* *mu* *se.*
 not die.3Sg 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl
 ‘He doesn’t feel like dying.’ (lit. ‘To him it doesn’t feel like dying.’)
- e. *Peri* *se* *nije* *radilo* *u*
 Pera.Dat Acc.Refl.Cl not+be.3Sg worked.N.Sg./-Part in
fabrici.
 factory.Loc
 ‘Pera didn’t feel like working in a factory.’ (lit. ‘To Pera it didn’t feel like working in a factory.’)
- (141) a. *Pevale* *su* *nam* *se* *p(j)esme.*
 sung.F.Pl./-Part are.3Pl 1Pl.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl songs
 ‘We felt like singing songs.’ (lit. ‘To us it felt like singing songs.’)
- b. *Peri* *se* *ne* *gradi* *kuća.*
 Pera.Dat Acc.Refl.Cl not build.3Sg house
 ‘Pera doesn’t feel like building a house.’ (‘To Pera it did not feel like building a house.’)

3.3.4.6 There are cases in which Acc reflexive clitics are part of the lexical meaning of the predicate. Contrast (142a) to (142b).

- (142) a. *Ne* *znam* *kako* *da* *nađem*
 not know.1Sg how Subj.Mark find.1Sg.Perf.Pres
ovaj grad.
 this town
 ‘I do not know how to find this town.’
- b. *Ne* *znam* *gd(j)e* *se* *nalazi* *ovaj grad.*
 not know.1Sg where Acc.Refl.Cl find.3Sg this.M town
 ‘I do not know where this town is.’

In (142a), where it co-occurs without a reflexive clitic, the form of the verb *nalaziti* has the reading ‘find’, whereas in (142b), where it is accompanied by the reflexive clitic, it means ‘is’.¹⁴²

3.3.5 To a very limited extent, Dat pronominal clitics are used for the expression of possessive relationship in the DP.

3.3.5.1 Possessive clitics relating to nouns denoting family relationship were used as DP modifiers in literary writings of the 19th century, and are currently used in some dialects, especially if the nouns are in the Nom case.¹⁴³

- (143) a. *%Došli* *su* *gospodin* *Petrović* *i* *kćer*
 come.Pl./-Part be.3Pl mister Petrović and daughter

¹⁴² There are verbs that do not occur without being accompanied by a reflexive clitic. For example:

- (i) *Desila* *se* *nesreća.*
 happened.F.Sg./-Part Acc.Refl.Cl accident
 ‘There was an accident.’

¹⁴³ Example (143c) is from Pancheva (2004:211), where it is noted that it was provided by Wayles Browne.

- mu.*
3Sg.M.Dat.Cl
'Mr Petrović and his daughter have come.'
- b. %?Vid(j)eh *kćer* *joj.*
see.1Sg.Aor daughter 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl
'I saw her daughter.'
- c. %Sada sam, *ali* *opet* *pod* *firmom* *matičnog*
now alone.M.Sg but again under trade-name.Instr parent.Adj.Gen
mu *sustava...*
3Sg.M.Dat.Cl company
'Now alone, but again under the trade-name of his parent company,...'

3.3.5.2 The use of Dat pronominal clitic forms as possessive clitics in oaths and curses (where they often co-occur with pronominal clitics) is, however, inter-dialectal. For example:

- (144) a. *Nisam* *to* *uradio,* *majke* *mi*
not+be.1Sg that done.M.Sg./-Part mother.Gen 1Sg.Dat.Cl
moje.
my.F.Sg.Gen
'I haven't done it. I take an oath in the name of my mother.'
- b. *Boga* *ti* *tvoga* *ljubim.*
God.Acc 2Sg.Dat.Cl yours.Gen kiss.1Sg
'Kiss your ass!' (lit. I am kissing your God.)

3.3.6 Dative clausal clitics with possessive interpretation are currently used in both the Serbian and the Croatian standards (as well as in the dialects):

- (145) a. *Bolesno* *mi* *je* *d(ij)ete.*
sick.N.Sg 1Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Sg child
'My child is sick.'
- b. *Bl(ij)edo* *mu* *je* *lice.*
pale.N.Sg 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Sg face
'His face is pale.'
- c. *Jednolični* *su* *joj* *dani.*
monotonous.M.Pl be.3Pl 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl days
'Her days are monotonous.'
- d. *Interesantna* *su* *im* *pitanja.*
interesting.F.Pl be.3Pl 3Pl.Dat.Cl questions
'Their questions are interesting.'

As argued in reference to the Macedonian Dat clausal clitics with possessive interpretation, these clitics are beneficiary datives.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴ Cf. 1.5.8.2 and 1.5.8.3. The question of co-occurrence of beneficiary or any other type of dative clitics with DP possessive clitics does not arise in Serbo-Croatian, since possessive clitics in the DP are very marginal. The occurrence of ethical datives is also marginal. Here is an example of a third person ethical dative used in a curse:

- (i) *Sto* *mu* *gromova!*
hundred 3Sg.M.Eth.Dat.Cl thunders
'Damn it!' (lit. 'A hundred thunders.')

3.4 Use of prepositions to express case relations

Accompanied by prepositions, some case forms can express distinct case relationships.

3.4.1 The Loc case, which is prepositional¹⁴⁵, expresses position or location; to express direction, a preposition plus an NP in the Acc case is used. Compare the prepositional phrases in (146) to those in (147).¹⁴⁶

- (146) a. *Mi smo u bašti.*
we be.1Pl in garden.Loc
'We are in the garden.'
- b. *Ptica je na krovu.*
bird.Nom be.3Sg on roof.Loc
'The bird is on the roof.'
- c. *Ptica hoda po krovu.*
bird.Nom walk.3Sg along roof.Loc
'The bird is walking on the roof.'
- (147) a. *Idemo u baštu.*
go.1Pl in garden.Acc
'We are going to the garden.'
- b. *Ptica je slet(j)ela na krov.*
bird.Nom be.3Sg flown.F.Sg./-Part on roof
'The bird flew onto the roof.'

3.4.2 With the preposition *sa* 'with', nominal expression in the Instr case mark an associative relationship.

- (148) *Dolazim sa majkom.*
come.1Sg with mother.Instr
'I am coming with my mother.'

3.4.3 Nominal expressions in the Gen case can combine with a great variety of prepositions to express a variety of thematic roles. Examples:

- (149) a. *Budi bez brige!*
be.2Sg.Imper without worry.Gen
'Don't worry!' (lit. 'Be without care!')
- b. *Stanuje blizu mene.*
live.3Sg near me.Gen
'(S)he lives near me.'
- c. *Napravio je to zbog Marije.*
done.M.Sg./-Part be.3Sg that because of Maria.Gen
'He did that because of Maria.'

4. The South-Eastern Serbian dialects

The South-Eastern Serbian dialects – also referred to as the Prizren-Timok dialects, since they stretch from the town of Prizren in the south to the river Timok in the north – are much more balkanised

¹⁴⁵ The case ending is actually equivalent to the one of the Dat case.

¹⁴⁶ In the case of inanimate masculine nouns the Acc case is equivalent to the Nom case.

than standard Serbian and have an impoverished case system. In the eastern periphery of these dialects, there are articles with triple spacial distinction (*cf.* Bogdanović 1992).

4.1 Nominal cases

In the nominal systems of most South-Eastern dialects there are distinct oblique case forms only for nouns or noun modifiers in the Acc and Voc cases.

4.1.1 In the Pirot South-Eastern Serbian dialect – in the eastern periphery of the South-Eastern Serbian dialectal area – animate masculine singular and all feminine singular nouns have distinct Acc and Voc forms, whereas with inanimate masculine singular nouns and all plural masculine nouns only the Acc case is distinctly marked.¹⁴⁷ The feminine noun *planina* ‘mountain’ and the masculine noun *ovčar* ‘shepherd’ have the following paradigms.¹⁴⁸

Table 13: Paradigms of the nouns *planina* ‘mountain’ and *ovčar* ‘shepherd’ in the Pirot South-Eastern Serbian dialects

	<i>planina</i> ‘mountain’		<i>ovčar</i> ‘shepherd’	
	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
Nom	<i>planina</i>	<i>planine</i>	<i>ovčar</i>	<i>ovčaré</i>
Acc	<i>planinu</i>	“-”	<i>ovčára</i>	“-”
Voc	<i>planino</i>	-	<i>ovčáre/u</i>	-

4.1.2 With proper names and nouns denoting family relationships, a Dat case marker is also encountered in the Pirot South-Eastern Serbian dialects:

- (150) %*Davam* *Petru/* *bratu/* *Jelene/*
 give.1Sg Petar.M.Sg.Dat brother.M.Sg.Dat Jelena.F.Sg.Dat
 sestre.
 sister.F.Sg.Dat
 ‘I am giving to Petar/my brother/Jelena/my sister.’

4.1.3 In the western boundaries of the South-Eastern Serbian dialects, the Dat case of common nouns is preserved.¹⁴⁹ The following sentences are from the dialect of the town of Prizren:¹⁵⁰

- (151) a. %*A* *mojemu* *mužu* *došlo* *mu*
 and my.M.Sg.Dat husband.Dat come.N.Sg./-Part 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl
 da *kreči.*
 Subj.Mark whitewash.3Sg
 ‘And my husband wants to whitewash (the walls).’ (lit. ‘And to my husband it occurred that he should whitewash.’)
- b. %*Ja* *gi* *vikam* *ženama.*
 I 3Pl.Cl tell/say.1Sg women.Dat
 ‘I am saying to the women.’

¹⁴⁷ With neuter nouns, Acc and Voc forms are equivalent to the Nom forms, as are in standard Serbian/Croatian.

¹⁴⁸ The diacritics denote stress. There are no tone and length distinction in the South-Eastern Serbian dialect.

¹⁴⁹ This is probably due to contact with Albanian, where Dat forms are regularly distinctly marked. Topolinjska (2001) points out that the functional network of the case system in the Southern Serbian dialects, as well as in the neighbouring Macedonian and Aromanian dialects is analogous to that in Albanian.

¹⁵⁰ The examples are from Remetić (1996), quoted in Topolinjska (2001:216); glosses and translation are mine. Topolinjska observes that, in the Prizren dialect, the Dat nominal forms are even better preserved than the pronominal ones.

4.2 Definite articles

Definite articles appear in the eastern and southern fringes of the South-Eastern (Prizren-Timok) Serbian dialectal area.

4.2.1 Like the Macedonian articles and the Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian demonstrative determiners, the definite articles in the eastern periphery of the Prizren-Timok dialects exhibit triple spatial differentiation: definite objects close to the speaker are marked by **v**-articles, definite object close to the addressee by **t**-articles, and definite objects distant from both the speaker and the addressee by **n**-articles. The articles are added to the noun or the first member of the DP and show morphonological agreement with the final phonemes of the word to which they are added, as well as with the case-marking affixes, which follow them.¹⁵¹

4.2.2 In the eastern periphery of the Prizren-Timok dialects (in the Svārljig-Zaplen dialects) we actually have indefinite nominative, indefinite accusative, definite nominative and definite accusative forms of nouns and nominal modifiers.¹⁵² The paradigms of the masculine noun *ovčár* 'shepherd', the feminine noun *žená* 'woman' and the neuter noun *deté* 'child' are given in Table 14:

Table 14: Svārljig-Zaplen nominal case forms

	<i>ovčár</i> 'shepherd'			
	Indef	Def.Prox1	Def.Prox2	Def.Distal
Nom.Sg	<i>ovčár</i>	<i>ovčárāv</i>	<i>ovčárāt</i>	<i>ovčárān</i>
Acc.Sg	<i>ovčára</i>	<i>ovčarátova</i>	<i>ovčarátoga</i>	<i>ovčaránoga</i>
Voc.Sg	<i>ovčáru/e</i>	—	—	—
Nom.Pl	<i>ovčári</i>	<i>ovčarívi</i>	<i>ovčaríti</i>	<i>ovčaríni</i>
Voc.Pl	—	—	—	—
	<i>žená</i> 'woman'			
	Indef	Def.Prox1	Def.Prox2	Def.Distal
Nom.Sg	<i>žená</i>	<i>ženáva</i>	<i>ženáta</i>	<i>ženána</i>
Acc.Sg	<i>ženú</i>	<i>ženívu</i>	<i>ženútu</i>	<i>ženínu</i>
Voc.Sg	<i>ženó</i>	—	—	—
Nom.Pl	<i>žené</i>	<i>ženéve</i>	<i>ženéte</i>	<i>ženéne</i>
Voc.Pl	—	—	—	—
	<i>deté</i> 'child'			
	Indef	Def.Prox1	Def.Prox2	Def.Dist
Nom.Sg	<i>deté</i>	<i>detévo</i>	<i>detéto</i>	<i>deténo</i>
Acc.Sg	—	<i>detévega</i>	<i>detétega</i>	<i>deténega</i>
Voc.Pl	—	—	—	—
Nom.Pl	<i>decá</i>	<i>decáva</i>	<i>decáta</i>	<i>decána</i>
Voc.Pl	—	—	—	—

The forms which express closeness to the addressee (Def.Prox2) are also used for anaphoric reference.

¹⁵¹ This type of articles also occur in the Macedonian dialects in an area stretching from Kriva Palanka to Skopska Crna Gora, bypassing the dialects of Kumanovo. Note that the diacritics on the vowels denote stress, not tone.

¹⁵² In this respect, they resemble the Romanian and Aromanian nouns. Influence from the Romanian dialects in Eastern Serbia is possible.

4.2.3 The use of the Svārljig-Zaplen definite articles with common nouns is illustrated in (152):

- (152) a. %Ovčarāt *dojde.*
 shepherd+the.M.Sg come.3Sg.Aor
 ‘The shepherd came.’
- b. %Dado *noževete na ovčaravoga/*
 give.1Sg.Aor knives+the.Pl to shepherd+the.Prox1.M.Sg.Acc
ovčaratoga/ ovčaranoga.
 shepherd+the.Prox2.M.Sg shepherd+the.Dist.M.Sg.Acc
 ‘I gave the knives to this shepherd/the shepherd /that shepherd/the shepherd over there.’
- c. %Skaramo *se sās sinavoga/*
 quarrel.1Pl.Aor Acc.Refl.Cl with son+the.Prox1.M.Sg.Acc
sinatoga/ sinanoga.
 son+the.Prox2.M.Sg.Acc son+the.Dist.M.Sg.Acc
 ‘We quarrelled with our son/the son/our son over there.’

4.3 Personal pronouns

The personal pronouns of the South-Eastern Serbian dialects have distinct full and clitic Dat and Acc forms for all persons plural and 3rd person singular; in the case of third person singular, there are distinct forms for masculine and feminine gender.¹⁵³ There are also distinct reflexive Dat and Acc forms.

4.3.1 The paradigm of the South-Eastern Serbian personal pronouns is as follows:

Table 15: South-Eastern Serbian personal pronouns

	Nom	Dat		Acc	
	Full	Full	Cl	Full	Cl
1Sg	<i>ja</i>	<i>men(e)</i> ¹⁵⁴	<i>mi</i>	<i>men(e)</i>	<i>me</i>
1Pl	<i>mi(je)</i>	<i>nas</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>nam(a)</i>	<i>ne/ni</i> ¹⁵⁵
2Sg	<i>ti</i>	<i>teb(e)</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>teb(e)</i>	<i>te/ti</i>
2Pl	<i>vi(je)</i>	<i>vam(a)</i>	<i>vi</i>	<i>vas</i>	<i>ve/vi</i>
3Sg.M	<i>on</i>	<i>njemu</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>njeg(a)</i>	<i>ga</i>
3Sg.N	<i>ono</i>	-"-	-"-	-"-	-"-
3Sg.F	<i>ona</i>	<i>njoj(ze)/njuma</i>	<i>(j)o(j)/ju(g)u/vu/voj/đu</i>	<i>nju(ma)</i>	<i>(j)u/gu/đu</i>
3Pl.M	<i>oni</i>	<i>nji(m)</i>	<i>im/gi(m)/đi</i>	<i>nji(na)</i>	<i>j(i)/gi/đi</i>
3Pl.F	<i>one</i>	-"-	-"-	-"-	-"-
3Pl.N	<i>ona</i>	-"-	-"-	-"-	-"-
Refl	-	<i>sebe</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>sebe</i>	<i>se</i>

4.3.2 While the clitic forms can appear as the only exponents of the Acc and Dat cases, the full forms are, as a rule, accompanied by corresponding clitic forms.¹⁵⁶ Examples:¹⁵⁷

¹⁵³ The neuter gender forms are equivalent to those of the masculine gender ones.

¹⁵⁴ The bracketed alternatives are intra-dialectal.

¹⁵⁵ The slashed alternatives are inter-dialectal.

¹⁵⁶ The full pronouns are used in emphatic environments.

¹⁵⁷ Examples (153a-b) are from the Svārljig-Zaplen dialects and have been provided by Nedeljko Bogdanović. Examples (153c-d) are from the Prizren dialect and have been quoted by Topolinjska (2001:215-216), who refers to Remetić (1996).

- (153) a. %*Nju(ma)* *gu* *vidim.*
her.Acc 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.1Sg
'It is her I see.'
- b. %*Njojze* *vu* *kupili* *ćilim.*
her.Dat 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl bought.Pl./-Part carpet
'It is to her that they bought a carpet.'
- c. %*I* *oni* *mi* *vikav* *mene.*
and they 1Sg.F.Dat.Cl say.3Pl me.Acc.Pron
'And they are saying to me.'
- d. %*Briga* *mu* *je* *njemu.*
care 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Sg him.Dat.Pron
'He doesn't care.' (lit. 'Care is (not) to him.')

4.4 Possessive clitics

4.4.1 The Dat clitic forms are also used as possessive clitics referring to nouns denoting family or family-like relationship. Examples:

- (154) a. %*Nesām* *videl* *sestru* *ti.*
not+be.1Sg.Aux.Cl seen.M.Sg./-Part sister.Acc 2Sg.Dat.Cl
'I haven't seen your sister.'
- b. %*Uzeše* *ga* *od* *brata* *mi.*
take.3Pl.Aor 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl from brother.Acc 1Sg.Dat.Cl
'They took it from my brother.'

4.4.2 In the eastern periphery of the South-Eastern Serbian dialects, the possessum is not restricted to nouns denoting family-like relationship.¹⁵⁸ In (155a) the clitic refers to a noun denoting family relationship, whereas in (155b) it refers to an inanimate noun:¹⁵⁹

- (155) a. %*Najbolje* *se* *slažem* *s'* *pomladutu*
Superl+better Acc.Refl.Cl agree.1Sg with Compar+young+the.F.Sg.Acc
mi *ćerku.*
1Sg.Dat.Cl daughter.Acc
'I agree best with my younger daughter.'
- b. %*Branimo* *izvoevanoto* *si* *pravo.*
defend.1Pl won.N.Sg.Pass.Part+the.N.Sg Dat.Refl.Cl right
'We are defending the right which we won.'

4.4.3 In the eastern periphery of the South-Eastern Serbian dialects, DP possessive clitics can co-occur with beneficiary Dat clitic,¹⁶⁰ which can even have the same person/number features.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ Note that these dialects border with Bulgarian dialects, where the Dat clitics in the DP refer to a variety of nouns. Cf. 2.5.4.

¹⁵⁹ In both cases the clitics occur to the right of the modifier of the noun, which carries a definite article.

¹⁶⁰ See the discussion of beneficiary Dat clitics in the sections on Macedonian (1.5.8) and Bulgarian (2.5.9).

¹⁶¹ Note that the noun preceding the dative clitic with possessive interpretation can be definitized. Nevertheless, in this case the occurrence of the possessive dative clitic to the right of the noun is precluded. Thus, (i-iv) are acceptable, while (v) is not:

- (i) %*Pismo ti* *je* *kod* *ćerku.*
letter 2Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Sg at daughter.Acc

- (156) %Pismo *ti* *je* *kod* *ćerku* *ti*.
 letter 2Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Sg at daughter.Acc 2Sg.Dat.Cl
 'Your daughter has the letter.' (lit. 'Your letter is at your daughter's.')

4.5 Use of prepositions to express case relations

Abstract case (thematic) relationships other than those of direct and indirect object are regularly marked by combinations of prepositions with DPs in the Nom or Acc case.¹⁶² Even indirect object relationships are increasingly marked in such a way.

4.5.1 Thematic relationships which in standard Serbian/Croatian are expressed through combinations of prepositions with DPs/NPs in any oblique case, in the South-Eastern Serbian dialects are expressed by combinations of analogous prepositions with DPs/NPs with Acc forms, if the nouns or the nominal modifiers are feminine singular or masculine animate singular, and with DPs/NPs with Nom forms, in all other cases. Examples:

- (157) a. %Dolazin *sās* *majku*.
 come.1Sg with mother.F.Sg.Acc
 'I am coming with mother.'
- b. %Budi *bez* *brigu!*
 be.2Sg.Imper without worry.F.Sg.Acc
 'Don't you worry!'
- c. %Uradio *je* *to* *zbog* *Stojana*.
 done.M.Sg./-Part be.3Sg that because-of Stojan.M.Sg.Acc
 'He did it because of Stojan.'
- d. %Knjiga *je* *na* *astal*.
 book be.3Sg on table.M.Sg.Nom
 'The book is on the table.'
- e. %Posekao *se* *sās* *žilet*.
 cut.M.Sg./-Part Acc.Refl.Cl with razor-blade.M.Sg.Nom
 'He cut himself with a razor blade.'

4.5.2 Combinations of prepositions with DPs/NPs with Acc or Nom forms can also express relationships that in Standard Serbian or Standard Croatian are expressed by oblique cases without prepositions. Compare the Standard Serbian/Standard Croatian sentences in (158a₁) and (158b₁) to their South-Eastern Serbian counterparts in (158a₂) and (158b₂), respectively:

-
- (ii) %Pismo *je* *kod* *ćerku* *ti*.
 letter be.3Sg at daughter.Acc 2Sg.Dat.Cl
- (iii) %Pismo *ti* *je* *kod* *ćerku* *ti*.
 letter you.2Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Sg at daughter.Acc 2Sg.Dat.Cl
- (iv) %Pismoto *ti* *je* *kod* *ćerku*.
 Letter+the.N.Sg 2Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Sg at daughter.Acc
- (v) *Pismoto *ti* *je* *kod* *ćerku* *ti*.
 letter+the.N.Sg 2Sg.Benef.Dat.Cl be.3Sg at daughter.Acc 2Sg.Dat.Cl
- 'The/your letter is at your daughter's.'

¹⁶² The Acc forms are used with nouns or noun modifiers in feminine or masculine animate gender. With all other nouns and noun modifiers Nom forms are used.

- (158) a₁ *Podrum je bio pun materijala.*
cellar be.3Sg been.M.Sg./-Part full.M.Sg material.M.Sg.Gen
- a₂ *%Podrum bio pun sās materijal.*
cellar been.M.Sg./-Part full.M.Sg with material.M.Sg.Nom
- ‘The cellar was full with (construction) material.’
- b₁ *Pokriva sto mušamom.*
cover.3Sg table plastic-cloth.F.Sg.Instr
- b₂ *%Pokriva sto sās mušamu.*
cover.3Sg table with plastic-cloth.F.Sg.Acc
- ‘(She) covers the table with a plastic cloth.’

4.5.3 The most frequently used preposition *na* ‘on/to’, combined with singular animate DPs in the Acc case or plural animate DPs in the Nom case, can denote Dat or Gen relationships – in the latter case, in alternation with the preposition *od* ‘from’.¹⁶³

- (159) a. *%Davan na tvojega brata/ tvoja deca.*¹⁶⁴
give.1Sg to your.M.Sg.Acc brother.Acc your.Plchildren.Nom
- ‘I am giving to your brother/children.’
- b. *%Na ednu ćerku će damo*
to one.Acc daughter.F.Sg.Acc will.Mod.Cl give.1Pl
- kola, a na drugu će kupimo*
car.F.Sg.Nom and to other.Acc will.Mod.Cl buy.1Pl
- kuću.*
house.F.Sg.Acc
- ‘To one daughter we shall give the car, to the other we shall buy a house.’
- (160) a. *%Vidim ćerku na/ od Milanku/ moju*
see.1Sg daughter.F.Sg.Acc to from Milanka.Acc my.Acc
- sestru.*
sister.F.Sg.Acc
- ‘I see Milanka’s/my sister’s daughter.’
- b. *%Ona je ćerka na/od Milanku/mojega*
she be.3Sg daughter.F.Sg.Nom on/from Milanka.Acc/my.M.Sg.Acc
- brata.*
brother.M.Sg.Acc
- ‘She is Milanka’s/my brother’s daughter.’

4.5.4 The preposition *u* ‘in’ can be used in both locative and directional PPs.¹⁶⁵

- (161) a₁ *%Živi u Ljubljani.*
live.3Sg in Ljubljana.F.Sg.Acc
- ‘(S)he lives in Ljubljana.’

¹⁶³ The noun *kola* ‘car’ does not inflect.

¹⁶⁴ Dative relationships can also be expressed by Dat case forms:

- (i) *%Davan tvojemu bratu*
give.1Sg your.M.Dat brother.Dat
- ‘I am giving to your brother.’

¹⁶⁵ With masculine inanimate nouns the Acc case is not formally marked; the Nom case is used instead.

- a₂ %*Otišla* *je* *u* *Ljubljanu*.
 gone.F.Sg./-Part be.3Sg in Ljubljana.F.Sg.Acc
 ‘(S)he went to Ljubljana.’
- b₁ %*Živi* *u* *Niš*.
 Live.3Sg in Niš.M.Sg.Nom
 ‘(S)he lives in Niš.’
- b₂ %*Otišla* *je* *u* *Niš*.
 gone.F.Sg./-Part be.3Sg in Niš.M.Sg.Nom
 ‘(S)he went to Niš.’

4.5.5 As in Macedonian and Bulgarian, direction may be expressed by a sequence of prepositions. Examples:

- (162) a. %*Ide* *na* *kam* *Niš/* *Ljubljanu*.
 go.3Sg on on towards Niš.M.Sg.Nom Ljubljana.F.Sg.Acc
 ‘(S)he is going towards Niš/Ljubljana.’
- b. %*Dojde* *od* *kud* *majku*.
 come.3Sg.Aor from at mother.F.Sg.Acc
 ‘(S)he came from her mother’s.’

5. Romanian

Romanian grammars list five cases: Nom, Gen, Acc, Dat and Voc. The markers of the Gen are, however, identical to those of the Dat, while the Acc case is formally distinct from the nominative only with personal pronouns.

5.1 Case and definiteness

Romanian DPs encode gender, number, definiteness and case. Definiteness is typically represented by indefinite and definite articles. Case distinctions are systematically marked only in definite DPs.¹⁶⁶ Neither the marking of definiteness nor the marking of case are redundant (the markers, as a rule, appear only on the initial DP constituent). The marking of number and gender is, however, redundant.¹⁶⁷

5.1.1 While the indefinite article is a function word appearing in DP-initial position, the definite article is a morpheme appearing to the right of the root of a noun or its modifier.

5.1.1.1 The forms of the indefinite article are listed in Table 16.

¹⁶⁶ Although controversies exist with respect to the exact configuration of the DP (cf. Grosu 1988), it is generally accepted that morphological Case is discharged within the DP (cf. Alboiu and Motapanyane 2000:4; Bernstein 1993; Giusti 1993, 1995, 2002; Vulchanova and Giusti 1998). According to Cornilescu (1992), the structure of the DP consists of two hierarchical levels: the higher D has Case features, added to a definite determiner, while the lower D has default Det features and selects the NP. Case/definiteness features on the higher D attract the noun through a cyclic head-to-head movement. Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1998) argue that there is only one D in which demonstratives and indefinite articles are derived, whereas articulated nouns or adjectives raise to D covertly, in LF, to check their definiteness features.

¹⁶⁷ Note that there are adjectives that do not carry inflections for gender/number. Feminine nouns and adjectives to the right of the Dat case marker have an oblique form. Cf. 5.1.1.4.

Table 16: Forms of the Romanian indefinite article

	Singular		Plural
	Masc	Fem	Masc/Fem
Nom	<i>un</i>	<i>o</i>	-
Dat	<i>unui</i>	<i>unei</i>	<i>unor</i>

5.1.1.2 The forms of the definite article are morphonological variats of the following roots:¹⁶⁸

Table 17: Romanian definite article roots

Singular		Plural	
Masc	Fem	Masc	Fem
<i>-l</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-le</i>

5.1.1.3 With masculine nouns and adjectives, the definite article appears to the right of the root of the word or the plural marker, and to the left of the Dat case marker (which also marks Gen case relationships). The form of the article varies depending on the final phoneme of the word to which it attaches. The forms of masculine nouns ending with a consonant or with the vowel *-e* are illustrated on the example of the nouns *porc* ‘pig’ and *frate*, brother’, respectively:

Table 18: Paradigms of the Romanian nouns *porc* ‘pig’ and *frate* ‘brother’

<i>porc</i> ‘pig’				<i>frate</i> ‘brother’				
	Sg	Pl	Def.Sg	Def.Pl	Sg	Pl	Def.Sg	Def.Pl
Nom	<i>porc</i>	<i>porci</i>	<i>porcul</i>	<i>porcii</i>	<i>frate</i>	<i>frați</i>	<i>fratele</i>	<i>frații</i>
Dat	”-	”-	<i>porcului</i>	<i>porcilor</i>	”-	”-	<i>fratelui</i>	<i>fraților</i>

5.1.1.4 In feminine nouns and adjectives, two distinct basic forms appear – one in Nom singular and another in Nom plural and all oblique cases. The definitization of the Nom singular nouns and adjectives, most of which end on *-ă*, involves replacement of the mid-central final vowel (schwa) by *-a*. In all other cases, the suffixes marking definiteness or definiteness and case are added to the oblique form. The forms of the feminine nouns are illustrated on the example of the paradigms of the nouns *fată* ‘girl’ and *soră* ‘sister’:

Table 19: Paradigm of the Romanian noun *fată* ‘girl’ and *soră* ‘sister’

<i>fată</i> ‘girl’					<i>soră</i> ‘sister’			
	Sg	Pl	Def.Sg	Def.Pl	Sg	Pl	Def.Sg	Def.Pl
Nom	<i>fată</i>	<i>fete</i>	<i>fata</i>	<i>fetele</i>	<i>soră</i>	<i>surori</i>	<i>sora</i>	<i>surorile</i>
Dat	<i>fete</i>	<i>fete</i>	<i>fetei</i>	<i>fetelor</i>	<i>surori</i>	<i>surori</i>	<i>surorii</i>	<i>surorilor</i>

5.1.1.5 Some nouns and noun modifiers have mixed paradigms: in the singular, they behave as masculine nouns and in the plural as feminine nouns; traditional grammar refers to these nouns and noun modifiers as nouns and modifiers of the neuter gender (cf. Mallison 1987). The paradigm of the “neuter” gender is illustrated on the example of the noun *os* ‘bone’:

Table 20: Paradigm of the Romanian noun *os* ‘bone’

	Sg	Pl	Def.Sg	Def.Pl
Nom	<i>os</i>	<i>oase</i>	<i>osul</i>	<i>oasele</i>
Dat	<i>“-</i>	<i>“-</i>	<i>osului</i>	<i>oaselor</i>

5.1.2 The definite article appears regularly with (a) (singular or plural) generic nouns;¹⁶⁹ (b) geographic names;¹⁷⁰ and (c) nouns or adjectives used for direct reference.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ As argued by Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1998), the nouns are inserted in the DP along with the articles which they carry. Cf. footnote 2.

- (163) a. *Căinele e un animal înțelept.*
dog+the.M.Sg be.3Sg a animal intelligent.M.Sg
'The dog is a clever animal.'
- b. *Căinii sunt animale înțelepte.*
dogs+the.M.Pl be.3Pl animals intelligent.M.Pl
'Dogs are clever animals.'
- (164) a. *Bucureștiul este capitala României.*
Bucharest+the.M.Sg be.3Sg capital+the.F.Sg Romania+the.F.Sg.Dat
'Bucharest is the capital of Romania.'
- b. *Poluarea a distrus Bucureștiul.*
pollution+the.F.Sg have.3Sg destroyed.Past.Part Bucharest+the.M.Sg
'Pollution had destroyed Bucharest.'
- (165) a. *Frumoasă ești, pădurea mea!*
beautiful.F.Sg be.3Sg forest+the.F.Sg my.F.Sg
'You are beautiful, my forest!'
- b. *Draga mea!*
dear+the.F.Sg my.F.Sg
'My dear!'

5.1.3 The definite article also attaches to the anaphoric pronoun "one":

- (166) *Dă-mi un pahar și să-i*
give.2Sg.Imper 1Sg.Dat.Cl a.M.Sg glass and Subj.Mark take.2Sg
și tu unul!
and you one+the.M.Sg
'Give me a glass and take one yourself!'

5.1.4 In unmarked DPs, adjectives follow nouns and the definite article encliticizes to the noun.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ Generic nouns in the singular can also appear with the indefinite article:

- (i) *Un câine e un animal înțelept.*
a.M.Sg dog be.3Sg a.M.Sg animal intelligent.M.Sg
'A dog is a clever animal.'

¹⁷⁰ Geographic names with endings that do not correspond to the endings of common Romanian nouns appear without articles. Thus, we have an article in (i), but no article in (ii):

- (i) *Dunărea*
Danube+the.F.Sg
'the Danube'
- (ii) *Mississippi*
Mississippi
'the Mississippi'

¹⁷¹ As a rule, the definite article is not carried by proper names, though it may be part of the Vocative case marker of these names. Cf. 5.1.6.

¹⁷² Note that the enclitic definite article may occur in environments in which it does not function as a definite determiner. Thus, it encliticizes to intransitive prepositions (some of which are morphologically complex and include a nominal stem) and transitivizes them:

- (i) *dedesubtul copacului*
below+the.M.Sg tree+the.M.Sg.Dat
'below the tree'

- (167) a. *fata frumoasă*
 girl+the.F.Sg beautiful.F.Sg
 'the beautiful girl'
- b. *fetele istețe*
 girls+the.F.Pl smart.F.Pl
 'the smart girls'

5.1.5 The order adjective – noun is possible in some definite DPs,¹⁷³ and in this case the article is carried by the adjective.¹⁷⁴

- (168) a. *frumoasa fată*
 beautiful+the.F.Sg girl
 'the beautiful girl'
- b. *frumosul castel*
 beautiful+the.M.Sg castle
 'the beautiful castle'

5.1.5.1 In DPs with prenominal adjectives which themselves are modified, the article is carried by the adjective and not by its modifier – even when the latter occurs to the left of the adjective:

- (169) *neîchipuit de frumosul castel*
 unimagined.Past.Part of beautiful+the.M.Sg castle
 'the unimaginably beautiful castle'

5.1.5.2 In DPs with two or more prenominal adjectives, which have to be conjoined,¹⁷⁵ the article appears on every adjective:

-
- (ii) *în spatele copacului*
 in back+the.F.Sg tree+the.M.Sg.Dat
 'behind the tree'

¹⁷³ The reading of the prenominal adjective is different from the reading of the postnominal one: According to Grosu (p.c.), while the former is appositive, the latter is restrictive. Examine the readings of the following two DPs:

- (i) *noua rochie*
 new+the.F.Sg dress
 'new (= different) dress'
- (ii) *rochia nouă*
 dress+the.F.Sg new.F.Sg
 'newly bought/made dress'

An adjective such as *bun* 'good', which cannot restrict the meaning of the noun, cannot occur prenominally, as illustrated by the unacceptability of (iii):

- (iii) **bunul băiat*
 good+the.M.Sg boy

¹⁷⁴ As pointed out in footnote 2, a number of facts have led to the conclusion that article nouns and article adjectives should be inserted in the DP along with their definite articles. Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1998) argue that in Bulgarian, Romanian and Albanian, the demonstratives and indefinite articles are derived in D, whereas the article nouns or adjectives raise to D covertly, in LF, to check their definiteness features. In Romanian DPs in which the nouns precede the adjectives, which are marked, the nouns raise to a focus phrase to the left of D, in overt syntax.

¹⁷⁵ When two equivalent nouns with distinct reference are conjoined, the adjectives do not carry definite articles; in this case, definite DPs can be introduced by demonstrative determiners:

- (i) *aceste frumoase fete și aceste bune fete*
 these.F.Pl beautiful.F.Pl girls and these.F.Pl good.F.Pl girls
 'the beautiful and the good girls'

- b. **fetele* *istețe* *acestea/* *mele*
 girls+the.F.Pl smart.F.Pl these my.F.Pl

5.1.5.5 Feminine nouns or adjectives preceded by the Dat form of the indefinite article or by a noun carrying the definite article in the Dat case appear in an oblique form, which is identical to the feminine plural form. Thus, we have the following sequences:¹⁷⁹

- (173) a. *o* *fată* *frumoasă*
 a.F.Sg girl beautiful.F.Sg
 ‘a beautiful girl’
- b. *unei* *fete* *frumoase*
 a.F.Sg.Dat girl.F.Obl beautiful.F.Obl
 ‘to/of a beautiful girl’
- c. *fete* *frumoase*
 girls beautiful.F.Pl
 ‘beautiful girls’
- d. *unor* *fete* *frumoase*
 a.F.Pl.Dat girl.F.Pl beautiful.F.Pl
 ‘to/of some beautiful girls’
- (174) a. *fata* *frumoasă*
 girl+the.F.Sg beautiful.F.Sg
 ‘the beautiful girl’
- b. *fetei* *frumoase*
 girl+the.F.Sg.Dat beautiful.F.Obl
 ‘to/of the beautiful girl’
- c. *fetele* *frumoase*
 girls+the.F.Pl beautiful.F.Pl
 ‘the beautiful girls’
- d. *fetelor* *frumoase*
 girls+the.F.Pl.Dat beautiful.F.Pl
 ‘to/of the beautiful girls’
- (175) a. *frumoasa* *fată*
 beautiful+the.F.Sg girl.F.Sg
 ‘the beautiful girl’
- b. *frumoasei* *fete*
 beautiful+the.F.Sg.Dat girl.F.Obl
 ‘to/of the beautiful girl’

¹⁷⁹ The same form is used with indefinite determiners and quantifiers. For example:

- (i) *două* *fete* *frumoase* (Nom. *fată*)
 two girls.F.Pl beautiful.F.Pl
 ‘two beautiful girl’
- (ii) *două* *biserice* (Nom. *biserică*)
 two churches.F.Pl
 ‘two churches’

c.	<i>frumoasele</i> girls+the.F.Pl 'the beautiful girls'	<i>fete</i> girl.F.Pl
d.	<i>frumoaselelor</i> beautiful+the.F.Pl.Dat 'to/of the beautiful girls'	<i>fete</i> girl.F.Pl

5.1.6 The Voc case is specifically marked by the suffix *-o* with feminine singular nouns, while with masculine singular nouns we have the alternation *-e/-o/∅*. A form of the definite article *-le* for singulars and *-lor* for (both masculine and feminine) plurals – can also be a Voc marker. Examples:

(176)	a ₁	<i>Mario!</i> Maria.F.Sg.Voc 'Maria!'	(Nom <i>Maria</i>)
	a ₂	<i>Soro!</i> sister.F.Sg.Voc 'Sister!'	(Nom <i>soră</i>)
	a ₃	<i>Ioane!</i> Ion.M.Sg.Voc 'Ion!'	(Nom <i>Ion</i>)
	b ₁	<i>Mirceo!</i> Mircea.M.Sg.Voc 'Mircea!'	(Nom <i>Mircea</i>)
	b ₂	<i>Mihai!</i> Mihai.M.Sg.Voc 'Mihai!'	(Nom <i>Mihai</i>)
	c ₁	<i>Popescule!</i> Popescu+the.M.Sg.Voc 'Popescu!'	(Nom <i>Popescu</i>)
	c ₂	<i>Dracule!</i> devil+the.M.Sg.Voc 'You, devil!'	(Nom <i>drac</i>)
	c ₃	<i>Nebune! / Nebunule!</i> crazy.Voc crazy+the.M.Sg.Voc 'You, crazy!'	(Nom <i>nebun</i>)
	d ₁	<i>Fraților!</i> brothers+the.Pl.Voc 'Brothers!'	(Nom <i>frați</i>)
	d ₂	<i>Fetelor!</i> girls+the.Pl.Voc 'Girls!'	(Nom <i>fete</i>)

5.1.7 As pointed out above, the markers of the Gen case are equivalent to those of the Dat case.¹⁸⁰ Nominal possessive modifiers are thus often distinguished from direct objects only through their distinct position in the clause: while direct objects occur to the right of the verb,¹⁸¹ possessive modifiers with Dat case markers, as a rule, occur to the right of a DP.¹⁸²

- (177) a. *Petru i-a dat fetei/*
 Petru 3Sg.Dat.Cl-have.3Sg given.Past.Part girl+the.F.Sg.Dat
unei fete o floare.
 a.F.Sg.Dat girl.F.Obl a.F.Sg flower
 ‘Petru gave the girl/a girl a flower.’
- b. *floarea fetei*
 flower+the.F.Sg girl+the.F.Sg.Dat
 ‘the girl’s flower’
- c. *datorită fiului reginei*
 owing to son+the.M.Sg.Dat queen.F.Sg.Dat
 ‘owing to the queen’s son’

5.1.8 In addition to the enclitic article, there is a non-clitic one (*cf.* Lombard 1974: Chapter 6).

5.1.8.1 The forms of the non-clitic article are listed in Table 21:¹⁸³

¹⁸⁰ According to Alboiu and Motapanyane (2000:5), the standard assumption is that the definite article has the capacity to assign genitive case, as long as it has D status in syntax (*cf.* Grosu 1994). Since definite articles are incorporated in agreement clitics (*cf.* 5.4), agreement clitics also assign or check case:

- (i) *fratele cel mare al copiilor*
 brother+the.M.Sg the.M.Sg.Non-Clit big M.Sg.Agr.Cl children+the.Pl.Dat
 ‘the elder brother of the children’

¹⁸¹ The direct object preferably follows the indirect object. When the direct object is heavy, as in (i), it always does so.

- (i) *Petru i-a dat fetei/ unei*
 Petru 3Sg.Dat.Cl-have.3Sg given.Past.Part girl+the.F.Sg.Dat a.F.Sg.Dat
fete cartea cu coperti galbene.
 girl.F.Obl book+the.F.Sg with covers yellow.Pl
 ‘Petru gave the girl/a girl a book with yellow cover.’

¹⁸² In (177c) we have two successive nouns with Dat case markers. The first noun, *fiului*, is a Dat object of the preposition *datorită*. (Complex prepositions, such as *datorită*, as a rule, take Dat objects.) The second noun, *reginei*, is a possessive modifier of the noun *fiului*.

In emphatic expressions, the nominal possessive modifier can occur to the left of the possessor noun:

- (i) *I-am văzut Mariei cartea*
 3Sg.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg seen.Past.Part Maria.Dat book+the.F.Sg
 ‘I have seen MARIA’s book’

¹⁸³ The forms of the non-clitic article are actually derived from the demonstrative root *ce*, from which the demonstrative determiners ‘this’ and ‘that’ are also derived; they are morphologically very close to the distal demonstrative determiners:

Romanian demonstrative determiners								
Proximate					Distal			
Singular		Plural		Singular		Plural		
Masc	Fem	Masc	Fem	Masc	Fem	Masc	Fem	
Nom	<i>acest</i>	<i>această</i>	<i>acești</i>	<i>aceste</i>	<i>acel</i>	<i>acea</i>	<i>acei</i>	<i>acele</i>
Dat	<i>acestui</i>	<i>acestei</i>	<i>= acestor =</i>		<i>acelui</i>	<i>acelei</i>	<i>= acelor =</i>	

But the forms *cel/cea/cei/cele* are not demonstrative.

Table 21: Romanian non-clitic articles

	Singular		Plural	
	Masc	Fem	Masc	Fem
Nom	<i>cel</i>	<i>cea</i>	<i>cei</i>	<i>cele</i>
Dat	<i>celui</i>	<i>celeii</i>	= <i>celor</i> =	

5.1.8.2 The non-clitic definite article regularly accompanies (a) numerals modifying nouns¹⁸⁴ and (b) adjectives in the comparative degree; in the latter case, as a marker of the superlative degree.

- (178)

a.

cei
the.M.Pl
'the three students'

trei
three
students

studenti
students
- b.

celor
the.M.Pl.Dat
'to the three students'

trei
three
students

studenti
students

c.

celor
the.M.Pl.Dat
'to the three good students'

trei
three
good.M.Pl

buni
students

studenti
students

(179)

a.

cel
the.M.Sg
'the most green'

mai
more
green

verde
green

b.

cel
the.M.Sg
'the biggest'

mai
more
big

mare
big

c.

cel
the.M.Sg
'the best'

mai
more
good.M.Sg

bun
good.M.Sg

¹⁸⁴ The numeral two can alternatively be preceded by the quantifier *amân-* 'both', while numerals higher than two can alternatively be preceded by the quantifier *tus* 'all':

- (i)

Au venit
have.3Pl come.Past.Part

amândoi
both+two

studentii.
students+the.M.Pl
- (i)'

Au venit
have.3Pl come.Past.Part
'Both students have come.'

studentii
students+the.M.Pl

amândoi.
both+two
- (ii)

Au venit
have.3Pl come.Past.Part

tustrei
all+three

studentii.
students+the.M.Pl
- (ii)'

Au venit
have.3Pl come.Past.Part
'The three students have come.'

studentii
students+the.M.Pl

tustrei.
all+three

As observed, the quantifier + cardinal numeral association can either precede or follow the noun, which in either case carries a definite article.

Note that *amândoi* and *tustrei* are floating quantifiers, i.e they can occur not only before and after the noun, as in (i) and (ii), but also at a distance from it:

- (iii)

Studentii
students+the.M.Pl
'Both/all three students have arrived.'

au
have.3Pl

venit
come.Past.Part

amandoi/
both+two

tustrei.
all+three

5.1.8.3 In definite DPs with postnominal adjectives, the non-clitic article “doubles” the clitic article and occurs to the right of the noun (to which an enclitic article is attached) and to the left of the adjective.¹⁸⁵ Example:

- (180) *L-am văzut pe profesorul*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg seen.Past.Part Acc.Mark professor+the.M.Sg
cel distrat.
the.M.Sg absent-minded.M.Sg
'I have seen the absent-minded professor.'

5.1.8.4 In co-ordinated postnomina modifiers of nouns with a definite article, the non-clitic article regularly appears to the left of the second co-ordinate:¹⁸⁶

- (181) a. *codul civil și cel penal*
law+the.M.Sg civil.M.Sg and the.M.Sg penal.M.Sg
'civil and penal law'
b. *vinul roșu și cel alb*
wine+the.M.Sg red.M.Sg and the.M.Sg white.M.Sg
'red and white wine'

5.1.8.5 The non-clitic article can also function as a nominalizer of adjectives and prepositional modifiers:

- (182) a. *cei buni*
the.M.Pl good.Pl
'the good ones'
b. *cel din vale*
the.M.Sg from valley
'the one from the valley'

5.2 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns have specific full and clitic forms for the Acc and Dat cases.¹⁸⁷

5.2.1 The paradigm of the Romanian personal pronouns is as follows:

Table 22: Romanian personal pronouns

	Nom	Dat		Acc	
		Full	Cl	Full	Cl
1Sg	<i>eu</i>	<i>mie</i>	<i>îmi</i> (red. <i>mî</i>)	<i>mine</i>	<i>mă</i> (red. <i>m</i>)
1Pl	<i>noi</i>	<i>nouă</i>	<i>ne/ni</i>	= Nom	<i>ne</i>
2Sg	<i>tu</i>	<i>ție</i>	<i>îți</i> (red. <i>ți</i>)	<i>tine</i>	<i>te</i>
2Pl	<i>voi</i>	<i>vouă</i>	<i>vă/vi</i> (red. <i>v</i>)	= Nom	<i>vă</i> (red. <i>v</i>)
3Sg.M	<i>el</i>	<i>lui</i>	<i>îi</i> (red. <i>i</i>)	= Nom	<i>îl</i> (red. <i>l</i>)
3Pl.M	<i>ei</i>	<i>lor</i>	<i>le/li</i>	= Nom	<i>îi</i> (red. <i>i</i>)
3Sg.F	<i>ea</i>	<i>ei</i>	= 3Sg.M	= Nom	<i>o</i>

¹⁸⁵ When proper names and common nouns without a definite article function as direct objects, they are introduced by the Acc case marking preposition *pe*. Nouns with definite articles that are modified by adjectives can also be introduced by the Acc marker *pe*, as in (180). See the section entitled “Use of Prepositions to Express Case Relations” below.

¹⁸⁶ Example (181a) is from Asenova (2002:127), with my glosses and translation.

¹⁸⁷ The clitic forms can be non-reduced or reduced. While the non-reduced forms always cliticize to their left, the reduced forms can cliticize either to their left or to their right. Cf. the section on Romanian in the chapter entitled “Clitic Clusters and Clitic Doubling”.

3Pl.F	<i>ele</i>	= = = 3Pl.M = = =	= Nom	<i>le</i>
Refl	-	<i>își</i> <i>își</i> (red. <i>și</i>)	<i>sine</i>	<i>se</i> (red. <i>s</i>)

5.2.2 Specific accusative full personal pronominal forms, other than the ones for first and second person singular, are missing, their function being taken over by a combination of the preposition *pe* 'to' and the Nom personal pronoun forms (cf. 5.6.3.6).

5.2.3 The clitic pronouns appear as the only exponents of direct or indirect objects, or else double full pronominal forms.¹⁸⁸

- (183) a. *Am văzut-o.*
have.1Sg seen-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
'I've seen her.'
- b. *Am văzut-o pe ea.*
have.1Sg seen-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl Acc.Mark her.Acc
'I've seen HER.'

As evident from the translations, the use of the full pronominal forms is emphatic.

5.2.4 In prepositional phrases only full (Acc) pronominal forms occur.¹⁸⁹ Thus, (184a) is well formed, while (184b) is not:

- (184) a. *(El/ea) a venit cu tine.*
he/she have.3Sg come.Past.Part with you.Acc.Pron
'(S)he came with you.'
- b. **(El/ea) a venit cu te.*
he/she have.3Sg come.Past.Part with 2Sg.Acc.Cl

5.2.4.1 Singular dative pronominal clitics can, however, function as objects of denominal adverbs. Thus, we have:¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ Cf. the chapter entitled "Clitic Clusters and Clitic Doubling".

¹⁸⁹ Note that the reflexive Acc form *sine* is not used in prepositional phrases; the personal Nom form is used instead – by itself or accompanied by the bound morpheme *-însuși* '-self'. The following examples are from Alboiu and Motapanyane (2000:11):

- (i) *Petru a construit casa pentru el.*
Petru have.3Sg built.Past.Part house+the.F.Sg for he
'Petru has built a house for himself.'
- (ii) *Petru a construit casa pentru el-însuși.*
Petru have.3Sg built.Past.Part house+the.F.Sg for he-self
'Petru has built himself a house.'

Marginally, a combination of *sine* and the bound morpheme *-însuși* can also be used:

- (iii) *??Petru a construit casa pentru sine-însuși.*
Petru have.3Sg built.Past.Part house+the.F.Sg for self-self
'Petru has built the house for himself.'

¹⁹⁰ Note that (full) Acc pronominal forms cannot be objects of adverbs or adverbial phrases. Instead, possessive modifiers which agree with the noun in the adverbial phrase or with the noun from which the adverb is derived are used (even when that noun does not exist any longer).

- (i) *Voi sunteți deasupra mea.*
you.Pl be.2Pl above my.F.Sg
'You are above me.'

- (185) a. *asupra-mi/ți/i*
above-1/2/3Sg.Dat.Cl
'above me/you/him/her'
- b. *contra-mi/?ți/i*
against-1/2/3Sg.Dat.Cl
'against me/you/him/her'
- c. *în fața-mi/ți/i*
in face+the.F.Sg-1/2/3Sg.Dat.Cl
'in front of me/you/him/her'
- d. *în spatele mi/ți/i*
in shoulder+the.M.Sg 1/2/3Sg.Dat.Cl
'behind me/you/him/her'

5.2.5 The full third person masculine dative form *lui* serves (a) as a Dat case marker of masculine proper names, (b) as a marker of Gen relationship of masculine proper names,¹⁹¹ or (c) as a third person masculine pronominal possessive modifier of common nouns. When used as a Dat case marker or marker of a Gen relationship it is placed to the immediate left of the proper name; when used as a possessive modifier, it is placed to the immediate right of the possessum:

- (186) a. *I-a dat jurnalul lui*
3Sg.Dat.Cl-have.3Sg given.Past.Part diary+the.M.Sg him.Dat
Ion.
Ion
'(S)he has given/gave the diary to Ion.'

- (ii) *Ele sunt contra noastră.*
they.F be.3Pl against our.F.Pl
'They are against us.'

- (iii) *Ea este în spatele tău.*
she be.3Sg in shoulder+the.M.Sg your.M.Sg
'She is behind you'.

- (iv) *Eu sunt în fața ta.*
I be.3Sg in face+the.F.Sg your.F.Sg
'I am in front of/before you'.

(No examples of third person full pronominal objects of adverbs are given, since the third person possessive pronouns are equivalent to third person personal pronouns, and third person Acc personal pronouns are equivalent to their Nom counterparts.)

Adverbial phrases can also take prepositional objects with full pronouns in the Acc case:

- (v) *Am obligații față de tine.*
have.1Sg obligation face+the.F.Sg of you.M.Sg
'I have obligations towards you'.

¹⁹¹ Dat and Gen relationships of feminine proper names are marked by Dat case suffixes:

- (i) *I-a dat jurnalul Mariei.*
3Sg.Dat.Cl-have.3Sg given.Past.Part diary+the.M.Sg Maria.Dat
'(S)he has given/gave the diary to Maria.'
- (ii) *L-am văzut pe fratele Mariei.*
3Sg.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg seen.Past.Part Acc.Mark brother+the.M.Sg Maria.Dat
'I saw/have seen Maria's brother.'

In colloquial Romanian, however, *lui* can be used as a Dat case marker or a marker of Gen relationship of feminine proper names, as well.

- b. *L-am văzut pe fratele*
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg seen.Past.Part Acc.Mark brother+the.M.Sg
lui Ion.
 him.Dat Ion
 ‘I saw/have seen Ion’s brother.’
- c. *Mama lui a dat*
 mother+the.F.Sg him.Dat have.3Sg given.Past.Part
copilului bomboane.
 child+the.M.Sg.Dat sweets
 ‘His mother has given/gave the child (some) sweets.’

5.2.6 While the personal pronominal clitics are used for anaphoric reference to first and second person subjects, the reflexive pronominal clitics are used for anaphoric reference to third person subjects, as well as in passives, absolutes,¹⁹² middles and impersonals.

5.2.6.1 For anaphoric reference to third person subjects, both the Dat and the Acc reflexive clitics are used. Reference can be made to single referents (*cf.* 187a), or to multiple ones; in the latter case, we may have a multiple number of individual references (*cf.* 187b and 188), or reciprocals (*cf.* 187c).

- (187) a. *Ion s-a ras.*
 Ion Acc.Refl.Cl-have.3Sg shaved.Past.Part
 ‘Ion shaved himself.’
- b. *Copiii se îmbracă.*
 children+the.Pl Acc.Refl.Cl dress-up.3Pl
 ‘The children are dressing (themselves) up.’ (Each child is dressing himself.)
- c. *Copiii se iubesc.*
 children+the.Pl Acc.Refl.Cl love.3Pl
 ‘The children love each other.’
- (188) *Copii își cântă rugăciunile.*
 children+the.Pl Refl.Dat.Cl sing.3Sg prayers+the.F.Pl
 ‘The children are singing the prayers. (Each/every one of the children is singing the prayers (to himself or to whoever).)’

5.2.6.2 In passives, absolutes, middles and impersonals, only the Acc reflexive clitic is used.¹⁹³ In (189) we have a *se*-clause that can be interpreted as a passive or as a middle. In (190) we have absolute *se*-constructions;¹⁹⁴ in (191) middle *se*-constructions; in (192) an impersonal one.¹⁹⁵

- (189) *Nu știam unde se cântă asemenea cântece.*
 not know.1Sg where Acc.Refl.Cl sing.3Pl such.Pl songs
 1. ‘I do not know where such songs are being sung.’
 2. ‘I do not know where such songs are (usually) sung.’

¹⁹² The term “absolute” was introduced by Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999), who argues that they are a case of ultimate suppression of the initiator of the event.

¹⁹³ Marelj (2004:217-250) argues that not only in passive, but also in middles and impersonals, the external argument of the verb is saturated (*cf.* 1.4.7.2).

¹⁹⁴ Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999:140) argues that a verb can either have a *se*-passive or a *se*-absolute. So, the distinction between the passives and the absolutes is rooted in the lexical content of the verb.

¹⁹⁵ The impersonal form of the verb is equivalent to the third person singular past tense form.

- (190) a. *Azi s-au spart multe pahare.*
 today Acc.Refl.Cl+have.3Pl broken.Past.Part many glasses
 ‘Today, many glasses got broken.’
- b. *Soră-sa s-a măritat.*
 sister-his/her.F.Sg.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl-have.3Sg married.Past.Part
 ‘His/her sister got married.’
- (191) a. *Cartea aceasta se citește repede.*
 book+the.F.Sg this.F.Sg Acc.Refl.Cl read.3Sg fast
 ‘This book reads fast.’
- b. *Acoperișurile de paie se aprind repede.*
 roofs+the.F.Pl of straw Acc.Refl.Cl set-on-fire.3Pl fast
 ‘Straw roofs are easily set on fire.’
- (192) *Aici nu se cântă.*
 here not Acc.Refl.Cl sing.3Sg
 ‘One does not sing here.’

5.2.6.3 Impersonal clauses with expressed object are not acceptable; when the object is expressed, we have passives. Thus, we have the following acceptability contrasts:

- (193) a₁ **Aici nu se vinde flori.*
 here not Acc.Refl.Cl sell.3Sg flowers
 purported reading: ‘One does not sell flowers here.’
- a₂ *Aici nu se vând flori.*
 here not Acc.Refl.Cl sell.3Pl flowers
 ‘No flowers are sold here.’
- b₁ **Părinții nu se bate.*
 parents+the.M.Pl not Acc.Refl.Cl beat.3Sg
 purported reading: ‘One does not beat (one’s) parents.’
- b₂ *Părinții nu se bat.*
 parents+the.M.Pl not Acc.Refl.Cl beat.3Pl
 ‘Parents are not (to be) beaten.’

5.2.6.4 There are *se*-constructions in clauses with Dat pronominal clitics (and Dat phrases which they may double) that are not part of the argument structure of the verb.

5.2.6.4.1 In *se*-constructions with anti-causative verbs, the Dat clitic and the Dat phrase are interpreted as a possessor or involuntary agent.¹⁹⁶

- (194) (*Lui Ion*) *i s-a spart*
 him.Dat Ion 3Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl-have.3Sg broken.Past.Part
ferastră.
 window+the.F.Sg
 1. ‘Ion’s/his/her window got broken.’
 2. ‘Ion/(s)he involuntarily caused the window to break.’

¹⁹⁶ The example is from Rivero (2004:238). Rivero argues that these constructions involve Argument Suppression.

5.2.6.4.2 In impersonal *se*-constructions datives retain their core interpretation as activities of an unspecified agent, which cannot be linked to the dative:¹⁹⁷

- (195) (*Lui* *Ion*) *i* *se* *lucra*
 him.Dat Ion 3Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl work.3Sg.Imperf
 (*în fabrică*).
 in factory
 1. ‘One/people worked (in the factory) on Ion’s/his behalf.’
 2. ‘One/people worked in Ion’s/his factory.’

5.2.7 Some verbs are regularly accompanied by Acc or Dat pronominal clitics, which agree in person and number with the subject of the clause.¹⁹⁸

- (196) a. *Trebuie* *să* *se/vă* *plimbe/plimbați*.
 should.3Sg Subj.Mark 3Sg/2Pl.Acc.Cl go-for-a-walk.3Sg/2Pl
 ‘(S)he/you should go for a walk.’
 b. *Își* *râde* *de* *mine*.
 Dat.Refl.Cl laugh.3Sg of me
 ‘(S)he makes a mockery of me.’

5.3 Pronominal possessive modifiers

Like the pronominal possessive modifiers in the other Balkan languages, the possessive modifiers in Romanian function as determiners or as pronouns.

5.3.1 The forms of the Romanian pronominal possessive modifiers are as follows:

Table 23: Romanian pronominal possessive modifiers¹⁹⁹

	M.Sg	M.Pl	F.Sg	F.Pl
1Sg	<i>meu</i>	<i>mei</i>	<i>mea</i>	<i>mele</i>
2Sg	<i>tău</i>	<i>tăi</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>tale</i>
1Pl	<i>noastru</i>	<i>noastri</i>	<i>noastră</i>	<i>noastre</i>
2Pl	<i>voastru</i>	<i>voastri</i>	<i>voastră</i>	<i>voastre</i>
Refl	<i>său</i>	<i>să</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>sale</i>

5.3.2 The pronominal possessive modifiers, as a rule, appear to the immediate right of the noun they modify.²⁰⁰ Examples:

- (197) a. *Vine* *nașa* *mea*.
 come.3Sg godmother+the.F.Sg my.F.Sg
 ‘My godmother is coming.’
 b. *Vine* *nașul* *meu*.
 comes godfather+the.M.Sg my.M.Sg
 ‘My godfather is coming.’

¹⁹⁷ As pointed out by Rivero (2004:255), these Romanian constructions lack the reading in which relationship is established between an individual and an event, which is the preferred reading in analogous South Slavic and Albanian structures (but also in Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian ones; cf. 6.2.7.4.2 and 7.2.7.4.2).

¹⁹⁸ For first and second person subjects personal pronominal clitics are used, whereas for third person subjects reflexive pronominal clitics are used.

¹⁹⁹ Possessive modifiers/pronouns for third person, singular or plural, are the reflexive possessive modifiers/pronouns or Dat forms of personal pronouns.

²⁰⁰ The DPs in which possessive modifiers occur are definite. Since the definite articles are placed at the right edge of the noun, the possessive modifiers actually occur to the immediate right of the articles.

- c. *Ia* *cartea* *mea!*
take.2Sg.Imper book+the.F.Sg my.F.Sg
'Take my book!'
- d. *Ia* *creionul* *meu!*
take.2Sg.Imper pencil+the.M.Sg my.M.Sg
'Take my pencil!'
- (198) a. *I-a* *dat* *jurnalul* *ei/*
3Sg.Dat.Cl-have.3Sg given.Past.Part diary+the.M.Sg her.Dat
să
F.Refl.Poss.Pron
'She has given/gave him her diary.'
- b. *Mama* *lui/* *său* *a*
mother+the.F.Sg him.Dat M.Refl.Poss.Pron have.3Sg
dat *copilului* *bomboane.*
given.Past.Part child+the.M.Sg.Dat sweets
'His mother has given/gave the child (some) sweets.'
- c. *I-am* *dat* *fiecărui* *prieten*
3Sg.Dat.Cl-have.1Sg given.Past.Part each.Dat friend.M
cartea *lui/* *său.*
book+the.F.Sg him.Dat M.Refl.Poss.Pron
'I have given/gave each friend his book.'

5.3.3 When the DP has an adjective, in addition to the possessive modifier, the adjective, preceded by the non-clitic definite article *cel*, usually follows the possessive modifier (*cf.* (199a)), but if the adjective is in DP-initial position, the possessive modifier immediately follows the adjective (*cf.* 199b):

- (199) a. *băiatul* *lui/* *său* *cel* *frumos*
boy+the.M.Sg him.Dat M.Refl.Poss.Pron the.M.Sg nice
'his nice boy'
- b. *frumosul* *lui* *băiat*
nice+the.M.Sg him.Dat boy
'his nice boy'

5.4 Agreement clitics

In certain environments, pronominal and nominal possessors are associated with their possessums by clitics which show agreement in person and number with the possessum and may be referred to as "agreement clitics."²⁰¹

²⁰¹ Note that Dobrovie-Sorin (1987) defines the agreement clitics as inflectional elements, while Cornilescu (1992) refers to them, as well as to the non-clitic articles, as "expletive determiners." For Grosu (1994), *al* consists of a prepositional stem merged with the definite article morpheme *-l* and behaves as a regular genitive assigning preposition such as *în spatele* 'behind'. Cornilescu (1992) takes both Gen and Dat Case to be associated with the highest D in a two layered structure of the DP, and assigned under government to the determiner in the lower SpecDP. Thus, the indirect object DP in (i) and the possessive DP in (ii) undergo a similar checking procedure for Dat and Gen Case, respectively.

- (i) *I-am* *dat-o* *unui copil.*
3Sg.M.Dat.Cl-have.1Sg given-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl a.M.Dat child
'I gave it to a child.'
- (ii) *stăpân al* *multor* *oi*
owner M.SgAgr.Cl many.Dat sheep
'owner of many sheep'

5.4.1 The forms of the agreement clitics are combinations of the preposition *a* ‘to’ with forms of the clitic definite article.²⁰² They are listed in Table 24:

Table 24: Romanian agreement clitics

	Singular	Plural
M	<i>al</i>	<i>ale</i>
F	<i>a</i>	<i>ai</i>

5.4.2 Pronominal possessors are linked to their possessums by agreement clitics when the possessums are modified by other modifiers:²⁰³

- (200) a. *unele/ acele cărți ale tale*
some.F.Pl those.F.Pl books F.Pl.Agr.Cl your.F.Pl
‘some/those books of yours’
- b. *cele trei cărți ale tale*
the.F.Pl three books F.Pl.Agr.Cl your.F.Pl
‘the three books of yours’
- c. *Tata²⁰⁴/tatăl ăsta al meu!*
daddy daddy+the.M.Sg this.M.Sg M.Sg.Agr.Cl my.M.Sg
‘This (dear) daddy of mine!’
- d. *Cartea asta este a mea.*
book+the.F.Sg this.F.Sg be.3Sg F.Sg.Agr.Cl my.F.Sg
‘This book is mine.’
- e. *Creionul ăsta este al meu!*
pencil+the.M.Sg this.M.Sg be.3Sg M.Sg.Agr.Cl my.M.Sg
‘This pencil is mine.’
- f. *pădurea mea și a ta*
forest+the.F.Sg my.F.Sg and F.Sg.Agr.Cl your.F.Sg
‘my forest and yours’

(Example (ii) is from Alboiu and Motapanyane (2000:7)

D’Hulst, Coene and Tasmowski (2000:136) argue that the agreement clitics (possessive articles in their terminology) are used whenever the genitive DP denoting the possessor cannot raise to the position where its strong Case-feature can be checked. Thus, according to them, the use of the agreement clitics is a last resort strategy.

²⁰² Indeed, when the prepositional stem is removed, one is left with the article. The following table is constructed after D’Hulst, Coene and Tasmowski (2000:143-144):

	masculine				feminine			
	Nom Sg	Gen/Dat Sg	NomPl	Gen/Dat Pl	Nom Sg	Gen/Dat Sg	NomPl	Gen/Dat Pl
definite article	<i>-l</i>	<i>(u)-lui</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-lor</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-le</i>	<i>-lor</i>
agreement clitic	<i>al</i>	<i>alor</i>	<i>ai</i>		<i>a</i>		<i>ale</i>	<i>alor</i>

Since the definite article for feminine singular nouns is phonologically equivalent to the preposition, the latter is deleted in the feminine singular form of the agreement clitic.

²⁰³ In (200a-c) the possessor is in an attributive position, while in (200d-e) it is in a predicative position. In (200f) the possessor is a coordinate structure with two pronominal possessive modifiers, the second of which is linked to the possessum by an agreement clitic. Note that, regardless of the occurrence of the demonstrative determiner, the noun carries a definite article if it is in initial position, and does not carry it otherwise.

²⁰⁴ *Tata* refers to the speaker’s father. It is like a proper name.

5.4.3 Nominal possessors are linked to their possessums by agreement clitics when the possessums are (a) indefinite or (b) definite but separated from the possessors by other constituents.²⁰⁵

5.4.3.1 Examples of nominal possessors modifying indefinite possessums are given in (201):

- (201) a. *o casă a băiatului*
a.F.Sg house F.Sg.Agr.Cl boy+the.M.Sg.Dat
'a house of the boy'
- b. *două neveste ale regelui*
two wives F.Pl.Agr.Cl king+the.M.Sg.Dat
'two wives of the king'

5.4.3.2 Examples of nominal possessors modifying definite possessums which are separated from the possessor by other constituents, are given in (202):²⁰⁶

- (202) a. *castelul alb al băiatului*
castle+the.M.Sg white.M.Sg M.Sg.Agr.Cl boy+the.M.Sg.Dat
'the boy's white castle'
- b. *nevesta deșteaptă a regelui*
wife+the.F.Sg clever.F.Sg F.Sg.Agr.Cl king+the.M.Sg.Dat
'the king's clever wife'
- c. *limba animalelor și a păsărilor*
language+the.F.Sg animal+the.F.Pl.Dat and F.Sg.Agr.Cl bird+the.F.Pl.Dat
'the language of the animals and the birds'
- d. *ai regelui curajoși ostași*
M.Pl.Agr.Cl king+the.M.Sg.Dat brave.M.Pl soldiers
'the king's brave soldiers'
- e. *geanta neagră a lui Ion*
bag+the.F.Sg black.F.Sg F.Sg.Agr.Cl him.Dat Ion
'Ion's black bag'
- f. *cartea nouă a Mariei*
book+the.F.Sg new.F.Sg F.Sg.Agr.Cl Maria.Dat
'Maria's new book'

5.4.4 Possessive relative pronouns and ordinal numerals other than 'first' and 'last' are always related to the noun through agreement clitics.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁵ Note that in Albanian, the only other Balkan language that has agreement clitics, every adjective is linked to the noun to its left by such clitics (cf. 8.2).

²⁰⁶ In (202a-b) the possessor is separated from the possessum by an adjective. In (202c) the possessum is modified by a coordinate structure, whose second member is preceded by an agreement clitic. In (202d) we have a possessor that precedes the modified possessum. In (202e) the possessor is a personal name preceded by the possessive marker *lui*. (Note that in Standard Romanian *a lui* is used when reference is made to masculine proper names and feminine proper names that do not end on *-a*; feminine possessors that end on *-a* are not preceded by *lui*, but rather occur in the Dat case.)

²⁰⁷ The numerals *prim* 'first' and *ultim* 'last' are not related to their referents through agreement clitics and always occur to the left of the noun:

- (203) a. *Al* *cui* *portret* *îți* *place?*
 M.Sg.Agr.Cl who.Dat portrait you.2Sg.Dat.Cl please.2Sg
 ‘Whose portrait do you like?’
- b. *Studentul* *ale* *cărui* *cărți...*
 student+the.M.Sg F.Pl.Agr.Cl who.Dat books.F.Pl
 ‘The student whose books...’
- (204) a₁ *studentul* *al* *doilea*
 student+the.M.Sg M.Sg.Agr.Cl second.M.Sg
- a₂ *al* *doilea* *student*
 M.Sg.Agr.Cl second.M.Sg student
 ‘the second student’
- b. *O* *a* *doua* *carte* *a* *voastră*
 a.F.Sg F.Sg.Agr.Cl second.F.Sg book F.Sg.Agr.Cl your.F.Pl
ar *fi* *de prisos.*
 would.Mof.Cl be.Inf of excess
 ‘A second book of yours would be superfluous.’

5.5 Possessive clitics

There are two types of possessive clitics in Romanian: (a) possessive clitics that relate to the possessive modifiers and (b) possessive clitics whose form is equivalent to the Dat clitic forms of the personal pronouns.²⁰⁸ Both types have only singular forms.

-
- (i) *primii* *ani* *ai* *războiului*
 first+the.Pl years F.Pl.Agr.Cl war+the.M.Sg.Gen
 ‘the first years of the war’
- (ii) *ultima* *oră*
 last+the.F.Sg hour
 ‘the last hour’

There are, however, two other forms meaning ‘first’, *întâi* and *dintâi*, which can occur both prenominally and post-nominally. When occurring prenominally, *întâi* and *dintâi* carry the enclitic definite article; *dintâi* can also be preceded by a noun, to the left of which we find the non-clitic definite article *cel*:

- (iii) *cel* *dintâi* *student*
 the.M.Sg first student
 ‘the first student’

When modifying definite nouns, the ordinal numerals that are related to these nouns through agreement clitics can occur to the right of the noun or to its left (cf. 204a₁-a₂). In the former case the noun carries a definite article, in the latter it does not. Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1998) argue that in cases in which the possessum precedes the agreement clitic which introduces the possessor (such as 204a₁), the noun moves one step further than it moves in the case of nouns that precede their modifiers (cf. footnote 174).

There are, however, cases when the position of the ordinal number is fixed. Thus, the noun *oară* ‘time’ always occurs to the right of the ordinal numeral, whereas the names of kings or queens always occur to its left:

- (iv) *a* *doua* *oară*
 F.Sg.Agr.Cl second time
 ‘a second time’
- (v) *Elizabetha* *a* *doua*
 Elizabeth F.Sg.Agr.Cl second
 ‘Elizabeth the second’

²⁰⁸ Note that in contemporary Megleno-Romanian and Aromanian only possessive clitics of the (a) type occur (cf. 6.4 and 7.4).

5.5.1 The possessive clitics of type (a) occur only with indefinite singular nouns denoting family relationships, with which they form prosodically restructured phonological words.²⁰⁹

5.5.1.1 The first and second person forms of these clitics are phonologically deficient versions of the first and second person possessive modifiers. Examples:²¹⁰

- (205) a. *maică-mea/ta*
mother-my/your.F.Sg.Cl
'my/your mother'
- b. *mumă-mea/ta* also *mă-ta*²¹¹
mom-my/your.F.Sg.Cl mom-your.F.Sg.Cl
'my/your mom' 'your mom'
- c. *mătușă-mea/ta*
aunt-my/your.F.Sg.Cl
'my/your aunt'
- d. *soacră-mea/ta*
mother-in-law-my/your.F.Sg.Cl
'my/your mother-in-law'
- e. *nevestă-mea/ta*
wife-my/your.F.Sg.Cl
'my/your wife'
- f. *tată-meu/tău*
father-my/your.F.Sg.Cl
'my/your father'

²⁰⁹ The nouns appear in their indefinite form and are "definitized" by the possessive clitic. The definite forms of the nouns *tată* 'dad' and *mamă* 'mom' – *tata* and *mama* – behave as proper names and can never be accompanied by a possessive clitic.

²¹⁰ The possessive clitics form prosodically restructured phonological words with the possessum. When the DP is in the Dat case, Dat case markers can appear on the possessum, on the clitic or both on the possessum and the clitic:

- (i) a. *casa sore-si*
house sister.Dat-her.F.Sg.Cl
'her sister's house'
- b. *casa soră-tei*
house sister-your.F.Sg.Dat.Cl
'the house of your sister'
- c. *casa sore-sii*
house sister.Dat-his.M.Sg.Dat.Cl
'the house of his sister'
- (ii) a. *Petru i-a dat o floare soră-tei.*
Petru 3Sg.F.Cl-have.3Sg given.Past.Part a.F.Sg flower sister-your.F.Sg.Dat.Cl
'Petru gave a flower to your sister.'
- b. *Petru i-a dat o floare neveste-ti.*
Petru 3Sg.F.Cl-have.3Sg given.Past.Part a.F.Sg flower wife.Obl-your.F.Sg.Cl
'Petru gave a flower to your wife.'
- c. *Petru i-a dat o floare neveste-sii.*
Petru 3Sg.F.Cl-have.3Sg given.Past.Part a.F.Sg flower wife.Dat-his.M.Sg.Dat.Cl
'Petru gave a flower to his wife.'

²¹¹ This reduced form of *mumă* is not possible with first person possessors, probably for phonological reasons.

g.	<i>frate-meu/tău</i> brother-my/your.M.Sg.Cl 'my/your brother'	or	<i>frati-miu/tău</i> brother-my/your.M.Sg.Cl

5.5.1.2 The third person forms are phonologically reduced forms of the reflexive possessive modifiers. Examples:

- (206) a. *maică-sa*
mother-his/her.F.Sg.Cl²¹²
'his/her mother'
- b. *mumă-sa*
mom-his/her.F.Sg.Cl
'his/her mom'
- c. *mătușă-sa*
aunt-his/her.F.Sg.Cl
'his/her aunt'
- d. *soacră-sa*
mother-in-law-his/her.F.Sg.Cl
'his/her mother-in-law'
- e. *nevestă-sa*
wife-his/her.F.Sg.Cl
'his/her wife'
- f. *tată-su*
father-his/her.M.Sg.Cl
'his/her father'
- g. *frate-su* or *frati-su*
brother-his/her.M.Sg.Cl brother-his/her.M.Sg.Cl
'his/her brother' 'his/her brother'

5.5.2 The possessive clitics of type (b), can refer not only to nouns denoting family relationships, but also to definite common nouns, and can occur to the immediate right of the noun or to the right of the first pre-nominal DP modifier.²¹³

- (207) a. *Este frumoasă maica-mi/ți/i.*
be.3Sg beautiful.F.Sg mother-1Sg/2Sg/3Sg.Dat.Cl
'My/your/his/her mother is beautiful.'
- b. *Este arat câmpu-mi/ți/i.*
be.3Sg ploughed.Past.Part cornfield.M.Sg-1Sg/2Sg/3Sg.Dat.Cl
'My/your/his/her cornfield is ploughed.'
- c. *Chipu-i luminos domina mulțimea.*
face-3Sg.Dat.Cl bright.M.Sg dominate.3Sg.Aor crowd+ the.F.Sg
'His/her bright face dominated the crowd.'

²¹² While in English the selection of the third person possessive modifier depends on the gender of the possessor, in the Balkan Romance languages it depends on the gender of the possessum. Note that in the Slavic languages the selection of the lexical form of the possessive modifier depends on the gender of the possessor, but each selected form shows morphological agreement with the possessum.

²¹³ Most speakers characterize these clitics as "outdated" or "formal and poetic", however.

- d. *în frumoasa-i casă*
in beautiful-3Sg.Dat.Cl house
'in his/her beautiful house'
- e. *din propria-i inițiativă*
from own-3Sg.Dat.Cl initiative
'on his/her own initiative'
- f. *cu obișnuita-i prietenie*
with usual-3Sg.Dat.Cl kindness
'with his/her usual kindness'

5.5.3 Dat pronominal clitics can accompany the full reflexive pronoun *sine* 'self'. For example:

- (208) *Mă miram în sine-mi.*
1Sg.Acc.Cl wonder.1Sg.Imperf in self-1Sg.Dat.Cl
'I was wondering (in myself).'

5.5.4 Dat clitics in preverbal position can be interpreted as DP possessors. Examples are given in (209):²¹⁴

- (209) a. *Ți-este frumoasă nevasta.*
2Sg.Dat.Cl-be.3Sg beautiful.F.Sg wife+the.F.Sg
'Your wife is beautiful.'
- b. *Îmi este arat câmpul.*
1Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Sg ploughed.Past.Part cornfield+the.M.Sg
'My cornfield is ploughed.'
- c. *Îmi lipsea cartea.*
1Sg.Dat.Cl miss.3Sg.Imperf letter+the.F.Sg
'My letter was missing.'
- d. *Îi văd defectele.*
3Sg.Dat.Cl see.1Sg faults+the.F.Sg
'I see his/her faults.'
- e. *I-am distrus fotografia.*
3Sg.Dat.Cl-have.1Sg destroyed.Past.Part picture+the.F.Sg
'I have destroyed his/her picture.'
- f. *I-am zărit chipul în mulțime.*
3Sg.Dat.Cl-have.1Sg spotted.Past.Part face+the.M.Sg in crowd
'I spotted his/her face in the crowd.'

5.5.4.1 Avram and Coene (2001) argue that the Dat clitics in constructions such as those in (209) are raised from a post-nominal position. It should, however, be pointed out that such constructions, referred to as "external possession constructions" (*cf.* Paine and Barshi 1999), go back to an early stage of the history of the Indo-European family (*cf.* Haspelmath 1999), while the postnominal positioning of the Dat clitics in Romanian is of a much later date. The DP-external possessive clitics

²¹⁴ Examples (209e-f) are from Avram and Coene (2001:160)

are actually beneficiary clausal clitics, representing objects affected by the action expressed by the verb.²¹⁵

5.5.4.2 As illustrated by the unacceptability of the sentences in (210), the beneficiary Dat clitics cannot co-occur with DP-internal possessive clitics whose form is equivalent to the Dat clitic forms of the personal pronouns:

- (210) a. **Ți* *este frumoasă nevastă-ți.*
 2Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Sg beautiful.F.Sg wife-2Sg.Dat.Cl
 purported reading: 'Your wife is beautiful.'
- b. **Îmi* *este arat câmpu-mi.*
 1Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Sg ploughed.Past.Part cornfield-1Sg.Dat.Cl
 purported reading: 'My cornfield is ploughed.'

5.5.4.3 The ungrammaticality of the sentences in (210) follows from a restriction on the co-occurrence of clitics with the same form in the same clause.²¹⁶ The beneficiary Dat clitics can and, as illustrated in (211), do co-occur with the possessive clitics that relate to the possessive modifiers.

- (211) *Ți* *este frumoasă nevastă-ta.*
 2Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Sg beautiful.F.Sg wife-your.2Sg.F.Cl
 'Your wife is beautiful.'

5.6 Use of prepositions to express case relations

The Romanian case system being impoverished, abstract case or thematic relations, other than those of the agent and possessor, are most often expressed by a combination of a preposition and Nom or Dat forms.

5.6.1 A general property of all prepositions is that they do not combine with nouns carrying the definite article, unless they are modified by an adjective or a relative clause:

- (212) a. *Îți* *mulțumesc pentru scrisoare.*
 2Sg.Dat.Cl thank.1Sg for letter
 'I thank you for the letter.'
- b. *Îți* *mulțumesc pentru scrisoarea frumoasă.*
 2Sg.Dat.Cl thank.1Sg for letter+the.F.Sg beautiful.F.Sg
 'I thank you for the beautiful letter.'
- c. *Îți* *mulțumesc pentru cartea de la București.*
 2Sg.Dat.Cl thank.1Sg for book+the.F.Sg of in Bucharest
 'I thank you for the letter from Bucharest.'

5.6.2 With compound prepositions, such as *deasupra* 'above' or *împotiva* 'against', Dat case forms are, as a rule, used.²¹⁷

²¹⁵ Affectedness can easily be interpreted as possessivity (cf. Fried 1999; Tomić to appear b. and the discussion in 1.5.8.2-1.5.8.3).

²¹⁶ Note that such restriction does not hold in Macedonian, where the beneficiary dative clitics can and often do co-occur with DP-internal Dat clitics:

- (i) *Ubava ti e žena ti.*
 beautiful.F.Sg 2Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Sg wife 2Sg.Dat.Cl
 'Your wife is beautiful.'
- (ii) *Tatko mi mi e dojden.*
 father 1Sg.Dat.Cl 1Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Sg come.M.Sg.Pass.Part
 'My father has come (to my house/for a visit).'

- (213) a. *Baia* *este* *deasupra* *bucătăriei*.
bathroom+the.F.Sg be.3Sg above kitchen+the.M.Sg.Dat
'The bathroom is above the kitchen.'
- b. *Majoritatea* *oamenilor* *sunt împotriva* *războiului*.
most men+the.M.Pl.Dat be.3Pl against war+the.M.Sg.Dat
'Most people are against war.'

5.6.3 The most frequent preposition *pe*,²¹⁸ is characteristically used as an accusative case marker.²¹⁹

5.6.3.1 *Pe* always marks the Acc case of proper names in a direct object position:

- (214) *L-am* *văzut* *pe* *Ion/Ana*.
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg seen.Past.Part Acc.Mark Ion/Ana
'I saw/have seen Ion/Ana.'

5.6.3.2 *Pe* is also used with human common nouns without an article and nouns preceded by the indefinite article in a direct object position, if they are interpreted as [+specific]. Thus, it is used with (215a), but not with (215b):²²⁰

- (215) a. *L-am* *văzut* *pe* *profesor/* *un*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl.-have.1Sg seen.Past.Part Acc.Mark professor a.M.Sg
profesor.
professor
'I saw/have seen the professor/a (specific) professor.' [+human, +specific]
- b. *Caut* *profesor/* *un* *profesor.*
Look-for.1Sg professor a.M.Sg professor
'I am looking for a/an professor.' [+human, -specific]

5.6.3.3 Unmodified articular nouns are not preceded by *pe*:

- (216) *Am* *văzut* *(*pe)* *profesorul*.
have.1Sg seen.Past.Part Acc.Mark professor+the.M.Sg
'I saw/have seen the professor.'

5.6.3.4 Direct objects featured by modified nouns are, however, regularly preceded by *pe*, though the nouns carry definite articles.²²¹

²¹⁷ While *deasupra* is made up of the prepositions *de* 'from' and *a* 'on' and the adverb *supra* 'on top of', *împotriva* is made up of the preposition *împ* 'in' and the adjective/adverb *potiva* 'opposite'.

²¹⁸ The basic meaning of *pe* is locative, with the reading 'on':

- (i) *Pe masa* *aceasta* *sunt* *cărți*.
on table+the.F.Sg that.F.Sg are.Pl books
'There are books on that table.'

²¹⁹ In many cases *pe* co-occurs with a doubling clitic. It does not, however, always do so. The following is an example from Dobrovie-Sorin (1994:226):

- (i) *Am* *păcălit* *mulți copii, dar* *pe* *tine*
have.1Sg fooled.Past.Part many children but Acc.Mark you.Acc.Sg
n-am *reușit.*
not-have.1Sg succeeded.Past.Part
'I have fooled many children, but you I have not succeeded (to fool).'

²²⁰ In view of the fact that Romanian prepositions void the use of the definite article, nouns without articles to the right of *pe* may be looked upon as definite DPs with voided articles.

²²¹ Apparently, the preposition cannot void the definite article in this case.

- (217) a. *L-am văzut pe fratele*
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-have seen.Past.Part Acc.Mark brother+the.M.Sg
lui Ion.
 him.Dat Ion
 ‘I saw/have seen Ion’s brother.’
- b. *L-am văzut pe profesorul*
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg seen.Past.Part Acc.Mark professor+the.M.Sg
cel distrat.
 the.M.Sg absent-minded.M.Sg
 ‘I have seen the absent-minded professor.’

5.6.3.5 Non-human direct objects are never introduced by *pe*:

- (218) a. *Am văzut (*pe) un câine/ câinele.*
 have.1Sg seen.Past.Part Acc.Mark a.M.Sg dog dog+the.M.Sg
 ‘I saw/have seen a film/the dog.’ [-human, +animate, +specific]
- b. *Am văzut (*pe) un film/ filmul.*
 have.1Sg seen.Past.Part Acc.Mark a.M.Sg film film+the.M.Sg
 ‘I saw/have seen a film/the film.’ [-human, -animate, +specific]

5.6.3.6 The use of *pe* with (demonstrative, possessive and personal) pronouns is more uniform; it occurs not only with [+human, +specific], but also with [-human, +specific] pronouns. Example:

- (219) a. *V-am văzut pe voi ieri.*
 3Pl.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg seen.Past.Part Acc.Mark you.Pl yesterday
 ‘I saw you yesterday.’ [+human, +specific]
- b. *L-am văzut pe acesta.*
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-have seen.Past.Part Acc.Mark this.Pron
 ‘I have seen this one.’ [±human, +specific]

5.6.3.7 The Acc marker accompanies the *wh*-words *care* ‘which’ and *câți* ‘how many’ when their referents are specific. Thus, we have *pe* in (220a-b), but not in (220c-d).²²²

- (220) a. *Pe care elev l-ai întâlnit?*
 Acc.Mark which.M.Sg student 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-have.2Sg
 met.Past.Part
 ‘Which student have you met?’ [+human, +specific]
- b. *Pe câți i-ai văzut?*
 Acc.Mark how-many.M.Pl 3Pl.Acc.Cl-have.2Sg seen.Past.Part
 ‘How many (of them) have you seen?’ [±human, +specific]
- c. *%Care carte ai citit-o?*
 which book have.2Sg read.Past.Part-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
 ‘Which book have you read?’ [-human, -specific]

²²² Examples (220a) and (220c) are from Dobrovie-Sorin (1994:209), who notes that for some speakers examples like (220c) are marginal, or even ungrammatical.

- d. *Căți* *ai* *văzut?*
 how-many.M.Pl have.2Sg seen.Past.Part
 ‘How many have you seen?’ [±human, –specific]

5.6.3.8 Quantifiers are accompanied by *pe* only when [+human]. Thus, we have the following contrast:

- (221) a. *Am* *văzut* *pe* *cineva.*
 have.1Sg seen.Past.Part Acc.Mark somebody
 ‘I have seen somebody.’ [+human, +specific]
- b. *Am* *văzut* *ceva.*
 have.1Sg seen.Past.Part something
 ‘I have seen something.’ [–human, +specific]

5.6.4 In Standard Romanian, indirect objects are always marked by Dat case suffixes. In colloquial speech, however, one often uses the preposition *la* ‘at/in/to’ + indefinite noun in the Nom case:

- (222) %*Trimite-i* *bani la fată!*
 send.2Sg.Imper-3Sg.Dat.Cl money to girl
 ‘Send some money to the girl!’

5.6.5 As pointed out above, possessive relationships with single definite possessors adjoining the possessums are expressed by the Dat case, while definite possessors that are separated from the possessums, as well as indefinite possessors, appear in the Nom case, but are linked to their possessums by agreement clitics (cf. 5.4.3). Possessors without articles are, however, linked to their possessums by the preposition *de* ‘of’.²²³ Examples:

- (223) a. *fecior de împărat*
 son of emperor
 ‘son of emperor’
- b. *picior de om*
 leg of man
 ‘human leg’
- c. *picior de pisic*
 leg of cat
 ‘cat’s leg’
- d. *picior de masă*
 leg of table
 ‘table leg’
- e. *cap de masă*
 end of table
 ‘end of table’
- f. *mijloc de oraș*
 middle of town
 ‘midtown’
- g. *din mijloc de casă*
 of+in middle of house
 ‘from the middle of the house’

²²³ The possessor is unmarked for definiteness.

- h. *la margine de codru*
at margin of forest
'at the margins of the forest'

5.6.6 Adjectives modifying adjectives and degree phrases are also linked to their heads by the preposition *de*:

- (224) a. *Ion e extrem de înalt.*
Ion be.3Sg extreme of tall.M.Sg
'Ion is extremely tall.'
- b. *Maria e enorm de fericită.*
Ion be.3Sg enormous of happy.F.Sg
'Maria is enormously happy.'
- c. *Fata e foarte harnică și nemaipomenit de frumoasă.*
girl+the.F.Sg be.3Sg very industrious.F.Sg and unbelievable of beautiful.F.Sg
'The girl is very industrious and unbelievably beautiful.'
- d. *Aleargă enorm de repede dar înoată cam încet.*
run.3Sg enormous of quick but swim.3Sg rather slow
'(S)he runs extremely quickly but swims rather slowly.'
- e. *Extrem de deștept te mai crezi tu!*
extreme of clever.M.Sg 2Sg.Acc.Cl more believe.2Sg you
'You still do believe that you are extremely clever!' (lit. 'Extremely clever you still believe yourself!')
- f. *Pădurea e ca peria de deasă.*
wood+the.F.Sg be.3Sg as brush of thick.F.Sg
'The woods are as thick as a brush.'
- g. *Are o casă cât un palat de mare.*
have.3Sg the.F.Sg house how a.M.Sg palace of big
'(S)he has a house as big as a palace.'
- h. *Cît de frumoasă e Maria!*
how-much of beautiful.F.Sg be.3Sg Maria
'How beautiful is Maria!'
- i. *Cît de vechi e acest vin?*
how-much of old.M.Sg be.3Sg this.M wine
'How old is this wine?'

5.6.7 The preposition *de* also introduces (short) infinitives preceded by the infinitive marker *a*, when the infinitives function as complements of prepositions modifying nouns:

- (225) *Ce a clasat Ion înainte de a citi?*
what have.3Sg filed.Past.Part Ion before of to read.Inf
'What did Ion file before reading?'

5.6.8 Many prepositional phrases modifying nouns are introduced by the preposition *de*.²²⁴

²²⁴ As a matter of fact, only prepositional phrases having *cu* 'with', *fără* 'without', or *pentru* 'for' can appear as noun modifiers without being introduced by *de*. Thus, we have the following acceptability judgements:

- (226) a. *ceasul* *de* *pe* *masă*
 clock+the.M.Sg of on table
 'the clock on the table'
- b. *Magazinul* *de* *la* *colț* *este* *foarte* *vechi*.
 store+the.M.Sg of at corner be.3Sg very old.M.Sg
 'The store at the corner is very old.'

5.6.9 The preposition *de* can even occur to the left of prepositional phrases denoting location, thus transforming them into directional prepositional phrases:

- (227) a. *Vine* *dela* *București*.
 come.3Sg from+in Bucharest
 'He is coming from Bucharest.'
- b. *Adesea* *în* *vacanțele* *de* *vară* *elevii*
 often in vacation+the.F.Pl of summer students+the.M.Pl
primeau *teme* *dela* *școală*.
 receive.3Sg.Imperf homework from+at school
 'Students would often get homework from school during the summer vacation.'
- c. *Au* *zburat* *toate* *vrăbiile*
 have.3Pl flown.Past.Part all.F.Pl sparrows+the.F.Pl
de pe crengi.
 from on branches
 'All the sparrows have flown from the branches.'

5.6.10 The preposition *la* 'at/in/to' is used in both locative and directional PPs (without being introduced by *de*):

- (228) a. *Am* *locuit* *la* *București* *zece* *ani*.
 have.1Sg lived.Past.Part in Bucharest ten years
 'I lived in Bucharest for ten years.'
- b. *Se* *duce* *la* *București*.
 Acc.Refl.Cl go.3Sg to Bucharest
 'He is going to Bucharest.'

5.6.11 Prepositional phrases with the locative prepositions *la* can also occur to the right, i.e. in complement positions of some other prepositions:

- (229) *Să* *mergem* *până* *la* *vie*.
 Subj.Mark go.1Pl up-to to vineyard
 'Let us go to the vineyard.'

6. Megleno-Romanian

In Megleno-Romanian, case distinctions are, as a rule, made only with personal pronouns. With nouns, there is only Voc case and a vestige of a Dat case in phrases denoting parts of the body. Accusative case relationships are, to a considerable extent, marked by clitic-doubling, genitive and

-
- (i) *un* *pahar* *de/* *cu* *apă*
 a.M.Sg glass of with water
 'a glass of water'
- (ii) *ceasul* **(de)* *pe* *masă*
 clock+the.M.Sg of on table
 'the clock on the table'

dative relationships by clitic-doubling and prepositions, while all other case relationships are expressed by prepositions.

6.1 Articles

Megleno-Romanian DPs encode gender, number and definiteness.²²⁵ Definiteness is represented by indefinite and definite articles.

6.1.1 The indefinite article appears in DP-initial position. It has a masculine singular form – *un*; and a feminine singular one – *ună*. Examples:

- (230) a. *un profesor*
 a.M professor
 ‘a professor’
 b. *ună feată*
 a.F girl
 ‘a girl’

6.1.2 The definite article is a morpheme appearing to the right of the root of a noun or its modifier, whose form depends on the gender and the final phoneme of the word in which it appears.

6.1.2.1 The forms of the definite article are given in Table 25:

Table 25: Megleno-Romanian definite articles

Singular		Plural	
Masc	Fem	Masc	Fem
<i>-u/-li</i> ²²⁶ <i>-a</i>		<i>-i</i>	<i>-li</i>

6.1.2.2 With masculine nouns and adjectives, the article typically appears to the right of the root of the word or to the right of the plural marker. The forms of masculine nouns ending with a consonant or with the vowel *-i* are illustrated on the example of the nouns *porc* ‘pig’ and *frati*, ‘brother’:

²²⁵ Case is, as a rule, not marked. Voc case markers for common feminine nouns ending on *-ă* and masculine singular nouns ending on a consonant constitute an exception:

- (i) *Soro!*
 sister.F.Sg.Voc
 ‘Sister!’
(ii) *Profesore!*
 professor.M.Sg.Voc
 ‘Professor!’
(iii) *Draculi!*
 devil+the.M.Sg.Voc
 ‘You devil!’

Note that with the masculine noun *drac* ‘devil’, the Voc case marker is attached to the right of the definite article.

²²⁶ With masculine singular nouns ending on a consonant, the article has the form *-u*, while with masculine singular nouns ending on the vowel *-i* it has the form *-li*.

Table 26: Forms of the Megleno-Romanian nouns *porc* ‘pig’ and *frate* ‘brother’

<i>porc</i>				<i>frate</i>			
Sg	Def.Sg	Pl	Def.Pl	Sg	Def.Sg	Pl	Def.Pl
<i>porc</i>	<i>porcu</i>	<i>porț</i>	<i>purțeii</i>	<i>frati</i>	<i>fratili</i>	<i>fraț</i>	<i>frații</i>

6.1.2.3 With feminine nouns or adjectives, both plural formation and definitization involves substantial phonological changes. This is illustrated on the example of the nouns *soră* ‘sister’ and *floari* ‘flower’:

Table 27: Forms of the Megleno-Romanian nouns *soră* ‘sister’ and *floari* ‘flower’

<i>soră</i> ‘sister’				<i>floari</i> ‘flower’			
Sg	Def.Sg	Pl	Def.Pl	Sg	Def.Sg	Pl	Def.Pl
<i>soră</i>	<i>sora</i>	<i>suror</i>	<i>surorli</i>	<i>floari</i>	<i>floarea</i>	<i>flor</i>	<i>florli</i>

6.1.2.4 The behaviour of nouns and noun modifiers with neuter gender is mixed; in the singular, they behave as the masculine nouns, in the plural as the feminine ones. This is illustrated on the example of the noun *os* ‘bone’:²²⁷

Table 28: Forms of the Megleno-Romanian noun *os* ‘bone’

Sg	Def.Sg	Pl	Def.Pl
<i>os</i>	<i>osu</i>	<i>oase</i>	<i>oasili</i>

6.1.2.5 Proper names have endings which reflect the presence of the definite article:

- (231) a. *Maria să vină, nu Petru!*
Maria Subj.Mark come.3Sg.Subj.Pres not Petru
‘Maria should come, not Petru!’
- b. *Petru ăi deadi la feata flor.*
Petru 3Sg.Dat.Cl give.3Sg.Aor to girl+the.F.Sg flower
‘Petru gave a flower to the girl.’
- c. *La Petku nu ăi ți sirbea.*
to Petku not 3Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl work.3Sg.Imperf
‘Petku didn’t feel like working.’ (lit. ‘To Petku it didn’t feel like working.’)

6.1.2.6 Geographic names may optionally appear with definite articles, in both subject and object positions:

- (232) a. *Belgrad(u) ăi mai marili căsăba din Sărbia.*
Belgrade+the.M.Sg be.3Sg more big+the.M.Sg town from+in Serbia
‘Belgrade is the largest town of Serbia.’
- b. *L-am vizut Belgrad(u).*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl+have.1Sg seen.Past.Part Belgrade+the.M.Sg
‘I have seen Belgrade.’
- c. *Vardar(u) ăi mari voli.*
Vardar+the.M.Sg be.3Sg big.M.Sg river
‘Vardar is a big river.’

²²⁷ There are a number of nouns ending on the vowel *ă* in which the singular forms are analogous to the feminine singular forms, whereas their plural forms are analogous to the masculine plural forms. This is shown on the example of the noun *mușterîă* ‘customer’:

(i)	Sg	Def.Sg	Pl	Def.Pl
	<i>mușterîă</i>	<i>mușterîa</i>	<i>mușterîi</i>	<i>mușterîi</i>

6.1.2.7 Generic nouns, whether in the singular or the plural, always carry a definite article:

- (233) a. *Coinili* *ăi* *ăncrilată* *ghiață*.
 dog+the.M.Sg be.3Sg clever.F.Sg animal
 'The dog is a clever animal.'
- b. *Coinji* *sa* *ăncrilati* *ghieț*.
 dogs+the.M.Pl be.3Pl clever.F.Pl animals
 'Dogs are clever animals.'

6.1.2.8 If the noun is modified by adjectives, which as a rule occur to the left of the noun, the definite article shows up on the leftmost adjective (but not on its modifier, if any).²²⁸ Thus we have:

- (233) a. *porcu*
 pig+the.M.Sg
 'the pig'
- b. *albu* *porc*
 white+the.M.Sg pig
 'the white pig'
- c. *micu* *alb* *porc*
 small+the.M.Sg white.M.Sg pig
 'the small white pig'
- d. *mult micu* *alb* *porc*
 much small+the.M.Sg white.M.Sg pig
 'the very small white pig'
- e. *micu* *mult alb* *porc*
 small+the.M.Sg much white.M.Sg pig
 'the small very white pig'

6.1.2.9 Numerals in DP initial position, whether cardinal or ordinal, also carry definite articles:²²⁹

²²⁸ If emphasized, the adjectives can occur to the right of the noun. If two (or more) adjectives occur to the right of the noun, they may, but need not be conjoined by the conjunction *și* 'and'.

- (i) *casa mari (și) ubăvă*
 house+the.F.Sg big and beautiful.F.Sg
 'the BIG (and) BEAUTIFUL house'

Adjectives to the right of articulated nouns do not carry articles. Highly emphasized adjectives to the right of articulated nouns can occur with an article only if they are in apposition:

- (ii) *Do-Ńj-u* *cartea, alba!*
 give.2Sg.Imper-1Sg.Dat.Cl-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl book+the.F.Sg white+the.F.Sg
 'Give me the book, the white one!'
- (iii) *La cumpărai fustanu, albu.*
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl buy.1Sg.Aor dress+the.M.Sg white+the.M.Sg
 'I bought the dress, the white one!'

²²⁹ A cardinal and an ordinal numeral can co-occur in any order. Note that the numeral one, which is formally identical to the indefinite article can carry a definite article:

- (i) *Au* *marito* *una* *din* *featili.*
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl marry.3Sg.Aor a.F+the.F.Sg from daughters+the.F.Pl
 'For one of his/her daughters (s)he found a husband.' (lit. 'One of his/her daughters (s)he married.')

- (234) a. *primu* *alb* *porc*
 first +the.M.Sg white.M.Sg pig
 ‘the first white pig’
- b. *doi* *aibi* *port*
 two+the.M.Pl white.M.Pl pigs
 ‘the two white pigs’
- c. *doi* *primi* *aibi* *port*
 two+the.M.Pl first.M.Pl white.M.Pl pigs
 ‘the two first white pigs’
- d. *primii* *doi* *aibi* *port*
 first+the.M.Pl two white.Pl pigs
 ‘the first two white pigs’

6.1.2.10 In DPs in which the adjective is preceded by quantifiers or determiners, neither the adjectives nor the nouns, as a rule, carry definite articles:²³⁰

- (235) a. *un/* *sfaka/* *cari* *mic* *porc*
 a.M every.M.Sg which.M.Sg small.M.Sg pig
 ‘a/every/which small pig’
- b. *coț/* *coțva* *minuț* *purței*
 how-many several small.M.Pl pigs
 ‘how many/several small pigs’
- c. *țista/* *țela* *mic* *porc*
 this.M.Sg that.M.Sg small.M.Sg pig
 ‘this/that small pig’

6.1.2.11 In emphatic DPs, however, the demonstrative determiner can co-occur with an adjective to which a definite article is attached:

- (236) *Do-nj-la* *țela* *micu* *porc!*
 give.2Sg.Imper+1Sg.Dat.Cl-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl that.M small+the.M.Sg pig
 ‘Give me that SMALL pig!’

6.2 Personal pronouns

Megleno-Romanian personal pronouns inflect for person, number and case and have distinct oblique forms for 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular and third person plural, as well as distinct clitic Acc and Dat forms.²³¹

6.2.1 The paradigm of the Megleno-Romanian personal pronouns is given in Table 29.

²³⁰ The definite article does not appear with the second “direct object” in a so-called “double direct object constructions” typical for the Balkan languages as in:

(i) *La* *lară* *asker.*
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl take.3Pl.Aor soldier
 ‘They enlisted him’. (lit. ‘They took him soldier.’)

As pointed out in footnote 3, the second “direct object” is actually a small clause predicate.

²³¹ Note that there are no gender distinctions in Dat and Acc full forms and Dat clitic forms.

Table 29: Megleno-Romanian personal pronouns

	Nom	Oblique		
		Full	Cl.Dat	Cl.Acc
1Sg	<i>io</i>	<i>mini</i>	<i>ănj</i> (reduced: <i>nj</i>)	<i>mi</i> (reduced: <i>m</i>)
1Pl	<i>noi</i>	=Nom	<i>nă</i> (reduced: <i>n</i>)	<i>na</i> (reduced: <i>n</i>)
2Sg	<i>tu</i>	<i>tini</i>	<i>ăț</i> (reduced: <i>ț</i>)	<i>ti</i> (reduced: <i>ț</i>)
2Pl	<i>voi</i>	=Nom	<i>vă</i> (reduced: <i>v</i>)	<i>va</i> (reduced: <i>v</i>)
3Sg.M	<i>iel</i>	<i>lui</i>	<i>ăi</i> (reduced: <i>i</i>)	<i>la</i> (reduced: <i>l</i>)
3Pl.M	<i>iali</i>	<i>lor</i>	<i>la</i> (reduced: <i>l</i>)	<i>ia</i> (reduced: <i>i</i>)
3Sg.F	<i>ia</i>	<i>lui</i>	<i>ăi</i> (reduced: <i>i</i>)	<i>au</i> (reduced: <i>u</i>)
3Pl.F	<i>iali</i>	<i>lor</i>	<i>la</i> (reduced: <i>l</i>)	<i>li</i> (reduced: <i>l</i>)
Refl	-	-	<i>ăș</i> (reduced: <i>ș</i>)	<i>si</i> (reduced: <i>s</i>)

6.2.2 The clitic forms can appear by themselves or double full oblique pronominal forms.²³² Thus, we have the following contrasts:²³³

- (238) a. *La vizui.*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Aor
'I saw him.'
- b. *Lui la vizui.*
him 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Aor
'It is him I saw.'
- (239) a. *Ănj pisiaști.*
1Sg.Dat.Cl write.3Sg
'(S)he is writing to me.'
- b. *La mini ănj pisiaști.*
to me 1Sg.Dat.Cl write.3Sg
'It is to me that (s)he is writing.'

6.2.3 In prepositional phrases only the full (Acc) pronominal forms occur; pronominal clitics never function as objects of prepositions. Thus, (240a) is well formed, while (240b) is not:

- (240) a. *Vini cu iel.*
come.3Sg.Aor with him
'(S)he came with him.'
- b. **Vini cu la.*
come.3Sg.Aor with 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl

6.2.4 The non-reduced clitic forms are used when they appear to the left of lexical items or clitics beginning with a consonant; otherwise the reduced forms are used.²³⁴ Examples:

²³² Constructions with doubled pronominal forms are emphatic.

²³³ In indirect object position, the (full) oblique forms are introduced by the preposition *la* 'to'.

²³⁴ For details see the chapter "Clitic Clusters and Clitic Doubling".

- (241) a. *Ăî* *la* *dau.*
 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.1Sg
 'I am giving it to you.'
- b. *L-am* *măncat.*
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl eaten.Past.Part
 'I have eaten it.'

6.2.5 Dat clausal clitics can be given possessive interpretation.²³⁵ Examples:

- (242) a. *I-u* *vizu* *fața* *în* *insan.*
 3Sg.Dat.Cl-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Aor face+the.F.Sg in people
 'I saw her face in the crowd.'
- b. *Nj-u*²³⁶ *loș* *ficioru.*
 1Sg.Dat.Cl-be.3Sg sick.M.Sg child+the.M.Sg
 'My child is sick.'
- c. *Ăî* *muri* *calu.*
 3Sg.Dat.Cl die.3Sg.Aor horse+the.M.Sg
 'His horse died.'

These clitics are discourse clitics which can conveniently be labelled "beneficiary".²³⁷

6.2.6 While the personal pronominal clitics are used for anaphoric reference to first and second person subjects, the reflexive pronominal clitics are used for anaphoric reference to third person subjects, as well as in passives, absolutes,²³⁸ middles and impersonals.

6.2.6.1 For anaphoric reference to third person subjects, both Dat and Acc reflexive clitics are used. Reference can be made to single referents (cf. 243a and 244a) or to multiple ones; in the latter case, we may have a multiple number of individual references (cf. 243b and 244b) or reciprocals (cf. 243c).

- (243) a. *Iani* *si* *briciaști.*
 Iani Acc.Refl.Cl shave.3Sg
 'Iani is shaving himself.'
- b. *Surorli* *si* *primines.*
 sisters+the.F.Pl Acc.Refl.Cl dress-up.3Pl
 'The sisters are dressing up.' ('Each of the sisters is dressing herself up'.)
- c. *Surorli* *si* *vor.*
 sisters+the.F.Pl Acc.Refl.Cl love.3Pl
 'The sisters love each other.'

²³⁵ While in Balkan Slavic, Modern Greek and to some extent in Romanian, the Dat personal pronominal clitics function as DP modifiers, in Megleno-Romanian, the use of Dat personal pronominal as DP modifiers has been extinguished.

²³⁶ The "be"-auxiliary clitic has two reduced forms – *i* and *u*. The use of these forms depends on the phonology of the clitic or its host. (cf. 5.1 in the chapter "Clitic Clusters and Clitic-Doubling").

²³⁷ Cf. the discussion in 1.5.8.2, 1.5.8.3; 2.5.9.1; 5.5.3.1 in connection with analogous structures in Macedonian, Bulgarian and Romanian.

²³⁸ The term "absolute" was introduced by Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999), who argues that the absolutes are constructions with an ultimate suppression of the initiator of the event.

- (244) a. *Iani* *ăș* *contă* (*singur*).
 Iani Dat.Refl.Cl sing.3Sg alone
 ‘Iani is singing to himself.’
- b. *Surorli* *ăș* *contă*.
 sisters+the.Pl Dat.Refl.Cl sing.3Sg
 ‘The sisters are singing to themselves.’ (‘Each of the sisters is singing to herself.’)

6.2.6.2 In passives, middles and impersonals, only the Acc reflexive clitic *si* is used.²³⁹ In (245) we have *si*-clauses that can be interpreted as passives or as middles;²⁴⁰ in (246) we have absolutive *si*-constructions;²⁴¹ in (247) middle *se*-constructions; in (248) impersonal ones:²⁴²

- (245) a. *Nu* *știu* *iundi* *si* *contă* *tor* *contiți*.
 not know.1Sg where Acc.Refl.Cl sing.3Pl such.Pl songs
 1. ‘I do not know where such songs are being sung.’
 2. ‘I do not know where such songs are (usually) sung.’
- b. *Nu* *știu* *iundi* *si* *vindu* *corț*.
 not know.1Sg where Acc.Refl.Cl sell.3Pl books
 1. ‘I do not know where books are (being) sold.’
 2. ‘I do not know where books are (usually) sold.’
- (246) a. *Astăzi* *si* *fronsără* *multi* *scof*.
 today Acc.Refl.Cl break.3Pl.Aor many glasses
 ‘Today, many glasses got broken.’
- b. *Sor-sa* *si* *mărită*.
 sister-his/her.M.Sg.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl marry.3Sg.Aor
 ‘His/her sister got married.’
- (247) a. *Cartea* *si* *contă* *curon*.
 book+the.F.Sg Acc.Refl.Cl read.3Sg fast
 ‘The book reads fast.’
- b. *Marea* *vazna* *si* *frondzi* *lesnic*.
 big+the.F.Sg vase Acc.Refl.Cl break.3Pl easily
 ‘The big vase breaks easily.’
- (248) a. *În* *Skopje* *si* *contă* *mult*.
 in Skopje Acc.Refl.Cl sing.3Sg much
 ‘In Skopje one sings a lot.’
- b. *În* *țeastă* *casă* *si* *mănca* *bun*.
 in this.F house Acc.Refl.Cl eat.3Sg.Imperf well
 ‘One ate very well in this house.’

6.2.6.3 Impersonal clauses with expressed object are not acceptable; when the object is expressed, passives are used. Thus, we have the following acceptability contrasts:²⁴³

²³⁹ See the discussion on the relationship of passives, absolutes, middles and impersonals in 1.4.7.2.

²⁴⁰ Marelj (2004:217-250) argues that not only in passive, but also in middles and impersonals the external argument of the verb is saturated (cf. 1.4.7.2).

²⁴¹ Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999:140) argues that a verb can either have a *se*-passive or a *se*-absolutive. So, the distinction between the passives and the absolutes is rooted in the lexical content of the verb.

²⁴² The impersonal form of the verb is equivalent to the third person singular present tense form.

²⁴³ Note that in the acceptable sentences the verb agrees with the subject.

- (249) a₁ **Ua* *nu* *si* *vindi* *corṭ.*
 here not Acc.Refl.Cl sell.3Sg books
 purported reading: ‘One does not sell books here.’
- a₂ *Uă* *nu* *si* *vindu* *corṭ.*
 here not Acc.Refl.Cl sell.3Pl books
 ‘No books are sold here.’
- b₁ **Tătonji* *si* *sculti.*
 parents Acc.Refl.Cl obey.3Sg
 purported reading: ‘One should obey his parents.’
- b₂ *Tătonji* *si* *scultă.*
 parents Acc.Refl.Cl obey.3Pl
 ‘Parents are (to be) obeyed.’

6.2.6.4 There are *si*-constructions in clauses with Dat pronominal clitics (and Dat prepositional phrases that they may double) that are not part of the argument structure of the verb.

6.2.6.4.1 In *si*-constructions with anti-causative verbs, the dative clitic (and the Dat prepositional phrase) are interpreted as possessors or involuntary agents:²⁴⁴

- (250) a. *Ănj* *ṭi*²⁴⁵ *fronsi* *marea* *vazna.*
 1Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl break.3Sg.Aor big+the.F.Sg vase
 1. ‘My big vase broke on me.’
 2. ‘My big vase got broken.’
 3. ‘I involuntarily caused the big vase to break.’
- b. (*La* *Maria*) *ăi* *ṭi* *rupsi* *fustanu.*
 to Marija 3Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl tear.3Sg.Aor dress+the.F.Sg
 1. ‘(Marija’s)/her dress got torn.’
 2. ‘(Marija)/she involuntarily caused her dress to get torn.’
- c. *Ă-ṭi* *rudi* *feată/iljă.*
 2Sg.Dat.Cl-Acc.Refl.Cl bear.3Sg.Aor girl/daughter
 ‘You got a daughter.’ (lit. ‘A girl/daughter was born to you.’)

6.2.6.4.2 There are *si*-constructions that appear in clauses with non-argumental datives that have a “feel-like X” reading, in which relationship is established between an individual and an event (*cf.*

²⁴⁴ Rivero (2004) argues that such constructions involve Argument Suppression. Note that the occurrence of the Dat clitic (or the clitic doubled Dat prepositional phrase) is not obligatory. Thus, (250a) and (250b) have as counterparts constructions without personal pronominal clitics (and Dat prepositional phrases), to which Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999) refers as “absolutives” (*cf.* 6.2.7.2) – (i) and (ii), respectively:

- (i) *Si* *fronsi* *marea* *vazna.*
 Acc.Refl.Cl break.3Sg.Aor big+the.F.Sg vase
 ‘The big vase got broken.’
- (ii) *Si* *rupsi* *fustanu.*
 Acc.Refl.Cl tear.3Sg.Aor dress+the.F.Sg
 ‘The dress got torn.’

²⁴⁵ *ṭi* is a morphological variant of *si*, occurring when the reflexive clitic follows a personal pronominal clitic.

1.4.6.4.2). These constructions can be impersonal, as in (251), or, as pointed out by Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999:203), can realize overtly as subject a non-initiator element, as in (252):²⁴⁶

- (251) a. *Ăi* *ți* *cânta.*
3Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl read/sing.3Sg.Imperf
'(S)he felt like reading/singing.' (lit. 'To me it felt like reading/singing.')
- b. *Mult na* *ți* *mănca.*
much 1Pl.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl eat.3Sg.Imperf
'We were very hungry.' (lit. 'To us it felt like eating very much.')
- c. *Ănj* *ți* *duți* *la* *șățăirea.*
1Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl go.3Sg at/in/to walk+the.F.Sg
'I feel like going for a walk.' (lit. 'To me it feels like going for a walk.')
- d. *Nu* *ăi* *ți* *murea.*
not 3Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl die.3Sg.Imperf
'(S)he didn't feel like dying.' (lit. 'To him/her it didn't feel like dying.')
- e. *La Petku nu* *ăi* *ți* *sirbea.*
to Petku not 3Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl work.3Sg.Imperf
'Petku didn't feel like working.' (lit. 'To Petku it didn't feel like working.')
- (252) a. *Ănj* *ți* *mancă* *pești.*
1Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl eat.3Sg.Imperf fish
'I felt like eating fish.' (lit. 'To me it felt like eating fish.')
- b. *Ănj* *ți* *bea* *apu.*
1Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl drink.3Sg.Imperf water
'I felt like drinking water.' (lit. 'To me it felt like drinking water.')

6.2.7 Some verbs are regularly accompanied by Acc or a Dat (personal or reflexive) pronominal clitics, which agree in person and number with the subject of the clause.²⁴⁷

- (253) a. *Zic* *ca* *s-mi* *duc.*
say.1Sg that Subj.Mark-1Sg.Acc.Cl leave.1Sg
'I am thinking of leaving.'

²⁴⁶ Sentences such as those in (251-252) report an attitude, not an activity. Thus, (252a) tells us about the speaker's past urge to read or sing, but does not imply that (s)he did read or sing, so the sentence can be uttered truthfully without a reading event, and completed without contradiction, as in (i).

- (i) *Ăi* *ți* *cânta* *ama* *nu* *vea* *ți*
3Sg.M.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl read.3Sg.Imperf but not have.3Sg.Imperf what
și *contă.*
Subj.Mark read.3Sg.Subj.Pres
'(S)he felt like reading, but there was nothing to read.'

The "feel-like X" constructions were analyzed by Rivero (2004), on the example of Bulgarian and Albanian, and by Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999), on the example of Bulgarian (*cf.* the discussion in 1.4.7.4.2). It is noteworthy that in Romanian, a language closely related to Megleno-Romanian, the formally analogous constructions lack the "feel-like X" readings (*cf.* 5.2.5.4.2).

²⁴⁷ In clauses with first and second person subjects, one uses personal pronominal clitics; in clauses with third person subjects reflexive pronominal clitics.

- b. *Ăș vini casă.*
 Dat.Refl.Cl come.3Sg.Aor house
 ‘(S)he came home.’

6.2.8 Instead of the third person (full) Nom pronominal forms, forms of the distal demonstrative modifiers/pronouns are often used.

6.2.8.1 The forms of the distal demonstrative modifiers/pronouns, along with those of their proximate counterparts, are given in Table 30:

Table 30: Megleno-Romanian demonstrative determiners/pronouns

	Proximate		Distal	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
M	<i>țista</i>	<i>țișta</i>	<i>țela</i>	<i>ței(lj)a</i>
F	<i>țeastă</i>	<i>țeastă</i>	<i>țea</i>	<i>țeali</i>

6.2.8.2 The use of the distal pronouns is illustrated in (254):

- (254) *Con vinii io țeă vichim vea fuzit.*
 when come.1Sg.Aor I she already be.3Sg.Past gone.Past.Part
 ‘When I arrived, she had already left.’

6.2.9 The third person demonstrative determiners have oblique forms that are used as third person pronominal possessive modifiers.²⁴⁸

6.3 Pronominal possessive modifiers

6.3.1 The paradigm of the Megleno-Romanian pronominal possessive modifiers is given in Table 31.²⁴⁹

Table 31: Megleno-Romanian pronominal possessive modifiers

	M.Sg	F.Sg	M.Pl	F.Pl
1Sg	<i>meu/nju</i> ²⁵⁰	<i>mea</i>	<i>mei</i>	<i>meali</i>
1Pl	<i>nostru</i>	<i>noastră</i>	<i>noștri</i>	<i>noăștri</i>
2Sg	<i>tou</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>toi</i>	<i>tali</i>
2Pl	<i>vostru</i>	<i>voastră</i>	<i>voștri</i>	<i>voăștri</i>

6.3.2 The pronominal possessive modifiers can be used in attributive and predicative position:

- (255) a. *mea cadră*
 my.F.Sg picture
 ‘my picture’
- b. *Cadra ăi mea.*
 picture+the.F.Sg be.3Sg my
 ‘The picture is mine.’

6.3.3 When modifying single nouns, the pronominal possessive modifiers can either precede or follow the noun they modify.²⁵¹

²⁴⁸ For the other persons, the forms of the possessive modifiers are distinct.

²⁴⁹ All the forms are used as modifiers or pronouns.

²⁵⁰ The use of this form is very restricted.

²⁵¹ All the DPs in (256) are definite. As it may be observed, when the possessive modifier occurs to the left of the noun, the noun carries no article, while when the possessive modifier occurs to the right of the noun, the noun does carry a

- (256) a₁ *Vini meu profesor.*
come.3Sg.Aor my.M.Sg professor
- a₂ *Vini profesorū meu.*
come.3Sg.Aor professor+the.M.Sg my.M.Sg
'My professor came.'
- b₁ *La daro dupu lui mirac.*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl do.3Sg.Aor according-to him/her.Dat desire
- b₂ *La daro dupu miracu lui.*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl do.3Sg.Aor according-to desire+the.M.Sg him/her.Dat
'I did it according to his/her desire.'
- c₁ *I-u rupş lui cadră.*
3Sg.Dat.Cl-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl destroy.1Sg.Aor him/her.Dat picture
- c₂ *I-u rupş cadra lui.*
3Sg.Dat.Cl-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl destroy.1Sg.Aor picture+the.F.Sg him/her.Dat
'I destroyed her picture.'
- d₁ *Ăi li ved lui mounour.*
3Sg.Dat.Cl 3Pl.F.Acc.Cl see.1Sg him/her.Dat defects
- d₂ *Ăi li ved mounourli lui.*
3Sg.Dat.Cl 3Pl.F.Acc.Cl see.1Sg defects+the.F.Sg him/her.Dat
'I am aware of his/her faults.'

6.3.4 When occurring in DPs with adjectives and determiners, the pronominal possessive modifiers can occur (a) to the left of the adjectives, (b) between the rightmost adjective and the noun, or (c) to the right of the noun:

- (257) a. *un/ ăista/ meu/ lui mult mic roşi porc*
a.M this.M my him/her.Dat much small.M.Sg red.M.Sg pig
- b. *un/ ăista mult mic roşi meu/ lui porc*
a.M this.M much small.M.Sg red.M.Sg my him/her.Dat porc
- c. *un/ ăista mult mic roşi porc meu/ lui*
a.M this.M much small.M.Sg red.M.Sg pig my him/her.Dat
'a/this/my/his/her very small white pig of mine'
- (258) a. *(ăali) trei meali corţ*
those.F.Pl three my.F.Pl books
- b. *(ăali) meali trei corţ*
those.F.Pl my.F.Pl three books
- c. *(ăali) trei corţ meali*
those.F.Pl three books my.F.Pl
'(those) three books of mine'

definite article. I leave the semantic difference between the DPs with pronominal possessive modifiers and the DPs with postnominal possessive modifiers for future research.

6.4 Possessive clitics

In DPs with singular nouns expressing close family relationships, the pronominal possessive modifiers occur only in pre-nominal position; in post-nominal position, in this case we have enclitic possessive clitics, which form single phonological units with the words to which they encliticize.

6.4.1 While the first and second person forms of the possessive clitics are phonologically reduced versions of the first and second person possessive modifiers, the third person forms relate to reflexive personal clitics. In any case, these clitics agree in gender and number with the nouns to which they refer. Examples:

- (259) a. *sor-mea/ta*
sister-my/your.F.Sg.Cl
'my/your sister'
- b. *mum-ta*²⁵²
mom-your.F.Sg.Cl
'your mom'
- c. *tet-ta*²⁵³
aunt-your.F.Sg.Cl
'your aunt'
- d. *mujare-mea* but *mujar-ta*
wife-my.F.Sg.Cl wife-your.F.Sg.Cl
'my wife' 'your wife'
- e. *frati-nju/tu*
brother-my/your.M.Sg.Cl
'my/your brother'
- (260) a. *mumă-sa*
mom-his/her.F.Sg.Cl
'his/her mom'
- b. *tetă-sa*
aunt-his/her.F.Sg.Cl
'his/her aunt'
- c. *soacră-sa*
mother-in-law-his/her.F.Sg.Cl
'his/her mother-in-law'
- d. *frati-su*
brother-his/her.M.Sg.Cl
'his/her brother'

6.4.2 The possessive clitics are used currently, the use of full possessive modifiers in reference to nouns denoting family relations being emphatic. Compare (261a) to (261b):

- (261) a. *Ăi la ded la iljă-mea.*
3Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor to daughter-my.F.Sg.Cl
'(S)he gave it to my daughter.'

²⁵² There is no **mum-ma* 'my mother'; the noun itself, without any modifier, refers to the mother of the speaker.

²⁵³ Analogous to *mum* 'mom', *tet* 'auntie', when not modified, refers to the aunt of the speaker.

- b. *Ăi la ded la mea iljă.*
 3Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor to my.F.Sg daughter
 ‘He gave it to MY daughter.’

6.5 Use of prepositions to express case relations

Case relationships other than those of the subject and direct object are marked by prepositions.²⁵⁴

6.5.1 All Megleno-Romanian indirect objects are introduced by the preposition *la* ‘to’.²⁵⁵ Examples:

- (262) a. *Petru ăi deadi la feata flor.*
 Petru 3Sg.Dat.Cl give.3Sg.Aor to girl+the.F.Sg flower
 ‘Petru gave a flower to the girl.’
- b. *La ded la Petru/Ana.*
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.1Sg.Aor to Petru/Ana
 ‘I gave it to Petru/Ana.’
- c. *Ăi ded si mancă la*
 3Sg.Dat.Cl give.1Sg.Aor Subj.Mark eat.3Sg.Subj.Pres to
calu meu.
 horse+the.M.Sg my.M.Sg
 ‘I gave food to my horse.’ (lit. ‘I gave my horse to eat.’)

6.5.2 Lexical possessors are marked by the prepositions *al* ‘of’ or *di* ‘from’.

6.5.2.1 Definite human lexical possessors with any type of possessum are introduced by the preposition *al* ‘of’, while definite non-human animate possessors may optionally be introduced by this preposition.²⁵⁶

- (263) a. *sor-sa al Ana*
 sister+her.F.Sg.Cl of Ana
 ‘Ana’s sister’
- b. *capu al profesor*
 head+the.M.Sg of professor+the.M.Sg
 ‘the head of the professor’

²⁵⁴ Nouns in direct object positions, whether [+human] or [–human], [+specific] or [–specific], are never accompanied by prepositions. Examples:

- (i) *L-am vizut Petru/ profesor/ filmul.*
 3Sg.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg seen.Past.Part Petru professor+the.M.Sg film+the.F.Sg
 ‘I’ve seen Petru/the professor/the film.’ [+human, +specific]
- (ii) *Am vizut un profesor/ film.*
 have.1Sg seen.Past.Part a.M professor film
 ‘I’ve seen a professor/a film.’ [+human, –specific]

In this respect, Megleno-Romanian drastically differs from Romanian where Acc case relationships are marked by the accusative marker *pe* (cf. 5.6.3).

²⁵⁵ The preposition *la* otherwise denotes direction in space:

- (i) *Nu trăbuia s-ti duț la stanița.*
 not should.3Sg Subj.Mark-2Sg.Acc.Cl go.2Sg to station+the.F.Sg
 ‘You shouldn’t have gone to the station.’

²⁵⁶ Diachronically, the preposition *al* is derived from the preposition *a* plus the definite article. Synchronically, however, it is a non-analysable preposition used with animate objects.

- c. *albu porc al ficioru*
white+the.M.Sg pig of boy+the.M.Sg
'the boy's white pig'
- d. *neagra torbă al Jani/Ana*
black+the.F.Sg bag.F of Jani/Ana
'John's/Ana's black bag'
- e. *ună casă al profesorului*
a.F house of professor+the.M.Sg
'a house of the professor'
- f. *picioru al/ di mața*
leg+the.M.Sg of from cat+the.F.Sg
'the leg of the cat'

6.5.2.2 Animate possessors with indefinite articles are introduced by the proposition *di* 'from', and so are animate possessors with no articles that are represented by nouns which denote human beings or animals:

- (264) a. *capu di un cicior*
head+the.M.Sg from a.M child
'the head of a child'
- b. *ună cartă di un profesor*
a.F book from a.M professor
'a book of a professor'
- c. *capu di ună mață*
head+the.M.Sg from a.F cat
'the head of a cat'
- d. *un picior di ună mață*
a.F.Sg leg from a.F cat
'a leg of a cat'
- (265) a. *(un) picior di mață*
a.M leg from cat
'a cat's leg'
- b. *(un) picior di om*
a.M leg from man
'a human leg'

6.5.2.3 Inanimate lexical possessors are introduced by the preposition *di* 'from', whether definite or indefinite:

- (266) a. *picioru di masa*
leg+the.M.Sg from table+the.F.Sg
'the leg of the table'
- b. *picioru di ună masă*
leg+the.M.Sg from a.F table
'the leg of a table'
- c. *(un) picior di ună masă*
a.M leg from a.F table
'a leg of a table'

- d. (un) *picior di masă*
 a.M leg from table
 ‘a table leg’

6.5.3 The preposition *di* can introduce prepositional phrases which modify nouns:²⁵⁷

- (267) a. *Duchianu din chioshe ai mult veclju.*
 Shop+the.M.Sg from+in corner be.3Sg very old.M.Sg
 ‘The shop at the corner is very old.’
- b. *satu di pri masă*
 clock+the.M.Sg from at table
 ‘the clock on the table’

6.5.4 The preposition *di* also occurs to the left of prepositional phrases denoting direction or location, imparting an ablative meaning:

- (268) a. *Vini dila marea staniță.*
 come.3Sg.Aor from+to big+the.F.Sg station
 ‘He comes from the big station.’
- b. *Mi dăsfac di pri țela pampuru.*
 me.Acc.Cl descend.1Sg from at that train+the.M.Sg
 ‘I am getting off that train.’

6.5.5 Location at and direction to geographic places is, however, marked by the single preposition *ân* ‘in’:

- (269) a. *Ghies ân Skopja.*
 live.1Sg in Skopje
 ‘I live in Skopje.’
- b. *Mi duc ân Skopja.*
 1Sg.Dat.Cl go.1Sg in Skopje
 ‘I am going to Skopje.’

6.5.6 Prepositions other than *di* combine with other prepositions only in exceptional cases. In (284) we have such an exception:

- (270) *S-na ducim pana la vinja.*
 Subj.Mark-1Pl.Acc.Cl go.1Pl toward to vineyard
 ‘Let us go to the vineyard.’

7. Aromanian

All Aromanian nouns and noun modifiers have distinct markers for two cases: the Nominative and the Dative, while some masculine singular human nouns can have Voc case markers, as well. Nom case markers are also used for the expression of accusative relationships, whereas Dat case markers are also used for the expression of Gen relationships. With personal pronouns, there are Acc case forms, as well.

7.1 Case and definiteness

Like their Romanian counterparts, the Aromanian DPs encode gender, number, definiteness and case. All nominal modifiers agree with the noun in number and gender. Definiteness is typically represented by indefinite and definite articles. Case distinctions are made only in definite DPs. The

²⁵⁷ *Di* is not indispensable. The sentences in (267) can also occur without *di* (though, there is some indefinable difference in the meaning.)

marking of definiteness is not redundant, but Dat case forms, which also represent Gen case relations, are always preceded by a preposition.²⁵⁸

7.1.1 The indefinite article appears in DP-initial positions of singular DPs.

7.1.1.1 The forms of the indefinite article are listed in Table 32.

Table 32: Forms of the Aromanian Indefinite Article

	Masc	Fem
Nom	<i>un</i>	<i>ună</i>
Dat	<i>unui</i>	<i>unei</i>

7.1.1.2 The usage of these forms is illustrated in (271):

- (271) a. *Vidzui ună feată.*
see.1Sg.Aor a.F girl
‘I saw a girl.’
- b. *Li ded cărtsăle a unei feată.*
3Pl.F.Sg give.1Sg.Aor books+the.F.Sg to a.F.Dat girl
‘I gave the book to a girl.’
- c. *Li ded cărtsăle a unei di*
3Pl.F.Sg give.1Sg.Aor books+the.F.Sg to a.F.Dat from
featile.
girls+the.Pl
‘I gave the book to one of the girls.’
- d. *Li ded cărtsăle a unui di*
3Pl.F.Sg give.1Sg.Aor books+the.F.Sg to a.M.Dat from
studentsălj.
students+the.M.Pl
‘I gave the book to one of the students.’

7.1.2 The definite article is a morpheme appearing to the right of the root of a noun or its modifier, whose form depends on the gender and the final phoneme of the word to which it attaches.

7.1.2.1 The forms of the definite article are given in Table 33:

Table 33: Aromanian definite articles

	Singular		Plural	
	Masc	Fem	Masc	Fem
Nom	<i>-lu/ul</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-lj(i)</i>	<i>-le</i>
Dat	<i>-lui</i>	<i>-ljei</i>	= <i>-lor</i> =	

7.1.2.2 With masculine nouns and nominal modifiers, the definite article appears to the right of the root of the word and the plural marker.²⁵⁹ The forms of masculine nouns ending with a consonant or with the vowel *-e* are illustrated on the example of the nouns *om* ‘man’ and *frate* ‘brother’:

²⁵⁸ Cf. the section “Use of prepositions to express case relations” below.
²⁵⁹ The addition of number and definiteness markers may involve morphonological change.

Table 34: Paradigms of the Aromanian nouns *om* ‘man’ and *frate* ‘brother’

<i>om</i> ‘man’				<i>frate</i> ‘brother’			
	Sg	Pl	Def.Sg Def.Pl		Sg	Pl	Def.Sg Def.Pl
Nom	<i>om</i>	<i>ominj</i>	<i>omlu ominjlji</i>		<i>frate</i>	<i>frats</i>	<i>fratile fratslji</i>
Dat	“-”	“-”	<i>omlui ominjljor</i>		“-”	“-”	<i>fratelui fratslor</i>

7.1.2.3 With feminine singular nouns and nominal modifiers ending on *ă*, definitization always involves morphonological change. This is illustrated on the example of the paradigm of the nouns *casă* ‘house’ and *sor* ‘sister’.

Table 35: Paradigms of the Aromanian nouns *casă* ‘house’ and *sor* ‘sister’

<i>casă</i> ‘house’				<i>sor</i> ‘sister’			
	Sg	Pl	Def.Sg Def.Pl		Sg	Pl	Def.Sg Def.Pl
Nom	<i>casă</i>	<i>case</i>	<i>casa casile</i>		<i>sor</i>	<i>surăr</i>	<i>sora surărle</i>
Dat	“-”	“-”	<i>casăljei casălor</i>		“-”	“-”	<i>sorăljei surărlor</i>

7.1.2.4 As in Romanian, nouns and nominal modifiers with neuter gender have mixed paradigms. In the singular, they behave as the masculine nouns and in the plural like the feminine ones. This is illustrated on the example of the neuter noun *os* ‘bone’:

Table 36: Paradigm of the Aromanian noun *os* ‘bone’

	Sg	Pl	Def.Sg Def.Pl
Nom	<i>os</i>	<i>oase</i>	<i>oslu oasele</i>
Dat	“-”	“-”	<i>osului oaselor</i>

7.1.2.5 No article attaches to proper names. Names of cities/towns and countries, however, may optionally appear with the definite article:

- (272) a. *Belgrad(lu) iaste politie mare.*
 Belgrade+the.M.Sg be.3Sg city big.F.Sg
 ‘Belgrade is a big city.’
- b. *Lu vidzu Belgrad(lu).*
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Aor Belgrade+the.M.Sg
 ‘(S)he saw Belgrade.’

7.1.2.6 Generic nouns, whether in the singular or the plural, always carry the definite article:

- (273) a. *Cănle iaste mintimenă pravdă.*
 dog+the.M.Sg be.3Sg clever.F.Sg animal.F.Sg
 ‘The dog is a clever animal.’
- b. *Cănjlji săntu mintimene pravde.*
 dogs+the.M.Pl be.3Pl clever.F.Pl animals.F.Pl
 ‘Dogs are clever animals.’

7.1.2.7 In definite DPs with prenominal adjectives²⁶⁰ and no determiners (other than the definite article itself), the article surfaces on the leftmost adjective (but not on its modifier, if any).²⁶¹

²⁶⁰ The unmarked position of the adjectives is to the left of nouns. In phrases without articles, however, the adjective can occur either to the left or to the right of the noun:

(i) *Frati-nj iaste mushat dzone.*
 brother-my.M.Sg.Cl 1Sg.Dat.Cl-be.3Sg handsome.M.Sg young-man

- (274) a. *Mushata aroshe shimie iaste a mea.*
 beautiful+the.F.Sg red.F.Sg scarf be.3Sg to me.F.Sg
 ‘The beautiful red scarf is mine.’
- b. *Mult mushata aroshe shimie iaste a mea.*
 much beautiful+the.F.Sg red.F.Sg scarf be.3Sg to me.F.Sg
 ‘The very beautiful red scarf is mine.’
- c. *Analtul shi mushat dzone nj-iaste*
 tall+the.M.Sg and handsome.M.Sg young-man 1Sg.Dat.Cl-be.3Sg
frati.
 brother
 ‘The tall (and) handsome young man is my brother.’
- d. *Lu vidzui analtul shi mushat dzone.*
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Aor tall+the.M.Sg and handsome.M.Sg young-man
 ‘I saw the tall (and) handsome young man.’

7.1.2.8 Numerals in DP initial position, whether cardinal or ordinal, carry the article:²⁶²

- (275) a. *prota aroshe shimie*
 first +the.F.Sg red.F.Sg scarf
 ‘the first red scarf’
- b. *daole aroshe shimii*
 two+the.F.Pl red.F.Pl scarfs
 ‘the two red scarves’
- c. *daole prote aroshe shimii*
 two+the.F.Pl first.F.Pl white.F.Pl scarves
 ‘the two first red scarves’

-
- (ii) *Frati-nj iaste dzone mushat.*
 brother-my.M.Sg.Cl 1Sg.Dat.Cl-be.3Sg young-man handsome.M.Sg
 ‘My brother is a handsome young man.’

²⁶¹ When two or more adjectives modify a noun, the adjectives are linked by the conjunction *she* ‘and’, irrespective of whether the first adjective carries a definite article as in (274c-d) or does not carry an article, as in (i), i.e. irrespective of whether the adjectives occur in a definite nominal phrase or in an indefinite one.

- (i) *Frati nj-iaste analtu shi mushat dzone.*
 brother 1Sg.Dat.Cl-be.3Sg tall and handsome young-man
 ‘My brother is a tall (and) handsome young man.’

²⁶² A cardinal and an ordinal numeral can co-occur in any order, but they always occur to the left of adjectives. Clauses with numerals in DP-initial position are always definite.

Quantifiers also occur to the left of adjectives, but neither the quantifier nor the adjective or the noun carry definite articles:

- (i) *cathiu mushatã featã*
 every beautiful.F.Sg girl
 ‘every beautiful girl’
- (ii) *andao mushate feate*
 several beautiful.F.Pl girls
 ‘several beautiful girls’

by a preposition – most frequently by the preposition *a* ‘to/of’ in both cases, though other prepositions are also used (cf. 7.5).

7.2 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns have full and clitic Dat and clitic Acc forms, with gender (masculine and feminine) and number (singular and plural) distinctions.²⁶⁶

7.2.1 The paradigm of the Aromanian personal pronouns is as follows:

Table 37: Aromanian personal pronouns

	Nom	Dat		Acc	
		Full	Cl	Full	Cl
1Sg	<i>mine/mini/io</i>	<i>njia</i>	<i>nji/ānj/inj</i> (reduced <i>nj</i>)	<i>mine/mini</i>	<i>mi/me</i>
1Pl	<i>noi</i>	<i>nao/</i> <i>noauă</i>	<i>nă</i> (reduced <i>n</i>)	=Nom	<i>nă</i> (reduced <i>n</i>)
2Sg	<i>tine/tini</i>	<i>tsă(i)a</i>	<i>tsă/āts</i> (reduced: <i>ts</i>)	=Nom	<i>ti/te</i>
2Pl	<i>voi</i>	<i>vao/</i> <i>voauă</i>	<i>vă</i> (reduced: <i>v</i>)	=Nom	<i>vă</i> (reduced <i>v</i>)
3Sg.M	<i>năs/el</i>	<i>lui</i>	<i>lji/ālj/ilj</i> (reduced: <i>lj</i>)	=Nom	<i>lu/ul</i> (reduced <i>l</i>)
3Pl.M	<i>năsh(i)/elj</i>	<i>lor</i>	<i>lă/āl</i> (reduced: <i>l</i>)	=Nom	<i>lji/ālj/ilj</i> (red.: <i>lj</i>)
3Sg.F	<i>năsă/ea</i>	<i>ljei</i>	<i>lji/ālj/ilj</i> (reduced: <i>lj</i>)	=Nom	<i>u/o</i>
3Pl.F	<i>năse/năsi</i> <i>eale/eali</i>	<i>lor</i>	<i>lă/āl</i> (reduced: <i>l</i>)	=Nom	<i>li/le</i>
Refl ²⁶⁷	-		<i>shi</i> (reduced: <i>sh</i>)	-	<i>si/să/se</i> (reduced: <i>s</i>)

7.2.2 The clitic forms can appear by themselves or double full oblique pronominal forms.²⁶⁸ Thus, we have the following contrasts:²⁶⁹

- (278) a. *Nă* *vidzu.*
1Pl.Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Aor
‘(S)he saw us.’
- b. *Noi* *nă* *vidzu.*
us 1Pl.Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Aor
‘(S)he saw US.’
- (279) a. *Nji* *scrie.*
1Sg.Dat.Cl write.3Sg.Aor
‘(S)he wrote to me.’
- b. *A* *njia* *nji* *scrie.*
to me.Dat 1Sg.Dat.Cl write.3Sg.Aor
‘(S)he wrote to ME.’

²⁶⁶ No gender distinctions are made by Dat clitics.

²⁶⁷ The reflexive clitics have no (full) pronominal counterpart. In emphatic environments, in which Balkan Slavic makes use of the reflexive pronoun *sebe*, Aromanian uses the pronoun *singur* ‘alone’:

(i) *Shi* *feciu* *zije* *singur.*
Dat.Refl.Cl make.3Sg.Aor damage alone.M.Sg
‘He did damage to himself.’

²⁶⁸ Constructions with doubled pronominal forms are emphatic.

²⁶⁹ In indirect object position, the (full) oblique forms are introduced by the preposition *a* ‘to’.

7.2.3 In prepositional phrases only the full (Acc) pronominal forms occur; pronominal clitics never function as objects of prepositions. Thus, (280a) is well formed, while (280b) is not:

- (280) a. *Vine cu nășă.*
 come.3Sg.Aor with she
 ‘(S)he came with her.’
- b. **Vine cu u/o.*
 come.3Sg.Aor with 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl

7.2.4 The non-reduced clitic forms appear to the left of items beginning with a consonant; otherwise the reduced forms are used.²⁷⁰

7.2.5 As in Megleno-Romanian, Dat clausal clitics representing affectedness of the objects to which they refer, can be given possessive interpretation:

- (281) a. *Ficiorlu n-iaste lăndzit.*
 boy+the.M.Sg 1Sg.Dat.Cl-be.3Sg sick.M.Pass.Part
 ‘My child is sick.’
- b. *Galbină l-iaste fatsa.*
 yellow.F.Sg 3Sg.Dat.Cl-be.3Sg face+the.F.Sg
 ‘Her face is pale.’
- c. *Dzalile ălj săntu monotone.*
 days+the.F.Pl 3Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Pl monotonous.F.Pl
 ‘His days are monotonous.’

These “external possessor” clitics are clausal clitics representing objects which are affected by the action expressed by the verb (*cf.* 1.5.8.2, 1.5.8.3, 2.5.9 and 5.5.3).

7.2.6 While personal pronominal clitics are used for anaphoric reference to first and second person subjects, reflexive pronominal clitics are used for anaphoric reference to third person subjects, as well as in absolutes,²⁷¹ middles and impersonals.

7.2.6.1 For anaphoric reference to third person subjects both Dat and Acc reflexive clitics are used. Reference can be made to single referents (*cf.* 282a and 283a), or to multiple ones; in the latter case, we may have a multiple number of individual references (*cf.* 282b and 283b) or reciprocals (*cf.* 282c).

- (282) a. *Iane s-sursi.*
 Iane Acc.Refl.Cl-shave.3Sg.Aor
 ‘Iane shaved himself.’
- b. *Ficiorli s-ăndreg.*
 children+the.Pl Acc.Refl.Cl-dress-up.3Pl
 ‘The children are dressing up.’ (‘Each of the children is dressing herself up’.)
- c. *Ficiorli s-vor.*
 children+the.Pl Acc.Refl.Cl-love.3Pl
 ‘The children love each other.’

²⁷⁰ See the chapter “Clitic Clusters and Clitic Doubling”.

²⁷¹ The term “absolute” was introduced by Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999), who argues that they are constructions with an ultimate suppression of the initiator of the event.

- (283) a. *Iane sh-căntă.*
 Iane Dat.Refl.Cl-sing.3Sg
 'Iane is singing to himself.'
- b. *Ficiorli sh-căntă.*
 children+the.Pl Dat.Refl.Cl-sing.3Sg
 'The children are singing to themselves.' ('Each child is singing to himself.')

7.2.6.2 In passives, absolutes, middles and impersonals, only the Acc reflexive clitic is used.²⁷² In (284) we have *si/să/se/s*-clauses that can be interpreted as passives or as middles;²⁷³ in (285) we have absolute *si/să/se/s*-constructions;²⁷⁴ in (286) middle *si/să/se/s*-constructions; in (287) impersonal ones:²⁷⁵

- (284) a. *Nu șciu iu s-căntă ahtări căntits.*
 not know.1Sg where Acc.Refl.Cl-sing.3Pl such.Pl songs
 1. 'I do not know where such songs are being sung.'
 2. 'I do not know where such songs are (usually) sung.'
- b. *Nu șciu iu s-acumpră aiste vivlij.*
 not know.1Sg where Acc.Refl.Cl-buy.3Pl these books
 1. 'I do not know where these books are being bought.'
 2. 'I do not know where these books are usually bought.'
- (285) a. *Si frămse vazna.*
 Acc.Refl.Cl break.3Sg.Aor vase+the.F.Sg
 'The vase got broken.'
- b. *Si arupse fustanea.*
 Acc.Refl.Cl tear.3Sg.Aor dress+the.F.Sg
 'The dress got torn.'
- c. *S-frămsiră multu scafe.*
 Acc.Refl.Cl-break.3Pl.Aor many glasses
 'Many glasses got broken.'
- (286) a. *Aistă carte s-yiuvuseshe ayonia.*
 this.F book Acc.Refl.Cl-read.3Sg fast
 'This book reads fast.'
- b. *Marea vazna s-frândze lishor.*
 big+the.F.Sg vase Acc.Refl.Cl-break.3Sg easily
 'The big vase breaks easily.'
- (287) a. *Tu aistă casă s-yiuvusească poeme di Koneski.*
 at this.F house Acc.Refl.Cl-read.3Pl poems from Koneski
 'In this house one reads poems by Koneski.'

²⁷² See the discussion on the relationship of passives, absolutes, middles and impersonals in 1.4.7.2.

²⁷³ Marelj (2004:217-250) argues that not only in passive, but also in middles and impersonals the external argument of the verb is saturated (cf. 1.4.7.2).

²⁷⁴ Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999:140) argues that a verb can either have a passive or an absolute construction. So, the distinction between the passives and the absolutes is rooted in the lexical content of the verb.

²⁷⁵ The impersonal form of the verb is equivalent to the third person singular present tense form.

- b. *Tu aistă casă s-măca multu yine.*
 at this.F house Acc.Refl.Cl+eat.3Sg.Imperf much good
 ‘One ate very well in this house.’

7.2.6.3 Impersonal clauses with expressed objects are not acceptable; when the object is expressed, *si/să/se/s* functions as a passive marker. Thus, we have the following acceptability contrasts:

- (288) a₁ **Atsia nu-s vinde lilice.*
 here not-Acc.Refl.Cl sell.3Sg flower
 purported reading: ‘One does not sell flowers here.’
- a₂ *Atsia nu-s vindu lilice.*
 here not-Acc.Refl.Cl sell.3Pl flower
 ‘No flowers are sold here.’
- b₁ **Parintsă nu s-bate.*
 parents not Acc.Refl.Cl-beat.3Sg
 purported reading: ‘One does not beat (one’s) parents.’
- b₂ *Parintsă nu s-batu.*
 parents+the.Pl not Acc.Refl.Cl-beat.3Pl
 ‘Parents are not (to be) beaten.’

7.2.6.4 There are *si/să/se/s*-constructions in clauses with Dat pronominal clitics or Dat phrases doubled by Dat clitics that are not part of the argument structure of the verb.

7.2.6.4.1 In *si/să/se/s*-constructions with anti-causative verbs, the Dat clitic (and the Dat prepositional phrase that they may double) are interpreted as a possessor or involuntary agent.²⁷⁶

- (289) a. *Inj si frămse vazna acea*
 1Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl break.3Sg.Aor vase+the.F.Sg this.F.Sg

²⁷⁶ Rivero (2004) argues that these constructions involve Argument Suppression. Note that the occurrence of the Dat clitic (or the clitic doubled Dat prepositional phrase) is not obligatory. Thus, (289a) and (289b) have as counterparts constructions without personal pronominal clitics (and Dat prepositional phrases), to which Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999) refers as “absolutive” (cf. 7.2.7.2) – (i) and (ii), respectively:

- (i) *S-frămse vazna acea mare.*
 Acc.Refl.Cl-break.3Sg.Aor vase+the.F.Sg this.F big.F.Sg
 ‘The big vase got broken.’
- (ii) *S-arupse fustanea.*
 Acc.Refl.Cl-tear.3Sg.Aor dress+the.F.Sg
 ‘The dress got torn.’

In (289a) we have a definite DP in which a demonstrative determiner occurs to the right of a noun that carries a definite article and to the left of an article-less adjective. While DPs with postnominal articulated adjectives have to include demonstrative determiners, which intervene between the noun and the adjective, DPs with prenominal articulated adjectives, do not have to include demonstrative determiners. Note, however, that in sentences with anti-causative verbs, theme DPs with demonstrative determiners and articulated adjectives to the right of an articulated noun, as in (289a), are preferred to theme DPs with prenominal articulated adjectives, as in (i):

- (i) *?Inj si frămse marea vaznă.*
 1Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl break.3Sg.Aor big+the.F.Sg vase
 1. ‘My big vase broke on me.’
 2. ‘My big vase got broken.’
 3. ‘I involuntarily caused the big vase to break.’

mare.

big.F.Sg

1. 'My big vase broke on me.'

2. 'My big vase got broken.'

3. 'I involuntarily caused the big vase to break.'

- b. (Ali Maria) *ilj* *si* *arupse* *fustanea.*
to Maria 3Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl tear.3Sg.Aor dress+the.F.Sg
1. '(Maria's)/her dress got torn.'
2. '(Maria)/she involuntarily caused her dress to get torn.'
- c. *Tsă* *si* *featse* *feată.*
2Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl make.3Sg.Aor girl
'You got a daughter.' (lit. 'A girl was made to you.')

7.2.6.4.2 There are *si/să/se/s*-constructions that appear in clauses with non-argumental datives that have a "feel-like X" reading, in which relationship is established between an individual and an event (cf. 1.4.7.4.2).²⁷⁷ These constructions can be impersonal, as in (290), or, as pointed out by Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999:203), can realize overtly as subject a non-initiator element, as in (291):²⁷⁸

- (290) a. *Nă* *si* *măca* *multu.*
1Pl.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl eat.3Sg.Imperf much
'We were very hungry.' (lit. 'We felt like eating very much.')
- b. *Ilj* *si* *yiuvusea.*
3Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl read.3Sg.Imperf
'(S)he felt like reading.' (lit. 'To him/her it felt like reading.')
- c. *Ilj* *si* *duce* *a* *primnare.*
3Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl go.3Sg to walk
'(S)he feels like going for a walk.' (lit. 'To him/her it feels like going for a walk.')
- d. *Nu-lj* *si* *moare.*
not-3Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl die.3Sg
'(S)he doesn't feel like dying.' (lit. 'To him/her it doesn't feel like dying.')

²⁷⁷ The "feel-like X" constructions were discussed by Rivero (2004) on the example of Bulgarian and Albanian. Sentences such as those in (290-291) report an attitude, not an activity. Thus, (290b) tells us about the speaker's past urge to read, but does not imply that he did read, so the sentence can be uttered truthfully without a reading event, and completed without contradiction as in (i).

(i) *Nă* *si* *yiuvusea* *a* *novea* *ci*
3Pl.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl read.3Sg.Imperf and not+have.3Sg.Imperf what
s-yiuvusească.
Subj.Mark-read.3Sg.Subj.Pres
'We felt like reading, but there was nothing to read.'

It is noteworthy that in Romanian, a language closely related to Aromanian, constructions analogous to those in 290-291) lack the "feel-like X" readings (cf. 5.2.6.4.2).

²⁷⁸ Some of the "feel-like X" constructions with an overtly realized non-initiator element (i.e. theme) may also have another "ordinary" passive reading. Thus, (291a) may also have the reading (i), while (291b) may also have the reading (ii):

- (i) 'Songs were being sung to us.'
(ii) 'No house was being built for Petko.'

- e. *Al Petko nu-lj si lucrea.*
to Petko not-3Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl work.3Sg.Imperf
'Petko didn't feel like working.' (lit. 'To Petko it didn't feel like working.')
- (291) a. *Nă si cânta cântits.*
1Pl.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl sing.3Pl.Imperf songs
'We felt like singing songs.'
- b. *Al Petko nu-lj si adara casă.*
to Petko not-3Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl build.3Sg.Imperf house
'Petko didn't feel like building a house.'
- c. *Inj si măcă pescu.*
1Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl eat.3Sg fish
'I feel like eating fish.' (lit. 'To me it feels like eating a fish.')
- d. *Inj si be apă.*
3Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl drink.3Sg water
'I feel like drinking water.' (lit. 'To me it feels like drinking water.')

7.2.7 Some verbs are regularly accompanied by Acc or a Dat (personal or reflexive) pronominal clitics, which agree in person and number with the subject of the clause.²⁷⁹

- (292) a. *Pots (tă) s-ti duts.*
may.2Sg that.Subj Subj.Mark-2Sg.Acc.Cl go.2Sg
'You may go.'
- b. *Shi vine acasă.*
Dat.Refl.Cl come.3Sg.Aor at-house
'(S)he came home.'

7.2.8 The third person (full) dative forms are also used as third person pronominal possessive modifiers.²⁸⁰

7.3 Pronominal possessive modifiers

7.3.1 The paradigm of the Aromanian pronominal possessive modifiers²⁸¹ is given in Table 38:

Table 38: Aromanian pronominal possessive modifiers

	M.Sg	M.Pl	F.Sg	F.Pl
1Sg	<i>meu/njeu/mel</i>	<i>mei/njei/melj</i>	<i>mea/njea</i> ²⁸²	<i>meale/meali</i>
2Sg	<i>tău/tăl</i>	<i>tăl/tălj</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>tale/tali</i>
1Pl	<i>nostru</i>	<i>noshci/noshtri</i>	<i>noastră/noastri</i>	<i>noastre/noastri</i>
2Pl	<i>vostru</i>	<i>voshci/voshtri</i>	<i>voastră/voastri</i>	<i>voastre/voastri</i>

7.3.2 The unmarked DP position of the pronominal possessive modifier is to the immediate right of the noun.²⁸³

²⁷⁹ In clauses with first and second person subjects, one uses personal pronominal clitics; in clauses with third person subjects reflexive pronominal clitics.

²⁸⁰ For the other persons, the forms of the possessive modifiers are distinct.

²⁸¹ All the forms are used as modifiers or pronouns.

²⁸² This form is seldom used.

²⁸³ All possessive modifiers are introduced by the preposition *a* 'to/of'. Cf. 7.5.2.2.

- (293) a. *Shimia* *a* *mea* *iaste aroshe*.
 scarf+the.F.Sg to my.F.Sg be.3Sg red.
 'My scarf is red.'
- b. *Porcul* *a* *lui* *iaste albu*.
 pig+the.M.Sg to him.Dat be.3Sg white
 'His pig is white.'

7.3.3 In DPs with adjectives, the possessive modifier, along with its prepositional marker, can appear on either side of the noun or any of the adjectives. Examples:²⁸⁴

- (294) a. *a* *mea* *mushatǎ* *aroshe* *shimie*
 to my.F.Sg beautiful.F.Sg red.F.Sg scarf
- b. *a* *mea* *shimie* *mushatǎ* *aroshe*
 to my.F.Sg scarf.F.Sg beautiful.F.Sg red.F.Sg
- c. *a* *mea* *mushatǎ* *shimie* *aroshe*
 to my.F.Sg beautiful.F.Sg scarf.F.Sg red.F.Sg
- d. *mushata* *a* *mea* *shimie* *aroshe*
 beautiful+the.F.Sg to my.F.Sg scarf.F.Sg red.F.Sg
- e. *mushata* *shimie* *a* *mea* *aroshe*
 beautiful+the.F.Sg scarf.F.Sg to my.F.Sg red.F.Sg
- f. *mushata* *shimie* *aroshe* *a* *mea*
 beautiful+the.F.Sg scarf.F.Sg red.F.Sg to my.F.Sg
 'my beautiful red scarf'

7.4 Possessive clitics

In DPs with singular nouns expressing close family relationships, the pronominal possessive modifiers occur only in pre-nominal position; in post-nominal position, we have enclitic possessive clitics, which agree with the possessors in gender and number and form prosodically restructured phonological words with them.²⁸⁵

7.4.1 While the first and second person forms of the possessive clitics are phonologically reduced versions of the first and second person possessive modifiers, the third person forms of the pronominal clitics relate to the reflexive personal clitics. The first person singular form *me*, has an alternative form that relates to the first person singular Dat pronominal clitic *nji* – namely *nju* 'my.M.Sg.Cl' and *nja* 'my.F.Sg.Cl'.²⁸⁶ Examples:

- (295) a. *sor-me(a)/ta*²⁸⁷
 sister-my/your.F.Sg.Cl
 'my/your sister'

²⁸⁴ In (294a-c) the leftmost constituent is an inherently definite pronominal possessive modifier and no article appears on the adjectives or the noun. In (294d-f) the leftmost constituent is an adjective, which in this case hosts a definite article.

²⁸⁵ These clitics are analogous to the Megleno-Romanian possessive clitics (cf. 6.4), and the Romanian possessive clitics of type (a) (cf. 5.5.1). The addition of the possessive clitic to the right of the noun often involves a morphological change at the right periphery of the noun.

²⁸⁶ For reference to feminine nouns both *me* and *nji* are used; for reference to masculine nouns *nju* is exclusively used.

²⁸⁷ In addition to *sor-me*, we have *sorǎ-me* and *sor-nja*.

- b. *dadă-me/ta*
mother-my/your.F.Sg.Cl
'my/your mom'
- c. *tetă-me/ta*²⁸⁸
aunt-my/your.F.Sg.Cl
'my/your aunt'
- d. *muljari-me/ta*²⁸⁹
wife-my/your.F.Sg.Cl
'my/your wife'
- e. *soacră-me/ta*²⁹⁰
mother-in-law-my/your.F.Sg.Cl
'my/your mother in law'
- f. *frati-nju/tu*
brother-my/your.M.Sg.Cl
'my/your brother'
- (296) a. *sor-sa*
sister-his/her.F.Sg.Cl
'his/her sister'
- b. *dadă-sa*
mother-his/her.F.Sg.Cl
'his/her mom'
- c. *tetă-sa*
aunt-his/her.F.Sg.Cl
'his/her aunt'
- d. *muljari-sa*
wife-his/her.F.Sg.Cl
'his/her wife'
- e. *soacră-sa*
mother-in law-his/her.F.Sg.Cl
'his/her mother in law'

7.4.2 As we see, the possessive pronominal clitics agree in gender and number with the nouns to which they refer – unlike the personal pronominal clitics, and like the (full) possessive modifiers of the language. Unlike the (full) possessive modifiers and like the personal pronominal clitics, however, they have distinct Dat forms:

- (297) a. *U* *vidzu* *hilji-me/ta/sa*.
3Sg.F.Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Aor daughter-my/your/his/her.F.Sg.Cl
'(S)he saw my/your/his/her daughter.'
- b. *Ul* *vidzu* *frati-nju/tu/su*.
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Aor brother-my/your/his/her.F.Sg.Cl
'(S)he saw my/your/his/her brother.'

²⁸⁸ In addition to *teta-me*, we have *tetă-nja*.

²⁸⁹ In addition to *muljari-me*, we have *muljer-me*.

²⁹⁰ In addition to *soacră-me*, we have *soacră-nja*.

- (298) a. *Lj-u* *deade* *cartea* *a*
 3Sg.Dat.Cl-3Sg.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor book+the.F.Sg to
hilji-mei/tai/sai.
 daughter-my/your/his/her.F.Sg.Dat.Cl
 ‘(S)he gave the books to my/your/his/her daughter.’
- b. *Lj-u* *deade* *cartea* *a*
 3Sg.Dat.Cl-3Sg.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor book+the.F.Sg to
frati-njui/tui/sui.
 brother-my/your/his/her.M.Sg.Dat.Cl
 ‘(S)he gave the books to my/your/his/her brother.’

7.4.3 The possessive clitics are used currently, the use of full possessive modifiers in reference to nouns denoting family relations being emphatic. Compare (298a) to (299):

- (299) *Lj-u* *deade* *cartea* *a*
 3Sg.Dat.Cl-3Sg.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor book+the.F.Sg to
hilja *a* *lui.*
 daughter+the.F.Sg to him.Dat
 ‘(S)he gave the books to HIS daughter.’

7.5 Use of prepositions to express case relations

In Aromanian, not only DPs without suffixal case markers, but also DPs carrying Dat case markers are marked by prepositions.²⁹¹

7.5.1 Indirect objects are introduced by a variety of prepositions.

7.5.1.1 Indirect objects carrying Dat case suffixes are introduced by the preposition *a* ‘to’, whether definite or indefinite, human or non-human, animate or inanimate:

- (300) a. *Petri lji* *deade* *lilice a* *featilj(e)i.*
 Petri 3Sg.Dat.Cl give.3Sg.Aor flower to girl+the.F.Sg.Dat
 ‘Petri gave a flower to the girl.’ [+definite, +human]
- b. *Petri ălji* *li* *deade* *cărtsăle* *a*
 Petri 3Sg.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor books+the.F.Pl to
aishteî *feată.*
 this.F.Sg.Dat girl
 ‘Petri gave the books to this girl.’ [+definite, +human]
- c. *Ana ilj* *lji* *deade* *cărtsăle* *a*
 Ana 3Sg.Dat.Cl 3Pl.M.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor books+the.F.Pl to
frati-njui/ *-tui/* *-sui.*
 brother-my.M.Sg.Dat.Cl your.2Sg.M.Dat.Cl his/her.M.Sg.Dat.Cl
 ‘Ana gave the books to my/your/his/her brother.’ [+definite, +human]
- d. *Petri ilj* *lji* *deade* *cărtsăle* *a* *unei*
 Petri 3Sg.Dat.Cl 3Pl.M.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor books to a.F.Dat
feată.
 girl
 ‘Petri gave the books to a girl.’ [-definite, +human]

²⁹¹ It is noteworthy, however, that Acc case is not marked by a preposition. In this respect Aromanian contrasts sharply with Romanian (cf. 5.6.3).

- e. *Ilj ded lilice a sor-sai*
 3Sg.Dat.Cl give.1Sg.Aor flower to sister-her.F.Dat.Cl
ali Ana.
 of+the.F.Sg Ana
 ‘I gave a flower to Ana’s sister.’ [+definite, +human]
- f. *Ilj deade s-măcă a*
 3Sg.Dat.Cl give.3Sg.Aor Subj.Mark-eat.3Sg.Subj.Pres to
calui a meu.
 horse+the.M.Sg.Dat of my.M.Sg
 ‘(S)he gave food to my horse.’ (lit. ‘(S)he gave my horse to eat.’) [+definite, +animate]
- g. *A masălj(e)i lji băgai un cicior.*
 to table+the.F.Sg.Dat 3Sg.Dat.Cl put.3Sg.Aor a.M.Sg leg
 ‘(S)he fixed a leg to the table.’ [+definite, –animate]

7.5.1.2 Indirect objects with quantifiers²⁹² are also introduced by the preposition *a*:

- (301) a. *A cafi feată lji deade lilice.*
 to every girl 3Sg.Dat.Cl give.3Sg.Aor flower
 ‘(S)he gave a flower to each girl.’
- b. *A cafiun lji deade tsi lji*
 to everyone 3Sg.Dat.Cl give.3Sg.Aor what 3Sg.Dat.Cl
lipsea.
 need.3Sg.Imperf
 ‘Everyone was given what he needed.’

7.5.1.3 Indirect objects with no articles or determiners are introduced by the preposition *la* ‘to’:

- (302) a. *Mi prezentă la voi.*
 1Sg.Acc.Cl introduced.3Sg.Aor to you.Pl
 ‘They introduced me to you.’
- b. *Petri deade cărți la ficior.*
 Petri give.3Sg.Aor books to children
 ‘Petri was giving/gave books to children.’

7.5.1.4 Proper names, in indirect object position are introduced by the preposition *al* ‘to.M.Sg’ if masculine and *ali* ‘to.F.Sg’ if feminine.²⁹³

- (303) a. *Lu ded al Iane.*
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.1Sg.Aor to.M.Sg Iane
 ‘I gave it to Iane.’
- b. *Petri lji deade lilice ali Ana.*
 Petri her.Dat.Cl give.3Sg.Aor flower to.F.Sg Ana
 ‘Petri gave a flower to Ana.’

7.5.2 All possessive relationships are marked by a preposition.

²⁹² Quantifiers do not inflect.

²⁹³ The form *al* is a combination of the preposition *a* ‘to’ and the masculine definite article, while the form *ali* is derived from it. Though formally resembling the agreement clitics in Romanian, these Aromanian Dat markers essentially differ from them: while the Romanian agreement clitics carry the gender and number features of the possessum (cf. 5.4), the Aromanian Dat markers carry the gender and number features of the possessor.

7.5.2.1 Possessors carrying Dat case markers are introduced by the preposition *a* ‘to’ irrespective of whether the possessor themselves are animate or inanimate, or whether their possessums are definite or indefinite, animate or inanimate:

- (304) a. *sor-sa* *a* *profesorlui*
 sister+his.M.Sg.Cl to professor+the.M.Sg.Dat
 ‘the professor’s sister’
- b. *caplu* *a* *profesorlui*
 head+the.M.Sg to professor+the.M.Sg.Dat
 ‘the head of the professor’
- c. *albul* *porc a ficiorlui*
 white+the.M.Sg pig to boy+the.M.Sg.Dat
 ‘the boy’s white pig’
- d. *ună casă a sor-meî/ fratu-nju*
 a.F house to sister-my.F.Sg.Dat.Cl brother-his/her.M.Sg.Dat.Cl
 ‘a house of my sister’s’
- e. *ciciorlu a cătushiljei*
 leg+the.M.Sg to cat+the.F.Sg.Dat
 ‘the leg of the cat’
- f. *ciciorlu a masăljei*
 leg+the.M.Sg to table+the.F.Sg.Dat
 ‘the leg of the table’
- g. *un cicior a masăljei*
 a.M leg to table+the.F.Sg.Dat
 ‘a leg of the table’

7.5.2.2 Possessive pronominal modifiers are introduced by the preposition *a* ‘to’, whether used as an attribute or as a part of the predicate:

- (305) a. *Shimia a mea easte aroshe.*
 scarf+the.F.Sg to my.F.Sg be.3Sg red
 ‘My scarf is red.’
- b. *Porcul a lui easte albu.*
 pig+the.M.Sg to him be.3Sg white
 ‘His pig is white.’
- (306) a. *Shimia easte a mea.*
 scarf+the.F.Sg be.3Sg to my.F.Sg
 ‘The scarf is mine.’
- b. *Porcul easte a lui.*
 pig+the.M.Sg be.3Sg to him.Dat
 ‘The pig is his.’

7.5.2.3 Proper names functioning as possessors are introduced by the prepositions *al* if masculine and *ali* if feminine:

- (307) a. *laja pungă al Iane*
 black+the.F.Sg bag to.M.Sg Iane
 ‘Iane’s black bag’

- b. *laja* *pungă ali* *Ana*
 black+the.F.Sg bag to.F.Sg Ana
 ‘Ana’s black bag’

7.5.2.4 Inanimate possessors are introduced by the preposition *di* ‘from’, irrespective of whether the possessums are definite or indefinite, animate or inanimate:

- (308) a. *ciciorlu di un om*
 leg+the.M.Sg from a.M man
 ‘the leg of a man’
 b. *ciciorlu diună cățușe*
 leg+the.M.Sg from a.F cat
 ‘the leg of a cat’
 c. *ciciorlu diună masă*
 leg+the.M.Sg from a.F table
 ‘the leg of a table’
 (309) a. *un cicior di un om*
 a.M leg from a.M om
 ‘a leg of a man’
 b. *un cicior diună cățușe*
 a.M leg from a.F cat
 ‘a leg of a cat’
 c. *un cicior diună masă*
 a.M leg from a.F table
 ‘a leg of a table’
 (310) a. *cicior di om*
 leg from man
 ‘human leg’
 b. *cicior di cățușe*
 leg from cat
 ‘cat’s leg’
 c. *cicior di masă*
 leg from table
 ‘table leg’

7.5.3 The preposition *di* ‘from’ can also introduce prepositional modifiers:²⁹⁴

- (311) a. *Duchianea di tu chiushe iaste multu veclje.*
 shop+the.F.Sg from at corner be.3Sg very old.F.Sg
 ‘The shop at the corner is very old.’
 b. *Săhatea di pi masa iaste a mea.*
 clock+the.F.Sg from on table be.3Sg to my.F.Sg
 ‘The clock on the table is mine.’

7.5.4 As in Megleno-Romanian, the preposition *di* also occurs to the left of prepositional phrases that denote direction or location and impart an ablative meaning:

²⁹⁴ *Di* is not indispensable. The sentences in (311) can also occur without *di*, though there is some indefinable difference in usage.

- (312) a. *Yine di la statsione tsentrală.*
come.3Sg from to station central.
'He comes/is coming from the central station.'
- b. *Mi dipun di pi atsel tren.*
1Sg.Acc.Cl descend.1Sg from on that train.
'I am getting off that train.'

7.5.5 Direct objects are marked by prepositions only in some dialects of Aromanian.

7.5.5.1 In the Krushevo-Bitola Aromanian dialect, which is used by the Aromanian media in Macedonia and in which textbooks are written, no prepositions occur to the left of direct objects, whether definite or indefinite, animate or inanimate.

- (313) a. *L-om vidzută Petri/ profesorlu/*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg seen.Past.Part Petri professor+the.M.Sg
filmul
film+the.M.Sg
'I've seen Petri/the professor/the film.'
- b. *Am vidzută un profesor /un film.*
have.1Sg seen.Past.Part a.M professor a.M film
'I've seen a professor/a film.'

7.5.5.2 In the Ohrid-Struga Aromanian dialect, however, definite human direct objects, and, optionally, definite non-human direct objects are preceded by the preposition *pi*, which could be treated as an accusative case marker.²⁹⁵ Thus, *pi* occurs regularly to the left of the nouns in (314a-b), optionally to the left of the noun in (314c), but never to the left of the nouns in (314d-e).²⁹⁶

- (314) a. *%L-om vidzută *(pi) Iane.*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg seen.Past.Part Acc.Mark Iane
'I have seen Iane.'
- b. *%L-om vidzută *(pi) profesorlu.*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg seen.Past.Part Acc.Mark professor+the.M.Sg
'I have seen the professor.'
- c. *%L-om vidzută (pi) filmul.*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg seen.Past.Part Acc.Mark film+the.M.Sg
'I have seen the film.'
- d. *%Am vidzută (*pi) un profesor.*
have.1Sg seen.Past.Part Acc.Mark a.M professor
'I have seen a professor.'

²⁹⁵ In all Aromanian dialects, the preposition *pi* has the basic locative meaning 'on':

- (i) *Cartea easte pi masă/ masa.*
book+the.F.Sg be.3Sg on table table+the.F.Sg
'The book is on the table.'

²⁹⁶ In the Ohrid-Sturga Aromanian dialect, the preposition *pi* also occurs with pronouns referring to specific persons, such as the ones in (i):

- (i) *L-am vidzută pi aistu.*
3Sg.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg seen.Past.Part Acc.Mark this.M
'I have seen this one.'

- e. %*Am* *vidzută* (**pi*) *un* *film*.
 have.1Sg seen.Past.Part Acc.Mark a.M film
 ‘I have seen a film.’

7.5.6 It is noteworthy that the marking of direct objects by the preposition *pi* correlates with the absence of suffixal Dat case markers: In the Ohrid-Struga dialect, both direct objecthood and possessive modification are marked by the preposition + article combinations.

7.5.6.1 As illustrated in (315), in the Ohrid-Struga dialect, not only indirect objects instantiated by proper names, but rather all human definite indirect objects, whether singular or plural, are marked by *al* if masculine and *alji*, if feminine:

- (315) a. %*Petri lji-u* *deade* *cartea* *al*
 Petri 3Sg.Dat.Cl-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor book+the.F.Sg to.M
 ficiorlu.
 boy+the.M.Sg
 ‘Petri gave the book to the boy.’
 b. %*Petri lji-u* *deade* *lilice* *alji* *feata*.
 Petri 3Sg.Dat.Cl-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor flower to.F girl+the.F.Sg
 ‘Petri gave a flower to the girl.’

7.5.6.2 All definite human possessors are also introduced by *al*, if masculine, and *alji*, if feminine:²⁹⁷

- (316) a. %*Lu* *vidzui* *calu* *al* *omlu*.
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Aor horse+the.M.Sg to.M man+the.M.Sg
 ‘I saw the horse of the man.’
 b. %*Lu* *vidzui* *casa* *alji* *feata*.
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Aor house+the.F.Sg to.F girl+the.F.Sg
 ‘I saw the house of the girl.’

7.5.7 In all the dialects of Aromanian, NP arguments of prepositions can, but need not carry definite articles. Compare the sentence pairs in (317):

- (317) a. *Bag-u* *pi* *masă!*
 put.2Sg.Imper-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl on table
 ‘Put it on the table!’ (Neither the speaker nor the addressee need to be aware which table.)
 b. *Bag-u* *pi* *masa!*
 put.2Sg.Imper-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl on table+the.F.Sg
 ‘Put it on the table.’ (The table is known to the speaker and the addressee.)

7.5.8 Direction to or location in frequently used geographic places is denoted without the use of any preposition, while direction to or location in less commonly used geographic places is denoted by the preposition *ân* ‘in’:²⁹⁸

- (318) a. *S-neadzim* *Skopia*.
 Subj.Mark-go.1Pl Skopje
 ‘Let’s go to Skopje.’

²⁹⁷ Inanimate possessors are introduced by the preposition *di* ‘from’, whereas animate non-human ones can be introduced by *al/lji* or *di*.

²⁹⁸ This preposition is subject to phonological assimilation. Thus, when followed by labial consonants, it changes to *âm*.

- b. *Bānedz* *Ohārdā.*
live.1Sg Ohrid
'I live in Ohrid.'
- (319) a. *S-neadzim* *ān* *Sārunā.*
Subj.Mark-go.1Pl in Thessaloniki
'Let's go to Thessaloniki.'
- b. *Bānedzām* *ām* *Pole.*
live.1Sg in Istanbul
'I live in Istanbul.'

7.5.8 Sequences of prepositions are common. Examples:²⁹⁹

- (320) a. *Aista* *chilime* *iaste ti di ninte di vrata.*
this.M.Sg carpet be.3Sg for from before from door
'This carpet is to be put in front of the door.' (lit. 'This carpet is for before the door'.)
- b. *Lots* *mācare* *ti pi tu cale!*
take.2Pl.Imper food for on at road
'Take food for the road.'

8. Albanian³⁰⁰

Albanian has distinct markers for four cases: Nom, Dat, Abl and Acc.³⁰¹ Dat case forms also express genitive relationships; when so used, they are preceded by a clitic, marking agreement in gender, number and definiteness with the forms of an antecedent nominal.

8.1 Case and definiteness

As in Romanian and Aromanian, the formal marking of case in Albanian is related to the marking of definiteness. However, while in the Balkan Romance languages only definite NPs are case-marked, in Albanian, distinct case markers occur in indefinite NPs as well. Moreover, many classes of modifiers agree with the noun not only in gender and number, but also in case.

8.1.1 Albanian grammars list the Nom, Dat, Abl, Acc, Gen and Voc cases.³⁰² Nevertheless, Abl case markers are sparingly used, distinct Acc case forms exist only for definite singular forms, Gen

²⁹⁹ In (320a) the first occurrence of the preposition *di* 'from' introduces the prepositional nominal predicate, while the second occurrence of that preposition introduces the prepositional modifier of the adverbial preposition *ninte* 'before'.

³⁰⁰ Albanian has two groups of dialects – Tosk and Geg. Standard Albanian is predominately based on the Tosk dialects. The case systems and the structure of the Geg Albanian DP do not substantially differ from the case systems and the structure of the Tosk and Standard Albanian DP, however.

³⁰¹ The same marker often encodes more than one case. This is particularly true for the markers of the Dat and Abl cases.

³⁰² In some dialects, morphological marking of the locative case is preserved. Sobolev (2004a:73-74) lists the following examples from the Southern Tosk Albanian dialect of Leshnja:

- (i) %*Ne* *do* *vemë* *në* *pyll* *edhe* *nëpër* *shit.*
we will.Mod.Cl go.1Pl to forest even under rain.Loc
'We shall go to the forest, even if it rains.'
- (ii) %*Shkonin* *dhënt* *në* *Myzeqet.*
sheep+the.Pl go.3Pl.Aor to Mizeka.Loc
'The sheep went to Mizeka.'
- (iii) %*Kur* *duallëm* *në* *rrugë,* *dëbora* *ishte* *deri* *në*
when come.1Pl.Aor to road snow+the.F.Sg be.3Sg.Imperf up to

case relationships are expressed by Dat case markers preceded by agreement clitics which express agreement with the gender, number and case of the referent nominal, while the Voc case is marked only through the absence of the definite article.

8.1.2 Definiteness is featured by indefinite and definite articles.

8.1.2.1 The indefinite article has one single invariant form, *një*. It occurs to the left of singular indefinite nouns (of any gender), which may carry case markers:

- (321) a. *një mik*
a friend.M.Sg
'a friend'
- b. *një miku*
a friend.M.Sg.Dat
'to a friend'
- c. *prej një miku*
of a friend.M.Sg.Dat
'of a friend'

8.1.2.2 The definite article is, as a rule, morphologically realized on the first lexical element of the DP. In the Nom case we have the following definite articles:³⁰³

Table 39: Albanian definite articles

Singular		Plural	
Masc	Fem	Masc	Fem
-i/-u	-a	-a/palatalization	-t(ë)

8.1.3 The case markers follow the definite articles or amalgamate with them.

8.1.3.1 Nouns of masculine gender have definiteness and case marking suffixes of two types, which can conveniently be referred to as *i*-type and *u*-type.³⁰⁴ This is illustrated on the example of the paradigms of the nouns *lis* 'oak' and *mik* 'friend', given in Table 40:³⁰⁵

Table 40: Paradigms of the Albanian nouns *lis* 'oak' and *mik* 'friend'

	<i>lis</i> 'oak'				<i>mik</i> 'friend'			
	Sg	Sg.Def	Pl	Pl.Def	Sg	Sg.Def	Pl	Pl.Def
Nom	<i>lis</i>	<i>lisi</i>	<i>lisa</i>	<i>lisat</i>	<i>mik</i>	<i>miku</i>	<i>miq</i>	<i>miqtë</i>
Acc	"-"	<i>lisin</i>	"-"	"-"	"-"	<i>mikun</i>	"-"	"-"
Dat	<i>lisi</i>	<i>lisit</i>	<i>lisave</i>	<i>lisave</i>	<i>miku</i>	<i>miku</i>	<i>miqve</i>	<i>miqve</i>
Abl	"-"	"-"	<i>lisash</i>	"-"	"-"	"-"	<i>miqsh</i>	"-"

brest.
waist.Loc
'When we came to the road, the snow was up to the waist.'

³⁰³ The feminine singular article replaces the final vowel of the root.

³⁰⁴ "U"-type nouns are, nouns ending with the consonants *g*, *h*, *k* or the vowel *i*.

³⁰⁵ Plural forms are derived from their singular counterparts by suffixes, vowel alternations or palatalization. Examples:

- (i) *lis* 'oak': *lisa* 'oaks'
- (ii) *vajzë* 'girl': *vajza* 'girls'
- (iii) *mik* 'friend.Sg': *miq* 'friend.Pl'

8.1.3.2 Nouns of feminine gender have relatively less diverse inflexional suffixes and do not fall into specifiable paradigm classes.³⁰⁶ The paradigm of the feminine noun *vajzë* ‘girl’ is as follows:

Table 41: Paradigms of the Albanian noun *vajzë* ‘girl’

	Sg	Sg.Def	Pl	Pl.Def
Nom	<i>vajzë</i>	<i>vajza</i>	<i>vajza</i>	<i>vajzat</i>
Acc	-”-	<i>vajzën</i>	-”-	-”-
Dat	<i>vajze</i>	<i>vajzës</i>	<i>vajzave</i>	<i>vajzave</i>
Abl	-”-	-”-	<i>vajzash</i>	-”-

8.1.4 Proper names, as a rule, carry a definite article,³⁰⁷ and so do geographic names, unless preceded by a preposition:

- (322) a. *Agimi* *e* *ka* *vizituar*
 Agim+the.M.Sg 3Sg.Acc.Cl have.3Sg visited.Part
Tiranën.
 Tirana+the.F.Sg.Acc
 ‘Agim has visited Tirana.’
- b. *Agimi* *e* *pa* *Dritën*
 Agim+the.M.Sg 3Sg.Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Aor Drita+the.F.Sg.Acc
në Tiranë.
 in Tirana
 ‘Agim saw Drita in Tirana.’

8.1.5 Generic nouns, whether in the singular or the plural, also carry definite articles:³⁰⁸

- (323) a. *Qeni* *është (një)* *kafshë* *e* *zgjuar.*
 dog+the.M.Sg be.3Sg a animal.F.Sg F.Sg.Agr.Cl clever
 ‘The dog is a clever animal.’
- b. *Qentë* *janë* *kafsha* *të* *zgjuaara.*
 dog+the.M.Pl be.3Pl animals.F.Pl Pl.Agr.Cl clever.Pl
 ‘Dogs are clever animals.’

8.1.6 When addressed directly, common nouns carry the definite article:³⁰⁹

³⁰⁶ Note, however, that feminine nouns ending in an accented vowel have distinct case markers. Thus, the definite Dat form of *shtëpi* ‘house’ is *shtëpisë*.

³⁰⁷ Masculine proper names followed by surnames, constitute an exception. In this case, the proper name appears without an article, while the surname carries a definite article, Compare (i) to (ii):

- (i) *Ademi*
 Adem+the.M.Sg
- (ii) *Adem Shehu*
 Adem Sheh+the.M.Sg

³⁰⁸ The Nom plural form of the noun *kafshë* ‘animal’ is equivalent to the Nom singular form.

³⁰⁹ Examples (324b-c) are from Asenova (2002:136), with my glosses and translation.

- (324) a. *Kali,* *kali!* *Ja* *ku* *është!*
 horse+the.M.Sg horse+the.M.Sg Excl where be.3Sg
 ‘Horse, horse! This is where it is!’
- b. *Çuni,* *eja* *këtu!*
 boy+the.M.Sg come.2Sg.Imper here
 ‘You boy, come here!’
- c. *Vera,* *vera!*
 summer+the.F.Sg summer+the.F.Sg
 ‘Summer, summer!’

8.1.7 Masculine singular proper names, on the other hand, in addresses, i.e. in the Voc case, lose the article, which proper names, as a rule, carry. Compare the proper names in (322) to that in (325):

- (325) *O Agim!*
 Excl Agim
 ‘You, Agim!’

8.1.8 Some verbs take what Balkanists call “two direct objects”,³¹⁰ the second of which is never definite:

- (326) *Ai e ka marrë grue.*
 he 3Sg.Acc.Cl have.3Sg taken.Part wife
 ‘He has taken her as a wife.’

8.1.9 When a determiner other than the indefinite article occurs to the left of a noun, the noun is, as a rule, not marked for case and definiteness, the case and definiteness status of the DP being expressed by the determiner, which also carries gender and number features. Examples:

- (327) a. *Cilën vajzë e pe?*
 which+the.F.Sg.Acc girl.F.Sg 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Aor
 ‘Which girl did (s)he see?’
- b. *Ja dhuroi kësaj vajze.*
 3Sg.Dat.Cl+3Sg.Acc.Cl present.3Sg.Aor this.F.Sg.Dat girl.Dat
 ‘(S)he gave it as a present to this girl.’

8.1.10 While determiners other than definite articles, as a rule, occur in DP-initial position, adjectives and modifying nouns usually follow the noun and in most cases agree with it in person, gender and case, through agreement clitics that appear to the immediate left of the adjective.³¹¹

- (328) a. *një tjetër grua e bukur*
 a other woman.F.Sg F.Sg.Agr.Cl beautiful
 ‘another beautiful woman’
- b. *ky libër i Benit*
 this.M book.M.Sg M.Sg.Agr.Cl Ben+the.M.Sg.Dat
 ‘this book of Ben’s’

³¹⁰ The second object is actually a small clause predicate (cf. footnote 3).

³¹¹ The examples are from Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1998:349-350).

8.2 Agreement clitics

The agreement clitics express agreement of adjectives and participles with the gender, number, case and definiteness of the noun, while the adjective itself shows agreement only with the number and gender of the noun.³¹²

8.2.1 The forms of the Albanian agreement clitics are given in Table 42.³¹³

³¹² There are adjectives that do not show agreement through a clitic, but rather through distinct suffixation:

- (i) *heroik* 'heroic.M.Sg' : *heroike* 'heroic.F.Sg'

The following classes of adjectives have agreement through suffixation: (a) adjectives ending on *-(t)ar*, *-ive*, *-ik*, *-inj-*, *-(t)or*, *-(ë)s*, *-ies*, *yes*, as in (ii); (b) composite adjectives, as in (iii); (c) adjectives derived from place names and abstract nouns, as in (iv); (d) a number of adjectives which can be used as nouns without any formal change, as in (v):

- (ii) *kombëtar* 'national', *heroik* 'heroic', *edukativ* 'educational', *tregues* 'indicative', *mallëngjyes* 'nostalgic', *meraklinj* 'caring';
 (iii) *atmirë* 'with good fortune/fortunate', *gojëmbël* 'sweet-mouthed', *flokëverdhtë* 'with yellow hair/fair';
 (iv) *kosovar* 'from Kosovo', *elbasanas* 'from Elbasan';
 (v) *trim* 'brave' (used as noun with the meaning 'hero'), *plak* 'old' (used as noun with the meaning 'old man').

³¹³ According to Newmark (1982) the use of *së* and *ë* is phonologically conditioned – *së*, rather than *të* is, for example, used after nouns ending in *-sië*, while *e* rather than *të* appears immediately after the definite Pl.Nom/Acc ending *t(ë)*, or after the definite Sg.Acc ending *n(ë)*. Campos and Stavrou (2004:161) point out that for Androutsopoulou (2001), the alternations are morphologically conditioned (attributive *versus* predicative adjectives). In this connection, note that there is a distinction between attributive and predicative usage of adjectives/participles:

- (i) *E* 3Sg.Acc.Cl *pashë* see.3Sg.Aor *fëmijën* child+the.F.Sg.Acc *e* F.Sg.Acc.Agr.Cl *lënduar* hurt.Part
 'I saw the hurt child.'
 (ii) *E* 3Sg.Acc.Cl *pashë* see.3Sg.Aor *fëmijën* child+the.F.Sg.Acc *të* F.Sg.Acc.Agr.Cl *lënduar* hurt.Part
 'I saw the child hurt.'

Zymeri (1991), however, argues that the choice between two forms of agreement clitics depends on the case and definiteness features of the modified noun. Consider the following examples (from Zymeri 1991:101-102):

- (iii) *ca* *djem* *të* *mira*
 some boys.M.Pl Indef.Pl.Agr.Cl good.Pl
 'some good boys'
 (iv) *djemtë* *e* *mira*
 boys+the.M.Pl Def.Pl.Agr.Cl good.Pl
 'the good boys'
 (v) *ca* *vajza* *të* *mira*
 some girls.F.Pl Indef.Pl.Agr.Cl good.Pl
 'some good girls'
 (vi) *vajzat* *e* *mira*
 girls+the.F.Pl Def.Pl.Agr.Cl good.Pl
 'the good girls'

The agreement clitic has the form *të* when the noun is indefinite, as in (iii) and (v), and *e* when the noun is definite, as in (iv) and (vi). Following Zymeri (1991), the distribution of the agreement clitics would be as follows:

Distribution of Albanian agreement clitics

	Masculine Singular		Feminine Singular		Masc/Fem Plural	
	Indef	Def	Indef	Def	Indef	Def
Nom	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>të</i>	<i>e</i>
Acc	<i>të</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>të</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>të</i>	<i>e</i>
Dat/Gen	<i>të</i>	<i>të</i>	<i>të</i>	<i>së</i>	<i>të</i>	<i>të</i>

Table 42: Forms of the Albanian agreement clitics

	M.Sg	F.Sg	Pl
Nom	<i>i</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>të/e</i>
Dat	=====të/së=====		
Acc	=====të/e=====		

8.2.2 The agreement clitic always precedes the adjective; since the adjective, as a rule, follows the noun, the agreement clitic most frequently occurs between the noun and the adjective.³¹⁴ Examples:

- (329) a. *Është vajzë e mirë.*
 be.3Sg girl.F.Sg F.Sg.Agr.Cl good
 ‘She is a good girl.’
- b. *E kam librin e mirë.*
 3Sg.Acc.Cl have.1Sg book+the.M.Sg.Acc Acc.Agr.Cl good
 ‘I have the good book.’

8.2.3 In emphatic environments, the adjectives, along with their agreement clitics, precede the noun.³¹⁵

- (330) a. *I ziu at!*
 M.Sg.Agr.Cl black+the.M.Sg father
 ‘The wretched father!’

According to Friedman (p. c.), the choice of the form of the agreement clitic may depend on the distance of the adjective from the noun to which it refers. Thus, in (vii), an example provided by Friedman, both *tekstave* and *Republikës* refer to *enti* (*Kosovës* refers to *Republikës*). While the agreement clitic of *teksteve* is *i*, the agreement clitic of *Republikës* is *së*:

- (vii) *Enti i teksteve të Republikës së*
 center+the.M.Sg Agr.Cl textbooks.Dat Agr.Cl republic+the.F.Sg.Dat Agr.Cl
 Kosovës
 Kosovo+the.F.Sg.Dat
 ‘Center for Textbooks of the Republic of Kosovo’

³¹⁴ An adjective can modify a phrase. Observe the following complex phrase (from Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti 1998:348):

- (i) [[*pushtimi i vetëm italian*] *i Shqipërisë*]
 invasion+the.M.Sg M.Sg.Agr.Cl unique Italian M.Sg.Agr.Cl Albania+the.F.Sg.Dat
 ‘the unique Italian invasion of Albania’

As the brackets show, *vetëm* agrees with and refers to *pushtimi*, *italian* (an adjective which does not show agreement) refers to *pushtimi i vetëm*, while *Shqipërisë* agrees with *pushtimi* and refers to *pushtimi i vetëm italian*.

³¹⁵ (330c-e) are from Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1989:349-350). As shown in (330d-e), the agreement clitic immediately precedes the adjective even when the adjective is modified by an intensifier (*shumë* ‘very’, in this case). As it may be observed in (330e), in emphatic DPs, the demonstrative determiner may cooccur with the definite article.

As pointed out in footnote 2, a number of facts, among which the relative ordering of nouns and adjectives and the obligatory occurrence of adverbial modifiers of adjectives to the left of articulated adjectives, have led to the conclusion that articulated nouns and articulated adjectives in the Balkan languages should be inserted in the DP, along with their definite articles. Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Giusti (1998) argue that in emphatic environments, the Albanian noun moves to a head to the right of D, but higher than in Romanian, to allow for cases such as (i), where the noun precedes not only the adjective, but also the determiner *tjetër* ‘other’.

- (i) *një grua tjetër e bukur*
 a woman other F.Sg.Agr.Cl beautiful
 ‘ANOTHER beautiful woman’

- b. *I pashë të mjerat vajza.*
 3Pl.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Aor Pl.Agr.Cl miserable+the.F.Pl girls
 ‘The miserable girls!’
- c. *një tjetër e bukur grua*
 a other F.Sg.Agr.Cl beautiful woman
 ‘ANOTHER beautiful woman’
- d. *kjo shumë e bukur grua*
 this.F very F.Sg.Agr.Cl beautiful woman
 ‘this VERY beautiful woman’
- e. *kjo shumë e bukura grua tjetër*
 this.F very F.Sg.Agr.Cl beautiful+the.F.Sg woman other
 ‘this OTHER very beautiful woman’

8.2.4 Agreement clitics occur to the left of adjectives or participles not only when they are in the NP/DP, but also when they occur in predicates:

- (331) a. *Mësuesi ishte i lumtur.*
 teacher+the.M.Sg be.3Sg.Imperf M.Sg.Agr.Cl happy
 ‘The teacher was happy.’
- b. *E gjeti mësuesin të lumtur.*
 3Sg.Acc.Cl found.3Sg.Aor teacher+the.M.Sg.Acc Acc.Agr.Cl
 happy
 ‘(S)he found the teacher happy.’
- c. *Ata do (që) të përgjigjen të parët.*
 they will.Mod.Cl that Subj.Mark reply.3Pl Pl.Agr.Cl
 first+the.Pl
 ‘They will reply first.’

8.2.5 Related to the pre-nominal use of the adjective is a “noun-less” one, i.e. the use of adjectives as nouns. As, shown in (332), such adjectives carry a case-marked definite article, while the agreement clitic shows agreement with an assumed dummy noun:

- (332) *E dua të bardhën, të verdhën dhe të zezën.*
 3Sg.Acc.Cl love.1.Sg.Pres Pl.Agr.Cl white+the.F.Sg.Acc Pl.Agr.Cl
 green+F.Sg.Acc and Pl.Agr.Cl black+the.F.Sg.Acc
 ‘I love the white, the green and the black.’

8.2.6 Genitive relationships of nouns with their antecedents are also marked by agreement clitics. In this case, the modifying noun is always definite and carries a Dat case marker, and the agreement clitic shows agreement with this noun:³¹⁶

³¹⁶ A noun can be directly followed by another noun in the Dat case, in which case the sequence is interpreted as a compound:

- (i) *një shok shkolle*
 a friend.M.Sg school.Dat
 ‘a schoolmate’

An adjectival modifier is, however, always preceded by an agreement clitic, whatever the interpretation:

- (333) a. *libra* *të* *bibliotekës*
books.M.Pl Pl.Agr.Cl library+the.F.Sg.Dat
'books from the library'
- b. *një* *punëtor* *i* *fabrikës* *së*
a worker.M.Sg M.Sg.Agr.Cl factory+the.F.Sg.Dat Dat.Agr.Cl
tekstil
textile+the.M.Sg.Dat
'a worker from the textile factory'
- c. *shkollës* *së* *fshatit*
school+the.F.Sg.Dat Dat.Agr.Cl village+the.M.Sg.Dat
'(gave it) to the village school'

8.2.7 Agreement clitics regularly occur in nominals derived from adjectives and participles,³¹⁷ as well as with the days of the week:

- (334) a₁ *të* *errëtit*
Pl.Agr.Cl dark+the.Pl
'the darkness'
- a₂ *të* *ardhurit*
Pl.Agr.Cl arrived.Part+the.Pl
'the arrival'
- a₃ *të* *ecurit*
Pl.Agr.Cl walked.Part+the.Pl
'the walking'
- b. *Dasma* *do* *të* *bëhej* *të*
wedding+the.F.Sg will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark do.3Sg.M-P.Imperf Pl.Agr.Cl
dielën.
Sunday+the.F.Sg.Acc
'The wedding had to take place on the Sunday.'

8.2.8 Agreement clitics are also used to express possessive relationships to singular nouns denoting close family relationships. As exemplified in (335), these clitics are placed to the immediate left of the nouns to which they refer:

- (335) a. *Erdhi* *nga* *e* *ëma*.
come.3Sg.Aor from F.Sg.Agr.Cl mother+the.F.Sg
'(S)he came from his/her mother's.'
- b. *Erdhi* *nga* *i* *ati*.
come.3Sg.Aor from M.Sg.Agr.Cl father+the.M.Sg
'(S)he came from his/her father's.'

8.2.9 When the noun is modified by two adjectives, the second adjective can optionally be preceded by the conjunction *dhe* 'and':³¹⁸

- (ii) *shkollës* *së* *mesme*
school+the.F.Sg.Dat Dat.Agr.Cl middle.M.Sg
'to the middle school'

³¹⁷ The de-adjectival and de-participial nouns have been treated as nouns of neuter gender, though, as pointed out by Newmark (1982:133), the existence of the neuter gender is difficult to defend. Material nouns such as *lesh* 'wool' or *mish* 'meat' were also once nouns of neuter gender. But nowadays they have all the features of masculine nouns.

- (336) *një vajzë e mirë (dhe) e zgjuar*
a girl.F.Sg F.Sg.Agr.Cl good and F.Sg.Agr.Cl clever
‘a good and clever girl’

8.3 Personal pronouns

8.3.1 In 1st and 2nd person Albanian personal pronouns (singular or plural) a formal distinction is made between the Nom, Acc, Dat and Abl cases, though often the same form is used for two abstract case distinctions. The Albanian first and second person personal pronouns are listed in Table 43:

Table 43: Albanian first and second person personal pronouns

	Nom	Acc	Dat	Abl
1Sg	<i>unë</i>	<i>mua</i>	<i>mua</i>	<i>meje</i>
2Sg	<i>ti</i>	== == <i>ty</i> == ==		<i>teje</i>
1Pl	<i>ne</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>neve</i>	<i>nesh</i>
2Pl	<i>ju</i>	<i>ju</i>	<i>juve</i>	<i>jush</i>

8.3.2 There are no third person personal pronouns in Albanian; third person pronominal relationships are expressed by demonstrative pronouns.³¹⁹ The Albanian demonstrative pronouns are listed in Table 44:

Table 44: Albanian demonstrative pronouns

	Proximate				Distal			
	Nom	Acc	Dat	Abl	Nom	Acc	Dat	Abl
M.Sg	<i>ky</i>	<i>këtë</i>	== <i>këtij</i> ==		<i>ai</i>	<i>(a)të</i>	== <i>(a)tij</i> ==	
F.Sg	<i>kjo</i>	-"-	== <i>kësaj</i> ==		<i>ajo</i>	-"-	== <i>(a)saj</i> ==	
M.Pl	== <i>këta</i> ==		<i>këtyre</i>	<i>kësosh</i>	<i>ata</i>	<i>(a)ta</i>	<i>(a)tyre</i>	<i>asosh</i>
F.Pl	== <i>këto</i> ==		-"-	-"-	<i>ato</i>	<i>(a)to</i>	-"-	-"-

8.3.3 Each set of oblique forms of the Albanian personal pronouns for the first and second person, singular or plural, has a corresponding clitic form, which is not directly derivationally related to the full pronominal forms. There are also forms referring to 3Sg indirect objects, 3Pl indirect objects, 3Sg direct objects and 3Pl direct objects, as well as a reflexive form. The Albanian pronominal clitics are listed in Table 45:

³¹⁸ When two identical nouns with different modifiers are conjoined, the presence of the conjunction *dhe* is obligatory:

- (i) *kali i zi *(dhe) i bardhë*
horse+the.M.Sg M.Sg.Agr.Cl black and M.Sg.Agr.Cl white
‘the black and the white horse’

³¹⁹ Alex Murzaku’s (2004) collocational analysis of the use of demonstratives shows that the proximate forms have the same collocates as the distal forms. Albanian uses demonstrative pronouns with their deictic features for both endophoric and exophoric reference. *A-*, *kë* and $\emptyset$ paradigms are interchangeable. Different forms are used when distinction has to be made between two different referents.

Note that the short forms (*të, to, ti, tij, saj, tyre*) are used in prepositional phrases or to the right of agreement clitics (cf. example (350)).

Table 45: Albanian pronominal clitics

	Dat	Acc
1Sg	=== <i>më</i> ===	
1Pl	=== <i>na</i> ===	
2Sg	=== <i>të</i> ===	
2Pl	=== <i>ju</i> ===	
3Sg	<i>i</i>	<i>e</i>
3Pl	<i>u</i>	<i>i</i>
Refl	=== <i>u</i> ===	

8.3.4 The clitic forms can appear by themselves or double full oblique pronominal forms.³²⁰ Thus, we have the following contrasts:

- (337) a. *E kam parë.*
 3Sg.Acc.Cl have.1Sg seen.Part
 ‘I’ve seen her/him.’
- b. *E kam parë atë.*
 3Sg.Acc.Cl have.1Sg seen.Part that.Acc
 ‘I’ve seen HER/HIM.’

8.3.5 In prepositional phrases only the full (Acc) pronominal forms occur; pronominal clitics never function as objects of prepositions. Thus, (337a) is well-formed, while (337b) is not:

- (338) a. *Erdhi me (a)të.*
 come.3Sg.Aor with that.Acc
 ‘(S)he came with him.’
- b. **Erdhi me e.*
 come.3Sg.Aor with Acc.Agr.Cl

8.3.6 In story telling, a pronominal clitic often accompanies the verb:

- (339) *Na ishte një fshatar dhe një ari.*
 2Pl.Cl be.3Pl.Imperf a villager and a bear
 ‘Once upon a time, there were a villager and a bear.’

8.3.7 Beneficiary dative clausal clitics can often be given possessive interpretation.

- (340) a. *Mi harxhoi të gjitha*
 1Sg.Dat.Cl+1Pl.Acc.Cl spend.3Sg.Aor Pl.Agr.Cl all
të hollat.
 Pl.Agr.Cl money+the.Pl
 ‘He spent all my money.’
- b. *T’u humb libri.*
 2Sg.Dat.Cl+Refl.Cl lose.3Sg.M-P.Aor book+the.M.Sg
 ‘Your book got lost.’
- c. *T’u vra dora.*
 2Sg.Dat.Cl+Refl.Cl hurt.3Sg.Aor hand+the.F.Sg
 ‘Your hand got hurt.’

³²⁰ Constructions with doubled pronominal forms are emphatic.

- d. *Jua* *di* *gabimet.*
 2Pl.Dat.Cl+3Pl.Acc.Cl know.1Sg faults+the.F.Pl
 ‘I know your faults.’

8.3.7.1 Beneficiary Dat clitics can co-occur with agreement clitics expressing possessive relationship to singular nouns denoting close family relationship (cf. 8.4.6):

- (341) *I* *martohet* *e* *bija.*
 3Sg.Dat.Cl marry.3Sg.M-P.Pres F.Sg.Agr.Cl daughter+the.F.Sg
 ‘His/her daughter is getting married.’

8.3.7.2 Beneficiary Dat clitics should be distinguished from ethical Dat clitics, which are parenthetical devices for expressing intimacy, and unlike the beneficiary Dat clitics, are not discourse-linked. As in Macedonian and Bulgarian, the ethical dative clitics are most often in the first or second person, singular or plural (cf. 1.5.8.5 and 2.5.9.3). There are also cases when first and second person clitics occur in a sequence. For example:

- (342) *Më-të* *vrau* *Agimi* *një* *ushtar.*
 1Sg.Eth.Cl-2Sg.Eth.Cl kill.3Sg.Aor Agim+the.M.Sg a soldier
 ‘Look, Agim killed a soldier.’

8.3.8 The reflexive pronominal clitic *u* is used for anaphoric reference to nouns denoted by the subject of the clause,³²¹ in passives, absolutes,³²² middles and impersonals – in all cases only with verbs in the Aorist.³²³

8.3.8.1 Anaphoric reference can be made to single referents (as in 342a and 342b) or to multiple ones; in the latter case, we may have a multiple number of individual references (as in 342c) or reciprocals (as in 342d):³²⁴

- (343) a. *Unë u rrova.*
 I Refl.Cl shave.1Sg.Aor
 ‘I shaved myself.’

³²¹ When the noun denoted by the subject of the clause is not co-referential with the referent of the clitic, pronominal clitics for first or second person are used. For example:

- (i) *Pjetri më rrovi.*
 Pjetri+the.M.Sg 1Sg.Acc.Cl shave.3Sg.Aor
 ‘Pjetri shaved me.’

³²² The term “absolute” was introduced by Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999), who argues that they are a case of ultimate suppression of the initiator of the event.

³²³ With verbs in the present tense, medio-passive verb forms (discussed in the chapter entitled “The Perfect and the Evidential”) are used:

- (i) *Lexohet një libër.*
 read.3Sg.M-P.Pres a book
 ‘A book is (being) read (by someone).’

The relationship between passive, middles and impersonals in a number of languages (though not in Albanian) is discussed in Marelj (2004:217-250). Cf. 1.4.7.2.

³²⁴ Reciprocity can be expressed by *njëri-tjetrin* ‘one-other’, as well:

- (i) *Fëmijët e deshën njëri-tjetrin.*
 children+the.Pl 3Sg.Acc.Cl love.3Pl.Aor one-other.Acc
 ‘The children loved each other.’

- b. *Pjetri* *u* *rrua*.
Pjetri+the.M.Sg 3Sg.Acc.Cl shave.3Sg.Aor
'Pjetri shaved himself.'
- c. *Fëmijët* *u* *veshën*.
children+the.M.Pl Refl.Cl dress-up.3Pl.Aor
'The children were dressing up.' ('Each of the children was dressing herself/himself up'.)
- d. *Ata* *u* *deshëh*.
they Refl.Cl love.3Sg.Aor
'They loved each other.'

8.3.8.2 The use of *u* in passives,³²⁵ absolutes,³²⁶ middles and impersonals is illustrated in (344), (345), (346) and (347), respectively.³²⁷

- (344) a. *Këtu asnjëherë nuk u bë luftë*.
here no-time not Refl.Cl make.3Sg.Aor war
'There has never been a war here.' (lit. 'Here has not been made war at any time.')
- b. *Asnjëherë nuk u zbulua e*
no-time not Refl.Cl discover.3Sg.Aor Acc.Agr.Cl
vërteta.
truth+the.F.Sg
'The truth was never discovered.'
- (345) a. *U thyë dritaja*.
Refl.Cl break.3Sg.Aor window+the.F.Sg
'The window broke.'
- b. *U martua dhe tani po jeton*
Refl.Cl marry.3Sg.Aor and now Asp.Marker³²⁸ live.3Sg
në Angli.
in England
'She got married and is now living in England.'
- (346) a. *Libra të tillë u lexuan shpejt*.
books.M.Pl Pl.Agr.Cl such Refl.Cl read.3Pl.Aor fast
'Such books were read fast.'

³²⁵ Marelj (2004:217-250) argues that not only in passives, but also in middles and impersonals the external argument of the verb is saturated (cf. 1.4.7.2).

³²⁶ Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999:140) argues that a verb can either have a *se*-passive or a *se*-absolute. So, the distinction between the passives and the absolutes is rooted in the lexical content of the verb.

³²⁷ Examples (345a) and (347) are from Rivero (2004:246). When no reference is made to a past event, in all of these sentences the medio-passive form of the verb would be used. Thus, (346a) and (346b) would have the following respective medio-passive correspondents:

- (i) *Libra të tillë lexohen shpejt*.
books Pl.Agr.Cl such read.3Pl.M-P.Pres fast
'Such books read fast.'
- (ii) *Mollët shiten lehtë*.
apple+the.Pl sell.3Pl.M-P.Pres easily
'Apples sell easily.'

³²⁸ *Po* is an aspectual marker denoting continuity of the action.

- b. *Mollët* *u* *shitën* *lehtë.*
 apple+the.Pl Refl.Cl sell.3Pl.Aor easily
 ‘Apples sold easily.’
- (347) *U* *punua* *këtu.*
 Refl.Cl worked.3Sg.Aor here
 ‘Someone worked here.’

8.3.8.3 The clitic *u* may co-occur with Dat clitics or lexical datives doubled by Dat clitics.

8.3.8.3.1 The dative in passive *u*-constructions with anti-causative verbs is interpreted as a possessor, causer or involuntary agent:³²⁹

- (348) a. *(Anës)* *i-u* *thye*
 Ana+the.F.Sg.Dat 3Sg.Dat-Refl.Cl break.3Sg.Aor
dritarja.
 window+the.F.Sg
 1. ‘Ana’s/her window broke on her.’
 2. ‘Ana’s/her window got broken.’
 3. ‘Ana/she involuntarily caused the window to break.’
- b. *M’u* *shërua* *djali.*
 3Sg.Dat.Cl+Refl.Cl cure.3Sg.Aor son+the.M.Sg
 1. ‘My son got cured/well.’

8.3.8.3.2 There are *u*-constructions that appear in clauses with non-argumental datives, in which relationship is established between an individual and an event, that have a “feel-like X” reading. These constructions can be impersonal, as in (349a), or, as pointed out by Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999:203), can realize overtly as subject a non-initiator element, as in (349b).³³⁰

- (349) a. *(Anës)* *i-u* *punua* *këtu.*
 Ana+the.F.Sg.Dat 3Sg.Dat-Refl.Cl work.3Sg.Aor here
 ‘(Ana)/(s)he felt like working here.’ (lit. ‘To Ana/her/him it felt like working here.’)
- b. *Dritës* *i-u* *lexua* *një* *libër.*
 Drita+the.F.Sg.Dat 3Sg.Dat-Refl.Cl read.3Sg.Aor a book
 ‘Drita felt like reading a book.’ (lit. ‘To Drita it felt like reading a book.’)

³²⁹ Example (348a) is from Rivero (2004:238). Rivero (2004) argues that these constructions involve Argument Suppression. Note that the occurrence of the Dat clitic (or the clitic-doubled Dat prepositional phrase) is not obligatory. Thus, (348a) could have as a counterpart a construction without a personal pronominal clitic (and a Dat prepositional phrase), to which Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999) refers as “absolute” (cf. 8.3.8.2):

- (i) *U* *thye* *dritaja.*
 Refl.Cl break.3Sg.Aor window+the.F.Sg
 ‘The window broke.’

³³⁰ Example (349a) is from Rivero (2004:239). The “feel-like X” constructions were analyzed by Rivero (2004), on the example of Bulgarian and Albanian, and by Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999), on the example of Bulgarian (cf. the discussion in 1.4.7.4.2). It is noteworthy that such constructions report attitudes, not activities. Thus, (349b) tells us about the person’s past urge to read, but does not imply that (s)he did read. “Feel-like X” constructions with overtly realized non-initiator elements (with themes) may also have another “ordinary” passive reading. Example (349b), in addition to the listed reading, may have the reading (ii):

- (i) ‘A book was read to Drita.’

8.4 Pronominal possessive modifiers

The Albanian possessive modifiers are actually associations of personal pronouns and agreement clitics.³³¹ Most of the associations of the first and second person personal pronouns with an agreement clitic have undergone radical morphonological changes, resulting in non-analysable possessive modifiers. Some associations are, however, still analysable.

8.4.1 Masculine singular possessive modifiers for 1st and 2nd person appear in two case forms – a Nom and an oblique, Dat/Acc form. Plural possessive modifiers (masculine or feminine) also appear in two case forms, but these are the forms of the Nom and the Dat cases, accusative relationships being rendered by the Nom forms. Feminine singular possessive modifiers, however, appear in three forms – Nom, Acc and Dat.

8.4.2 The forms of the Albanian possessive modifiers for 1st and 2nd person, singular and plural, are given in Table 46:

Table 46: Albanian possessive modifiers

	M.Sg			M.Pl			F.Sg			F.Pl		
	Nom	Acc	Dat	Nom	Acc	Dat	Nom	Acc	Dat	Nom	Acc	Dat
1 st Sg	<i>im</i>	= <i>tim</i> =		<i>e mi</i>	<i>e mi</i>	<i>të mi</i>	<i>ime</i>	<i>time</i>	<i>sime</i>	<i>e mia</i>	<i>e mia</i>	<i>të mia</i>
2 nd Sg	<i>jot/yt</i>	= <i>tënd</i> =		<i>e tu</i>	<i>e tu</i>	<i>të tu</i>	<i>jote/yte</i>	<i>tënde</i>	<i>sate</i>	<i>e tua</i>	<i>e tua</i>	<i>(të) tua</i>
1 st Pl	<i>ynë/jonë</i>	= <i>tonë</i> =		<i>tanë</i>	<i>tanë</i>	<i>tonë</i>	<i>jonë</i>	<i>tonë</i>	<i>sonë</i>	<i>tona</i>	= <i>tona</i> =	
2 nd Pl	<i>juaj</i>	<i>juaj</i>	<i>tuaj</i>	<i>juaj</i>	= <i>tuaj</i> =		<i>juaj</i>	<i>tuaj</i>	<i>sua</i>	<i>e jona</i>	= <i>tuaja</i> =	

8.4.3 By adding definite articles to the forms of the possessive modifiers for 1st and 2nd person, singular or plural, one derives possessive pronouns.³³² The forms of the Albanian possessive pronouns are given in Table 47:

Table 47: Albanian possessive pronouns

	M.Sg	M.Pl	F.Sg	F.Pl
1 st Sg	<i>imi</i>	<i>të mitë</i>	<i>imja</i>	<i>të miat</i>
2 nd Sg	<i>yti</i>	<i>të tutë</i>	<i>jotja</i>	<i>të tuat</i>
1 st Pl	<i>yni</i>	<i>tanët</i>	<i>jona</i>	<i>tonat</i>
2 nd Pl	<i>juaji</i>	<i>tuajtë</i>	<i>juaja</i>	<i>tuajat</i>

8.4.4 Possessive relationships to third persons are expressed by the association of agreement clitics and forms of demonstrative determiners. Examples:

- (350) a. *shoku* *i* *tij*
friend+the.M.Sg M.Sg.Agr.Cl that.M.Sg.Dist.Dat
‘his friend’
- b. *njerëzve* *të* *saj*
men+the.M.Pl.Dat Dat.Agr.Cl that.F.Sg.Dist.Dat
‘to her people/men’

8.4.5 As a rule, the possessive modifiers follow the noun. Examples:

- (351) a. *gruaja* *ime* *e* *parë*
wife+the.F.Sg my.F.Sg F.Sg.Agr.Cl first
‘my first wife’

³³¹ The agreement clitics actually indicate that the pronouns are attributed to another nominal.

³³² There are many morphonological changes.

- b. *vajzat* *tuaja*
girls+the.F.Pl your.F.Pl.Acc
'(saw) your girls'
- c. *librit* *tim* *të* *ri*
book+the.M.Sg.Dat my.M.Dat Dat.Agr.Cl new
'(attached) to my new book'

8.4.6 When referring to nouns denoting close family relationships, 1st and 2nd person possessive modifiers can either follow or precede the noun:³³³

- (352) a. *ati* *im* or *im* *at*
father+the.M.Sg my.M.Sg my.M.Sg father
'my father'
- b. *te* *motra* *jote* or *te* *yot* *motër*
at sister+the.F.Sg your.F.Sg at your.F.Sg sister
'at your sister's'
- c. *I* *ka* *ardhur* *në* *vizitë* *yot*
3Sg.Dat.Cl have.3Sg come.Part in visit your.F.Sg
motër.
sister
'Your sister has come to visit him/her.'

8.5 Use of prepositions to express case relations

To express finer thematic relationship, individual case forms are accompanied by prepositions. While in Serbo-Croatian prepositions combine only with oblique case forms, in Albanian they combine with Nominative forms, as well. Yet, they most frequently occur with NPs/DPs in the Acc and Abl cases.

8.5.1 Each preposition typically associates with a given case, though a preposition/case form association can denote several different relationships. Thus, the association of the preposition *me* 'with' with Acc case forms can denote accompaniment, as well as time. Examples:

- (353) a. *mish* *me* *fasule*
meat with beans.Pl.Acc
'meat with beans'
- b. *me* *1.* *nëntor*
on 1st November.Acc
'on the 1st of November'

8.5.2 Abl forms are commonly used only in Geg Albanian. In Tosk Albanian they are rare, and when occurring – usually in phrases denoting origin, such as the one in (354b₁) – they alternate with prepositional phrases. Thus, in Tosk Albanian, (354a₁) is not used, and (354b₂) is used more readily than (354b₁). In Geg Albanian, on the other hand, both (354a₁) and (354a₂) and both (354b₁) and (354b₂) are used, though (354a₁) and (354b₁) are preferred.³³⁴

³³³ Note, however, that there may be semantic differences. Thus, *im shoqe* denotes 'my wife', whereas *shoqja ime* denotes 'my (female) comrade'.

³³⁴ Examples (354a₁-a₂) are from Asenova (2002:95), with my glosses and translation. It may be noted that the NP/DP in the prepositional phrase in (354a₂) is indefinite, while the one in (354b₂) is definite. While in Romanian prepositions combine with nouns carrying the definite article only when the nouns are modified by an adjective or a relative clause (cf. 5.6.1), in Albanian both definite and indefinite NPs/DPs occur in prepositional phrases (More precisely, nouns in the Nom case have to be definite, nouns in the Acc case are usually indefinite, but can be definite when determined, whereas nouns in the Abl case can be definite or indefinite.)

- (354) a₁ %*Luajti* *mendsh.*
 get out.3Sg.Aor mind.Abl
- a₂ *Luajti* *nga* *mendtë.*
 get out.3Sg.Aor from mind+the.M.Pl.Nom
- ‘(S)he lost her/his mind.’ (lit. (S)he came out of her/his mind.)
- b₁ *qumësht* *dhensh*
 milk sheep.F.Sg.Abl
- b₂ *qumësht* *prej* *dhenve*
 milk from sheep.F.Sg.Dat/Abl
- ‘sheep milk’

8.5.3 As it may be noticed in 8.5.2, in prepositional phrases denoting a spacial ablative relationship the preposition *nga* is used, whereas in prepositional phrases denoting origin the preposition *prej* is used – both of them rendered in English by ‘from’. In (355) we have two more examples:³³⁵

- (355) a. *Iku* *nga* *stëpia.*
 get-out.3Sg.Aor from house+the.F.Sg
- ‘(S)he left her/his home.’ (lit. “(S)he got out from the house.”)
- b. *U* *sëmur* *prej* *gripit.*
 Refl.Cl become sick.3Sg.Aor from flu+the.M.Sg.Abl/Dat
- ‘(S)he got a flu.’ (lit. (S)he became sick of influenza.)

8.5.4 There are no specific prepositions that mark either direct or indirect objects – they are marked by distinct cases.

8.5.5 Possessive relationships are not, as a rule, marked by prepositions, either.

8.5.5.1 Articled possessums are linked to their possessors through agreement clitics:

- (356) a. (*e*) *motra* *e* *Agimit*
 F.Sg.Agr.Cl sister+the.F.Sg F.Sg.Agr.Cl Agim+the.M.Dat
- ‘Agim’s sister’
- b. (*e*) *motra* *e* *profesorit*
 F.Sg.Agr.Cl sister+the.F.Sg F.Sg.Agr.Cl professor+the.M.Dat
- ‘the professor’s sister’

³³⁵ The examples are from Asenova 2002:95, with my glosses and translation. While the preposition *nga* takes as complements NPs/DPs in the Nom case, the preposition *prej* takes NPs/DPs in the Dat case. Abl case forms are, however, often equivalent to Dat forms and we have phrases in which a noun with a Dat case ending alternates with a prepositional phrase in which the noun is in the Dat case. The following examples are from Asenova (2002:92), with my glosses and translation:

- (i) *lugë* *druri*
 spoon wood.M.Sg.Dat
- (i)’ *lugë* *prej* *druri*
 spoon from wood.M.Sg.Dat/Abl
- ‘wooden spoon’
- (ii) *unazë* *floriri*
 ring gold.M.Sg.Dat
- (ii)’ *unazë* *prej* *floriri*
 ring from gold.M.Sg.Dat/Abl
- ‘golden ring’

- c. *koka* *e* *profesorit*
 head+the.F.Sg F.Sg.Agr.Cl Agim+the.M.Dat
 ‘the professor’s head’
- d. *macja* *e* *bardhë e* *djalit*
 cat+the.F.Sg F.Sg.Agr.Cl white F.Sg.Agr.Cl boy+the.M.Dat
 ‘the boy’s white pig’
- e. *shtëpia* *e* *motrës* *sime*
 house+the.F.Sg F.Sg.Agr.Cl sister+the.F.Sg.Dat my.F.Sg
 ‘my sister’s house’
- f. *këmba* *e* *macës*
 leg+the.F.Sg F.Sg.Agr.Cl cat+the.F.Sg.Dat
 ‘the leg of the cat’
- g. *këmba* *e* *tavolinës*
 leg+the.F.Sg F.Sg.Agr.Cl table+the.F.Sg.Dat
 ‘the leg of the table’
- h. *një këmbë e* *tavolinës*
 a leg F.Sg.Agr.Cl table+the.F.Sg.Dat
 ‘a leg of the table’
- i. *një këmbë e* *një njeriu*
 a leg F.Sg.Agr.Cl a man
 ‘a leg of a man’
- j. *një këmbë e* *një tavolinë*
 a leg F.Sg.Agr.Cl a table
 ‘a leg of a table’

8.5.5.2 Possessive relationships of bare NP possessors to inanimate bare NP possessums are marked by placing the possessum and the possessor next to each other:³³⁶

- (357) a. *këmbë njeri*
 leg man.M.Sg.Dat
 ‘human leg’
- b. *këmbë mace*
 leg cat.F.Sg.Dat
 ‘cat’s leg’

³³⁶ In the Tosk Albanian dialect spoken in South-Western Macedonia (the Prespa region), the preposition *prej* ‘from’ is used in this case. The examples in (357) would in this dialect be as follows:

- (i) *%këmbë prej njeri*
 leg from man.M.Sg.Dat
 ‘human leg’
- (ii) *%këmbë prej mace*
 leg from cat.F.Sg.Dat
 ‘cat’s leg’
- (iii) *%këmbë prej tavoline*
 leg from table.F.Sg.Dat
 ‘table’s leg’

- c. *këmbë tavoline*
leg table+the.F.Sg.Dat
'table's leg'

8.5.6 The preposition *në* 'in/to' is used in both locative and directional PPs:

- (358) a. *Jetoj në Tiranë.*
live.1Sg in Tirana
'I live in Tirana.'
- b. *Shkoj në Tiranë.*
go.1Sg in Tirana
'I am going to Tirana.'

8.5.7 Prepositional phrases with the preposition *në* can be complements of adverbs, as well as of other prepositions:³³⁷

- (359) a. *brenda në shtëpi*
inside in house
'inside the house'
- b. *Vete gjer në bibliotekë.*
go.1Sg at in library
'I am going to the library.'
- c. *U nisën për në qytet.*
Refl.Cl.start.3Pl.Aor for in town
'They went to town.' (lit. 'They started to go for the town.')

9. Modern Greek

In Modern Greek there are distinct markers for four cases – traditionally called Nominative, Genitive, Accusative and Vocative, though they do not occur in every noun. There are DP-initial definite and indefinite articles.

9.1 Nominal declensions

Case relationships are marked by suffixes representing gender/number/case associations. The exact form of these suffixes varies according to the morphological class of the noun, defined in part by the stem-final element, though there is a considerable conformity between nouns of the same gender.

9.1.1 Gen and Acc cases are distinctly marked only with masculine nouns with *o*-stems. Polysyllabic nouns with *o*-stems also have a distinct Voc case marker. Thus, the noun *anthropos* 'man/human being' has the following forms:³³⁸

Table 48: Forms of the Modern Greek noun *anthropos* 'man/human being'

	Sg	Pl
Nom	<i>ánthropos</i>	<i>ánthropi</i>
Gen	<i>ánthrōpu</i>	<i>ánthrōpon</i>
Acc	<i>ánthropo</i>	<i>ánthrōpus</i>
Voc	<i>ánthrope</i>	=Nom

³³⁷ Examples (373b-c) are from Asenova (2002:103-104), with my glosses and translation.

³³⁸ The diacritics mark stress, which is represented only on the nouns in the paradigm. With disyllabic masculine nouns of the *o*-stem, the Voc case form is equivalent to the Acc case form. Unlike Acc case forms, Voc case forms are, however, never preceded by definite articles (cf. 9.2.4).

9.1.2 Masculine nouns ending on stems other than *-o* have one singular and one plural oblique (Gen/Acc/Voc) form, distinct from the Nom singular and Nom plural form, respectively. The paradigm of the masculine noun *andras* ‘man/husband’ is as follows:

Table 49: Forms of the Modern Greek noun *andras* ‘man/husband’

	Sg	Pl
Nom	<i>ándras</i>	<i>ándres</i>
Gen/Acc/Voc	<i>ándra</i>	<i>andrón</i>

9.1.3 With feminine and neuter nouns, only the Gen form is distinct from the Nom form. Thus, the feminine noun *kopela* ‘girl’ and the neuter noun *pedi* ‘child’ have only two singular and two plural forms each:³³⁹

Table 50: Forms of the Modern Greek nouns *kopela* ‘girl’ and *pedi* ‘child’

	<i>kopela</i> ‘girl’		<i>pedi</i> ‘child’	
	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
Nom	<i>kopéla</i>	<i>kopéles</i>	<i>pedhi</i>	<i>pedhjá</i>
Gen	<i>kopélas</i>	<i>kopélon</i>	<i>pedhjú</i>	<i>pedhjón</i>

9.1.4 As pointed out above, the Gen case can express Dat case relationships. Two DPs with Gen case, one of which would express Gen and the other Dat relationship, are, however, never encountered next to each other.³⁴⁰

³³⁹ Note that the Masc.Pl.Nom forms are identical to the Fem.Pl.Nom forms and the Masc.Pl.Gen forms are identical to the Fem.Pl.Gen ones.

³⁴⁰ As a rule, indirect objects occur to the right of direct objects only when the latter are scrambled to the left. However, when the direct object has a postnominal Gen modifier, the indirect object has to precede the direct object. In (360b) the Gen DP *tis Marias* occurs to the left of the Acc DP *to potiri tu patera*, and is interpreted as an indirect object; in (360c), on the other hand the Gen DP *tis Marias* occurs to the right of the Acc DP *to potiri tu patera*, and is interpreted as a possessive modifier of *tu patera*, which in turn is the possessive modifier of *to potiri*. (The examples are based on example (37) in Dimitriadis (1999)). If it follows a direct object which is modified by a Gen DP, the indirect object has to be rendered by a prepositional phrase with a DP in the Acc case, as in (i):

- (i) I Maria *edhose* to *potiri* tu *patera*
the.F.Sg Maria give.3Sg.Aor the.N.Sg.Acc glass the.M.Sg.Gen father.Gen
stin Ana.
to+the.F.Sg.Acc Ana
‘Maria gave her father’s glass to Ana.’

Note that historically, definite human possessive genitive DPs could occur prenominally, and proper name possessors frequently did so. In the Byzantine period, prenominal genitives in vernacular texts came to be limited to proper names and pronouns, and appeared only together with an adjective, as in (ii) (from. Manolessou (2000), quoted by Pancheva 2004:201).

- (ii) *ta eugenika* tu *Halepe* *korasia*
the.Pl kind.Pl the.M.Sg.Gen Halepe.Gen girls
‘Halepe’s kind girls’

In Modern Greek, possessive genitives can appear on either side of the possessums.

- (iii) *Thelo* to *vivlio* tu *patera.*
want.1Sg the.N.Sg book the.M.Sg.Gen father.Gen
(iii)’ *Thelo* tu *patera* to *vivlio.*
want.1Sg the.M.Sg.Gen father.Gen the.N.Sg book
‘I want your father’s book.’

- (360) a. *Edhosa tis Marias to vivlio.*
give.1Sg.Aor the.F.Sg.Gen Maria.Gen the.N.Sg.Acc book
'I gave Maria the book.'
- b. *Tis epese [tis Marias] [to potiri*
3Sg.F.Gen.Cl fall.3Sg.Aor the.F.Sg.Gen Maria.F.Gen the.N.Sg.Acc glass
[tu patera]].
the.M.Sg.Gen father.Gen
'Maria dropped her father's glass.' (lit. 'To Maria fell her father's glass.')
- c. *Tis epese [to potiri [tu*
3Sg.F.Gen.Cl fall.3Sg.Aor the.N.Sg glass the.M.Sg.Gen
patera [tis Marias]]].
father.Gen the.F.Sg.Gen Maria.Gen
'She dropped Maria's father's glass.' (lit. 'To her fell Maria's father's glass.')

9.1.5 Adjectives agree in gender, number and case with the noun they modify³⁴¹ and are usually placed to the left of that noun, though they can also be placed to their right.³⁴² Examples:

- (361) a. *I kopela foruse kokini fusta.*
the.F.Sg girl wear.3Sg.Imperf red.F.Sg dress
'The girl was wearing a red dress.'
- b. *I kopela foruse fusta kokini.*
the.F.Sg girl wear.3Sg.Imperf dress red.F.Sg
'The girl was wearing a dress, which was red.'

9.2 Articles

Modern Greek has definite and indefinite articles, both of which appear in DP-initial positions. Both articles have distinct forms for the Nom, Gen and Acc case, masculine feminine and neuter gender. In the case of the definite article, number distinctions are also made.

9.2.1 The forms of the indefinite and definite article are listed in tables 51 and 52:

Table 51: Modern Greek indefinite articles

	M	F	N
Nom	<i>enas</i>	<i>mia</i>	<i>ena</i>
Gen	<i>enos/ena</i>	<i>mias</i>	<i>enos</i>
Acc	<i>ena(n)</i>	<i>mia(n)</i>	=Nom

Table 52: Modern Greek definite articles

	M.Sg	F.Sg	N.Sg	M.Pl	F.Pl	N.Pl
Nom	<i>o</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ta</i>
Gen	<i>tu</i>	<i>tis</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>ton</i>	<i>ton</i>	<i>ton</i>
Acc	<i>to(n)</i>	<i>ti(n)</i>	=Nom	<i>tus</i>	<i>tis</i>	=Nom

9.2.2 Generic nouns, whether singular or plural, are always preceded by the definite article:

- (362) a. *I ghata ine eksipno zoo.*
the.F.Sg cat be.3Sg clever.N.Sg animal
'The cat is a clever animal.'

³⁴¹ The suffixes need not be phonetically the same as there is agreement only in gender, but not in conjugation type.

³⁴² There is some difference in the reading of postnominal adjectives.

- b. *I ghates ine eksipna zoa.*
 the.M/F.Pl cats be.3Pl clever.N.Pl animals
 ‘Cats are clever animals.’

9.2.3 Geographic names also carry the definite article. Examples:

- (363) a. *I Eladha ine i patridha mu.*
 the.F.Sg Greece be.3Sg the.F.Sg fatherland 1Sg.Dat.Cl
 ‘Greece is my fatherland/country.’
- b. *O Aksios ine o meghaliteros potamos*
 the.M.Sg Aksios be.3Sg the.M.Sg big.Compar river
tis Makedhonias.
 the.F.Sg.Gen Macedonia.Gen
 ‘The Aksios is the biggest river of Macedonia.’

9.2.4 With proper names, the definite article is regularly used, except when the noun occurs in the Voc case. Thus, it is used in a sentence such as (364a), but not in a sentence such as (364b):

- (364) a. *O Janis itan edho.*
 the.M.Sg Jani be.3Sg.Past here
 ‘Jannis was here.’
- b. *Jani!*
 Jani.Voc
 ‘Jannis!’

9.2.5 Common nouns used for direct reference do not carry the definite article, either:³⁴³

- (365) *Manula mu!*
 mother.Dimin 1Sg.Gen.Cl
 ‘My (dear) mother!’

9.2.6 Demonstratives regularly co-occur with the definite article. As shown in (366), the demonstrative precedes the article when it is used deictically, and follows the noun when it is used anaphorically:³⁴⁴

³⁴³ Article-less common nouns used for direct reference actually represent the Voc case of these nouns.

³⁴⁴ As pointed out by Campos and Stavrou (2004:159) the use of the demonstrative in pre-article position can be further accompanied by a pointing gesture. Supporting evidence is provided by the presence of a deictic reinforcer (*e/ki* ‘there’ and *(e)dho* ‘here’, which can be regularly suffixed onto the real (deictic) demonstrative (*ekino* ‘ki’ ‘that one over there’, *touto* ‘dho’ ‘this one here’), but are less commonly suffixed to the anaphoric demonstrative:

- (i) *afto (edho) to vivlio*
 this.N (here) the.N.Sg book
- (ii) *to vivlio afto (??edho)*
 the.N.Sg book this.N here
 ‘this book here’
- (iii) *to vivlio afto (?edho) to kalo*
 the.N.Sg book this.N here the.N.Sg nice.N
 ‘this nice book here’

Moreover, in the presence of a pronominal adjective, the demonstrative usually appears immediately after the adjective:

- (iv) *to oreo afto vivlio*
 the.N.Sg nice.N this.N book
 ‘the nice book’

- (366) a. *Pare* *afto* *to* *vivlio!*
 take.2Sg.Imper this the.N.Sg.Acc book
 'Take this book!'
- b. *O* *Janis* *aghorase* *kenurjo* *aftokinito*.
 the.M.Sg Janis buy.3Sg.Aor new.N.Sg car
To *aftokinito* *afto* *exi* *provlmata*.
 the.N.Sg.Acc car this.N have.3Sg problems
 'Janis bought a new car. The car has problems.'

9.2.7 The relative pronoun *opio* 'who/which' is, as a rule, preceded by the definite article:³⁴⁵

- (367) a. *Ksero* *tin* *kopela tin* *opia*
 know.1Sg the.F.Sg.Acc girl the.F.Sg.Acc whom.F.Acc
zituses.
 seek.2Sg.Imperf
 'I know the girl whom you were seeking.'
- b. *O* *anthropos* *o* *opios* *ine* *filos*
 the.M.Sg man the.M.Sg who.M be.3Sg friend
mu *tha* *sas* *milisi*.
 1Sg.Gen.Cl will.Mod.Cl 3Pl.Gen.Cl speak.3Sg
 'The man who is my friend will speak to you.'

9.2.8 The definite article precedes obligatorily the full (non-clitic) reflexive pronoun *afto* 'self', which is also obligatorily followed by a possessive clitic that agrees in person and number with the subject:³⁴⁶

The post-adjectival demonstrative is also prone to an anaphoric interpretation. *Afto* in (iii) is used only to refer back to a nice book already mentioned and established in the discourse. Various analyses have been proposed for the behaviour of the demonstratives. Thus, Stavrou and Horrocks (1989), within the broader spirit of lexical phonology and parallel morphology, proposed that Modern Greek demonstratives are categories of X⁰ level and intermediate in status between clitics and fully independent words. They have the potential for syntactic independence when stressed, but distributionally tend to behave like clitics. Stavrou and Horrocks point out that demonstratives can be (emphatically) stressed in pre-article position, but crucially not in the intermediate position (i.e., between the adjective and the noun):

- (v) **to* *oreo* *AFTO* *vivlio*
 The.N.Sg nice.N this.N book
- (vi) *AFTO* *to* *vivlio*
 this.N the.N.Sg book
 'THIS nice book'

Demonstratives, unlike clitic genitives, do not have a clear affixal status but may combine with a preceding head to form a phonological phrase based on a morphologically determined dependency. Accordingly, the sequence adjective + demonstrative constitutes a morphological word and is formed away from the lexicon, either in syntactically predefined D-Structure or S-Structure (cf. Campos and Stavrou 2004:160).

³⁴⁵ In many environments, the inflecting relative pronoun *opio* may alternate with the invariant relative pronoun *pu* 'that'. Thus, alongside (367b) we can have (i):

- (i) *O* *anthropos* *pu* *ine* *filos* *mu* *tha*
 the.M.Sg man that be.3Sg friend 1Sg.Gen.Cl will.Mod.Cl
sas *milisi*.
 2Sg.Gen.Cl speak.3Sg
 'The man that is my friend will speak to you.'

When the relative pronoun is accompanied by a preposition, however, *opio* is the only choice.

³⁴⁶ The example is from Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton (1987:162).

- (368) *O Janis xtipise ton eafto tu.*
 the.M.Sg Janis hit.3Sg.Aor the.M.Sg.Acc self 3Sg.M.Gen.Cl
 ‘Janis hit himself.’

9.2.9 Nouns modified by the universal quantifier *olos* ‘all’ are always accompanied by the definite article:

- (369) *Mu ksodepse ola ta lefta.*
 1Sg.Gen.Cl spend.3Sg.Aor all.N.Pl.Acc the.N.Pl.Acc money.N.Pl
 ‘He spent all my money.’

9.2.10 Some verbs take what Balkanists call “two direct objects”,³⁴⁷ the first of which carries the definite article, while the second does not:

- (370) *...na tu doso tin kori mu*
 Subj.Mark 3Sg.Gen.Cl give.1Sg the.F.Sg.Acc daughter 1Sg.Gen.Cl
ghineka.
 wife
 ‘...to give him my daughter as a wife.’

9.2.11 In definite DPs with adjectival modifiers the article can “spread”, i.e. can occur to the left of each adjective.³⁴⁸ Thus, we can have the following DP strings:

- (371) a. *o kalos filos*
 the.M.Sg good.M.Sg friend
 b. *o kalos o filos*
 the.M.Sg good.M.Sg the.M.Sg friend
 c. *o filos o kalos*
 the.M.Sg friend the.M.Sg good.M.Sg
 ‘the good friend’
- (372) a. *to megalo omorfo spiti*
 the.N.Sg big.N.Sg beautiful.N.Sg house
 b. *to megalo to omorfo spiti*
 the.N.Sg big.N.Sg the.N.Sg beautiful.N.Sg house
 c. *to spiti to megalo to omorfo*
 the.N.Sg house the.N.Sg big.N.Sg the.N.Sg beautiful.N.Sg
 ‘the big beautiful house’

9.2.11.1 Traditional Greek grammars, as well as certain current analyses (*cf.* Androutsopoulou 1995, Manolessou 2000), take the DPs with more than one definite article to be stylistic variants of

³⁴⁷ The second object is actually a small clause predicate (*cf.* footnote 3).

³⁴⁸ In DPs with pre-nominal adjectives the “spread” of the articles signals emphasis. The difference between the construction with a post-nominal adjective preceded by a definite article and the construction with a post-nominal adjective immediately following the noun, transpires through the translation of the following sentences:

- (i) *Mu aresun i fustes i kondes.*
 1Sg.Gen.Cl please.3Pl the.F.Pl dresses the.F.Sg short.F.Pl
 ‘I like SHORT dresses.’
- (ii) *Mu aresun i fustes kondes.*
 1Sg.Gen.Cl please.3Pl the.F.Pl dresses short.F.Pl
 ‘I like the dresses (to be) short.’

the DPs with only one definite article. Campos and Stavrou (2004), however, following Koliakou (1995), show that DPs with more definite articles, referred to as “polydefinites”, differ from DPs with only one definite article, i.e. from “monadic” DPs – syntactically, semantically and phonologically.

9.2.11.2 Campos and Stavrou list four syntactic differences between polydefinite and monadic DPs. Unlike the adjectives in monadic DPs, the adjectives in polydefinite constructions (a) cannot be modified by an adverb of degree or quantification; (b) cannot take complements; (c) cannot co-occur with quantifiers and numerals; or (d) cannot be followed by a possessive clitic. Thus, we have the following contrasts:³⁴⁹

- (373) a. **to* *toso/poli/pjo* *oreo* *to* *vivlio*
the.N.Sg so/very/more nice.N.Sg the.N.Sg book
b. *to* *toso/poli/pjo* *oreo* *vivlio*
the.N.Sg so/very/more nice.N.Sg book
‘the so nice/very nice /nicer book’
- (374) a. **i* *perifani* *ja* *ta* *pedhja* *tis*
the.F.Sg proud of the.N.Pl children 3Sg.F.Gen.Cl
i *mana*
the.F.Sg mother
b. *i* *perifani* *ja* *ta* *pedhja* *tis*
the.F.Sg proud of the.N.Pl children 3Sg.F.Gen.Cl
mana
mother
‘the mother proud of her children’
- (375) a. **ta* *pola/* *tria* *vivlia* *ta* *orea*
the.N.Pl many.N.Pl three.N.Pl books the.N.Pl nice.N.Pl
b. **ta* *orea* *ta* *pola/* *tria* *vivlia*
the.N.Pl nice.N.Pl the.N.Pl many.N.Pl three.N.Pl books
c. *ta* *pola/* *tria* *orea* *vivlia*
the.N.Pl many.N.Pl three.N.Pl nice.N.Pl books
‘the many/three nice books’
- (376) a. **to* *spiti* *to* *oreo* *tu*
the.N.Sg house the.N.Sg nice.N.Sg 3Sg.M.Gen.Cl
b. *to* *oreo* *tu* *spiti*
the.N.Sg nice.N.Sg 3Sg.M.Gen.Cl house
‘the nice house’

9.2.11.3 The polydefinite DPs imply a contrast and are organized around the presupposition/focus distinction, the article-noun sequence constituting the presupposition and the article-adjective one the focus. This is illustrated in the following text (from Campos and Stavrou 2004:141-142):

³⁴⁹ Example (373b) is from Campos and Stavrou (2004:163), example (374b) from Campos and Stavrou (2004:164), examples (375) and (376) from Campos and Stavrou (2004:141).

- (377) A: *Ti tha paris tu Petru – to*
 what will.Mod.Cl buy.2Sg the.M.Sg.Gen Petro.Gen.Sg the.N.Sg
fako i tin pena?
 lense or the.F.Sg.Acc pen
 ‘What will you buy for Petru – the lense or the pen?’
- B: *Tin pena.*
 the.F.Sg.Acc pen
 ‘The pen.’
- A: *Pja pena – ti xrisi i tin*
 which.F.Sg pen the.F.Sg.Acc golden.F.Sg.Acc or the.F.Sg.Acc
asimenja?
 silver.F.Sg.Adj
 ‘Which pen – the golden or the silver one?’
- B: *Nomizo tin asimenja tin pena.*
 think.1Sg the.F.Sg.Acc silver.F.Sg.Adj the.F.Sg.Acc pen
 ‘I think, the silver one.’

9.2.11.4 The articulated adjective in a polydefinite DP is always interpreted restrictively, which is why an intensive postnominal evaluative (speaker oriented) adjective cannot be preceded by an article:³⁵⁰

- (378) *O monos tu *o erotus ine i dhulja*
 the.M.Sg only 3Sg.M.Gen.Cl the.M.Sg love be.3Sg the.F.Sg work
tu.
 3Sg.M.Sg.Gen
 ‘His only love is his work.’

9.2.11.5 An adjective which in a monadic DP denotes a permanent property, in a polydefinite construction may denote a temporary property:³⁵¹

- (379) a. *I orati asterismi perilamvanun ti*
 the.M.Pl visible.M.Pl constellations include.3Pl the.F.Sg.Acc
Meghali Arkto.
 Big.F.Sg Ursus
 ‘The visible constellations include the Big Ursus.’
- b. *I asterismi i orati perilamvanun*
 the.F.Pl constellations the.F.Pl visible.F.Pl include.3Pl
ti Meghali Arkto.
 the.F.Sg.Acc Big.F.Sg Ursus
 ‘The constellations visible (at this moment) include the Big Ursus.’

9.2.11.6 The distinct syntactic and semantic properties of polydefinite DPs are reflected in the stress pattern of the DP. In a polydefinite construction, the noun can never be contrastively stressed, while in a monadic DP that is possible:³⁵²

³⁵⁰ Example from Campos and Stavrou (2004:144).

³⁵¹ Examples from Campos and Stavrou (2004:146)

³⁵² Examples from Campos and Stavrou (2004:147)

- (380) a. *i* *pena* *i* *asimenja/ASIMENJA*
 the.F.Sg pen the.F.Sg silver.F.Sg.Adj
- b. *i* *ASIMENJA* *i* *pena*
 the.F.Sg silver.F.Sg.Adj the.F.Sg pen
- c. **i* *PENA* *i* *asimenja*
 the.F.Sg pen the.F.Sg silver.F.Sg.Adj
- d. **i* *asimenja* *i* *PENA*
 the.F.Sg silver.F.Sg.Adj the.F.Sg pen
- e. *i* *asimenja* *pena/PENA*
 the.F.Sg silver.F.Sg.Adj pen

9.2.11.7 Having pointed at the above facts, Campos and Stavrou (2004) conclude that the polydefinite DPs cannot be stylistic variants of monadic DPs. They have different, though sometimes overlapping distribution, due to the fact that in polydefinites the adjective is always a restrictive modifier, whereas in monadic DPs it can be restrictive or non-restrictive, the distinction being pragmatically conditioned.³⁵³

9.2.12 The neuter definite article can act as a clausal nominalizer. Examples:

- (381) a. *To* *oti* *o* *Janis* *ine* *enoxos* *ine* *fanero*.
 the.N.Sg that the.M.Sg Janis be.3Sg guilty.M.Sg be.3Sg obvious
 ‘That Janis is guilty is obvious.’
- b. *Ine* *provlima* *to* *na* *ine* *enoxos*
 be.3Sg problem the.N.Sg Subj.Mark be.3Sg guilty.M.Sg
o *Janis*.
 the.M.Sg Janis
 ‘Janis’s being guilty is a problem.’
- c. *Ine* *dhisaresto* *to* *na* *ksipnas*
 be.3Sg unpleasant.N.Sg the.N.Sg Subj.Mark get-up.2Sg
proi.
 early
 ‘It is a nuisance to get up early.’

³⁵³ Note that a polydefinite construction can include an article, occurring to the right of the noun:

- (i) *to* *vivlio* *afto* *to* *kalo*
 the.N.Sg book this.N the.N.Sg good.N.Sg
 ‘this good book’

When two adjectives are conjoined, only one article appears:

- (ii) *to* *vivlio* *afto* *to* *kalo* *ke* *palio*
 the.N.Sg book this.N the.N.Sg good.N.Sg and old.N.Sg
 ‘the good and old book’

If the article is repeated, either with or without the demonstrative, the construction is interpreted as referring to two different books:

- (ii) *to* *vivlio* *afto* *to* *kalo* *ke* *(afto)* *to* *palio*
 the.N.Sg book this.N the.N.Sg good.N.Sg and that.N the.N.Sg old.N.Sg
 ‘the good and the bad book’

9.3 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns have full Acc forms for 1st and 2nd person, singular and plural and distinct 3rd person full masculine, feminine and neuter, singular and plural forms. There are Acc and Gen clitic forms for 1st and 2nd person, singular or plural, as well as distinct masculine, feminine and neuter, singular or plural, 3rd person Nom, Acc and Gen clitic forms.³⁵⁴

9.3.1 The paradigm of the Modern Greek personal pronouns is as follows:³⁵⁵

Table 53: Modern Greek personal pronouns

	Nom (full)	Nom (clitic)	Gen (full)	Acc (full)	Gen (clitic)	Acc (clitic)
1Sg	<i>egho</i>	—	—	<i>emena</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>me</i>
1Pl	<i>emis</i>	—	—	<i>emas</i>	= = = = <i>mas</i>	= = = =
2Sg	<i>esi</i>	—	—	<i>esena</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>se</i>
2Pl	<i>esis</i>	—	—	<i>esas</i>	= = = = <i>sas</i>	= = = =
3Sg.M	<i>aftos</i>	<i>tos</i>	<i>aftu</i>	<i>afton</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>to(n)</i>
3Pl.M	<i>afti</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>afton</i>	<i>aftus</i>	= = = = = <i>tus</i>	= = = = =
3Sg.F	<i>afti</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>afti(ni)s</i>	<i>aftin</i>	<i>tis</i>	<i>ti(n)</i>
3Pl.F	<i>aftes</i>	<i>tes</i>	<i>afton</i>	=Nom	<i>tus</i>	<i>tis</i>
3Sg.N	<i>afto</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>aftu</i>	=Nom	<i>tu</i>	<i>to</i>
3Pl.N	<i>afta</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>afton</i>	=Nom	<i>tus</i>	<i>ta</i>

9.3.2 The Gen clitic pronouns function as nominal modifiers expressing possessive relationships, and as arguments expressing dative relationships:³⁵⁶

- (382) a. *O Janis xtipise to pedi mu*
the.M.Sg Janis hit.3Sg.Aor the.N.Sg child 1Sg.Gen.Cl
‘Janis hit my child.’
- b. *Dhos mu to!*
give.2Sg.Imper 1Sg.Gen.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
‘Give it to me!’

9.3.3 The third person Gen and Acc pronominal clitics are identical in form to the Gen and Acc forms of the definite article. The relationship between the pronominal clitics and the definite article

³⁵⁴ Ancient Greek had first and second person Gen possessive clitics (in the DP), which it uses rarely, preferring instead the possessive adjective. The early Byzantine period sees the death of the possessive adjective and subsequent extension of the use of the Gen clitics in indirect object positions (in the CP). The Greek third person clitics developed in this period. (cf. Smyth 1965).

³⁵⁵ The third person pronouns are equivalent to the proximate demonstrative pronouns. There are no reflexive clitics. The counterparts of the Balkan Slavic and Balkan Romance passive, middle, absolutive and impersonal constructions, which in these languages employ reflexive clitics, in Modern Greek employ medio-passive forms of the verb. Compare the Bulgarian sentence (i) to its Modern Greek counterpart (ii), both from Rivero (2004:239):

- (i) *Na Ivan mu se stroi kăšta.*
to Ivan 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl build.3Pl house
- (ii) *Tu Ben tu xtizete spiti.*
the.M.Sg.Gen Ben 3Sg.M.Gen.Cl build.3Sg.M-P.Pres house
- ‘A house is being built for Ivan/Ben.’

³⁵⁶ In the northern Greek dialects, dative relationships can with some verbs be expressed, not only by Gen, but also by Acc clitics. Example:

- (i) *Tu/ton dhidhaksa mathimatika.*
3Sg.M.Sg.Gen/Acc.Cl teach.1Sg.Aor mathematics
‘I taught him mathematics.’

is not direct, however. The third person Gen and Acc clitics developed not earlier than the 12th century, from the third person demonstrative pronoun *utos* ‘this’, whose etymology is uncertain, though the second part of the word, *-tos*, is from the same root as the Ancient Greek definite articles (cf. Manolessou 2000, who refers to Wackernagel 1924:125-152, Meier Brugger 1992:146).³⁵⁷

9.3.4 The full pronouns are, as a rule, used in emphatic environments:

- (383) a. Question: *Pjanu/pju* *ine* *afto* *to* *vivlio?*
 who.M.Sg.Gen be.3Sg it/this.N.Sg the.N.Sg book
 ‘Whose is this book?’
- Answer: *Afti(ni)s.*
 her.Gen
 ‘Hers.’
- b. *O* *ponos* *afinis* *den* *lejte.*
 the.M.Sg pain her.Gen not imagine.3Sg.M-P.Pres
 ‘Her pain cannot be imagined.’

9.3.5 While full pronouns are used as complements of the primary (simple) prepositions *me* ‘with’, *se* ‘to’, *ja* ‘for’ *apo* ‘from’, clitics occur as complements of composite (adverbial) prepositions, such as *brosta* ‘in front of’ *epano* ‘over/above’ (cf. Joseph and Philippaki-Warbuton 1987:157):³⁵⁸

- (384) a₁ *Afto* *ine* *efkolo* *ja* *mena/* **me/*
 it/this.n be.3Sg easy.N.Sg for me.Acc 1Sg.Acc.Cl
**mu.*
 1Sg.Gen.Cl
 ‘It is easy for me.’
- a₂ *se* *emena/* **me/* **mu*
 to me.Acc 1Sg.Acc.Cl 1Sg.Gen.Cl
 ‘to me’
- b₁ *brosta* *mu/* **emena*
 in-front-of 1Sg.Gen.Cl me.Gen
 ‘in front of me’
- b₂ *epano* *tis/* **afti(ni)s*
 over/above 3Sg.F.Gen.Cl her.Gen
 ‘above her’

9.3.6 The 3rd person nominative clitic pronouns occur with just the predicates *ná* ‘here’ and *pún* ‘where?’:³⁵⁹

³⁵⁷ Starting from the Hellenistic period, a long process of evolution which lasted throughout the Byzantine period and ended in early Modern Greek resulted in the passage from the tripartite Ancient Greek system (“this” – “that” – “yonder”) to a bipartite one (“this” – “that”). Cf. Manolessou (2000).

³⁵⁸ Note that the composite preposition can be followed by a simple one, in which case a full pronoun occurs as a complement:

- (i) *brosta* *se* *emena*
 in-front-of to me.Acc
 ‘in front of me’

³⁵⁹ As pointed out by Joseph (2001a:254), from whom these examples are taken, any conceivable sentence with nominative clitics with predicates other than *ná* and *pún* is effectively ungrammatical. According to Joseph (2001a:256), the development of the nominative clitics is formally motivated by analogy. He assumes that an innovative pattern

9.4.1.1 In (387a), (387b) and (387c) we have examples of relationships of alienable possession, inalienable possession, and kinship, respectively:

- (387) a. *to* *vivlio* *tu*
the.N.Sg book 3Sg.N.Gen.Cl
'his book'
- b. *to* *heri* *mu*
the.N.Sg hand 1Sg.Gen.Cl
'my hand'
- c. *o* *pateras* *su*
the.M.Sg father 2Sg.Gen.Cl
'your father'

9.4.1.2 In (388a) the Gen pronominal clitic relates to a definite [+human] noun denoting family relationship, in (388b) to a definite [+human] noun not denoting family relationship, in (388c) to a definite [-animate, +concrete] noun, in (388d-e) to definite [-concrete] nouns, whereas in (388f) it relates to an indefinite noun:

- (388) a. *O* *Jorghos* *idhe* *tin* *kori*
the.M.Sg Jorghos see.1Sg.Aor the.F.Sg.Acc daughter
su.
2Sg.Gen.Cl
'Jorgo saw your daughter.'
- b. *Pigha* *to* *pedhi* *su* *sto* *sxolio*.
take.1Sg.Aor the.N.Sg child 2Sg.Gen.Cl on/to+the.N.Sg school
'I took your child to school.'
- c. *Tha* *boruses* *na* *mu* *dhanisis*
will.Mod.Cl can.2Sg Subj.Mark 1Sg.Gen.Cl lend.2Sg.Perf.Pres
to *vivlio* *su?*
the.N.Sg book 2Sg.Gen.Cl
'Could you lend me your book?'
- d. *Dhen* *iksere* *pos* *na* *perasi*
not know.3Sg.Aor how Subj.Mark spend.3Sg.Perf.Pres
ti *mera* *tis*.
the.F.Sg.Acc day 3Sg.F.Gen.Cl
'She didn't know how to spend her day.'
- e. *Dhen* *kataferame* *na* *apandisume* *tis*
not succeed.1Pl.Aor Subj.Mark answer.1Pl the.F.Pl.Acc
erotisis *tus*.
questions 3Pl.Gen.Cl
'We didn't succeed in answering their questions.'
- f. *Tha* *boruses* *na* *mu* *dhanisis*
will.Mod.Cl can.2Sg Subj.Mark 1Sg.Gen.Cl lend.2Sg
ena/kapjo *vivlio* *tis?*
a.N/some.N.Sg book 3Sg.F.Gen.Cl
'Could you lend me a/some book of hers?'

9.4.2 The basic, unmarked, canonical position of the possessive Gen clitic is to the immediate right of the noun, where Gen DPs are also canonically placed:

- (389) a. *to* *vivlio* *tu*
 the.N.Sg book 3Sg.M.Gen.Cl
 ‘his book’
- b. *to* *vivlio* *tu* *fititi*
 the.N.Sg book the.M.Sg.Gen student.Gen
 ‘the student’s book’

9.4.2.1 In DPs with prenominal adjectives, the possessive clitic may appear to the right of the noun or “climb” up the DP and encliticize to a prenominal adjective or a non-clitic determiner, with no apparent change in meaning.³⁶² Thus, we have the following alternative DPs:³⁶³

- (390) a. *ola* *tus* *ta* *prosfata* *epistimonika* *arthra*
 all 3Pl.Gen.Cl the.N.Pl recent.N.Pl scientific.N.Pl papers
- b. *ola* *ta* *prosfata* *tus* *epistimonika* *arthra*
 all the.N.Pl recent.N.Pl 3Pl.Gen.Cl scientific.N.Pl papers
- c. *ola* *ta* *prosfata* *epistimonika* *tus* *arthra*
 all the.N.Pl recent.N.Pl scientific.N.Pl 3Pl.Gen.Cl papers
- d. *ola* *ta* *prosfata* *epistimonika* *arthra* *tus*
 all the.N.Pl recent.N.Pl scientific.N.Pl papers 3Pl.Gen.Cl
 ‘all their recent scientific papers’

9.4.2.2 Modern Greek possessive clitics are not restricted to definite DPs; they can also occur in indefinite DPs and encliticize to the indefinite article or some other indefinite determiner.³⁶⁴

- (391) *ena/* *kapjo* ← *tis* *vivlio*
 a.F some 3Sg.F.Gen.Cl book
 ‘a/some book of hers’

9.4.2.3 When the adjective surfaces post-nominally, in either indefinite or definite DPs, the clitic obligatorily encliticizes to the noun:³⁶⁵

- (392) a. *enas* *filos* ← *mu* *pedhikos*
 a.N.Sg friend 1Sg.Gen.Cl childish
 ‘a friend of mine from childhood’

³⁶² The occurrence of an adjectival modifier does not change the position of the possessive clitic, which can never be hosted by the adjectival modifier:

- (i) *o* *kapjos* **tis* *ipervolikos* ← *tis* *entusiasmos*
 the.M.Sg somewhat 3Sg.F.Gen.Cl excessive.M.Sg 3Sg.F.Gen.Cl enthusiasm
 ‘her somewhat excessive enthusiasm’

When the clitic encliticizes to speaker-oriented prenominal adjectives such as *kalos* ‘good’ or *oreos* ‘beautiful’ or to adjectives that receive temporal interpretation such as *palios* ‘old’, *pedhikos* ‘of childhood’, *telefteos* ‘last’, special meanings of the adjective can be obtained (cf. Alexiadou and Stavrou 2000:70).

- (ii) *Hithike* *ladhi* *ke* *lerothike* *to* *kalo* ←
 spill.3Sg.M-P.Aor oil and get-stained.3Sg.M-P.Aor the.N.Sg good.N.Sg
mu *pantaloni*.
 1Sg.Gen.Cl trousers
 ‘Oil was spilt and my good/formal trousers got filthy.’

³⁶³ From Kolliakou (1998), quoted in Pancheva (2004:200).

³⁶⁴ Example from Pancheva (2004:200)

³⁶⁵ Examples from Alexiadou and Stavrou (2004:67)

- b. *to* *vivlio* ← *mu* *to* *kenurjo*
 the.N.Sg book 1Sg.Gen.Cl the.N.Sg new.N.Sg
 ‘my NEW book/the new book of mine’

9.4.2.4 When the noun is preceded by an adjective with a complement, the clitic is also exclusively hosted by the noun.³⁶⁶

- (393) *o* *perifanos* *ja* *ta* *pedhja* ← *tu*
 the.M.Sg proud.M.Sg for the.N.Pl children 3Sg.M.Gen.Cl
pateras ← *tis*
 father 3Sg.F.Gen.Cl
 ‘her father, who is proud of his children’

9.4.2.5 There is an animacy restriction on the hosting of Gen clitics by adjectives: the clitic can refer to animate nouns, but not to inanimate ones (*cf.* Alexiadou and Stavrou 2000:71; *cf.* also Alexiadou 2001; Alexiadou, Stavrou and Haegeman 2000).³⁶⁷ Thus, we have the following acceptability judgements:

- (394) a. *o* *trelos* (*tu*) *filos* (*tu*)
 the.M.Sg crazy.M.Sg 3Sg.M.Gen.Cl friend 3Sg.M.Gen.Cl
 ‘his (a person’s) crazy friend’
 b. *o* *trelos* (**tu*) *odhigos* (*tu*)
 the.M.Sg crazy.M.Sg 3Sg.M.Gen.Cl driver 3Sg.M.Gen.Cl
 ‘its (a car’s) crazy driver’

9.4.2.6 No animacy restriction, however, holds with objects of inalienable possession:

- (395) *ta* *meghala* (*tu*) *dulapja* (*tu*)
 the.N.Pl big.N.Pl 3Sg.N.Gen.Cl cupboards 3Sg.N.Gen.Cl
 ‘its (a room’s) big cupboards’

9.4.3 Possessive clitics do not double lexical nominal expression, but can double full 1st and 2nd person, singular or plural (non-clitic) pronouns, though the constructions containing such pronouns and clitics are quite restricted and appear in a limited range of (mainly affected) contexts – e. g. in exclamatory addresses such as (396) (*cf.* Stavrou 2004):³⁶⁸

³⁶⁶ Example from Alexiadou and Stavrou (2004:67)

³⁶⁷ Alexiadou and Stavrou (2000:69) also observe that adjectives which are ambiguous with post-nominal possessive clitics, become unambiguous when the clitic encliticizes to an adjective to the left of the noun. In particular, whereas an adjective such as *paljo* ‘old’ may mean ‘former’ or ‘aged’ in (i), it may only mean ‘former’ in (ii).

- (i) *to* *paljo* *aftokinito* *mu*
 the.N.Sg old.N.Sg car 1Sg.Gen.Cl
 1. ‘my former car (the car I used to own)’
 2. ‘my aged car’
 (ii) *to* *paljo* *mu* *aftokinito*
 the.N.Sg old.N.Sg 1Sg.Gen.Cl car
 ‘my former car (i.e. the car I used to own)’

³⁶⁸ While third person full pronouns, which can distinctly be marked for Gen case, can act as possessive modifiers by themselves, first and second person full pronouns, which do not have distinct Gen markers, can do so only if accompanied by Gen pronominal clitics. Stavrou (2004) argues that the structures involving a Gen clitic and a full pronoun look more like dislocational than doubling structures. A comparison of these structures with the Macedonian structures with clitic-doubled possessive modifiers (*cf.* footnote 56), however, speaks in favour of unification of DP internal dislocational and doubling structures.

- (396) *To pedhaki mu emena!*
 the.N.Sg child.Dim 1Sg.Gen.Cl me.Acc
 ‘My dear little child!’

9.4.4 DP Gen clitics in preverbal position should be distinguished from clausal Gen clitics, even in cases such as (397), where the clausal clitics are given possessive interpretation:³⁶⁹

- (397) a. *Mu ksodepse ola ta lefta.*
 1Sg.Gen.Cl spend.3Sg.Aor all.F.Acc the.N.Pl.Acc money.Pl
 ‘He spent all my money.’
- b. *Tu pandrevete i kori.*
 3Sg.M.Gen.Cl marry.3Sg.M-P.Pres the.F.Sg daughter
 ‘His daughter is getting married.’
- c. *?Mu ine arosto to pedhi.*
 1Sg.Gen.Cl be.3Sg sick.N.Sg the.N.Sg child
 ‘My child is sick.’
- d. *?Su xathike to vivlio.*
 2Sg.Gen.Cl get lost.3Sg.M-P.Aor the.N.Sg book
 ‘Your book got lost.’
- e. *??Tis ine monotoni i mera.*
 3Sg.Gen.Cl be.3Sg monotonous.F.Sg the.F.Sg day
 ‘Her day is monotonous.’
- f. *Mu espase to xeri.*
 1Sg.Gen.Cl break.3Sg.Aor the.N.Sg.Acc hand
 ‘(S)he broke my hand.’

9.4.4.1 The DP Gen clitics can actually co-occur with clausal Gen clitics:

- (398) a. *Mu ksodepse ola ta lefta*
 1Sg.Gen.Cl spent.3Sg.Aor all.F.Pl the.N.Pl.Acc money.Pl
mu.
 1Sg.Gen.Cl
 ‘(S)he spent all my money.’
- b. *Mu kurase tin adelfi mu.*
 1Sg.Gen.Cl wear-out.3Sg.Aor the.F.Sg.Acc sister 1Sg.Gen.Cl
 ‘He wore out my sister.’
- c. *Tu pira ta fruta tu.*
 3Sg.M.Gen.Cl take.3Sg.Aor the.N.Pl.Acc fruit.N.Pl 3Sg.M.Gen.Cl
 ‘(S)he took his fruit.’
- d. *Tu fevgi i kori tu.*
 3Sg.M.Gen.Cl leave.3Sg the.F.Sg daughter 3Sg.M.Gen.Cl
 ‘(S)he is leaving her daughter to him.’

³⁶⁹ Note that the occurrence of clausal Gen clitics with possessive interpretation is not possible in all environments. It appears to be restricted to transitive and unaccusative verbs.

9.4.4.2 The Gen clitics in (397) are beneficiary clausal clitics, analogous to those represented by beneficiary dative clitics in the Slavic and Romance languages.³⁷⁰ As in the other Balkan languages, beneficiaries are morphologically represented by the same clitics as indirect objects, the formal representation of which, in turn, has merged with the formal representation of possessive DP modifiers.

9.4.4.3 Beneficiary clitics should be distinguished from the expressive Gen clitics corresponding to the Slavic ethical Dat clitics.³⁷¹ Compare the interpretations of the Gen clitics in (398) to those in (399):

- (399) a. *Ti mu kanis?*
 what 1Sg.Gen.Cl do.3Sg
 ‘How are you, my dear?’ (lit. ‘What are you doing to me my dear?’)
- b. *Na mu tros kala.*
 Subj.Mark 1Sg.Gen.Cl eat.2Sg well
 ‘You should eat well, my dear.’
- c. *Ti mu grafis ekei?*
 what 1Sg.Gen.Cl write.2Sg there
 ‘What are you writing (there), my dear.’

9.5 Use of prepositions to express case relations

9.5.1 Dative relationships can be expressed by Gen case markers, as well as by Acc case markers on the article coupled with Nom or Acc case markers on the noun, plus a preposition – most frequently the preposition *se* ‘on/to’.³⁷²

9.5.1.1 In the standard dialect, spoken in Athens and most of Southern Greece, the indirect object is alternatively marked by Gen case markers or preposition + Acc case markers:

- (400) a. *Eghrapsa tis Marias.*
 write.1Sg.Aor the.F.Sg.Gen Maria.Gen
- b. *Eghrapsa sti Maria.*
 write.1Sg.Aor to+the.F.Sg.Acc Maria.
 ‘I wrote to Maria.’
- (401) a. *Edhosa tu Jorghu ta vivlia.*
 give.1Sg.Aor the.M.Sg.Gen Jorghos.Gen the.N.Pl books

³⁷⁰ Cf. 1.5.8.2, 1.5.8.3, 2.5.9 and 5.5.3. Note that not all beneficiary Gen clitics have possessive interpretation. The Gen clitic in (i), for example, is three-ways ambiguous. It can be a beneficiary clitic with possessive interpretation, a beneficiary clitic with a different beneficiary interpretation and a non-beneficiary clausal argument:

- (i) *Mu eklise tin porta.*
 1Sg.Gen.Cl shut.3Sg.Aor the.F.Sg door
 1. ‘He shut my door.’
 2. ‘He shut the door for me (i.e. on my behalf).’
 3. ‘He shut the door to me (and left me out).’

³⁷¹ Note, however, that while in Bulgarian and Macedonian the ethical Dat clitics can co-occur with other clausal Dat clitics, their Modern Greek correlates cannot do so.

³⁷² The prepositions *apo* ‘from’ and *me* ‘with’ + Acc case markers can also mark indirect objects:

- (i) *Zita apo to Jorgho ena potiri nero!*
 ask.2Sg.Imper from the.M.Sg.Acc Jorgho.Acc a.M.Acc glass water
 ‘Ask Jorghos for a glass of water!’

- b. *Edhosa sto Jorgho ta vivlia.*
 give.1Sg.Aor to+the.M.Sg.Acc Jorghos.Acc the.N.Pl books.N
 'I gave Jorghos the books.'

9.5.1.2 In some cases, there is an asymmetry between the use of the prepositional phrase and the Gen phrase (cf. Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 2000:57) – whereas the prepositional phrase is possible with [+animate] and [-animate] indirect objects, the Gen phrase is grammatical only with [+animate] ones:

- (402) a₁ *Estila ston Petro to ghrama.*
 send.1Sg.Aor to+the.M.Sg.Acc Petros.Acc the.N.Sg letter
 a₂ *Estila tu Petru to ghrama.*
 send.1Sg.Aor the.M.Sg.Gen Petros.Gen the.N.Sg.Acc letter
 'I sent the letter to Petros.'
 b₁ *Estila stin Ghalia to ghrama.*
 send.1Sg.Aor to+the.F.Sg.Acc France the.N.Sg letter
 b₂ **Estila tis Galias to gramma.*
 send.1Sg.Aor the.F.Sg.Gen France.Gen the.N.Sg.Acc letter
 'I sent the letter to France.'

9.5.1.3 Verbs that denote communication, as well as manner of speaking verbs permit only prepositional indirect objects:

- (403) a₁ *Ipositiriksa tin athootita mu*
 defend.1Sg.Aor the.F.Sg innocence 1Sg.Gen.Cl
sto dhikasti.
 to+the.M.Sg.Acc judge
 a₂ **Ipositiriksa tu dhikasti tin athootita*
 defend.1Sg.Aor the.M.Sg.Gen judge the.F.Sg.Acc innocence
mu.
 1Sg.Gen.Cl
 'I defended my innocence to the judge.'
 b₁ *Urliaksa ston Petro na*
 scream.1Sg.Aor to+the.M.SgAcc Petros.Acc Subj.Mark
viasti.
 hurry.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 b₂ **Urliaksa tu Petru na*
 scream.1Sg.Aor the.M.SgGen Petros.Gen Subj.Mark
vlasti.
 hurry.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 'I screamed to Petros that he should hurry.'

9.5.2 In the Modern Greek dialects in Northern Greece, Acc nominal case forms are used in all the environments in which in the standard and southern dialects Gen forms are used:³⁷³

³⁷³ As Horrocks (1997:66) points out, "the often 'goal oriented' sense of the indirect object together with the use of two accusatives after verb such as 'teach', encouraged overlaps between the Dat and the Acc, and a tendency to replace datives with accusatives quickly spread to other uses, most particularly in the case of clitic pronouns."

- (404) a. %*Ton/* *tin* *edhosa* *ta* *vivlia.*
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.1Sg.Aor the.N.Pl books.N
 ‘I gave him/her the books.’
- b₁ %*Me* *aresi* *na* *xorevo.*
 1Sg.Acc.Cl please.3Sg Subj.Mark dance.1Sg
 ‘I like dancing.’ (lit. ‘To me it pleases to dance.’)
- b₂ %*Se* *aresi* *na* *xorevis.*
 2Sg.Acc.Cl please.3Sg Subj.Mark dance.2Sg
 ‘You like dancing.’ (lit. ‘To you it pleases to dance.’)

9.5.3 In modifiers with non-human nouns, Gen case morphology alternates with prepositional phrases with nominals in the Nom case:

- (405) a. *To* *ekana* *to* *podhi tu*
 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl repair.1Sg.Aor the.N.Sg leg the.N.Sg.Gen
 trapezju.
 table.N.Gen
- b. *To* *ekana* *to* *podhi apo*
 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl repair.1Sg.Aor the.N.Sg leg from+the.N.Sg
 to *trapezi.*
 the.N.Sg table
 ‘I repaired the leg of the table.’

9.5.4 DPs in prepositional phrases, as a rule, carry the definite article. Thus, (406a) is a well-formed Modern Greek sentence, while (406b) is not:

- (406) a. *Pijeni* *sto* *sxolio.*
 go.3Sg to+the.N.Sg school
 ‘(S)he goes to school/(S)he goes to the school.’
- b. **Pijeni* *se* *sxolio.*
 go.3Sg to school

9.5.5 In some frequently used phrases expressing direction, such as those in (407), no prepositions and no articles are used:

- (407) a. *Pao spiti.*
 go.1Sg home
 ‘I am going home.’
- b. *Pao peripato.*
 go.1Sg walk
 ‘I am going for a walk.’
- c. *Pao sxolio.*
 go.1Sg school
 ‘I am going to school.’

9.5.6 With inherently directional verbs the preposition *se* can be used in both directional and locative PPs and can be translated as ‘to’, ‘in’, ‘into’ or ‘on’:

- (408) a. *Pao sti Thesaloniki.*
go.1Sg to+the.F.Sg Thessaloniki
'I am going to Thessaloniki.'
- b. *Meno sti Thesaloniki.*
live.1Sg in+the.F.Sg Thessaloniki
'I live in Thessaloniki.'
- c. *Val' to sto trapezi!*
put.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.N.Cl on+the.N.Sg table
'Put it on the table!'

9.5.7 Two simple prepositions do not occur in a sequence, but sequences of composite (adverbial) and simple prepositions are common:

- (409) a. *To vivlio ine pano sto trapezi.*
the.N.Sg book.N be.3Sg above on+the.N.Sg table
'The book is on the table.'
- b. *To vazo ine pano sto rafi.*
the.N.Sg vase.N be.3Sg above on+the.N.Sg shelf
'The vase is on the shelf.'
- c. *O Janis stekete brosta apo mena.*
the.M.Sg Janis stand.3Sg before/in front from me.Acc
'Janis is standing in front of me.'
- d. *Ipan oti idhan ena agliko plio prin*
say.3Pl.Aor that see.3Pl.Aor a.N.Sg English.N.Sg ship before
apo dhio meres.
of two.N.Sg days
'They said that they saw an English ship three days ago.'
- e. *To xali ine ja brosta apo tin porta.*
the.N.Sg carpet be.3Sg for before of the.F.Sg.Acc door
'The carpet is to be put in front of the door.' (lit. 'The carpet is for in front of the door.')
- f. *O Janis ine mesa stin thalasa.*
the.M.Sg Janis be.3Sg inside in+the.F.Sg sea
'Janis is in the middle of the sea.'
- g. *Afto ine ja prin/meta to faghito.*
this be.3Sg for before/after the.N.Sg dinner
'This is for before/after dinner.'

10. Arli Balkan Romani

In Arli Balkan Romani, there are eight cases: Nom, Gen, Abl, Dat, Acc, Voc, Instr and Loc.³⁷⁴ The cases are morphologically encoded by suffixes, which also encode gender and number. There are DP-initial definite and indefinite articles.

³⁷⁴ The Gen forms are also used as possessive pronominal forms.

10.1 Nominal declensions

The suffixes representing individual gender/number/case associations are relatively uniform. In the words of original Romani vocabulary, the suffixes marking Gen, Abl, Dat, Voc, Instr and Loc cases are added to bases that are basically equivalent to the Acc singular form of animate nouns.³⁷⁵

10.1.1 The masculine nominal paradigm is illustrated in Table 54, on the example of the nouns *bašno* ‘cock’ and *lil* ‘book’:

Table 54: Paradigms of masculine Arli nouns

	<i>bašno</i> ‘cock’		<i>lil</i> ‘book’	
	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
Nom	<i>bašno</i>	<i>bašne</i>	<i>lil</i>	<i>lila</i>
Gen	<i>bašneskoro</i>	<i>bašnengoro</i>	<i>lileskoro</i>	<i>lilengoro</i>
Abl	<i>bašnestar</i>	<i>bašnendar</i>	<i>lilestar</i>	<i>lilendar</i>
Dat	<i>bašneske</i>	<i>bašnenge</i>	<i>lileske</i>	<i>lilenge</i>
Acc	<i>bašne</i>	<i>bašnen</i>	<i>lil</i>	<i>lila</i>
Voc	<i>bašnea</i>	<i>bašnaen</i>	<i>lilea</i>	<i>lilalen</i>
Instr	<i>bašne(s)a</i>	<i>bašnenca</i>	<i>lile(s)a</i>	<i>lilenca</i>
Loc	<i>bašneste</i>	<i>bašnende</i>	<i>lileste</i>	<i>lilende</i>

10.1.2 The feminine nominal paradigm is illustrated in Table 55, on the example of the feminine nouns *čhaj* ‘girl’ and *bavlal* ‘wind’:

Table 55: Paradigms of feminine Arli nouns

	<i>čhaj</i> ‘girl’		<i>bavlal</i> ‘wind’	
	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
Nom	<i>čhaj</i>	<i>čhaja</i>	<i>bavlal</i>	<i>bavlala</i>
Gen	<i>čhajakoro</i>	<i>čhaengoro</i>	<i>bavlalakoro</i>	<i>bavlalengoro</i>
Abl	<i>čhajatar</i>	<i>čhaendar</i>	<i>bavlalatar</i>	<i>bavlalendar</i>
Dat	<i>čhajake</i>	<i>čhaenge</i>	<i>bavlalake</i>	<i>bavlalende</i>
Acc	<i>čhaja</i>	<i>čhaen</i>	<i>bavlal</i>	<i>bavlala</i>
Voc	<i>čhae</i>	<i>čhaen</i>	<i>bavlae</i>	<i>bavlaen</i>
Instr	<i>čhajaja</i>	<i>čhaenca</i>	<i>bavlalaja</i>	<i>bavlaenca</i>
Loc	<i>čhajate</i>	<i>čhaende</i>	<i>bavlalate</i>	<i>bavlaende</i>

10.1.3 The Acc forms are distinct from the Nom (unmarked) forms only with animate nouns, whereas with inanimate nouns, the Acc case forms are the same as the Nom ones. In (410a) we have an animate noun in direct object position; in (410b) an inanimate noun in the same position:

- (410) a. *Dikhljum* *e* *bašne.* (Nom *bašno*)
see.1Sg the.Obl cock.Acc
‘I saw the cock.’
- b. *Ov* *čhingja* *o* *mas.* (Nom *mas*)
he cut.3Sg.Past the.M.Sg meat
‘He cut the meat.’

10.1.4 The Voc case is very prominent; it is used not only with nouns referring to human beings but also with nouns denoting personified animals or inanimate objects. Examples:³⁷⁶

³⁷⁵ With words that entered the Romani vocabulary more recently, the suffixes are added to a base equivalent to the Nom singular form. Thus, while the Gen and Dat forms of *bašno* ‘cock’ are *bašneskoro* and *bašneske*, the Gen and Acc forms of *džepo* ‘pocket’, are *džeposkoro* and *džeposke*, respectively.

³⁷⁶ Example (411c) is from Bajrami Severdžan’s translation of a page of Hemingway’s novel “The Old Man and the Sea” (cf. Appendix Two).

- (411) a. *Romnie, so kerea?!*
 woman.Voc what do/make.2Sg
 ‘You woman, what are you doing?!’
- b. *Manuſea!*
 man.Voc
 ‘You man!’
- c. *‘Na mangljum te avel odori, mačhea’*
 not want.1Sg.Past Subj.Mark go.1Sg thither fish.Voc
vakhergja ov.
 said.3Sg he
 ‘I didn’t want him to go there, fish’, said he.’

10.1.5 Adjectives are placed to the left of nouns, and when the noun is in the Nom case, agree with it in gender and number. When the DP/NP in which an adjective occurs is in a case other than the Nom one, there are two possibilities: (a) The noun assumes the ending characteristic for the given case, while the adjective occurs in a general oblique form (which is equivalent to the Acc singular form). (b) The adjective assumes the ending characteristic for the given case, while the noun occurs in the Nom case.³⁷⁷ Examples:

- (412) a₁ *Dikhljum e šuže bašne.*
 see.1Sg.Past the.Obl handsome.Obl cock.M.Sg.Acc
- a₂ *Dikhljum e šuže bašno.*
 see.1Sg.Past the.Obl handsome.M.Sg.Acc cock.M.Sg
 ‘I saw the handsome cock.’
- b₁ *Ov čhingja o mas sivrie čhurikaja.*
 he cut.3Sg.Past the.M.Sg meat sharp.Obl knife.F.Sg.Instr
- b₂ *Ov čhingja o mas sivrijaja čhurik.*
 he cut.3Sg.Past the.M.Sg meat sharp.F.Sg.Instr knife.F.Sg
 ‘He cut the meat with a sharp knife.’
- c₁ *Alo neve kherestar.*
 come.M.Sg.Part new.Obl house.M.Sg.Abl
- c₂ *Alo nevestar kher.*
 come.M.Sg.Part new.M.Sg.Abl house.M.Sg
 ‘He came from the new house.’

10.2 Articles

Arli has definite and indefinite articles, both of which appear in DP-initial position.

9.2.1 The indefinite article has two forms: an unmarked form – *jekh*, and an oblique form – *jekhe*. Both forms are used in singular DPs with either masculine or feminine nouns.

10.2.1.1 The use of *jekh* is illustrated in (413):

- (413) a. *Alo jekh rom.*
 come.M.Sg.Part a man
 ‘A man came.’

³⁷⁷ Option (a) is strongly preferred.

- b. *Ali* *jekh* *romni*.
 come.F.Sg.Part a woman
 ‘A woman came.’

10.2.1.2 The use of *jekhe* is illustrated in (414):

- (414) a. *Dengja* *o* *lil* *jekhe* *čhaveske*.
 give.3Sg.Past the.M.Sg book a.Obl boy.M.Sg.Dat
 ‘(S)he gave the book to a boy.’
- b. *Dikljum* *jekhe* *čhaja*.
 see.1Sg.Past a.Obl girl.Acc
 ‘I saw a girl.’

10.2.2 The definite article has a masculine singular Nom form, a feminine singular Nom form, a common plural Nom form, which is equivalent to the masculine singular Nom form, and a general oblique form.³⁷⁸ The forms of the definite article are listed in Table 56:

	Table 56: Arli definite articles		
	Singular		Plural
	Masc	Fem	Masc/Fem
Unmarked	<i>o</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>o</i>
Oblique	=====		

10.2.2.1 The masculine Nom form appears in initial positions of DPs with masculine nouns in the Nom case. Examples:

- (415) a. *O* *devel* *džanela* *keda* *ka* *avel*.
 the.M.Sg God know.3Sg when will.Mod.Cl come.3Sg
 ‘God knows when he will come.’
- b. *O* *čhavoro* *našavdilo*.
 the.M.Sg boy.Dimin lost.M.Sg.Part
 ‘The boy disappeared.’

10.2.2.2 The feminine Nom forms appear in initial positions of DPs with feminine nouns in the Nom case. Examples:

- (416) a. *I* *piri* *phagili*.
 the.F.Sg jug.FSg broken.F.Sg.Part
 ‘The jug broke.’
- b. *I* *čhaj* *našavdili*.
 the.F.Sg girl.F.Sg disappeared.F.Sg.Part
 ‘The girl disappeared.’
- c. *I* *bavlal* *ačhavdili* *te* *phudel*.
 the.F.Sg wind.F.Sg stopped.F.Sg.Part Subj.Mark blow.3Sg
 ‘The wind stopped blowing.’

10.2.2.2 The plural form appears in initial positions of DPs with plural nouns in the Nom case, whether masculine or feminine. Examples.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁸ The forms of the definite articles have been influenced by the forms of the Greek articles.

³⁷⁹ It is the form of the noun that matters. The nouns in (417c-d) function as objects. However, the *o* form of the article appears with these nouns since, being inanimate, they carry no oblique case markers.

- (417) a. *O bašne giljavena.*
the.Pl cocks.M.Pl sing.3Pl
'The cocks are crowing.'
- b. *O čhaja našavdile.*
the.Pl girls.F.Pl disappeared.Pl.Part
'The girls disappeared.'
- c. *Našavgjum o nahtarija.*
loose.1Sg.Past the.Pl keys.F.Pl
'I lost my keys.'
- d. *Phergjum o piria panjea.*
fill.1Sg.Past the.Pl jugs.F.Pl water.F.Sg.Instr
'I filled the jugs with water.'

10.2.2.3 The common oblique case form appears in DPs with nouns in any oblique case, whether masculine or feminine, singular or plural. Examples:

- (418) a. *Dingjum i čhurik e čhaveske.*
give.1Sg.Past the.F.Sg knife.F.Sg the.Obl boy.M.Sg.Dat
'I gave the knife to the boy.'
- b. *Dingjum o piria e čhavenge.*
give.1Sg.Past the.Pl jugs.F.Pl the.Obl boys.M.Pl.Dat
'I gave the jugs to the boys.'
- c. *Alo e čhajaja.*
come.M.Sg.Part the.Obl girl.F.Sg.Instr
'He came with the girl.'
- d. *Alo e čhaencar.*
come.M.Sg.Part the.Obl girls.F.Pl.Abl
'He came from the girls.'
- e. *O lil tano³⁸⁰ e čhajakoro.*
the.M.Sg book.M.Sg been.M.Sg the.Obl girl.F.Sg.Gen
'The book belongs to the girl.' (lit. 'The book is the girl's.')
- f. *O lil tano e manušengoro.*
the.M.Sg book.M.Sg been.M.Sg the.Obl men.M.Pl.Gen
'The book belongs to the men.' (lit. 'The book is the men's.')

10.2.3 Generic nouns in subject position, whether in the singular or plural, are preceded by the definite article:

- (419) a. *O džukel tano gogjaver džanvari.*
the.M.Sg dog been.M.Sg clever animal
'The dog is a clever animal.'
- b. *O džukela tane gogjaver džanvaria.*
the.Pl dogs been.Pl clever animals
'Dogs are clever animal.'

³⁸⁰ This (suppletive) "be"-participle is used with nominal predicates. It inflects for gender and number, agreeing with the predicate nominal, rather than with the subject. Boretzky (p.c.) maintains that *tano* might be reduced from (h)i-*tano*, where (h)i might be the copula proper.

10.2.4 With proper names, the definite article is regularly used:

- (420) a. *O* *Bajrami* *dingja* *i* *čhurik*
 the.M.Sg Bajrami give.3Sg.Past the.F.Sg knife
e *čhaveske.*
 the.Obl boy.M.Sg.Dat
 ‘Bajrami gave the knife to the boy.’
- b. *Alo* *e* *Meritaja.*
 come.M.Sg.Part the.Obl Merita.F.Sg.Instr
 ‘(S)he came with Merita.’
- c. *O* *lil* *tano* *e* *Meritakoro.*
 the.M.Sg book been.M.Sg the.Obl Merita.F.Sg.Gen
 ‘The book is Merita’s.’

10.2.5 Geographic names also carry definite articles. Examples:

- (421) a. *I* *Makedonia* *tani* *tikni.*
 the.F.Sg Macedonia.F.Sg been.F.Sg small.F.Sg
 ‘Macedonia is small.’
- b. *O* *Vardari* *tani* *najbari*
 the.M.Sg Vardar.M.Sg been.F.Sg Super.Mark+big.F.Sg
len *ki* *Makedonia.*
 river.F.Sg in+the.F.Sg Macedonia
 ‘The Vardar is the biggest river of Macedonia.’

10.2.6 Demonstrative determiners are often accompanied by the definite article, which as a rule occurs between the determiner and the noun (cf. 422a-c), but in prepositional phrases fuses with the preposition and occurs to the left of the determiner (cf. (422d)).³⁸¹

- (422) a. *akava* *o* *kokalo*
 this.M.Sg the.M.Sg bone
 ‘this bone’
- b. *akaja* *i* *romni*
 this.F.Sg the.F.Sg bone
 ‘this bone’
- c. *okova* *o* *Raimi*
 that the.M.Sg Raimi
 ‘that Raimi’
- d. *tari* *akaja* *crkva*
 from+the.F.Sg this.F.Sg church
 ‘from this church’

10.3 Personal pronouns

The Arli personal pronouns have distinct Nom, Gen Abl, Dat, Acc, Instr, Voc and Loc forms for 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular and plural; in the 3rd person (both singular and plural), there are distinct forms for masculine and feminine gender and a common Pl set of forms.

³⁸¹ Demonstrative determiners occur not only in DPs with common nouns, but also in DPs with proper names (cf. 422c). According to Boretzky (p.c.) the co-occurrence of demonstratives with articles – a phenomenon that actually indicates Greek influence – is rare in other Romani dialects.

10.3.1 The forms of the first and second person personal pronouns are presented in Table 57:³⁸²

Table 57: Arli 1st and 2nd person personal pronouns

	1 st		2 nd	
	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
Nom	<i>me</i>	<i>amen</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>tumen</i>
Gen	<i>miro</i>	<i>amaro</i>	<i>tiro</i>	<i>tumaro</i>
Abl	<i>mandar</i>	<i>amendar</i>	<i>tutar</i>	<i>tumendar</i>
Dat	<i>mange</i>	<i>amenge</i>	<i>tuke</i>	<i>tumenge</i>
Acc	<i>man</i>	<i>amen</i>	<i>tut</i>	<i>tumen</i>
Voc	—	—	<i>tu</i>	<i>tumen</i>
Instr	<i>manca</i>	<i>amenca</i>	<i>tu(s)a</i>	<i>tumenca</i>
Loc	<i>mande</i>	<i>amende</i>	<i>tute</i>	<i>tumende</i>

10.3.2 The forms of the third person personal pronouns are presented in Table 58:

Table 58: Arli 3rd person personal pronouns

	Sg		Pl
	M	F	
Nom	<i>ov</i>	<i>oj</i>	<i>ola</i>
Gen	<i>(o)leskoro</i>	<i>(o)lakoro</i>	<i>(o)lengoro</i>
Abl	<i>(o)lestar</i>	<i>(o)latar</i>	<i>(o)lendar</i>
Dat	<i>(o)leske</i>	<i>(o)lake</i>	<i>(o)lenge</i>
Acc	<i>(o)le</i>	<i>(o)la</i>	<i>(o)len</i>
Instr	<i>(o)lea</i>	<i>(o)la(s)a</i>	<i>(o)lenca</i>
Loc	<i>(o)leste</i>	<i>(o)late</i>	<i>(o)lende</i>

10.3.3 The Acc pronominal forms have clitic counterparts:

Table 59: Arli pronominal clitics

	Sg	Pl
1 st	<i>ma</i>	<i>men</i>
2 nd	<i>tu</i>	—
3 rd M	<i>le</i>	<i>len</i>
3 rd F	<i>la</i>	—

10.3.3.1 The clitic pronominal forms are used in both direct and indirect object positions. Examples:

- (423) a. *Dengja ma/men/tu/le/la/len jekh lil.*
give.3Sg.Past 1Sg/1Pl/2Sg/3Sg.M/3Sg.F/3Pl.Cl a book
‘He gave me/you/him/her/them a book.’
- b. *Diklja ma/men/tu/le/la/len.*
see.3Sg.Past 1Sg/1Pl/2Sg/3Sg.M/3Sg.F/3Pl.Cl
‘He saw me/you/him/her/us/them a book.’

10.3.3.2 The clitic forms appears to the immediate left of the verbs *isi* ‘be.3Pres’ or *na(n)e* ‘not+be.3Pres’ to denote possession:³⁸³

- (424) a. *E manuše isi le bango*
the.Obl man.M.Sg.Acc be.3Pres 3Sg.M.Cl crooked

³⁸² The Gen forms are equivalent to the plural possessive pronouns (cf. 10.4).

³⁸³ There is no verb with the meaning of ‘have’ in Arli.

- pro.*
leg
'The man has a crooked leg.'
- b. *E* *čhaja* *isi* *la* *bari* *bal.*
the.Obl girl.F.Sg.Acc be.3Pres 3Sg.F.Cl big.F.Sg hair
'The girl has long hair.'
- c. *E* *bale* *na(n)e* *le* *bari*
the.Obl pig.M.Sg.Acc not+be.3Pres 3Sg.M.Cl big.F.Sg
muj.
mouth
'The pig doesn't have a big mouth.'

10.3.3.3 In emphatic environments, the pronominal clitics can accompany full pronominal Acc or Dat forms.³⁸⁴ Examples:

- (425) a. *Dengja* *le* *o* *lil* *(o)leske.*
give.3Sg.Past 3Sg.M.Cl the.M.Sg book him.Dat
'(S)he did give the book to him.'
- b. *Dikhlja* *ma* *man.*
see.3Sg.Past 1Pl.Cl us.Acc
'(S)he did see me.'

10.3.4 Beneficiary datives, which in most Balkan languages are featured by Dat clitics, in Arli are featured by full Dat pronouns.³⁸⁵

³⁸⁴ Alternatively, the full pronoun can be repeated:

- (i) *Diklja* *amen* *amen.*
see.3Sg.Past us.Acc us.Acc
'(S)he did see us.'

In double object constructions, a full pronominal form can appear by itself. Example:

- (ii) *Ma* *de* *le* *mangje!*
not.Mod give.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.M.Cl me.Dat
'Don't give it to me!'

Third person full pronominal forms are never accompanied by clitics.

In emphatic environments, the Loc form of the pronoun appears in object positions, rather than the Acc one:

- (iii) *Mudargja* *(o)leste.*
kill.3Sg.Past him.Loc
'(S)he did kill him.'

³⁸⁵ Instead of the beneficiary dative, one may use a genitive or possessive determiner. Thus, we may have the following alternatives:

- (i) *O* *chavo* *leske* *(tano)* *nasvalo.*
the.M.Sg son him.Dat been.M.Sg got-sick.M.Sg.Part
- (ii) *O* *chavo* *leskoro* *(tano)* *nasvalo.*
the.M.Sg son his.M.Sg been.M.Sg got-sick.M.Sg.Part
- (iii) *Oleskoro* *chavo* *(tano)* *nasvalo.*
his.M.Sg son been.M.Sg got-sick.M.Sg.Part
'His son got sick.'

- (426) a. *Bijandilo tuke čhaj!*
born.M.Sg you.Sg.Dat girl/daughter
'You got a daughter, I hear.' (lit. 'Born to you is a girl.')
- b. *Šuži lenge (tani) i bori.*
beautiful.F.Sg them.Dat been.F.Sg the.F.Sg daughter-in-law
'Their daughter-in-law is beautiful.' (lit. 'Beautiful to them (been) the daughter-in-law.')
- c. *Jekh lil našavdilo amenge.*
a letter/book lost.M.Sg.Part us.Dat
'A letter of ours got lost.' (lit. 'A letter got lost to us.')
- d. *Čorgje olenge o varda.*
steal.3Pl.Past them.Dat the.M.Sg car
'Their car has been stolen.' (lit. 'They stole to them the car.')
- e. *But nive nane mange randle.*
much cornfields not+be.3Pres us.Dat ploughed.Pl.Part
'Many of my cornfields have not been ploughed.' (lit. 'Many cornfields are not to me ploughed.')
- f. *Dosadno amenge o dive.*
boring.M.Sg us.Dat the.Pl days
'My days are boring.' (lit. 'Boring are to me the days.')
- g. *Ali leske ko misarfirluko ti*
come.F.Sg.Part him.Dat in+the.M.Sg visit your.2Sg.Cl
čaj.
daughter
'Your daughter has come (to him) for a visit.'

10.3.5 Dative pronouns, interpreted as possessors or involuntary agents, are also used in passive constructions with anti-causative verbs.³⁸⁶

- (427) a. *Phagili mange i bari vazna.*
broken.F.Sg.Part us.Dat the.F.Sg big.F.Sg vase
1. 'My big vase broke on me.'
2. 'My big vase got broken.'
3. 'I involuntarily caused the big vase to break.'
- b. *Pharavdilo lake o fustani.*
torn.M.Sg.Part her.Dat the.M.Sg dress
1. 'Her dress got torn.'
2. 'She involuntarily caused her dress to get torn.'

10.3.6 There is a 3rd person reflexive personal pronoun, which occurs in all the cases in which the other personal pronouns occur, except for the Nom and the Voc cases.

³⁸⁶ The relationship of the verb and the theme is the same as in pair sentences without datives:

- (i) *Phagili i bari vazna.*
broken.F.Sg.Part the.F.Sg big.F.Sg vase
'The big vase got broken.'
- (ii) *Pharavdilo o fustani.*
torn.M.Sg.Part the.M.Sg dress
'The dress got torn.'

10.3.6.1 The forms of the 3rd person reflexive personal pronouns are given in Table 60:

Table 60: Arli 3rd person reflexive personal pronouns

Gen	<i>peskoro</i>
Abl	<i>pestar</i>
Dat	<i>peske</i>
Acc	<i>pes</i>
Instr	<i>pea</i>
Loc	<i>peste</i>

10.3.6.2 Reflexive pronouns are used as single constituents in argument or adjunct positions:

- (428) a. *Kerela peske lafi.*
 make.3Sg Dat.Refl.Pron talk
 ‘(S)he talks to herself/himself.’
- b. *Giljavel ki peske.*
 sing.3Sg in Dat.Refl.Pron
 ‘(S)he sings to herself/himself.’
- c. *Kergja bilačo korkori peske.*
 make.3Sg.Past harm alone Dat.Refl.Pron
 ‘(S)he did harm to herself/himself.’
- d₁ *Dengja pestar sa.*
 give.3Sg.Past Abl.Refl.Pron everything
 ‘(S)he gave everything from herself/himself.’
- d₂ *Dengja sa pestar.*
 give.3Sg.Past everything Abl.Refl.Pron
 ‘(S)he gave everything from herself/himself.’

10.3.6.3 In story-telling, the verb is accompanied by a reflexive pronoun:

- (429) *Sine peske jekh phuri.*
 be.Past Acc.Refl.Pron a old-man
 ‘(Once upon a time) there was an old man.’

10.3.7 The Acc reflexive pronoun has a clitic counterpart – *pe*, which is used (a) for anaphoric reference, (b) as a passive and middle marker, and (b) in impersonal constructions.³⁸⁷

10.3.7.1 The use of the reflexive clitic for anaphoric reference is illustrated in (430):

- (430) *Thovela pe.*
 wash.3Sg Refl.Cl
 ‘(S)he washes himself/herself.’

10.3.7.2 In (431) we have a clause in which *pe* can be interpreted as a passive or a middle marker:

- (431) *Na džanava kote giljaven pe akala gilja.*
 not know.1Sg where sing.3Pl Refl.Cl those songs
 1. ‘I do not know where those songs are being sung.’
 2. ‘I do not know where those songs are (usually) sung.’

³⁸⁷ The semantic difference between passives and middles was discussed by Marelj (2004). Cf. 1.4.7.2.

10.3.7.3 In (432) we have examples of impersonal clauses.³⁸⁸

- (432) a. *Ko akava kher hala pe šukar.*
 in this.M house eat.3Sg Refl.Cl good
 ‘One eats well in this house.’
- b. *Čhaven na maren pe.*
 children.Acc not beat.3Pl Refl.Cl
 ‘One does not beat children.’
- c. *Kerela pe lafi kote...*
 make.3Sg Refl.Cl talk that
 ‘One says that....’ (lit. ‘Talk is being made that...’)

10.3.7.4 There are *pe*-constructions in clauses with Dat pronouns that are not part of the argument structure of the verb.

10.3.7.4.1 In passive *pe*-constructions with anti-causative verbs, the dative pronoun is interpreted as a possessor or involuntary agent:³⁸⁹

- (433) *Bijangja pe mange čhaj.*
 bear.3Sg.Past Acc.Refl.Cl me.Dat girl
 ‘A girl was born to me.’

10.3.7.4.2 The *pe* clitic appears in clauses with non-argumental datives that have a “feel-like X” reading, in which relationship is established between an individual and an event. As in the other Balkan languages, such constructions can be impersonal, as in (434), or, as pointed out by Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999:203), can realize overtly as subject a non-initiator element (a theme), as in (435):³⁹⁰

- (434) a₁ *Giljavel pe amenge.*
 sing.3Sg Refl.Cl me.Dat
- a₂ *Amenge giljavel pe.*
 us.Dat sing.3Sg Refl.Cl
 ‘I feel like singing.’
- b₁ *Čitinel pe mange sine.*
 read.3Sg Refl.Cl me.Dat be.Past³⁹¹
- b₂ *Mange čitinel pe sine.*
 me.Dat read.3Sg Refl.Cl be.Past
 ‘I felt like reading.’

³⁸⁸ The form of the verb in impersonal sentences is the 3rd person singular form. There are no impersonal clauses with expressed objects.

³⁸⁹ These constructions, as well as the “feel-like X” constructions illustrated in 10.3.7.4.2, were discussed by Rivero (2004) on the example of Albanian and Bulgarian (cf. 1.4.7.2). The “feel-like X” constructions were also discussed by Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1999).

³⁹⁰ Some such sentences may also have an “ordinary” passive reading. Thus, (435a) and (435b), in addition to the listed reading, can have the reading (i) and (ii), respectively:

- (i) ‘Songs were being sung to us.’
 (ii) ‘A house is not being built for him.’

³⁹¹ A lexical verb in the present tense followed by the past tense of the “be” auxiliary represents the Arli present perfect (cf. 10.1.2 in the chapter “The Perfect and the Evidential”).

- c. *Hala* *pe* *mange.*
eat.3Sg Refl.Cl me.Dat
'I feel like eating.' (lit. 'To me it feels like eating.')
- d. *Džala* *pe* *olake* *ko* *phiribe.*
go.3Sg Refl.Cl her.Dat in+the.M.Sg walk
'She feels like going for a walk.' (lit. 'To her it feels like going for a walk.')
- e. *Na* *merel* *pe* *oleske.*
not die.3Sg Refl.Cl him.Dat
'He doesn't feel like dying.' (lit. 'To him it doesn't feel like dying.')
- f. *Oleske* *na* *kerela* *pe* *sine* *buti.*
him.Dat not do.3Sg Refl.Cl be.Past work
'He didn't feel like working.' (lit. 'To him it doesn't feel like doing work.')
- (435) a. *Giljavel* *pe* *sine* *amenge* *gilja.*
sing.3Sg Refl.Cl be.Past us.Dat songs
'We felt like singing songs.'
- b. *Oleske* *na* *kerela* *pe* *kher.*
him.Dat not do.3Sg Refl.Cl house
'He didn't feel like building a house.'
- c. *Halapel* *pe* *mange* *macho.*
eat.3Sg Refl.Cl me.Dat fish
'I feel like eating fish.'
- d. *Piel* *pe* *mange* *pani.*
drink.3Sg Refl.Cl me.Dat water
'I feel like drinking water.'

10.3.7.5 There are predicates in whose meanings a reflexive clitic participates.

- (436) *Kote arakhel* *pe* *akaja diz.*
where find.3Sg Refl.Cl this.F town
'Where is this town?' (lit. 'Where is this town found?')

10.4 Pronominal possessive modifiers

The Gen forms of the personal pronouns, with appropriate suffixes, constitute the Arli pronominal possessive modifier system.

Table 61: Arli pronominal possessive modifiers

	M.Sg	F.Sg	Pl	Oblique
1 st Sg	<i>mlo</i>	<i>mli</i>	<i>mle</i>	<i>mle</i>
1 st Pl	<i>amaro</i>	<i>amari</i>	<i>amare</i>	--
2 nd Sg	<i>klo/tlo</i>	<i>kli/tli</i>	<i>kle/tle</i>	<i>kle/tle</i>
2 nd Pl	<i>tumaro</i>	<i>tumari</i>	<i>tumare</i>	--
3 rd Sg.M	<i>leskoro</i>	<i>leskiri</i>	<i>leskere</i>	<i>ple</i>
3 rd Sg.F	<i>lakoro</i>	<i>lakiri</i>	<i>lakere</i>	--
3 rd Pl	<i>lengoro</i>	<i>lengiri</i>	<i>lengere</i>	--

10.4.1 As a rule, the pronominal possessive modifiers are placed to the right of demonstratives and to the left of adjectives, though in emphatic environments they can occur to the right of some of the adjectives (cf. 437b):

- (437) a. *akava mlo but baro lolo balo*
 this.M.Sg my.M.Sg much big.M.Sg red.M.Sg pig.M.Sg
 ‘this very big red pig of mine’
- b. *akava but baro mlo lolo balo*
 this.M.Sg much big.M.Sg my.M.Sg red.M.Sg pig.M.Sg
 ‘this VERY BIG red pig of mine’

10.4.2 The possessive modifiers agree with the noun in person, gender and number. Like the adjectives, they have only two types of case forms: nominative – distinct for masculine singular, feminine singular and masculine/feminine plural, and oblique – with no gender or number distinctions.³⁹² Examples of usage:

- (438) a. *Leskere linie panda dičhoveña sine.*
 their lines still see.3Pl.M-P.Pres be.Past
 ‘Their contours were still visible.’
- b. *Ov čhingja o mas ple čhurikaja.*
 he cut.3Sg.Past the.M.Sg meat his.Obl knife.F.Sg.Instr
 ‘He cut the meat with his knife.’
- c. *Ov čhingja o mas mle čhurikaja.*
 he cut.3Sg.Past the.M.Sg meat my.Obl knife.F.Sg.Instr
 ‘He cut the meat with my knife.’

10.4.3 Possessive relationships to first and second person singular nouns denoting close family relationships can be expressed through possessive pronominal clitics placed to the left of the noun to which they refer.

10.4.3.1 The forms of the possessive clitics are as follows:

Table 62: Arli possessive clitics

	M	F	Obl
1 st Sg	<i>mo</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>me</i>
2 nd Sg	<i>to</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>te</i>

10.4.3.2 The usage of these clitics is exemplified in (439):

- (439) a. *So šuži stadik pletingja ti daj!*
 what beautiful.F.Sg hat knit.3Sg.Past your.2Sg.F.Cl mother
 ‘What a beautiful hat has your mother knitted for you!’
- b. *Dikhljum me dajaja.*
 see.1Sg.Past my.1Sg.Obl.Cl mother.Instr
 ‘I saw my mother.’
- c. *Kergja lafi te dadea.*
 make.3Sg.Past talk your.2Sg.Obl.Cl father.Instr
 ‘(S)he talked with your father.’
- d. *Dengja ole to chavo.*
 give.3Sg.Past him.Dat your.2Sg.M.Cl son
 ‘Your son gave it to him.’

³⁹² The oblique form for third person relates to the reflexive pronouns, rather than to the personal pronouns for third person.

10.4.4 For reference to third persons no pronominal clitics are used; the full possessive pronoun is the only possibility. Thus, in (440) the first occurrence of the noun *dad* ‘father’, is modified by a full 3rd person possessive modifier, while the second occurrence of the same noun is modified by a second person possessive clitic:

- (440) *Leskoro dad kergja lafi te dadea.*
 his father make.3Sg.Past talk your.2Sg.Obl.Cl father.Instr
 ‘His father talked to your father.’

10.5 Prepositions and case relations

Most Romani dialects use the preposition *bi* ‘of’ with Gen DPs/NPs, *vas* ‘for’ with Dat DPs/NPs and a variety of prepositions with the Nom and Loc DPs/NPs (Boretzky p.c.). In Arli, however, the use of prepositions excludes the occurrence of a morphological case marker on the noun or its modifiers. All prepositions occur with nouns in the Nom case.³⁹³

10.5.1 Ablative and Locative case forms alternate with prepositional expressions with nouns in the Nom case. Thus, we have (441a₁) alongside (441a₂), (441b₁) alongside (441b₂) and (441c₁) alongside (441c₂):³⁹⁴

- (441) a₁ *Geljum sikavnate.*
 go.1Sg school.Loc
- a₂ *Geljum ki sikavni.*
 go.1Sg in+the.F.Sg school
 ‘I went to (the) school.’
- b₁ *Muljum daratar.*
 die.1Sg fear.Abl
- b₂ *Muljum tari dar.*
 die.1Sg from+the.F.Sg fear
 ‘I was terrified to death.’ (lit. ‘I died out of fear.’)
- c₁ *Na džanela so te kerel ladžatar.*
 not know.3Sg what Subj.Mark do/make.3Sg shame.Abl
- c₂ *Na džanela so te kerel tari*
 not know.3Sg what Subj.Mark do/make.3Sg from+the.F.Sg
ladž.
 shame
 ‘(S)he doesn’t know what to do out of shame.’

10.5.2 As shown in the examples in (441), the prepositions fuse with the definite article.³⁹⁵ With prepositions ending in *o* or *i* the ending is reinterpreted as article and the prepositions actually

³⁹³ They can, however, occur with pronouns in an oblique case:

- (i) *pala mande*
 after me.Loc
 ‘after me’

³⁹⁴ It is noteworthy that the prepositions in (441b₂) and (441c₂) are equivalent to the case endings in (441b₁) and (441c₁), respectively.

³⁹⁵ Accordingly, the final vowel of the preposition *bizo* ‘without’ changes into *i* when it occurs with nouns of feminine gender, while the final vowel of the preposition *kuri* ‘towards/around’ changes into *o* when it occurs with nouns of

show agreement with the gender of the noun, even when the noun is not definite. Thus, while *ki* represents the preposition *k* ‘on’ + feminine definite article and *ko* represents the preposition *k* ‘on’ + masculine definite article, *bizo* and *bizi* are two alternative forms of the preposition *bizo* ‘without’:

- (442) a. *Iklistilo* *ki* *veš.*
 climbed.M.Sg.Part in+the.F.Sg mountain.F.Sg
 ‘He climbed the mountain.’
- b. *Geljum* *ko* *rom.*
 go.1Sg in+the.M.Sg man.M.Sg
 ‘I went to the man.’
- (443) a. *Mangela* *kafa* *bizo* *šekeri.*
 want.3Sg coffee without.M.Sg sugar.M.Sg
 ‘(S)he wants coffee without sugar.’
- b. *Kergja* *lafi* *bizi* *dar.*
 make.3Sg talk without.F.Sg fear.F.Sg
 ‘(S)he talks without fear. (lit. Makes talk without fear.)’

10.5.3 As in many other Balkan languages, the same prepositions are used to express location and direction:

- (444) a. *Dživdinava* *ko* *Skopje.*
 live.1Sg in+the.M.Sg Skopje
 ‘I live in Skopje.’
- b. *Geljum* *ko* *Skopje.*
 go.1Sg in+the.M.Sg Skopje
 ‘I went to Skopje.’

10.5.4 Sequences of prepositions are in Arli less common than in other Balkan languages. Examples:

- (445) a. *Te* *dža* *dži* *ko* *kher!*
 Subj.Mar go.2Sg.Imper to in+the.M.Sg house
 ‘Go to the house!’

masculine gender. Moreover, the preposition agrees with the gender of the noun, regardless of whether the noun is definite or indefinite.

³⁹⁵ A preposition + an “agreement” ending can occur even to the left of an indefinite article:

- (i) *taro* *jek* *puti*
 from+the.M.Sg a.M.Sg way/time.M.Sg
 ‘at once’ (lit. ‘from the one time’)

The optional introductory vowel of third person pronouns is also reinterpreted as an “agreement” ending of a preposition and we have the following alternatives:

- (ii) *uz* *oleste*
 by him.Loc
- (iii) *uzo* *leste*
 by.M.Sg him.Loc
 ‘by him’

- b. *Akava kilimi tano bašo anglo udar.*
 this.M.Sg rug been.M.Sg for before door
 ‘This rug is to be put in front of the door.’ (lit. ‘This rug is for before the door.’)

10.5.5 Prepositions are not used for marking possessive relationships within the DP;³⁹⁶ possessive relationships in the DP are rendered by denominal possessive adjectives, which relate to the Gen case of given nouns.³⁹⁷ Examples:

- (446) a. *e Bajrameskiri phen*
 the.Obl Barjami’s.F.Sg sister
 ‘Barjami’s sister’
- b. *e profesoreskiri phen*
 the.Obl profesor’s.F.Sg sister
 ‘the professor’s sister’
- c. *e čhaveskoro parno balo*
 the.Obl boy’s.M.Sg white.M.Sg pig.M.Sg
 ‘the boy’s white pig’
- d. *me phenjakoro kher*
 my.Obl.Poss.Cl sister’s.M.Sg house.M.Sg
 ‘my sister’s house’
- e. *e mačkakoro pro*
 the.Obl cat’s.M.Sg leg.M.Sg
 ‘the cat’s leg’
- f. *e masakoro pro*
 the.Obl table’s.M.Sg leg.M.Sg
 ‘the leg of a/the table’
- (447) a. *manušeskoro pro*
 man’s.M.Sg leg.M.Sg
 ‘human leg’
- b. *mačkakoro pro*
 cat’s.M.Sg leg.M.Sg
 ‘cat’s leg’
- c. *masakoro pro*
 table’s.M.Sg leg.M.Sg
 ‘table’s leg’

³⁹⁶ Boretzky (p.c.) has come across an Arli variety in which possession is expressed by the preposition *katar* ‘from’ + a DP in the Nom case.

³⁹⁷ The possessive adjective agrees in gender and number with the possessor. If the gender of the possessor is the same as the gender of the possessum, the suffix of the denominal possessive adjective is the same as the suffix of the Gen case of the possessum.

Chapter Four

CLITIC CLUSTERS AND CLITIC DOUBLING

Many function words in the Balkan Sprachbund languages are clitics. Except in Balkan Romani, most of the “clausal” clitics, notably the pronominal and auxiliary clitics, the negation marker, the subjunctive marker and occasionally monosyllabic adverbs, occur in clusters. The Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian clausal clitic clusters behave uniformly in all environments – in Serbo-Croatian we have phonologically enclitic second position clitics, and in Bulgarian phonologically enclitic, but syntactically preverbal clitics. The Macedonian, Romanian, Megleno-Romanian, Aromanian, Albanian and Modern Greek clausal clitic clusters are typically syntactically preverbal and phonologically proclitic, though in clauses in which V is instantiated by imperative verbs or present participles they occur postverbally and are enclitic. In Macedonian, Megleno-Romanian and Aromanian, in clauses with nominal predicates, the clausal clitic clusters are enclitic.

The pronominal clitics in the Balkan languages often double direct and indirect objects. In Macedonian, Megleno-Romanian and Aromanian clitic-doubling is to a large extent grammaticalized: basically, all definite direct objects and all specific indirect objects are clitic doubled. In the South-Eastern Serbian dialects clitic-doubling occurs under the same conditions as in Macedonian, but it is optional.¹ In Bulgarian, Albanian, Modern Greek and Romanian clitic-doubling involves discourse factors. In Bulgarian both direct and indirect objects are clitic-doubled if topicalised, though, in some cases, *in situ* non-focused objects can also be clitic-doubled and there is a specificity, definiteness and possibly humanness effect. In Albanian, indirect object clitic-doubling is fully grammaticalized, i.e. a Dat pronominal clitic accompanies all indirect objects other than bare indefinites, while direct object clitic-doubling is contingent on occurrence in non-focused positions, as well as on specificity. In Modern Greek, clitic doubling of both direct and indirect objects is contingent on occurrence in non-focused positions and specificity, though in colloquial speech, indirect object clitic-doubling tends to be fully grammaticalized, i.e. a doubling clitic tends to accompany every specific indirect object. In Romanian, clitic-doubling of indirect objects is typically conditioned on specificity (though non-specific indirect objects can sometimes be clitic-doubled), whereas direct object clitic-doubling is contingent on topicalization, specificity and humanness.² Clitic-doubling of “wh” objects in many cases occurs under conditions different from clitic-doubling of lexical objects. There are invariant relativizers (*relativum generale*) that regularly co-occur with resumptive clitics.

Clarification of the notions used is here in order. Topicalization is the occurrence of the topic of the sentence in the Left Periphery, topic being a discourse related notion characterized informally as “old information” and juxtaposed to focus, informally characterized as “new information”.³ Following the Prague School tradition (for references in English cf. Firbas 1992, Sgall, and Hajičová 1973, Sgall, Hajičová and Panevová 1986) I take every utterance to be articulated into two parts: theme or topic and rheme or comment. In the neutral, prototypical, unmarked SVO sentences of the Balkan SVO languages, the topic and the comment are determined with the linearization of the sentence, the topic coinciding with the subject, the comment with the predicate. The focus is presuppositional and relates to previous discourse or assertion. There are two

¹ In Standard Croatian or Serbian there is no clitic-doubling.

² According to Jaeggli (1972), the contrast in clitic doubling between direct and indirect objects can be ascribed to the difference in categorial status between indirect and direct objects (PP versus NP). Dobrovie-Sorin (1994:238), on the other hand, argues that the contrast is due to the difference between structural and inherent case.

³ These characterizations are common in generative grammar (cf. Culicover and Rochemont 1983, Rochemont 1986, Rochemont and Culicover 1990).

basic types of foci: information focus and identificational or contrastive focus (*cf.* Kenesei 1997, Kiss 1998, Arnaudova 2003a, b). While information focus relates to an assertion that is not associated with a set of elements, contrastive focus involves a set of elements implicitly or explicitly given in previous discourse and selects one of them, rejecting the others.⁴ The contrastive focus can remain *in situ* (and receive contrastive stress) or move to a focus position in the Left Periphery, to the right of a topic position.

In analogy with analyses of co-occurrences of clitics with topicalized objects in Romance (*cf.* Cinque 1984, 1990), the co-occurrences of clitics with topicalized objects in the Balkan languages have been referred to as “clitic left-dislocations” (*cf.* Iatridou 1990, Anagnostopoulou 1994, Arnaudova 2003a, b). The label “clitic left-dislocation” might be adequate for languages in which the occurrence of the clitic is contingent on the occurrence of the topic in the Left Periphery, but not for those where the clitic co-occurs with an object regardless of its position in the clause. In my analysis, all direct and indirect objects that co-occur with pronominal clitics are referred to as “clitic-doubled objects”, the so-called “clitic left-dislocations” being treated as clitic-doubled topicalized objects⁵ or clitic-doubled objects in the Left Periphery, where the Left Periphery is an expanded CP (*cf.* Rizzi 1997).⁶ Thus, “clitic doubling” covers both reduplication or doubling of

⁴ Kenesei (1997) refers to the selection as “exclusion by identification”. For Kiss (1988) the information focus involves a simple selection of a value for a variable, while the exhaustive focus rejects other potential or real values offered by preceding discourse. Arnaudova (2003a) makes a distinction between focus on the predicate (or comment) and argumental focus associated with a variable (information focus) or with a previous set of values (contrastive focus). King (1995), on the other hand, speaks of contrastive, non-contrastive and presentational foci.

⁵ Objects in sentences such as the Macedonian sentence (i) are treated as topicalized objects that are not clitic-doubled.

- (i) *Riba ne jadam.*
fish not eat.1Sg
‘As for fish, I don’t eat it.’

⁶ In Romanian – a VSO language – any element in focus position to the left of the verb can be preceded by the subject. The following example, in which the focused constituent is capitalized, is from Motapanyane (2000b:278):

- (i) *Ion MAȘINA spune c-ar fi*
Ion car+theF.Sg say.3Sg.Imperf that-would.3Sg.Cl be.Inf.Cl
vrut-o Maria.
wanted.Past.Part-F.Sg.Acc.Cl Maria
‘It was the car Ion said that Maria would have wanted.’

The pre-focus occurrence of the subject has prompted Motapanyane (1989, 2000b) to argue that, in Romanian, focused constituents move not to the Left Periphery, but to the specifier of the tense phrase (SpecTP). Cornilescu (2000b:117–125), however, provides arguments in favour of treating all preverbal Romanian subjects as moved to A-positions (topics or foci). Tsimpli (1990) also argues that the preverbal subject in Modern Greek is in the Left Periphery – in a topic position. For Arnaudova (2003a), however, contrastive focus is in Spec VP, contrastive topic in Spec TP, while only topics which are reduplicated by clitics (*cf.* 2.2) occur in the specifier in TopP, which is above CP. As illustrated in (ii–iv), topics and foci in the Balkan languages often occur left of the “that”-complementizers, which are derived in Spec CP:

- (ii) *Marija reče deka mu ja dala*
Marija say.1Sg.Perf.Past that 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl given.F.Sg./-Part
knigata na Petreta.
book+the.F.Sg to Petre.Acc
- (ii) *Marija reče knigata deka mu ja dala*
Marija say.1Sg.Perf.Past book+the.F.Sg that 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl given.F.Sg./-Part
na Petreta.
to Petre.Acc
- (iii) *Marija reče knigata deka na Petreta mu*
Marija say.1Sg.Perf.Past book+the.F.Sg that to Petre.Acc 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl

objects to the right of the verb, as well as those in the Left Periphery, i.e. covers not only what is uncontroversially understood under the term, but also clitic-left dislocation. “Topicalization” covers all the occurrences of objects in the right periphery, whether clitic-doubled or not.⁷

Both topicalized and focused objects can be definite or indefinite. While proper names are inherently definite, common nouns, in most of the languages considered, are definite by virtue of being determined by a definite determiner or carrying a definite article.⁸ Indefinite objects, in their turn, can be preceded by indefinite articles or indefinite determiners, or appear without any articles or determiners, in which case they are referred to as “bare indefinites”. While bare indefinites are never linked to the domain of discourse, articulated indefinites can be discourse-linked and [+specific] or not discourse linked and [–specific].⁹ Though the [+specific] versus [–specific] ambiguity is typical for DPs with indefinite articles or determiners, it also occurs with definites. Following Heusinger (2002), I take definiteness to express uniqueness of an object which is not necessarily identified, while specificity expresses referential dependency between items introduced in the discourse.

	<i>ja</i> 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl	<i>dala.</i> given.F.Sg.I-Part					
(iv)	<i>Marija reče</i> Marija say.1Sg.Perf.Past	<i>knigata</i> book+the.F.Sg	<i>na</i> to	<i>Petreta</i> Petre.Acc	<i>deka</i> that	<i>mu</i> 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl	
	<i>ja</i> 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl	<i>dala.</i> give.F.Sg.I-Past					

‘Marija said that she had given the book to Petre.’

Krapova (2001) solves this problem by extending the Left Periphery and allowing, the “that”-complementizer to move from one specifier position in the Left Periphery to another.

⁷ It has been argued that clitic left dislocation (CLLD) structures are base-derived in TopP, since they do not show weak cross-over effects (*cf.* Cinque 1990, Iatridou 1990). Dobrovie-Sorin (1994), on the other hand, argues that CLLD relies on movement, while English Left Dislocations (ELDs) are derived *in situ*. As pointed out by Albouy and Motapanyane (2000:26), Dobrovie-Sorin’s argument is based on the facts that in CLLD structures, such as (i), (a) the dislocated element can be of any maximal category; (b) there is no theoretical limit to the number of dislocated elements; (c) only a clitic as a sentence-internal element is allowed; and (d) there is a “connectivity” effect. ELDs such as (ii), on the other hand, (e) essentially restrict left-dislocation to DPs, (f) maximally limit the number of dislocated elements (only one element can be dislocated); (g) allow an emphatic pronoun as a sentence-internal element; and (h) have no “connectivity” effect:

(i)	<i>Pe</i> Acc.Mark	<i>Ion_i</i> Ion	<i>I-am</i> 3Sg.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg	<i>întâlnit</i> met.Past.Part	<i>(*pe</i> Acc.Mark	<i>el_i)</i> he	<i>anul</i> year
	<i>trecut.</i> last						
	‘I met Ion last year.’						
(ii)	<i>(Cât despre)</i> as for	<i>Ion_i</i> Ion	<i>(pe</i> Acc.Mark	<i>el_i)</i> he	<i>nu</i> not	<i>î-am</i> 3Sg.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg	<i>văzut</i> seen.Past.Part
	<i>de anul trecut.</i> of year last						
	‘As for Ion, I haven’t seen him since last year.’						

The precise derivation of the topicalized elements shouldn’t concern us here since it has no bearing on the clitic-doubling strategy.

⁸ In Romanian, where direct objects are often introduced by the preposition *pe*, and prepositions void the use of the definite article, there are definite objects without articles.

⁹ Enç (1991:14) assumes that the specificity of NPs is determined by a mechanism that is partially constrained by the lexicon, by the definiteness of the NP and by a principle that requires quantifiers to be specific. According to Dobrovie-Sorin (1994:225), the specific reading involves a set defined at the NP level (by the lexical properties of the nominal head), whereas the nonspecific reading involves a set defined at the clause level (as the intersection of the NP set and the predicate set).

1. Macedonian

In Macedonian, clitic-doubling is a fully-fledged phenomenon. The Macedonian Dat and Acc pronominal clitics, which originate in agreement phrases and move to preverbal position,¹⁰ where they cluster with other clausal clitics, are on their way to become mere case markers, which formally distinguish direct and indirect objects from subjects.¹¹ Not only the pronominal clitics, but rather all the clausal clitics with which the Macedonian pronominal clitics cluster,¹² have been listed as prime examples of proclitics (*cf.* Spencer 1991). As shown below (*cf.* 1.1.3), however, only the clitics that are hosted by tensed verbs or *l*-participles are invariably proclitic; clitics in clauses with nominal predicates encliticize to an element to their left – preferably, if the nominal predicate is a passive participle or an adjective, and obligatorily if it is a noun. (*cf.* Tomić 2000a).¹³ The interrogative clitic *li* is also enclitic and, unlike the other clausal clitics, can be hosted by any constituent to its left.

1.1 Macedonian clausal clitic system

1.1.1 The Macedonian clausal clitic system includes sets of pronominal and “be” auxiliary clitics, the expectative modal clitic *ke*, the conditional modal clitic *bi* ‘would’,¹⁴ the subjunctive mood marker *da*, the negation marker *ne*, the interrogative marker *li* and possibly the “wh” words *koj* ‘who/which’ (and its dative and accusative forms *komu* and *kogo*, respectively), *što* ‘what’, *kade/-kaj* ‘where’, and *kako* ‘how’, when used as interrogative pronouns.¹⁵

1.1.1.1 The sets of pronominal clitics are given in Table 1.

¹⁰ I am deriving the pronominal clitics as heads of object agreement nodes (*cf.* Tomić 2000a, 2004e; Rudin 1997b), though this involves right- rather than left-adjunction to the verb in the course of the movement of the clitics to preverbal position. Bošković (2001) argues that the Macedonian and Bulgarian clitics are XP/X⁰ elements in specifier positions of AgrIOP and AgrOP nodes with empty heads. His analysis is in line with Kayne’s (1994) leftward adjunction system, since each clitic “jumps” and left-adjoints to the verb or verb-clitic complex as soon as the verb moves to the head to its left. But if the specifiers of the agreement nodes are occupied, there are serious problems for clitic-doubling. Moreover, the Macedonian and Bulgarian clitic clusters, which in all current analyses are formed in syntax and, in addition to the pronominal clitics, have auxiliary clitics and subjunctive and negation clitics, would include items derived in specifiers as well as items derived in heads.

¹¹ Note that Macedonian (and many other Balkan languages) lack subject clitics.

¹² Note that Dat pronominal clitics can also be hosted by nouns. As shown in section 1.5.4 of the chapter “Cases and Articles”, in this case they function as possessive clitics. In the same section of the chapter “Cases and Articles” these clitics have been contrasted with benefactive Dat clausal pronominal clitics, which occur in preverbal position and cluster with all other clausal clitics.

¹³ Note, however, that, unlike their Bulgarian counterparts (*cf.* 2 below), the Macedonian clausal clitics lack the Tobler-Mussafia restriction of non-occurrence in initial position in the clause (*cf.* Tomić 2000a).

¹⁴ *Ke* is used for the formation of the future and future-in-the-past tenses (*cf.* 1.10 in the chapter “Infinitives and Subjunctives”), while *bi*, in construction with *l*-participles, is used in *potentialis* conditional clauses (*cf.* 1.11.4 in the chapter “Infinitives and Subjunctives”). But the future tenses and the *potentialis* conditional clauses are not the only structures in which *ke* and *bi* appear (*cf.* 1.9 in the chapter “Infinitives and Subjunctives” and Kramer 1986:76-103). For Friedman, *ke* is an “expectative marker” (*cf.* Friedman 2003:215) while *bi* is a “hypothetical marker” (*cf.* Friedman 2003:230). I am, however, referring to *ke* and *bi* as “expectative modal clitic” and “conditional modal clitic,” respectively. The label “modal” also marks the functional projection in which *ke* and *bi* occur (*cf.* Tomić 1996b, 1997, 2004a). Note that Macedonian grammaticalizes another type of modality – evidentiality, which involves the subjective relationship of the participants in the discourse (*cf.* 1.6 in the chapter “The Perfect and the Evidential”) The category of evidentiality uses forms of the “be” auxiliary, but these forms are not referred to as “evidential markers”.

¹⁵ These “wh” words can also be used as interrogative modifiers or relative pronouns (*cf.* footnote 54).

Table 1: Macedonian pronominal clitics

	Dat		Acc	
	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
1 st	<i>mi</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ne</i>
2 nd	<i>ti</i>	<i>vi</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>ve</i>
3 rd M/N	<i>mu</i>	<i>im</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>gi</i>
3 rd F	<i>i</i>	<i>-"</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>-"</i>
Refl	<i>= =si=</i>		<i>= =se=</i>	

1.1.1.2 The “be” auxiliary clitics are the present tense forms of the “be” auxiliary. They are given in Table 2:

Table 2: Macedonian “be” auxiliary clitics

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>sum</i>	<i>sme</i>
2 nd	<i>si</i>	<i>ste</i>
3 rd	<i>e</i>	<i>se</i>

1.1.2 With the exception of the interrogative clitic *li*, the Macedonian clausal clitics occur in pre-verbal clusters in which the dative clitics (Dat), the accusative clitics (Acc),¹⁶ the 1st and 2nd person (singular or plural) “be” auxiliary clitics (Aux), the modal clitics (Mod), the subjunctive mood marker (Mood), the negation marker (Neg), the “wh” interrogative clitics (Inter) and the 3rd person “be” auxiliary clitics *e* and *se* appear in the following linear ordering:¹⁷

(1) ?Inter Subj Neg Mod Mood Neg Aux Dat Acc (s)e

1.1.2.1 Inter is preceded by a question mark because the “wh” interrogative words which may occur in this slot are often focused and stressed and have not been treated as “inherent” clitics:¹⁸ In a focused position, they can even be separated from the clitic cluster by the interrogative clitic *li*, which is always enclitic and does not, as a rule, occur in the clitic cluster.¹⁹ So the clitic behaviour of *koj* ‘who’ in (2a) contrasts with its non-clitic behaviour in (2b-c):

¹⁶ The Dat reflexive/impersonal clitic occurs in the Dat slot, along with the personal Dat clitics, while the Acc reflexive/impersonal clitic occurs in the Acc slot, along with the personal Acc clitics.

- (i)

Jana
Jana

si/
Dat.Refl.Cl

ti
2Sg.Dat.Cl

go
3Sg.M/N.Acc.Cl

zede
take.3Sg.Perf.Past

podarokot.
present+the.M.Sg
- (ii)

Mi
1Sg.Dat.Cl

se
Acc.Refl.Cl

skrši
break.3Sg.Perf.Past

golemata
big+the.F.Sg

vazna.
vase
- (ii)'

Mi
1Sg.Dat.Cl

ja
3Sg.F.Acc.Cl

skrši
break.2/3Sg.Perf.Past

golemata
big+the.F.Sg

vazna.
vase

¹⁷ It goes without saying that not all of the slots are always filled. Moreover, Aux, where first and second person, singular or plural “be” auxiliary clitics occur and (s)e, where the third person singular and plural “be” auxiliary clitics *e* ‘be.3Sg’ and *se* ‘be.3Pl’, occur, are never filled at the same time.

¹⁸ Moreover, in many dialects, they never behave as clitics and their clitic status in the standard language seems to be pitting out, though in the Western dialects it thrives.

¹⁹ In Macedonian interrogative clauses introduced by raised nominals, such as (i), the interrogative clitic *li* appears adjacent to the other clausal clitics:

- (i)

Po
by

Marija
Maria

li
Inter.Cl

ke
will.Mod.Cl

ti
2Sg.Dat.Cl

go
3Sg.N.Acc.Cl

prati
send.3Sg.Perf.Pres

- (2) a. *Koj te POTseti?*
 who.Cl 2Sg.Acc.Cl remind.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘Who reminded you?’
- b. *KOJ li te POTseti?*
 who Inter.Cl 2Sg.Acc.Cl remind.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘Who reminded you, I wonder?’
- c. *KOJ, se PRAšuvam, te POTseti?*
 who Acc.Refl.Cl ask.1Sg 2Sg.Acc.Cl remind.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘Who reminded you, I ask myself?’

1.1.2.2 The subjunctive mood marker *da* is assigned a slot distinct from the modality slot Mod, in which the modal clitics *ќе* ‘will’ and *bi* ‘would’ occur,²⁰ because the latter clitics co-occur with *da*:²¹

- (3) a. *Ne ќе da e dojdën.*
 not.Cl will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark.Cl be.3Sg come.M.Sg.Pass.Part
 ‘I doubt that he has come.’ (lit. ‘He couldn’t have come.’)

(*pismoto*)?

letter+the.N.Sg

‘Is it with Maria that (s)he will send it/(the letter) to you?’

But even in cases such as this one, *li* behaves (both syntactically and phonologically) distinctly – as shown above (cf. 1), it is enclitic and may be hosted by a variety of hosts, while the other clitics are prototypically proclitic and can be hosted only by verbs or predicate nominals. Unlike the Bulgarian interrogative clitic *li*, which can cleave a clausal clitic cluster whose leftmost constituent is the negation marker *ne* (cf. 2.1.4.2) and consequently occurs inside that cluster, the Macedonian interrogative clitic *li* never occurs inside a clausal clitic cluster. In Macedonian, *li* appears to the right of focused constituents moved to the Left Periphery as in (i), to the right of verbs raised to C, as in (ii), or to the right of “wh” words, as in (iii):

- (ii) *Dojde li pismoto?*
 come.3Sg.Perf.Past Inter.Cl letter+the.N.Sg
 ‘Did the letter come?’
- (iii) *Komu li ќе go prati (pismoto)?*
 whom.Dat Inter.Cl will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl send.3Sg.Perf.Pres letter+the.N.Sg
 ‘I wonder to whom it is that (s)he will send it/(the letter)?’

²⁰ The subjunctive marker is discussed in 1.2 of the chapter “Infinitives and Subjunctives.”

Note that the third person singular past tense form of the “be” auxiliary, *beše*, used as a frozen modal marker denoting disbelief, and translatable into English as ‘unlikely’ or ‘hardly’ (cf. 1.6.5 in the chapter “The Perfect and the Evidential”), can also occur in the slot of the modal clitics:

- (i) *%Beše si mu ja dala.*
 unlikely be.2Sg.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl given.F.Sg./-Part
 ‘It is unlikely that you would give it to him.’
- (ii) *%Beše mu ja dale.*
 hardly 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl given.Pl./-Part
 ‘They will hardly give it to him.’

²¹ The symbols for the slots in the clitic cluster correspond to the symbols of functional projections. For Rivero (1994) both subjunctive mood markers, such as the Bulgarian *da*, Romanian *să*, Albanian *të* or Modern Greek *na*, and invariant future-marking modal clitics, such as the Bulgarian *šte*, Albanian *do* or Modern Greek *tha*, are heads of MoodPs. The Balkan modal clitics can, however, co-occur with subjunctive (mood) markers. In (3) we have Macedonian examples. The co-occurrence of modal clitics with subjunctive mood markers in Aromanian and Albanian are, however, much more frequent – we find them in the future tense (cf. 6.9 and 7.9 in the chapter “Infinitives and Subjunctives.”) Accordingly, the phrases in which the subjunctive markers are derived or checked, MoodPs, are distinct from the phrases where the future marking modal clitics are derived or checked, ModPs (cf. Tomić to appear c).

- b. *Jas bi da dojdám.*
 I would.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark.Cl come.1Sg.Perf.Pres
 'I would (like to) come.'

1.1.2.3 The negation marker *ne* has two slots because, as shown in (4), it occurs to the left of the modal auxiliary clitics, but to the right of the subjunctive mood marker *da*:²²

- (4) a. *Ne ké si im gi*
 not.Cl will.Mod.Cl be.2Sg.Cl 3Pl.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl
dadela knigite.
 given.M.Sg.Subj./-Part books+the.Pl
 'Reportedly, you wouldn't give them the books.'
- b. *Da ne im gi davaš knigite.*
 Subj.Mark.Cl not.Cl 3Pl.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl give.2Sg books+the.Pl
 'You shouldn't give them the books.'
- c. *Ne ké da ne gi vide.*
 not.Cl will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark.Cl not.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl see.2/3Sg.Perf.Past
 'It couldn't be (true), that you/(s)he didn't see them (though you/(s)he claim(s) it).'

1.1.2.4 The third person auxiliary clitics *e* 'be.3Sg' and *se* 'be.3Pl' occur in a slot distinct from the one in which the first and second person (singular or plural) auxiliary clitics occur. Moreover, these clitics do not appear in clauses in which V is instantiated by *l*-participles,²³ whereas in clauses in which V is instantiated by passive participles²⁴ or nominal predicates they appear not in the slot where the other auxiliary clitics occur, but rather at the end of the cluster:²⁵

²² The relationship of Mood and Neg has been discussed extensively in the literature on the Balkan languages and in most analyses Neg has been placed to the right of Mood (cf. Giannakidou 1998, Philippaki-Warbuton 1998, for Greek; Isac 2001, for Romanian; Tomić 2004a, 2005, to appear a, c for Balkan Slavic). In Tomić (2005, to appear c) it is argued that even in the underlying structure of imperative clauses, in which, in surface structure the negation marker appears to the left of the imperative verb, Neg is to the right of Mood, where the imperative features are checked. In clauses with future tenses, however, Neg is to the left of Mod. Sentences such as (4c), with two negation markers, have not been treated in the literature. But they should be analyzed as combinations of the analyses of sentences such as (4a) and (4b). Note that *ké* and *bi* are invariant modal clitics and, consequently, sentences such as (4c) cannot have biclausal structures (cf. Tomić 2004a).

²³ In the Eastern Macedonian dialects, 3rd person singular and plural clitics appear in such clauses. The following examples are from a dialect in the south-eastern corner of Macedonia, bordering with Greece:

- (i) *%...ni gu e videl.*
 not.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl be.3Sg.Cl seen.M.Sg./-Part
 '...he did not see/has not seen him...'
- (ii) *%...uoti sa sa zbrali tam.*
 because be.3Pl.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl gathered.M.Sg./-Part there
 '...because they gathered there...'

²⁴ In descriptive grammars (e.g. Koneski 1967), what is here referred to as "passive participle" is labelled "passive verbal adjective", and what is here referred to as "*l*-participle" is labelled "active verbal adjective". I am using the term "participle" for easier comparison with similar categories in other languages.

A note on the forms of the participles is in order. The passive participle is derived by adding the suffixes *-t* or *-n* to verbal bases; it inflects for number and gender, so that we have four distinct forms: *-n/-t* M.Sg; *-na/-ta* F.Sg; *-no/-to* N.Sg; *-ne/-te* Pl. The *l*-participle is derived by adding the suffix *-l* to verbal bases; it also inflects for number and gender, and has four forms: *-l* M.Sg; *-la* F.Sg; *-lo* N.Sg; *-le* Pl.

²⁵ In Tomić (1996b) it is argued that the third person "be" auxiliary clitics are derived in Aux, whereas the first and second person auxiliary clitics are derived in the Tense/AgR node.

- (5) a. *Ti si go zel.*
you be.2Sg.Cl 3Sg.N.Dat.Cl taken.M.Sg./-Part
'You have (reportedly)²⁶ taken it.'
- b. *Nie sme go zele.*
we be.1Pl.Cl 3Sg.N.Dat.Cl taken.Pl./-Part
'We have (reportedly) taken it.'
- c. *Toj (*e) go (*e) zel.*
he be.3Sg.Cl 3Sg.M/N.Dat.Cl be.3Sg.Cl taken.M.Sg./-Part
'He has (reportedly) taken it.'
- d. *Tie (*se) go (*se) zele.*
they be.3Pl.Cl 3Sg.N.Dat.Cl be.3Pl.Cl taken.Pl./-Part
'They have (reportedly) taken it.'
- (6) a. *Ti si mu tatko.*
you be.2Sg.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl father
'You are his father. (lit. 'You are father to him.)'
- b. *Nie sme mu roditeli.*
we be.1Pl.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl parents
'We are his parents.' (lit. 'We are parents to him.')
- c. *Toj mu e tatko.*
he 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Sg.Cl father
'He is his father.' (lit. 'He is a father to him.')
- d. *Tie mu se roditeli.*
they 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Pl.Cl parents
'They are his parents.' (lit. 'They are parents to him.')

1.1.3 Syntactically, the Macedonian clausal clitics are verbal clitics oriented towards the head of the predication, which may be instantiated by V or by a predicate noun or adjective. Their phonological behaviour is, however, not uniform.

1.1.3.1 In positive indicative clauses, the Macedonian clausal clitics are proclitic if V is instantiated by a tensed verb or an *l*-participle,²⁷ either proclitic or enclitic if V is instantiated by a passive participle or else the head of the nominal predicate is an adjective, and exclusively enclitic if the head of the nominal predicate is a noun.²⁸ This is illustrated in (7).²⁹

²⁶ The association of the "be" auxiliary with *l*-participles of lexical verbs denotes reportedness.

²⁷ Like the tensed verbs, the *l*-participles are [+V, -N] categories.

²⁸ In the Eastern Macedonian dialects, the conditions for clitic-doubling are the same as those in Western and Central Macedonia, but the phonological behaviour of the clitics changes as one moves eastwards: gradually, the clitics come to be hosted by constituents to their left and obey the Tobler-Mussafia rule for non-occurrence in clause-initial position. The following examples are from the easternmost Macedonian dialects of Pirin Macedonia – an area within the boundaries of the Republic of Bulgaria (cf. Krapova 2003):

- (i) *%Mene nikoj ne mi nosil kitka.*
me nobody not.Cl 1Sg.Dat.Cl brought.M.Sg./-Parts flower
'Nobody has (ever) brought me flowers.'
- (ii) *%Ostail go na mira Petreto.*
left.M.Sg./-Part 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl to peace.Acc Petre.Dimin+the.N.Sg
'He did not bother Petre (anymore).' (lit. 'He left Petre at peace.')

- (7) a. *Si* → *im* → *gi* → *Dala*
 be.2Sg.Cl 3Pl.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl given.F.Sg./-Part
KNigite.
 books+the.Pl
 ‘You have (reportedly) given them the books.’
- b₁ *?Mu* → *e* → *SKInato* *PALtoto.*
 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Sg.Cl torn.N.Sg.Pass.Part coat+the.M.Sg
- b₂ *SKInato* ← *mu* ← *e* *PALtoto.*
 torn.N.Sg.Pass.Part 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Sg.Cl coat+the.M.Sg
 ‘His coat is torn.’
- c₁ *TI* ← *si* ← *mu* *TATko.*
 you be.2Sg.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl father
 ‘It is you who are his father.’
- c₂ *TATko* ← *si* ← *mu.*
 father be.2Sg.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl
 ‘It is a father that you are to him.’

1.1.3.2 In negative clauses, we have more than one distinct cliticization strategies (cf. Tomić 2001).³⁰

1.1.3.2.1 In Standard, West-Central and Western Macedonian negative clauses, we have two different cliticization strategies: in clauses in which the head is instantiated by a tensed verb or an */-* participle, the negation marker is a clitic and, along with other clausal clitics that precede the verb, forms prosodically restructured phonological word with stress on the penultimate syllable³¹ (cf. 8a), whereas in clauses in which V is instantiated by a passive participle, as well as in clauses with nominal predicates, the negation marker forms an antepenultimately stressed word only with the clitics to its right, to the exclusion of the participle, or predicate nominal (cf. 8b-8c).³²

- (8) a₁ *Ne* – *gi* – *PROdava* *jaBOLkata.*
 not.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl sell.3Sg apples+the.Pl
 ‘(S)he is not selling the apples.’
- a₂ *Ne* – *mu* – *GI* – *dava* *jaBOLkata.*
 not.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl give.3Sg apples+the.Pl
 ‘(S)he is not giving him the apples.’

As pointed out by Topolinjska (1995:80-85), in the South-Eastern Macedonian dialect of the village Akandžali, in Northern Greece, the clitics could be pleonastically used both to the left and to the right of the verb:

- (iii) %*Pitanta* *gi* *pufturuviš* *gi.*
 questions+the.Pl 3Pl.Acc.Cl repeat.2Sg 3Pl.Acc.Cl
 ‘You are repeating the questions.’

²⁹ The capital letters mark the stressed syllables. The arrows denote directionality of cliticization. Note that, the proclitic clitics can and do appear clause-initially.

³⁰ The stress pattern of Macedonian negative clauses with clitics is actually strikingly different from that of corresponding Bulgarian clauses (cf. 2.1.3).

³¹ Antepenultimate stress is characteristic for Standard Macedonian.

³² The dashes connect the elements that form phonological words.

- a₃ *Ne* – *ke* – *si* – *mu* – *gi* –
 not.Cl will.Mod.Cl be.2Sg.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl
DAdela *jaBOLkata*.
 given.F.Sg.Subj./l-Part apples+the.Pl
 ‘You would (reportedly) be unwilling to give him the apples.’
- b₁ *NE* – *mu* – *e* *SKInato* *PALtoto*.
 not.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Sg.Cl torn.N.Sg.Pass.Part coat+the.N.Sg
 ‘His coat is not torn.’
- b₂ *Ne* – *ke* – *DA* – *mu* – *e*
 not.Cl will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark.Cl 3Sg.M/N.Dat.Cl be.3Sg.Cl
SKInato *PALtoto*.
 torn.N.Sg.Pass.Part coat+the.N.Sg
 ‘His coat does not seem to be torn.’
- c₁ *NE* – *mu* – *e* *TATko*.
 not.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Sg.Cl father
 ‘He is not his father.’
- c₂ *Ne* – *ke* – *DA* – *mu* – *e* *TATko*.
 not.Cl will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark.Cl 3Sg.M/N.Dat.Cl be.3Sg.Cl father
 ‘He does not seem to be his father.’

1.1.3.2.2 In North-Western Macedonian,³³ the negation marker is not clitic and the cliticization strategies of clauses with tensed verbs and *l*-participles, on the one hand, and passive participles and predicate nouns and adjectives, on the other, are indistinct.³⁴ Here the clitics always encliticize to the negation marker, while the tensed verb, the participle or the predicate nominal is stressed separately.

- (9) a₁ *NE* ← *gi* *PROdava* *jaBOLkata*.
 not 3Pl.Acc.Cl sell.3Sg apples+the.Pl
 ‘(S)he is not selling the apples.’
- a₂ *NE* ← *mu* ← *gi* *DAva* *jaBOLkata*.
 not 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl give.3Sg apples+the.Pl
 ‘(S)he is not giving him the apples.’
- b₁ *NE* ← *mu* ← *e* *SKInato* *PALtoto*.
 not 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Sg.Cl torn.N.Sg.Pass.Part coat+the.N.Sg
 ‘His coat is not torn.’
- b₂ *NE* ← *ke* ← *da* ← *mu* ← *e*
 not will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Sg.Cl
SKInato *PALtoto*.
 torn.N.Sg.Pass.Part coat+the.N.Sg
 ‘His coat does not seem to be torn.’

³³ Being the dialect of the capital, Skopje, the North-Western dialect is conspicuously present on the Macedonian scene. This fact has most probably been instrumental in its stress pattern being interpreted (by many foreign linguists) as an alternative stress pattern of Standard Macedonian.

³⁴ In Tomić (2001), the negation marker in Standard Macedonian is derived in the head of NegP, whereas the negation marker in North-Western Macedonian is derived in Spec NegP.

- c₁ *NE* ← *mu* ← *e* *TATko*.
 not 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Sg.Cl father
 ‘He is not his father.’
- c₂ *Ne* ← *ke* ← *DA* ← *mu* ← *e* *TATko*.
 not will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Sg.Cl father
 ‘He does not seem to be his father.’

1.1.3.3 In interrogative clauses with “wh” words we also have different cliticization strategies.³⁵

1.1.3.3.1 In Standard, West-Central and Western Macedonian clauses in which V is instantiated by a tensed verb or an *l*-participle, the “wh” word forms a prosodically restructured phonological word with other clausal clitics that precede the verb (*cf.* 10a), whereas in clauses with nominal predicates, the “wh” word forms a phonological word only with the clitics to its right (*cf.* 10b).

- (10) a₁ *Koj* – *gi* – *PROdava* *jaBOLkata?*
 who.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl sell.3Sg apples+the.Pl
 ‘Who is selling the apples?’
- a₂ *Koj* – *mu* – *GI* – *dava* *jaBOLkata?*
 who 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl give.3Sg apples+the.Pl
 ‘Who is giving him the apples?’
- a₃ *Koj* – *ne* – *mu* – *GI* – *dava* *jaBOLkata?*
 who not.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl give.3Sg apples+the.Pl
 ‘Who is not giving him the apples?’
- b₁ *KoMU* – *mu* – *e* *SKInato* *PALtoto?*
 who.Dat 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Sg.Cl torn.N.Sg.Pass.Part coat+the.N.Sg
 ‘Whose coat is torn?’ (lit. ‘To whom is the coat torn?’)
- b₂ *Komu* – *NE* – *mu* – *e* *SKInato*
 who.Dat not.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Sg.Cl torn.N.Sg.Pass.Part
 PALtoto?
 coat+the.N.Sg
 ‘Whose coat is not torn?’ (lit. ‘To whom isn’t the coat torn?’)
- b₃ *Komu* – *ke* – *DA* – *mu* – *e*
 who.Dat will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark.Cl 3Sg.M/N.Dat.Cl be.3Sg.Cl
 SKInato *PALtoto?*
 torn.N.Sg.Pass.Part coat+the.N.Sg
 ‘Whose coat appears to be torn.’ (lit. ‘To whom would the coat be torn?’)

1.1.3.3.2 In North-Western Macedonian, the “wh” word is never a clitic and the cliticization strategies of clauses with tensed verbs and *l*-participles, on the one hand, and passive participles and predicate nouns and adjectives, on the other, are indistinct. Here, the clitics always encliticize to the “wh” word, while the tensed verb, the participle or the predicate nominal are stressed separately.³⁶

³⁵ In Tomić (1997) the negative and “wh” clitics are referred to as “operator clitics”.

³⁶ In negative “wh” questions, the clitics encliticize to the negation marker:

- (i) *KOJ* ← *NE* *gi* *PROdava* *jaBOLkata?*
 who not 3Pl.Acc.Cl sell.3Sg apples+the.Pl
 ‘Who is not selling the apples?’

- (11) a₁ *KOJ* ← *gi* *PROdava* *jaBOLkata?*
 who 3Pl.Acc.Cl sell.3Sg apples+the.Pl
 ‘Who is selling the apples?’
- a₂ *KOmu* ← *mu* ← *gi* *DAva* *jaBOLkata?*
 whom.Dat 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl give.3Sg apples+the.Pl
 ‘Who is giving him the apples?’
- b₁ *KOmu* ← *mu* ← *e* *SKInato* *PALtoto?*
 whom.Dat 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Sg.Cl torn.N.Sg.Pass.Part coat+the.N.Sg
 ‘Whose coat is torn?’ (lit. ‘To whom is the coat torn?’)
- b₂ *KOmu* ← *ke* ← *da* ← *mu* ← *e*
 whom.Dat will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Sg.Cl
SKInato *PALtoto?*
 torn.N.Sg.Pass.Part coat+the.N.Sg
 ‘Whose coat seems to be torn.’ (‘To whom does the coat seem torn?’)

1.1.4 In imperative clauses, we have more than one distinct cliticization strategies (cf. Tomić to appear a).³⁷

1.1.4.1 In positive imperative clauses, in all the Macedonian dialects, the pronominal clitics occur to the right of the verb. While in Standard, West-Central and Western Macedonian the verb and the clitics form a prosodically restructured antepenultimately stressed phonological word (cf. 12a), in North-Western Macedonian the pronominal clitics encliticize to the verb (cf. 12b):

- (12) a₁ *ZEmi* – *go!*
 take.2Sg.Perf.Imper 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
 ‘Take it!’
- a₂ *ZeMI* – *mu* – *go!*
 take.2Sg.Perf.Imper 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
 ‘Take it from him!’
- b₁ *ZEmi* ← *go!*
 take.2Sg.Perf.Imper 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
 ‘Take it!’
- b₂ *ZEmi* ← *mu* ← *go!*
 take.2Sg.Perf.Imper 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
 ‘Take it from him!’

1.1.4.2 In negative imperative clauses, in Standard, West-Central and Western Macedonian, the negation marker occurs to the left of the verb and forms a prosodically restructured antepenultimately stressed phonological word with the verb and any pronominal clitics to the right of the verb:

- (13) *Ne* – *daVAJ* – *mu* – *go!*
 not.Cl give.2Sg.Imperf.Imper 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
 ‘Don’t give it to him!’

-
- (ii) *KOmu* ← *NE* *mu* ← *gi* *DAva* *jaBOLkata*
 whom.Dat not 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl give.3Sg apples+the.Pl
 ‘To whom is (s)he not giving the apples?’

³⁷ Note that in positive imperatives the verb is, as a rule, perfective, while in negative ones it is mperfective.

1.1.4.3 In North-Western Macedonian negative imperative clauses the pronominal clitics occur to the immediate right of the non-clitic negation marker and encliticize to it, while the verb, which occurs to the right of the pronominal clitics, is stressed independently:

- (14) *NE* ← *mu* ← *go* *DAvaj!*
 not 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl give.2Sg.Imperf.Imper
 ‘Don’t give it to him!’

1.1.5 If two pronominal clitics co-occur, the Dat clitic must precede the Acc one and the third person clitic preferably follows the first or second person one:³⁸

- (15) a. *Petre mi/vi go/gi pretstavi.*
 Petre 1Sg/2Pl.Dat.Cl 3Sg/3Pl.Acc.Cl introduce.3Sg.Perf.Past
 ‘Petre introduced him/her/them to me/you.’
 b. **Petre go/gi mi/vi pretstavi.*
 Petre 3Sg/3Pl.Acc.Cl 1Sg/2Pl.Dat.Cl introduce.3Sg.Perf.Past
 c. *?Petre mu/i me/ve pretstavi.*
 Petre 3Sg.M/3Sg.F.Dat.Cl 1Sg/2Pl.Acc.Cl introduce.3Sg.Perf.Past
 ‘Petre introduced me/you to him/her.’
 d. *?Petre im me/ve pretstavi.*
 Petre 3Pl.Dat.Cl 1Sg/2Pl.Acc.Cl introduce.3Sg.Perf.Past
 ‘Petre introduced me/you to them.’

1.1.6 Combinations of 1st and 2nd person clitics are not frequent and in some cases are questionable.³⁹ Thus, we have the following acceptability judgements.⁴⁰

- (16) a. *Petre mi te/ve pretstavi.*
 Petre 1Sg.Dat.Cl 2Sg/2Pl.Acc.Cl introduce.3Sg.Perf.Past
 ‘Petre introduced you to me.’
 b. *?Petre ni te pretstavi.*
 Petre 1Pl.Dat.Cl 2Sg.Acc.Cl introduce.3Sg.Perf.Past
 ‘Petre introduced you to us.’
 c. *??Petre ni ve pretstavi.*
 Petre 1Pl.Dat.Cl 2Pl.Acc.Cl introduce.3Sg.Perf.Past
 ‘Petre introduced you (Pl) to us.’
 d. *??Petre ti me/ne pretstavi.*
 Petre 2Sg.Dat.Cl 1Sg/1Pl.Acc.Cl introduce.3Sg.Perf.Past
 ‘Petre introduced me/us to you.’

³⁸ Person restrictions in ditransitive sentences have attracted much attention in the literature (*cf.* Haspelmath 2002, for a recent overview). Rivero (2005: section 3.2) argues that these restrictions should be captured in post-syntactic morphology once syntactic information is encoded in pronominal clitics.

³⁹ The reasons for this are pragmatic: the speaker and the addressee do not often refer to each other. Yet, in Macedonian, first and second person clitics do co-occur and in this respect differ from the clitics of most other Balkan languages.

⁴⁰ Since (full) pronouns in direct and indirect object positions are always clitic-doubled, there are no viable alternatives. Sentences such as (i) or (ii), where one object is represented by a full pronoun, are non-acceptable, either:

- (i) **Petre ve pretstavi nam.*
 Petre 2Pl.Acc.Cl introduce.3Sg.Perf.Past us.Dat
 (ii) **Petre ne pretstavi vam.*
 Petre 1Pl.Acc.Cl introduce.3Sg.Perf.Past you.Pl.Dat

- e. **Petre vi me/ne pretstavi.*
 Petre 2Pl.Dat.Cl 1Sg/1Pl.Acc.Cl introduce.3Sg.Perf.Past
 purported reading: ‘Petre introduced me/us to you.’

1.1.7 All pronominal clitics can either occur as the only arguments of the verb or else co-occur with, i.e. clitic-double, (full) pronominal or lexical arguments:

- (17) a. *Ne sum go videl.*
 not.Cl be.1Sg.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl seen.M.Sg./-Part
 ‘I haven’t seen him.’
 b. *Ne sum go videl nego/Petreta.*
 not.Cl be.1Sg.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl seen.M.Sg./-Part him/Petre.Acc
 ‘I haven’t seen him/Petre.’

1.2 Direct object clitic-doubling

In direct-object clitic-doubling in Macedonian, definiteness plays central role.⁴¹

1.2.1 All definite direct objects are clitic-doubled, whether human or non-human, animate or inanimate, concrete or abstract:

- (18) *Jana go vide Petka/ volkot/*
 Jana 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Perf.Past Petko.Acc wolf+the.M.Sg
 pismoto/ oblakot.
 letter+the.N.Sg cloud+the.M.Sg
 ‘Jana saw Petko/the wolf/the letter/the cloud.’

1.2.2 As argued above, definite DPs are most often specific, but can also be non-specific. Specificity, however, plays no role when the direct object is definite. The direct objects in (18) are both unique and referentially identified, i.e. they are specific definites. The direct object in (19), on the other hand, can receive a specific or a non-specific interpretation, but is invariably clitic-doubled:

- (19) *Jana *(go) bara režiserot.*
 Jana 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl look-for.3Sg movie-director+the.M.Sg
 1. ‘Jana is looking for the movie-director (namely, for X, who happens to be the movie-director).’
 2. ‘Jana is looking for the movie-director (whoever it may be).’

1.2.3 Indefinite direct objects are, as a rule, not clitic-doubled. Thus, in (20), where the direct objects have indefinite articles, the doubling clitics are not accepted, irrespective of whether the objects receive a specific or non-specific interpretation:

- (20) a. *Jana (*go) bara eden slaven režiser.*
 Jana 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl look-for.3Sg a.M.Sg famous.M.Sg movie-director
 1. ‘Jana is looking for a famous movie-director (she happened to meet the other day).’
 2. ‘Jana is looking for a famous movie-director (whoever that may be).’
 b. *Jana (*ja) bara edna crvena tetratka.*
 Jana 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl look-for.3Sg a.F.Sg red.F.Sg notebook
 1. ‘Jana is looking for a red notebook (which she bought the other day).’
 2. ‘Jana is looking for a red notebook (which may be new or used).’

⁴¹ As pointed out in the introduction to this chapter, definiteness expresses uniqueness of an object that is not necessarily identified.

1.2.4 With partitive indefinites, clitic-doubling of direct objects does involve specificity. As illustrated in (21), when the object is specific, it is clitic-doubled, while when it is non-specific it is not clitic-doubled:

- (21) a. *Ja omaži edna od ќerkite.*
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl marry.3Sg.Perf.Past a.F.Sg of daughters+the.Pl
 ‘For one of her/his daughters (namely, Ana) (s)he found a husband.’ (lit. ‘One of his/her daughters (namely Ana) (s)he married.’)
- b. *Omaži edna od ќerkite.*
 marry.3Sg.Perf.Past a.F.Sg of daughters+the.Pl
 ‘For one of his/her daughters (it does not matter which one) (s)he found a husband.’
 (lit. ‘One of his/her daughters (it does not matter which one) (s)he married.’)

But partitives are not true indefinites. As pointed out by von Heusinger (2002), partitives are complex expressions that involve an indefinite choice from a definite set.⁴²

1.2.5 Specific indefinite direct objects in heavy (complex) sentences can also be clitic-doubled:

- (22) a. *(Go) nateraa eden čovek da ja*
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl force.3Pl.Perf.Past a.M.Sg man Subj.Mark.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
izvadi pločata.
 take-out.3Sg.Perf.Pres boulder+the.F.Sg
 ‘(I saw how) they forced a (specific) man to remove the boulder.’
- b. *(Ja) videle edna moja drugarka kako*
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl seen.Pl./-Part a.F.Sg my.F.Sg friend.F how
sleguva od brodot.
 descend.3Sg from ship+the.M.Sg
 ‘They reportedly saw a (specific) friend of mine get off the ship.’

1.2.6 On the basis of the occurrence of the clitic in an example such as the examples (22a-b), Berent (1980) concludes that it is not definiteness, but rather specificity that is crucial for the clitic-doubling of Macedonian direct objects, and Franks and King (1995:252-253), referring to Berent’s example, arrive at the same conclusion. Nevertheless, as shown by the unacceptability of the clitics in (20), specificity *per se* does not open the door for direct-object clitic-doubling. One might speculate that the subjunctive complement in sentences such as (22a) and the modifying clause in sentences such as (22b) are responsible for a type of specificity different from that illustrated in (20),⁴³ but even then clitic-doubling is not obligatory, as it is in the case of definite direct objects. Moreover, as shown by the unacceptability of the clitic in (23), where the nouns are non-human, not only specificity, but also humanness might be involved:

- (23) a. *(*Ja) videle edna krava kako vleguva vo*
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl seen.Pl./-Part a.F.Sg cow how enter.3Sg in
kuќata.
 house+the.F.Sg
 ‘They reportedly saw a cow entering the house.’

⁴² On Agnastopoulou and Gianakidou’s (1995) scale of referentiality, partitives are more referential than referential indefinites:

(i) referential indefinites > partitives > weak definites > novel definites > proper names and definite descriptions > definites > demonstratives > anaphoric pronouns.

⁴³ Agnastopoulou and Gianakidou (1995) point out that, cross-linguistically, it is not always specificity, narrowly defined, that affects clitic doubling.

- b. (*Ja) videle edna moja kniga kako paĝa
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl seen.Pl.I-Part a.F.Sg my.M.Sg book how fall.3Sg
 od prozorecot.
 from window+the.M.Sg
 ‘They reportedly saw a book of mine fall from the window.’

1.2.7 The occurrence of direct objects in topic or focus positions in the Left Periphery, as a rule, has no effect on its co-occurrence with the Acc clitic. I am, however, aware of one exception to this rule: Indefinites which could conveniently be labelled “contrastive indefinites”,⁴⁴ are not clitic-doubled when they occur to the right of the verb (cf. 24a), or occupy a focus position in the Left Periphery (cf. 24b), but have to co-occur with an Acc clitic when they occur in a topic position in the Left Periphery (cf. 24c):

- (24) a. (*Go) zapalija edno drugo selo.
 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl set-on-fire.3Pl.Perf.Past a.N.Sg other.N.Sg village
 ‘They set on fire another village.’
 b. EDNO DRUGO SELO (*go) zapalija.
 a.N.Sg other.N.Sg village 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl set-on-fire.3Pl.Perf.Past
 ‘It is another village that they set on fire.’
 c. Edno drugo selo, *(go) zapalija.
 a.N.Sg other.N.Sg village 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl set-on-fire.3Pl.Perf.Past
 ‘As for one other village, they set it on fire.’

In (24c), where the occurrence of the clitic is obligatory, a contrast with a definite set is involved and one can speak of a “D-linked” clitic.⁴⁵

1.2.8 Bare indefinite direct objects are never clitic-doubled. Thus, the clitics in (25) are not acceptable even when topicalized⁴⁶ or heavy,⁴⁷ whatever the type of the noun.

- (25) a. Jana (*go) vide dete/ volk/ voz/ oblak.
 Jana 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Perf.Past child wolf train cloud
 ‘Jana saw a child/wolf/train/cloud.’
 b. Kuće TREVA ne (*ja) jade.
 dog grass not 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl eat.3Sg
 ‘As for dogs, they do not eat grass.’ (lit. ‘As for a dog, it does not eat grass.’)

⁴⁴ The referents of these indefinites are always in contrast with some other objects in the domain of discourse. In English, the nouns of the “contrastive indefinites” are determined by *one other* or *another*.

⁴⁵ Thus, along with specificity, topicalization could be treated as peripherally instrumental in the co-occurrence of clitics with Macedonian direct objects. But definiteness still plays central role.

⁴⁶ Topicalized bare indefinites are generic.

⁴⁷ Topolinjska (1995:94) gives an example of clitic-doubling of a noun without an article, from a Macedonian dialect spoken in Northern Greece, noting that clitic-doubling can sometimes occur with indefinite human direct objects, especially if they are masculine:

- (i) %...i ko si dojde vremeto, go
 and when Dat.Refl.Cl come.3Sg.Perf.Past time+the.N.Sg 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
 rodi dete.
 bear.3Sg.Perf.Past child
 ‘...and when the time came she gave birth to a child.’

- c. (*Go) čuv dete kako plače.
 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl hear.1Sg.Perf.Past child how cry.3Sg
 'I heard a child crying.'

1.3 Indirect object clitic-doubling

As in many other Balkan languages, indirect-object clitic-doubling is in Macedonian contingent on specificity.

1.3.1 Nouns with indefinite articles are not always clitic-doubled; they are clitic-doubled only when specific:⁴⁸

- (26) a. *Jana mu go dade pismoto na*
 Jana 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Past letter+the.N.Sg to
edno dete.
 a.N.Sg child
 'Jana gave the letter to a child (that I know).'
- b. *Jana go dade pismoto na edno*
 Jana 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Past letter+the.N.Sg to a.N.Sg
dete.
 child
 'Jana gave the letter to a child (whose identity is not important).'

1.3.2 The contrast is more evident in the case of the determiner *nekoj* 'some', which is morphologically marked for non-specificity by the morpheme *-si*.⁴⁹ When *-si* is present, the clitic cannot be used:

- (27) a. *Jana (mu) go dala pismoto*
 Jana 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl given.F.Sg./-Part letter+the.N.Sg
na nekoe dete.
 to some.N.Sg child
 'Jana has reportedly given the letter to some child.'
- b. *Jana (*mu) go dala pismoto*
 Jana 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl given./-Part.F.Sg letter+the.N.Sg
na nekoe-si dete.
 to some.N.Sg.Non-Spec child
 'Jana has reportedly given the letter to some child (whoever that may be).'

⁴⁸ The co-occurrence of the Dat clitic with indefinite indirect objects may vary from dialect to dialect and from speaker to speaker. Generally speaking, however, it is much more frequent than the co-occurrence of the Acc clitic with indefinite direct objects.

⁴⁹ The determiner *nekoj* inflects for number and gender and has the following forms: *nekoj* M.Sg, *nekoja* F.Sg, *nekoe* N.Sg, *nekoj* Pl. Note that this determiner can only be used in sentences in which the action is not witnessed by the speaker, such as those in (27). Sentences such as (i), in which a DP with *nekoj* appears in the object position of a verb in the (simple) Past tense (which denotes an action witnessed by the speaker), are ill-formed:

- (i) **Jana go dade pismoto na nekoe(-si)*
 Jana 3Sg.M/N.Acc.Cl gave.3Sg letter+the.N.Sg to some.N.Sg.(Non-Spec)
dete.
 child
 purported reading: 'Jana gave the letter to a(n unspecified) child.'

1.3.3 Definite indirect objects can also be clitic-doubled or not, depending on whether they are specific or not:⁵⁰

- (28) a. *Sakam da mu dadam cveke⁵¹ na*
 want.1Sg Subj.Mark.Cl Sg.M.Dat.Cl give.1Sg.Perf.Pres flower to
našiot najslaven režiser.
 our+the.M.Sg Superl.Mark+famous movie-director
 'I want to give flowers to our most famous movie-director (namely to Milčo).'
- b. *Sakam da dadam cveke na našiot*
 want.1Sg Subj.Mark.Cl give.1Sg.Perf.Pres flower to our+the.M.Sg
najslaven režiser.
 Superl.Mark+famous movie-director
 'I want to give flowers to our most famous movie-director (whoever that may be).'

1.3.4 In some cases, however, the specificity effect disappears and the clitic can optionally be left out even when the definite indirect object is obviously specific, irrespective of whether it is in postverbal position or in topic or focus position in the Left Periphery:⁵²

- (29) a. *?(Im) davam knigi na decava.*
 3Pl.Dat.Cl give.1Sg books to children+the.Pl.Prox1
 'I am giving books to these children.'
- b. *NA DECAVA ?(im) davam knigi.*
 to children+the.Pl.Prox1 3Pl.Dat.Cl give.1Sg books
 'It is to these children that I am giving books.'
- c. *Na decava KNIGI ?(im) davam.*
 to children+the.Pl.Prox1 books 3Pl.Dat.Cl give.1Sg
 'As for these children, it is books that I am giving to them.'

1.3.5 Bare indefinites, which can never be specific, can also be optionally clitic doubled, whether they occur postverbally or in focus or topic positions in the Left Periphery:⁵³

⁵⁰ Compare with direct object definites, which always have to be clitic-doubled. Thus, (i) is unacceptable whether the object is specific or not:

- (i) **Sakam da vidam našiot najslaven*
 want.1Sg Subj.Mark.Cl see.1Sg.Perf.Pres our+the.M.Sg Superl.Mark+famous
režiser.
 movie-director
 purported reading: 'I want to see our most famous movie-director.'

⁵¹ *Cveke* is here used as a collective noun.

⁵² Note that this can never happen with direct objects. Thus, (i-iii) would be unacceptable without the Acc clitic:

- (i) **(Gi) davam knigive na deca.*
 3Pl.Acc.Cl give.1Sg books+the.Pl.Prox1 to children
 'I am giving these books to children.'
- (ii) *KNIGIVE *(gi) davam na deca.*
 children+the.Pl.Prox1 3Pl.Dat.Cl give.1Sg to children
 'It is these book that I am giving to children.'
- (iii) *Knigive na deca *(gi) davam.*
 books+the.Pl.Prox1 to children 3Pl.Acc.Cl give.1Sg
 'As to these books, it is to children that I am giving them.'

⁵³ The occurrence of the clitic with bare indirect objects varies from dialect to dialect and from speaker to speaker.

- (30) a. *Jana (mu) go dade pismoto na*
 Jana 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Perf.Past letter+the.N.Sg to
dete.
 child
 ‘Jana gave the letter to a (mere) child.’
- b. *NA DE TE (mu) go dade pismoto.*
 to child 3Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Perf.Past letter+the.N.Sg
 ‘It is to a (mere) child that (s)he gave the letter.’
- c. *Na kuče, TREVA ne (mu) se dava.*
 to dog grass not 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl Acc.Ref.Cl give.3Sg
 ‘As for dogs, one should not give them grass.’

1.3.6 The disappearance of the specificity effect in the use of the Dat clitic indicates that this clitic is actually much more close to becoming a mere case marker than the Acc clitic is.

1.4 Clitic-doubling of “wh” words

Macedonian has one invariant “wh-word”, *što* ‘what’, and four inflecting “wh” words: *koj* ‘who’, *kakov* ‘what kind’, *kolkav* ‘what size’ and *čij* ‘whose’, which occur both as pronouns and modifiers in both interrogative and relative clauses and are involved in clitic-doubling or the occurrence of resumptive clitics.⁵⁴ Clitic doubling is essentially contingent on specificity.

1.4.1 When it functions as an interrogative pronoun, *koj* can refer to a specific or non-specific person and, accordingly, can co-occur with a clitic or not, whereas when it functions as a modifier it always refers to a specific person and always co-occurs with a clitic. Examples:

- (31) a₁ *Kogo vide?*
 whom see.2/3Sg.Perf.Past
 ‘Who did you/(s)he see?’
- a₂ *Kogo go vide?*
 whom 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.2/3Sg.Perf.Past
 ‘Who (of the persons we know) did you/(s)he see?’
- b₁ *Komu dade cveke?*
 whom.Dat give.2/3Sg.Perf.Past flower
 ‘To whom did you/(s)he give flowers?’
- b₂ *Komu mu gi dade cvekinjata?*
 whom.Dat 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl give.2/3Sg.Perf.Past flowers+the.Pl
 ‘To whom (of the persons we know) did you/(s)he give the flowers?’
- (32) a. *Koja devojka ja sakaš?*
 which.F.Sg girl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl love.2Sg
 ‘Which girl (of the girls we know) do you love?’

⁵⁴ When used as an interrogative pronoun, *koj* ‘who’ is [+human] and inflects for case; it has the following forms: *koj* ‘who.Nom’, *kogo* ‘who.Acc’, *komu* ‘who.Dat’. When used as a relative pronoun *koj* can be [+human] or [–human]; if [+human], it inflects for gender, number and case, and has the forms *koj* ‘which.M.Sg.Nom’, *kogo* ‘which.M.Sg.Acc’, *komu* ‘which.M.Sg.Dat’, *koja* ‘which.F.Sg’, *koe* ‘which.N.Sg’, *koi* ‘which.Pl’; if [–human], it only inflects for number and gender. When used as a modifier, *koj* does not have any restriction on humanness; it inflects for gender and number and has the forms *koj* ‘which.M.Sg’, *koja* ‘which.F.Sg’, *koe* ‘which.N.Sg’, *koi* ‘which.Pl’. The “wh” words *kakov* ‘what kind’, *kolkav* ‘what size’ and *čij* ‘whose’ inflect for gender and number in all their uses, their forms being analogous to the forms of *koj*, when used as a modifier.

- b. *Na koj student mu dade desetka?*
 to which.M.Sg student 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl give.2/3Sg.Perf.Past ten.Noun
 ‘To which students (of the students we have) did you/(s)he give a ten?’

1.4.2 *Kakov* ‘what kind’, *kolkav* ‘what size’ and *čij* ‘whose’ relate to direct objects only as modifiers of non-specific nouns,⁵⁵ and do not co-occur with clitics:

- (33) a. *Kakov fustan sakaš?*
 what kind.M.Sg dress want.2Sg
 ‘What kind of a dress do you want?’
 b. *Kolkava pauza pravite?*
 what size.F.Sg pause do.2Pl
 ‘How long a pause do you have?’
 c. *Čii konduri obleče?*
 whose.Pl shoes put-on.2/3Sg.Perf.Past
 ‘Whose shoes did you/(s)he put on?’

1.4.3 *Što* can function either as an interrogative pronoun or as a modifier, but it does not co-occur with a clitic, since it is always non-specific.

- (34) a. *Što saka ovoj čovek?*
 what want.3Sg this.M.Sg man
 ‘What does this man want?’
 b. *Što čovek e Petre?*
 what-kind man be.3Sg.Cl Petre
 ‘What kind of a man is Petre?’

1.4.4 When *što* relativizes elements that function as a direct or indirect object,⁵⁶ it co-occurs with a resumptive pronominal clitic, because the object is always specific:

- (35) a₁ *Čovekot što go vide...*
 man+the.M.Sg what 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.2/3Sg.Perf.Past
 ‘The man that you/(s)he saw....’
 a₂ *Go dadov pismoto na eden*
 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl give.1Sg.Perf.Past letter+the.N.Sg to a.M.Sg
čovek što go vidovme včera.
 man what 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.1Pl.Perf.Past yesterday
 ‘I gave the letter to a man that we saw yesterday.’
 a₃ *Ja zaginav knjigata što mi*
 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl lose.1Sg.Perf.Past book+the.F.Sg what 1Sg.Dat.Cl
ja dadovte.
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.2Pl.Perf.Past
 ‘I lost the book that you gave me.’

⁵⁵ When used as pronouns, these “wh” words are moved out of nominal predicates:

- (i) *Kakov ti e fustanot?*
 what-kind.M.Sg 2Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Sg.Cl dress+the.M.Sg
 ‘What is your dress like?’

⁵⁶ Since *što* ‘what’ functions as an invariant relativizer with a variety of antecedents, it has been referred to as *relativum generale* or “general relativizer”.

- b₁ *Čovekot* *što* *mu* *go* *dade* *podarokot...*
 man+the.M.Sg what 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl gave.2/3Sg present+the.M.Sg
 ‘The man that you/(s)he gave the present to...’
- b₂ *Devojkata* *što* *í* *zagina* *knigata...*
 girl+the.F.Sg what 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl lose.3Sg.Perf.Past book+the.F.Sg
 ‘The girl whose book got lost...’ (lit. ‘The girl to whom the book got lost...’)

1.4.5 *Što* ‘what’ can be preceded by the “wh” words *kogo* ‘who.M.Sg.Acc’, *koja* ‘who.F.Sg’, *koe* ‘who.N.Sg’, *koi* ‘who.Pl’. The resulting complex, “double” relativizers relativize specific objects and co-occur with a resumptive clitic.⁵⁷

- (36) a. *Studentkata* *(koja)što* *majka ti* *ja*
 student+the.F.Sg who.F.Sg+what mother 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
videla...
 seen.F.Sg./-Part
 ‘The student whom your mother saw...’
- b. *Čovekot* *(kogo)što* *go* *sretnavme...*
 man+the.M.Sg who.M.Sg.Acc+what 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl meet.1Pl.Perf.Past
 ‘The man whom we met...’

1.4.6 The general relativizer *što* ‘what’ can also form complex relativizers with *čij* ‘whose’, *kakov* ‘what kind’ and *kolkav* ‘what size’. In the case of *čij*, the relativized object is always human and specific and we have a resumptive clitic, whereas in the case of *kakov* and *kolkav*, the object is non-specific and there is no resumptive clitic:

- (37) a. *Čovekot* *čijašto* *žena* *ja*
 man+the.M.Sg whose.F.Sg+what wife 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl
sretnavme...
 meet.1Pl.Perf.Past
 ‘The man whose wife we met...’
- b. *Devojka* *kakvašto* *bendisuvam...*
 girl what-kind.F.Sg+what like.1Sg
 ‘A girl of the kind that I like...’
- c. *Fustan kakovšto* *sakam...*
 dress what-kind.M.Sg+what want.1Sg
 ‘A dress of the kind that I want...’

2. Bulgarian

In Bulgarian, clitic-doubling is common, albeit conditioned on discourse factors and to some extent on specificity and definiteness. As in Macedonian, the Dat and Acc pronominal clitics cluster with other preverbal clausal clitics. Unlike the Macedonian clausal clitics, however, the Bulgarian clausal clitics are always enclitic, obeying the Tobler-Mussafia rule of non-occurrence in first position in the clause.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ *Kogo* is the Acc case form of the masculine singular relativizer *koi*. The feminine and neuter singular relativizers *koja* and *koe* do not have distinct Acc forms, and neither has the plural relativizer *koi*.

⁵⁸ The term “Tobler-Mussafia” has first been used in reference to Romance clitics. It is composed of the names of two linguists that were the first to draw attention to the phenomenon. The “Tobler-Mussafia” clitics are discussed exhaustively in Rivero (1997) on the example of Spanish and Bulgarian. Cf. also Rudin (1996); Dimitrova-Vulchanova (1996); Dimitrova-Vulchanova and Hellan (1999).

2.1 Bulgarian clausal clitic system

2.1.1 The Bulgarian clausal clitic system includes sets of pronominal and “be” auxiliary clitics, the subjunctive marker *da*, the expectative modal clitic *šte* ‘will’, conditional modal clitics,⁵⁹ the negation marker *ne* and the interrogative clitic *li*.

2.1.1.1 The sets of pronominal clitics are given in Table 3:

Table 3: Bulgarian pronominal clitics

	Dat		Acc	
	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
1 st	<i>mi</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ni</i>
2 nd	<i>ti</i>	<i>vi</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>vi</i>
3 rd M/N	<i>mu</i>	<i>im</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>gi</i>
3 rd F	<i>i</i>	-"-	<i>ja</i>	-"-
Refl	= <i>si</i> =		= <i>se</i> =	

2.1.1.2 The “be” auxiliary clitics are the present tense forms of the “be” auxiliary. They are given in Table 4:

Table 4: Bulgarian “be” auxiliary clitics

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>săm</i>	<i>sme</i>
2 nd	<i>si</i>	<i>ste</i>
3 rd	<i>e</i>	<i>sa</i>

2.1.1.3 The paradigm of the conditional modal clitics is given in Table 5:

Table 5: Bulgarian conditional modal clitics

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>bix</i>	<i>bixme</i>
2 nd	<i>bi</i>	<i>bixte</i>
3 rd	-"-	<i>bixa</i>

2.1.2 The clitics cluster to the left of the verb. While the interrogative clitic *li*, which always appears to the right of a focused element (cf. 2.1.4.2), does not have a fixed slot in the cluster, the dative clitics (Dat), the accusative clitics (Acc),⁶⁰ the “be” auxiliary clitics (Aux), the modal clitics (Mod), the subjunctive mood marker (Mood) and the negation marker (Neg), whenever they appear, do so in the following linear ordering:⁶¹

⁵⁹ *Šte* is used in the formation of the future tenses (cf. 2.9 in the chapter “Infinitives and Subjunctives”). But the future tenses are not the only structures in which it appears (cf. 2.8 in the chapter “Infinitives and Subjunctives”). The label “modals” unifies all the functions of *šte* and *bi*.

⁶⁰ As in Macedonian, the Dat reflexive/impersonal clitic occurs in the Dat slot, along with the personal Dat clitics, while the Acc reflexive/impersonal clitic occurs in the Acc slot, along with the personal Acc clitics (cf. footnote 16).

⁶¹ The symbols for the slots in the clitic cluster correspond to the symbols of functional projections. Needless to say, not all the slots are always filled. But, when they occur, the clitics tend to do so in the listed order (On the ordering of Bulgarian clitics see also Hauge 1976). Note, however, that “deviations” are not excluded. Thus, in the grammar of the Bulgarian Academy (cf. BAN 1982-1983), I have come across an example, excerpt from a text by the writer Ivan Vazov (19th c.), in which a pronominal clitic precedes the negation marker:

(i) *No tija vāprosi te ne interesuvat tebe.*
but these questions 2Sg.Acc.Cl not.Cl interest.3Pl you.Sg.Acc
‘But these questions do not interest you.’

(38) Neg Mod Mood Neg Aux Dat Acc *e*

2.1.2.1 The negation marker *ne* has two slots because, as shown in (39), it occurs to the left of the modal clitic and to the right of the subjunctive marker:⁶²

- (39) a. *Ne bix ti go dala.*
 not.Cl would.1Sg.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M/N.Acc.Cl given.F.Sg
 ‘I wouldn’t give it to you.’
- b. *Da ne si mu go*
 Subj.Mark.Cl not.Cl be.2Sg.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
dala poveče!
 given.F.Sg./-Part more
 ‘Don’t give it to him any more, or else!’

2.1.2.2 Material evidence for the distinct slots for the modal clitics and the subjunctive mood marker *da*, are sentences like the following ones, where they co-occur:⁶³

- (40) a. *Šte da ima poveče ot pedeset.*
 will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark.Cl have.3Sg more from fifty
 ‘(S)he would be more than fifty (years old).’
- b. *Šte da ti go e*
 will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl be.3Sg.Cl
dal.
 given.M.Sg./-Part
 ‘He seems to have given it to you.’
- c. *Šte da e bila mnogo*
 will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark.Cl be.3Sg.Cl be.F.Sg./-Part much.Adv
krasiva na vremeto si.
 beautiful.F.Sg on time+the.N.Sg Dat.Refl.Cl
 ‘She seems to have been beautiful in her time.’

2.1.2.3 Whereas in Macedonian both singular and plural third person clitics occur in a slot distinct from the slot in which the first and second person clitics appear, in Bulgarian, only the third person singular clitic appears in a distinct slot. Examples:

- (41) a. *Ti si go namerila.*
 you be.2Sg.Cl 3Sg.M/N.Acc.Cl found.F.Sg./-Part
 ‘You have found him/it.’

⁶² The contemporary Bulgarian negative future tense *ne* does not employ the modal auxiliary. While in older Bulgarian the future tense was negated by left-adjoining the negation marker *ne* to the modal auxiliary *šte*, in contemporary Bulgarian the negative counterpart of the future tense is the sequence *njama* + subjunctive construction. The subjunctive marker is discussed in section 2.2 of the chapter “Infinitives and Subjunctives”, while the negative counterparts to the Bulgarian future tense are discussed in section 2.9.5 of the same chapter.

⁶³ The sequence *šte da* + tensed verb expresses a conjecture based on knowledge or inference on the part of the speaker about the high degree of probability of a certain event. (Depending on the context and the tense of V this conjecture may be qualified as “epistemic” or “inferential”). Note, however, that *šte da* + tensed verb is commonly used only when it co-occurs with forms of the “be” auxiliary/copula, especially when indicating inalienable possession as in (40a). Sentences in which the sequence *šte da* + tensed verb co-occurs with lexical verbs, such as (i), have a “dialectal ring”:

- (i) %*Toj šte da dojde.*
 he will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark.Cl come.3Sg.Aor
 ‘He seems to have come.’

- b. *Nie sme go namerili.*
 we be.1Pl.Cl 3Sg.M/N.Acc.Cl found.Pl./-Part
 ‘We have found him/it.’
- c. *Te sa go namerili.*
 they be.3Pl.Cl 3Sg.M/N.Acc.Cl found.Pl./-Part
 ‘They have found him/it.’
- d. *Toj go e nameril.*
 he 3Sg.M/N.Acc.Cl be.3Sg.Cl found.M/N.Sg./-Part
 ‘He has found him/it.’

2.1.2.4 Moreover, while the Macedonian third person clitics are not realized in clauses with *l*-participles and nominal predicates, the Bulgarian 3rd person plural clitic *do* so. The 3rd person plural clitic appears in the slot in which 1st and 2nd person (singular or plural) clitics appear (cf. 41c and 42a), while the 3rd person singular clitic appears to the right of the pronominal clitics (cf. 41d and 42b):

- (42) a. *Ti si mu tatko.*
 you be.2Sg.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl father
 ‘You are his father.’
- b. *Toj mu e tatko.*
 he 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Sg.Cl father
 ‘He is his father.’

2.1.3 There is a discrepancy between the syntactic and the phonological allegiance of the Bulgarian clausal clitics: Syntactically, the clitics are oriented towards the head of the clause, whereas phonologically they are enclitic. Accordingly, the clitics of the Bulgarian clitic cluster, as a rule, do not appear clause-initially. When the subject is dropped and there are no topicalized DPs or adverbs to the left of the VP, the verb occurs clause-initially and hosts the clitics:⁶⁴

- (43) *Vzel ← si ← mu parite.*
 taken.M.Sg./-Part be.2Sg.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl money.Pl+the.Pl
 ‘You have taken his money.’

2.1.4 Nevertheless, as exemplified by (44), there are notable exceptions to the rule for non-appearance of the clitics in clause-initial position – the Bulgarian negation marker *ne* and the modal clitics *šte* and *bi* can and do appear clause-initially:

- (44) a. *Ne mu go e dal.*
 Not.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl be.3Sg.Cl given.M.Sg./-Part
 ‘He hasn’t given it to him.’

⁶⁴ Note that the clitics in imperative clauses behave in the same manner as the clitics in indicative clauses, i.e. they precede the verbs if there is a constituent to their left and follow it otherwise. The two possibilities are illustrated in (i), where a locative prepositional phrase occurs to the left of the pronominal clitic *go*, and (ii), where an imperative verb occurs in initial position:

- (i) *Na pejkata go ostavi!*
 on bench+the.M.Sg 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl leave.2Sg.Imper
 ‘Leave it on the bench!’
- (ii) *Daj mi go!*
 give.2Sg.Imper 1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
 ‘Give it to me!’

- b. *Šte* *ti* *go* *donesa* *utre*.
will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl bring.1Sg.Perf.Pres tomorrow
‘I will bring it to you tomorrow.’
- c. *Bix* *mu* *go* *donesāl*, *no...*
would.1Sg.Mod.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl brought.M.Sg./-Part but
‘I would bring it to him, but...’

2.1.4.1 The appearance of the Bulgarian negation marker *ne* and the modal clitics *šte* and *bi* in initial position can be explained through the distinct phonological directionality of *ne*, *šte* and *bi*: while the auxiliary and pronominal clitics are phonologically enclitic, the negation marker *ne* and the modal clitics *šte* and *bi* are phonologically proclitic. Echoing the position of Inkelas (1989) that clitics may lean on one another and satisfy each others prosodic requirements, Halpern (1992:283–287) suggests that, when a proclitic clitic is followed by an enclitic one, we must allow the prosodic subcategorizations to “cancel” each other, so that the combination is not, as a whole, prosodically dependent. It is this “cancellation” and the stress that the complex acquires as a result of it, which make it possible for the negation marker *ne* to appear clause-initially and form a phonological unit with the clitic following it, to the exclusion of the verb (*cf.* also Halpern 1995). As for the modal clitics *šte* and *bi*, they influence the behaviour of the other clitics: when the modal clitics are cluster-initial, the cluster forms a local domain with the following verb, and, consequently, can appear clause-initially (*cf.* Tomić 1996b).⁶⁵

2.1.4.2 The assumption that the Bulgarian negation marker *ne* forms a phonological word with the clitic to its immediate right is supported by the possibility of the interrogative clitic *li* to cleave a clausal clitic cluster whose leftmost constituent is *ne*, as in (45):

- (45) *Ne* *mu* *li* *go* *e* *dal?*
not.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl Inter.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl be.3Sg.Cl given.M.Sg./-Part
‘Hasn’t he given it to him?’

2.1.5 The interrogative clausal clitic *li* is syntactically independent from the other clausal clitics,⁶⁶ though, like most of the other clausal clitics, it is invariably enclitic.

2.1.5.1 As a rule, *li* appears to the immediate right of verbs and focused DPs, and any other clausal clitics appear to its immediate right (*cf.* Ewen 1979, Rivero 1993, among others):

- (46) a₁ *PROČETE* *li* *Petko knigata?*
read.3Sg.Aor Inter.Cl Petko book+the.F.Sg
‘Did Petko read the book?’
- a₂ *DADE* *li* *ti* *Petko knigata?*
give.3Sg.Aor Inter.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl Petko book+the.F.Sg
‘Did Petko give the book to you?’
- a₃ *DAL* *li* *mu* *gi* *e?*
given./-Part Inter.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl be.3Sg.Cl
‘Has he given them to him?’
- b₁ *NA* *PETKO* *li* *dade* *knigata?*
to Petko Inter.Cl give.3Sg.Aor book+the.F.Sg
‘Was it to Petko that you gave the book?’

⁶⁵ Avgustinova (1994) refers to the modal clitics as “peripheral” and contrasts them to the pronominal and auxiliary clitics, which are “core” clitics.

⁶⁶ In generative treatments *li* is invariably placed in C, while the other clausal clitics appear lower in the clause and cluster preverbally (*cf.* Rudin *et al.* 1999, Franks and King 2000, Rivero 2005, among others).

- b₂ *PETKO* *li* *ti* *dade* *knigata?*
 Petko Inter.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl give.3Sg.Aor book+the.F.Sg
 ‘Was it Petko that gave you the book?’
- b₃ *NA* *PETKO* *li* *si* *mu* *gi*
 to Petko Inter.Cl be.2Sg.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl
dal?
 given.M.Sg./-Part
 ‘Was it to Petko that you gave them?’

2.1.5.2 In negative questions, however, *li* appears to the right of the first clausal clitic to the right of *ne*, as in (47a) or to the immediate right of the verb, if there are no clausal clitics, as in (47b):

- (47) a. *Ne* *TI* *li* *go* *e* *dal?*
 not.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl Inter.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl be.3Sg.Cl given.M.Sg./-Part
 ‘Hasn’t he given it to you?’
- b. *Ne* *VIDJA* *li* *ništo?*
 not see.2Sg.Aor Inter.Cl nothing
 ‘Didn’t you see anything?’

2.1.5.3 In (47a-b) *li* actually encliticizes to a focused element. The negation marker and the pronominal clitic in (47a) and the negation marker and the lexical verb in (47b) form phonological words which are focused.⁶⁷

2.1.6 Dat pronominal clitics always precede Acc clitics, and first or second person clitics precede third person ones.

- (48) a. *Petko* *mi/vi* *go/gi* *predstavi.*
 Petko 1Sg/2Pl.Dat.Cl 3Sg/3Pl.Acc.Cl introduce.3Sg.Aor
 ‘Petko introduced him/her/them to me/you.’
- b. **Petko* *go/gi* *mi/vi* *predstavi.*
 Petko 3Sg/3Pl.Acc.Cl 1Sg/2Pl.Dat.Cl introduce.3Sg.Aor
- c. *??Petko* *mu/i* *me/vi* *predstavi.*
 Petko 3Sg.M/3Sg.F.Dat.Cl 1Sg/2Pl.Acc.Cl introduce.3Sg.Aor
 ‘(S)he introduced me/you to him/her.’

2.1.7 Combinations of 1st and 2nd person clitics are ruled out.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Rudin (1993, 1994, 1997a) proposes that *li* is placed to the right of a focused element by prosodic inversion. Rivero (1993) argues that in cases such as those in (46) and (47) *li* lowers. In Tomić (2000b) the negation marker forms a phonological word with the first clitic in the clausal clitic cluster, which is then raised to focus position (though the details of the interaction of phonology and syntax are not formulated). Bošković (2001: section 4.3) proposes a (tentative) program for *li*-placement, based on the copy-and-deletion movement in syntax, coupled with PF filters and Rivero (2005), revising her previous proposals, fills in details left unspecified in Bošković’s proposal. As pointed by Rivero (2005: section 3.4), this and other current proposals within the tenets of minimalism for the behaviour of the Bulgarian interrogative clitic, imply the interaction of the syntactic and the phonological component of grammar, though there are differences as to the precise division of labour between the components.

⁶⁸ In Macedonian, first and second person clitics do co-occur, though not frequently (*cf.* 1.1.5). The difference between Macedonian and Bulgarian is probably due to the fact that in Macedonian pronominal clitics co-occur with all definite direct objects and all specific indirect objects, and there are no alternatives to the co-occurrence of two clitics. Note that, in Bulgarian, full pronouns are usually used instead of one of the clitics, as in:

- (i) *Predstavi* *me* *na* *vas.*
 introduce.3Sg.Aor 1Sg.Acc.Cl to you.Pl.Acc
 ‘(S)he introduced me to you.’

- (49) a. *Petko ti/vi me/ni predstavi.
 Petko 2Sg/2Pl.Dat.Cl 1Sg/1Pl.Acc.Cl introduce.3Sg.Aor
 purported reading: 'Petko introduced me/us to you.'
- b. *Petko mi/ni te/vi predstavi.
 Petko 1Sg/1Pl.Dat.Cl 2Sg/2Pl.Acc.Cl introduce.3Sg.Aor
 purported reading: 'Petko introduced you (Sg/Pl) to me/us.'

2.1.8 Like their Macedonian counterparts, the Bulgarian pronominal clitics can occur either as the only arguments of the verb or else co-occur with lexical objects:

- (50) a. Jana go tãrsi.
 Jana 3Sg.M/N.Acc.Cl seek.3.Sg
 'Jana is seeking him/it.'
- b. Pismoto go tãrsi Jana.
 letter+the.N.Sg 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl seek.3.Sg Jana
 'Jana is seeking the letter.'

The co-occurrence of clitics with lexical objects is in Bulgarian, however, much more restricted than in Macedonian.

2.2 Conditions for clitic-doubling of lexical nominals

Clitic-doubling of lexical nominals is in Bulgarian basically contingent on topicalization, though in some cases *in-situ* non-focused objects can be clitic-doubled. There may also be a specificity and definiteness effect.⁶⁹

2.2.1 Definite topicalized objects are clitic-doubled whether specific or not. In (51a) we have a specific definite topicalized direct object; in (51b) a specific definite topicalized indirect object; in (51c) a non-specific definite topicalized direct object.⁷⁰ As we see, all of them are clitic-doubled:

- (51) a. Ivan Marija go vidja.
 Ivan Marija 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Aor
 'Speaking of Ivan, Marija saw him.'
- b. Na Marija, apartamenta ne i xaresva.
 to Marija apartment+the.F.Sg not 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl please.3Sg
 'As for Maria, she doesn't like the apartment.'
- c. Pismata Marija vinagi gi prašta na vreme.
 letters+the.Pl Marija always 3Pl.Acc.Cl send.3Sg on time
 'Speaking of the letters/As for the letters, Marija always mails them on time.'

2.2.2 There can be multiple topicalizations, each of which is clitic-doubled. Arnaudova (2003a:175-176) gives examples of clitic doubling of a multiple topic with direct and indirect objects as well as an example of a clitic-doubled CP (*cf.* (52a) and (52b), respectively).⁷¹

⁶⁹ Clitic doubling in Bulgarian has been controlled by the Bulgarian codifiers (*cf.* Topolinjska 1996, Arnaudova 2003a:127) and is restrained in the literary language, though widespread in colloquial speech. Many authors have characterized it as optional. According to Rudin (2001: footnote 10) "clitic-doubling is obligatory in some idioms and highly preferred in a few other constructions but is generally optional". According to Franks and King (2000:251) "it is at least superficially optional". Arnaudova (2003a), however, makes a distinction between clitic-doubling and clitic left-dislocation and argues that in clitic-left-dislocation structures the occurrence of the clitic is obligatory.

⁷⁰ Examples (51a) and (51c) are from Arnaudova (2003a:163).

⁷¹ Kallulli (2004) also gives examples of clitic-doubled CPs in Albanian (*cf.* 7.3.2 and the footnote related to it).

- (52) a. *Az učebnika na Stojan mu go*
 I textbook+the.M.Sg to Stojan 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
dadox.
 give.3Sg.Aor
 ‘As for me, the textbook and Stojan, I gave it to him.’
- b. *[Če Simeon šte spečeli izborite]*
 that Simeon will.Mod.Cl win.3Sg.Perf.Pres elections+the.Pl
go znajat vsički.
 3Sg.Dat.Cl know.3Sg everybody
 ‘Everyone knows that Simeon will win the elections.’

2.2.3 With indefinite (articled) objects, however, specificity has to be exhaustively marked. Thus, (53a₁), (53b₁) and (53c₁) are not acceptable, whether with or without the doubling clitic. On the other hand, the relatively heavy sentences (53b₂) and (53c₂), in which the clitic-doubled object is exhaustively specified, are well-formed.⁷²

- (53) a₁ **Edna studentka (ja) vidjax.*
 a.F.Sg student.F 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Aor
 purported reading: ‘As to a student, I saw her.’
- a₂ *Edna studentka ja vidjax da vliza*
 a.F.Sg student.F 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Aor Subj.Mark.Cl enter.3Sg
vāv stajata.
 in room+the.F.Sg
 ‘As to a student, I saw her entering the room.’
- b₁ **Edin paket (go) izgubixa.*
 a.M.Sg parcel.M 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl lose.3Pl.Aor
 purported reading: ‘One parcel, they lost.’
- b₂ *Edin paket (go) izgubixa po pogreška.*
 a.M.Sg parcel.M 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl lose.1Sg.Aor by mistake
 ‘One parcel was lost by mistake.’
- c₁ **Na edna moja prijatelka, brat mi*
 to a.F.Sg my.F.Sg friend.F brother 1Sg.Dat.Cl
(i) pomogla.
 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl help.3Sg.Aor
 purported reading: ‘As to a friend of mine, my brother helped her.’
- c₂ *Na edna moja prijatelka, brat mí*
 to a.F.Sg my.F.Sg friend.F brother 1Sg.Dat.Cl

⁷² Note, however, that in (i), which differs from (53a₂) only in the initial noun, the doubling clitic is hardly acceptable:

- (i) *Edna kotka (??ja) vidjax da vliza vāv*
 a.F.Sg cat.F 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Aor Subj.Mark.Cl enter.3Sg in
stajata.
 room+the.F.Sg
 ‘I saw a cat entering the room.’

Since (53b₂), where the doubled DP is not only non-human, but also inanimate, is well-formed, the difference between the acceptability of (i) and (53a₂) could not be ascribed to the difference in humanness. It is probably due to a semantic mismatch between a non-human object and the predicate *vliza* ‘enter’.

i *pomogna* *da* *si* *kupi*
 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl help.3Sg.Aor Subj.Mark.Cl Dat.Refl.Cl buy.3Sg.Perf.Pres
apartment.
 apartment
 ‘As to a friend of mine, my brother helped her to buy an apartment for herself.’

2.2.4 There are examples of clitic-doubling in which the doubled NP/DP follows immediately the doubling clitics, to which Arnaudova (2003a: section 8) refers as “clitic right-dislocations”, but which may be looked upon as VP movements to focus positions:⁷³

- (54) a. *Vidjaxa go, čoveka/ učebnika/*
 see.3Pl.Aor 3Sg.M/N.Acc.Cl man+the.M.Sg textbook+the.N.Sg
edin učebnik.
 a.M.Sg texbook
 ‘As for the man/the textbook/a textbook, they saw him/it.’⁷⁴
- b. *Dadox mu go az učebnika na*
 give.1Sg.Aor 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl I textbook+the.N.Sg to
Stojan.
 Stojan
 ‘As for me, the book and Stojan, I gave the book to him.’
- c. *Izvikaxa ja Marija, kogato rešixa će...*
 call.3Pl.Aor 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl Marija when decide.3Pl.Aor that
 ‘As for Marija, they called her, when they decided that...’
- d. *Šte mu gi dade Marija,*
 will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Perf.Pres Marija
ključovete na drvodeleca.
 keys+the.Pl to carpenter+the.M.Sg
 ‘As for Marija giving the keys to the carpenter, she will give them to him.’

2.2.5 The doubling clitic can optionally appear to the left of a verb which itself occurs to the left of the doubled NP/DP. Genčeva (2004) gives the following examples, noting that the topic is in such a case postverbal:

- (55) *Ivan (gi) ostavi tezi pari.*
 Ivan 3Pl.Acc.Cl leave.3Sg.Aor these money.Pl
 ‘As for that money, Ivan left it.’

⁷³ Examples (54a-c) are from Arnaudova (2003a:176), example (54d), from Arnaudova (2003a:87). In all the examples the VP is focused, and Arnaudova argues that it represents the information predicated of the “subject of predication”, which is removed from the domain of the focus projection and right-dislocated. (She makes an analogy with structures in Mohawk, as analyzed by Baker 1996).

⁷⁴ This example includes an indefinite DP with an indefinite article. According to Petja Asenova (p.c.), the clitic-doubling of direct objects that do not carry definite articles, whether the nouns precede the verb (i.e. occur in the Left Periphery) or are postverbal (which is the case with “right-dislocations”, such as those in 36a), is “legitimate” only in “utterances expressing habitual actions”, such as (i):

- (i) *Jana go čete edno pismo po tri časa.*
 Jana 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl read.3Sga.M.Sg a.N.Sg letter Distr three hours
 ‘Jana spends three hours reading a letter.’

This sentence expresses habitual action, but it also is “heavy” and the heaviness may be the reason why Asenova allows it. In any case, Asenova seems to be much less “permissive” than Arnaudova, which again indicates that we cannot escape the conclusion that there is dialectal (and idiolectal) variation in clitic-doubling in Bulgarian.

2.2.6 Arnaudova (2003a:175) makes a distinction between contrastive topic (which is not clitic-doubled) and clitic left dislocation (CLLD), which co-occurs with a clitic:⁷⁵

- (56) a. *Ivan/ nego/ pismoto* *vidja* *Ani.*
 Ivan him letter+the.N.Sg see.3Sg.Aor Ani
 ‘Ani saw Ivan/him/the letter.’
- b. *Ivan/ nego/ pismoto* *go* *vidja* *Ani.*
 Ivan him letter+the.N.Sg 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Aor Ani
 ‘As for Ivan/him/the letter, Ani saw him/it.’

Nevertheless, Mila Vulchanova and Zlatka Genčeva (p.c.) interpret *Ivan/nego/pismoto* in (56a) as foci.⁷⁶

2.2.7 Bare direct or indirect objects are, as a rule, not clitic-doubled, though they can be topicalized (cf. 57a), just as they can occur in focus positions (cf. 57b):⁷⁷

- (57) a. *Pismo (*go)* *vidja* *ANI.*
 letter 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Aor Ani
 ‘As for a letter, Ani saw it.’
- b. *PISMO* *(*go)* *vidja* *Ani, (ne kartička).*
 letter 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Aor Ani not postcard
 ‘It was a letter that Ani saw (not a postcard).’

2.3 Clitic-doubling of pronouns

2.3.1 Pronouns are, as a rule, usually clitic doubled in emphatic environments:

- (58) a. *Pokazax* *mu* *go* *na nego.*
 show.1Sg.Aor 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl to him
 ‘I did show it to him.’

⁷⁵ In both cases, the DP is to the left of the verb, but Arnaudova (2003a: section 8) argues that while contrastively topicalized constituents are moved to the specifier of the highest projection of the VP – a node to which contrastively focused constituents are also moved, the clitic left-dislocated DPs are base derived externally. According to her, the doubling clitic in CLLD structures has the semantic effect of subject of predication and is tied to syntactic mapping of arguments in two predication domains. The Bulgarian clitics are argument variables, which are base-generated in argument positions within the verbal domain, and later move to the head position of T to licence discourse operators related to referentiality. (The subject can also be base-derived externally, and be clitic-doubled with “pro” clitics). Arnaudova claims that the clitics move to licence discourse-related operators and for no other reason. If so, the movement of the clitics in Macedonian would be for completely different reason – an unattractive assumption in view of the fact that both Macedonian and Bulgarian pronominal clitics move to preverbal position.

⁷⁶ They interpret (56a) as follows:

(i) ‘It was Ivan/him/the letter that Ani saw.’

⁷⁷ In generic clauses, the bare NP can, however, be clitic-doubled:

(i) *Na kuće treva ne (mu)* *se dava.*
 to dog grass not 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl give.3Sg
 ‘As for dogs, one should not give them grass.’

Genčeva (p. c.) provided even an example of a doubled bare NP that can hardly be treated as generic:

(ii) *Prikazka (ja)* *razkazvaše* *vsjaka večer.*
 story 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl tell.3Sg.Imperf every.F.Sg evening
 ‘As for a story, he was telling it every evening.’

- b. *Az mu go pokazax na nego.*
 I 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl show.1Sg.Aor to him
 ‘As for me, I did show it to him.’

2.3.2 Pronouns used in impersonal constructions have to occur in the left-periphery and be clitic-doubled:

- (59) a. *Men me dostrašava.*
 me 1Sg.Acc.Cl frighten.3Sg
 ‘I am frightened.’ (lit. ‘To me it frightens.’)
- b. *Men mi pričernjava.*
 me 1Sg.Dat.Cl blacken.3Sg
 ‘I am loosing conscience.’ (lit. ‘To me it blackens.’)
- c. *Nego go njama vāv spisāka.*
 him 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl not+have.Impers in list+the.M.Sg
 ‘He is not (to be found) on the list.’
- d. *Nego ne go biva⁷⁸ za ništo.*
 him not 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl be.Impers for nothing
 ‘He is good for nothing.’

2.3.3 The reflexive pronoun *sebe* ‘self’ is almost always clitic doubled by the reflexive pronominal clitic *si*. Nicolova (1986:67), from where the examples in (60) are taken, treats the sequence *sebe si* as a “non-clitic” Dat reflexive pronoun.⁷⁹ She substantiates this by the fact that *sebe si* can even be clitic doubled:⁸⁰

- (60) a. *Porāčvam si na sebe si raci...*
 order.1Sg Dat.Refl.Cl to self Dat.Refl.cl crabs
 ‘I am ordering for myself crabs...’
- b. *Vseki čovek sebe si najpoveče se običa.*
 every man self Dat.Refl.Cl Superl+more Acc.Refl.cl love.1Sg
 ‘Every man loves himself most of all.’

2.4 Clitic-doubling of “wh” words

Bulgarian has two “wh” words that may be involved in clitic-doubling: (a) the inflecting “wh” word *koj* ‘who’, which can be used as an interrogative pronoun or modifier, or (in association with the anaphoric particle *to*) as a relativizer;⁸¹ and (b) the invariant relativizer *deto* ‘that’.⁸²

⁷⁸ *Biva* is an impersonal present tense form of an imperfective auxiliary derived from a root from which many forms of the “be” auxiliary are derived.

⁷⁹ In some Bulgarian dialects, instead of the reflexive pronoun *sebe* ‘self’, personal Dat/Acc pronouns are used (cf. Orzechowska 1976:72-73), and we get compound pronominal forms such as the following ones:

- (i) *%mene si*
 me Dat.Refl.Cl
 ‘me’
- (ii) *%nego si*
 him Dat.Refl.Cl
 ‘him’

⁸⁰ Note that, in Macedonian, the full reflexive pronoun *sebe* can occur alone, especially when it functions as an object of a preposition (cf. footnotes 35 and 59 in the chapter “Cases and Articles”).

⁸¹ When used as an interrogative pronoun, *koj* ‘who’ is [+human] and, inflects for case; it has the forms *koj* ‘who.Nom’ and *kogo* ‘who.Acc’. (It pairs with a [–human] interrogative pronoun *kakvo*, which actually represents the neuter form

2.4.1 When it functions as an interrogative pronoun, *koj* can optionally be clitic-doubled when it is specific and the specificity is exhaustively marked. Thus, the doubling clitic is not accepted in (61a) and is optionally accepted in (61b-d):⁸³

- (61) a. *Kogo (*go) vidja?*
whom 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Aor
'Who did you see?'
- b. *Kogo ot tjax si (go) viždal predi?*
whom from them be.2Sg.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl seen.M.Sg./-Part before
'Who of them have you seen before?'
- c. *Na kogo (gi) dade cvetjata?*
to whom 3Pl.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor flowers+the.Pl
'To whom (of the persons we know) did you give the flowers?'
- d. *Na kogo (mu) dade tezi cvetja?*
to whom 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl give.3Sg.Aor these flowers
'To whom (of the persons we know) did you give these flowers?'

2.4.2 When it functions as a modifier, *koj* always refers to a specific person and always co-occurs with a clitic:

- (62) a. *Koja moma ja običaš?*
which.F.Sg girl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl love.2Sg
'Which (of the girls we know) do you love?'
- b. *Na koj student mu pisa petica?*
to which.M.Sg student 3Sg.M.Dat give.3Sg.Aor five.Noun
'To which (of the students you have) did you give five?'

2.4.3 When the Acc form of *koj*, *kogo*, accompanied by the anaphoric particle *to*, functions as a relative pronoun, it can co-occur with a clitic only in an indirect object position:

- (63) a. *Čovekāt kogoto (*go) vidjaxme...*
man+the.M.Sg whom+Anaph 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.1Pl.Aor
'The man whom we saw...'
- b. *Čovekāt na kogoto (mu) dadoxme pismoto...*
man+the.M.Sg to whom+Anaph 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.1Pl.Aor
letter+the.N.Sg
'The man to whom we gave the letter...'

of the qualitative interrogative/relative pronoun/determiner *kakāv* 'what kind', which we do not consider, since it never clitic-doubles. When used as a modifier, *koj* does not have any restriction on humanness; it inflects for gender and number and has the forms: *koj* 'which.M.Sg', *koja* 'which.F.Sg', *koe* 'which.N.Sg', *koi* 'which.Pl'.

⁸² *Deto* 'that' differs from the general relativizers of most of the other Balkan languages. It is constructed by a remnant of the locative "wh" word *kāde* plus the anaphoric particle *to* – (*kā*)*de*+*to*.

⁸³ For Krapova (p.c.), an interrogative clause with two doubling clitics, such as (i), is not acceptable.

- (i) **Na kogo mu gi dade cvetjata?*
to whom 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor flowers+the.Pl
purported reading: 'To whom (of the persons we know) did you give the flowers?'

2.4.4 In colloquial Bulgarian, the Nom form of *koj* plus the anaphoric particle *to* is used as a default form, and much more frequently co-occur with a clitic than the Acc form. Examples:

- (64) a. %Čovekăt *kojto* (*go*) *vidjaxme...*
man+the.M.Sg who+Anaph 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.1Pl.Aor
‘The man whom we saw...’
- b. %Čovekăt *na* *kojto* (*mu*) *dadoxme*
man+the.M.Sg to who+Anaph 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.1Pl.Aor
pismoto...
letter+the.N.Sg
‘The man to whom we gave the letter...’

2.4.5 The invariant relativizer *deto* ‘that’ is often followed by a resumptive clitic:⁸⁴

- (65) a. Čovekăt *deto* (*go*) *vidjaxme...*
man+the.M.Sg that 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.1Pl.Aor
‘The man that we saw...’
- b. Čovekăt *deto* *mu* *dadoxme* *pismoto...*
man+the.M.Sg that 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl give.1Pl.Aor letter+the.N.Sg
‘The man that we gave the letter to...’

3. Serbo-Croatian

Serbo-Croatian has a rich system of clausal clitics, most of which occur in clusters located after the first DP or the first word of the clause (cf. Tomić 1996b). Clitic-doubling occurs only in some dialects.

3.1 Serbo-Croatian clausal clitic system

3.1.1 The Serbo-Croatian clausal clitic cluster includes sets of pronominal, “be” auxiliary and expectative and conditional modal clitics,⁸⁵ the subjunctive marker *da*⁸⁶ and the interrogative clitic *li*. The negation marker *ne*, though a clitic, is not part of the clitic cluster.

3.1.1.1 The sets of pronominal clitics are given in Table 6:

Table 6: Serbo-Croatian pronominal clitics

	Dat		Acc/Gen	
	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
1 st	<i>mi</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>nas</i>
2 nd	<i>ti</i>	<i>vam</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>vas</i>
3 rd M/N	<i>mu</i>	<i>im</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>ih</i>
3 rd F	<i>joj</i>	<i>-"</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>-"</i>
Refl	<i>= si =</i>		<i>= se =</i>	

⁸⁴ In that respect it behaves like the invariant relativizers in the other Balkan languages.

⁸⁵ The expectative modal clitics are used for the formation of the future and future-in-the-past tenses (cf. 3.2, 3.12 in the chapter “Infinitives and Subjunctives”), while the conditional modal clitics, along with *l*-participles are used in *potentialis* conditional clauses (cf. 3.11.2 in the chapter “Infinitives and Subjunctives”). But the future tenses and the *potentialis* conditional clauses are not the only structures in which these clitics appear (cf. 3.7 in the chapter “Infinitives and Subjunctives”).

⁸⁶ The subjunctive marker is homophonous with a complementizer introducing indicative complements (cf. Bibović 1971; Browne 1981; Ivić 1970, 1972, 1973; Vrzic 1996). We actually have: *da*₁ – an indicative complementizer and *da*₂ – a subjunctive marker. *Da*₂ has the same phonological representation as the subjunctive markers of Bulgarian and Macedonian, which are morphologically distinct from the indicative complementizers of these languages (*če* and *deka* or *oti*, respectively).

3.1.1.2 The “be” auxiliary clitics are the present tense forms of the “be” auxiliary. They are given in Table 7:

Table 7: Serbo-Croatian “be” auxiliary clitics

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>sam</i>	<i>smo</i>
2 nd	<i>si</i>	<i>ste</i>
3 rd	<i>je</i>	<i>su</i>

3.1.1.3 The expectative and conditional modal clitics are given in Table 8:

Table 8: Serbo-Croatian modal clitics⁸⁷

	Expectative (“will”) modal clitics		Conditional (“would”) modal clitics	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>ću</i>	<i>ćemo</i>	<i>bih</i>	<i>bismo</i>
2 nd	<i>ćeš</i>	<i>ćete</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>biste</i>
3 rd	=== <i>će</i> ===		=== <i>bi</i> ===	

3.1.2 The Serbo-Croatian clausal clitic cluster has seven slots. The first slot (Inter) is reserved for the interrogative clitic *li*; the second slot (Mod/Aux) for modal and auxiliary clitics, except for the third person, singular auxiliary clitic *je*; the third slot (Mood) – for the subjunctive marker; the fourth slot (Dat) – for all pronominal clitics in the Dat case, including the Dat reflexive clitic; the fifth slot (Acc/Gen) – for personal pronominal clitics in the Acc or Gen case; the sixth slot (Refl) – for Acc reflexive clitics; and the seventh slot (*je*) – for the third person, singular auxiliary clitic *je*.

3.1.2.1 Schematically, the linear ordering of the Serbo-Croatian clausal clitic cluster would look as follows:⁸⁸

(66) Inter Aux/Mod Mood Dat Acc/Gen Refl *je*

3.1.2.2 The “be” auxiliary and the modal clitics are assigned in the same slot because they always occur to the left of the subjunctive marker, while never co-occurring with each other. The third person “be” auxiliary clitic, on the other hand, is allotted a distinct slot because of its distinct syntactic behaviour: (a) While all other “be” auxiliary clitics and all modal clitics occur to the left of the pronominal clitics, the third person “be” auxiliary *je* occurs to their right (compare 67a to 67b). (b) Whereas none of the other “be” auxiliaries and none of the modal clitics can occur clause-initially, *je* can do so (compare 68a to 68b):⁸⁹

(67)	a.	<i>Da</i> that.Indic.Comp <i>dala?</i> given.F.Sg./-Part 'Have you given it to him?'	<i>li</i> Inter.Cl	<i>si</i> be.2Sg.Cl	<i>mu</i> 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl	<i>ga</i> 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
	b.	<i>Da</i> that.Indic.Comp	<i>li</i> Inter.Cl	<i>mu</i> 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl	<i>ga</i> 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl	<i>je</i> be.3Sg.Cl

⁸⁷ The forms for the first and second person plural “would”-modal clitics actually represent combinations of the root *bi* and the respective forms of the “be” auxiliaries.

⁸⁸ Mod/Aux and *je* are never filled at the same time.

⁸⁹ In Tomić (1996b, 2000a), the third person “be” auxiliary clitic is derived in Aux, whereas the other “be” auxiliary clitics and the modal clitics are derived in AgrS/Tense.

dala?
given.F.Sg./-Part
'Has she given it to him?'

- (68) a. **Si* *li* *došao?*
be.2Sg.Cl Inter.Cl come.M.Sg./-Part
purported reading: 'Have you come?'
- b. *Je* *l'* *došao?*
be.3Sg.Cl Inter.Cl come.M.Sg./-Part
'Has he come?'

3.1.2.3 As shown in Table 6, the Acc and Gen clitics have same forms. The reflexive Acc clitic is allotted a separate slot because it can co-occur with these forms:

- (69) *Koliko* *ih* *se* (%*je*)⁹⁰ *prijavilo?*
Inter.Cl 3Pl.Gen.Cl Refl.Cl be.3Sg.Cl registered.N.Sg./-Part
'How many have registered?'

3.1.2.4 All the slots are never filled. In (70) we have an example of a five-member clitic cluster:

- (70) *Da* *li* *ćeš* *da* *mu*
that.Indic.Comp Inter.Cl 2Sg.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl
ga *daš?*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.2Sg.Perf.Pres
'Will you give it to him?'

3.1.3 Phonologically, the Serbo-Croatian clausal clitics are inherently enclitic. Syntactically, they are second position or Wackernagel⁹¹ clitics, with a variable interpretation of the "secondness". Namely, the first position is taken by (a) the first phrasal immediate constituent of the clause; (b) the first phrasal constituent of the latter; or (c) the first phonological word (*cf.* Tomić 1996b).⁹² Thus, in all three sentences in (71), the placement of the clitic cluster consisting of the clitics *si* 'be.2Sg.Cl' and *mi* 'me.1Sg.Dat.Cl' is legitimate:⁹³

- (71) a. *Jako* *l(ij)epu* *haljinu* *si* *mi*
strongly beautiful.Acc dress.Acc be.2Sg.Cl 1Sg.Dat.Cl
kupio.
bought.M.Sg./-Part

⁹⁰ In Standard Serbian and many of its dialects, the third person singular "be" auxiliary is left out when co-occurring with the reflexive clitic *se*. It is, however, used in Croatian.

⁹¹ The Wackernagel clitics are named after the German linguist Wackernagel, who more than a hundred years ago noticed that, in a number of European languages, the grammatical elements that form accentual units with the preceding word, occur in some kind of second position (*cf.* Wackernagel 1892).

⁹² In quite a number of analyses, the "initial" element is a CP-initial word or phrase, if a CP is projected, or an IP-initial word or phrase, if no CP is projected. (*cf.* Dimitrova-Vulchanova 1995; Franks 1998, 2000; Franks and Progovac 1995; Progovac 1996, 1998, 1999, 2000; Rivero 1997; Roberts 1994; Tomić 1996b; Wilder and Čavar (1994a, b). Bošković (2000, 2001), however, argues that it is an initial word or phrase after an intonation boundary. In Bošković's analysis, the clitics sit in distinct nodes in syntax, and the clustering occurs in PF.

⁹³ Note that, in all three examples, the adjective phrase is contrastively focused. In the corresponding sentence with neutral (information) focus, the adjective phrase would be at the end:

- (i) *Kupio* *si* *mi* *jako* *l(ij)epu* *haljinu.*
bought.M.Sg./-Part be.2Sg.Cl 1Sg.Dat.Cl strongly beautiful.Acc dress.Acc
'You have bought me a very beautiful dress.'

- b. *Jako l(ij)epu si mi haljinu*
 strongly beautiful.Acc be.2Sg.Cl 1Sg.Dat.Cl dress.Acc
kupio.
 bought.M.Sg./-Part
- c. *Jako si mi l(ij)epu haljinu*
 strongly be.2Sg.Cl me.Dat.Cl beautiful.Acc dress.Acc
kupio.
 bought.M.Sg./-Part

‘You have bought me a VERY beautiful dress.’

3.1.3.1 The phonological behaviour of the Serbo-Croatian subjunctive marker differs from the behaviour of the other clitics in the clausal clitic cluster: while the other clitics are enclitic, the subjunctive marker procliticizes to any element to its right and can occur clause initially (cf. 72a). When there are clausal clitics both to the left and to the right of the subjunctive marker, the clitics to its left encliticize to any (second) element to their left, while the clitics to its right revert their (inherently enclitic) directionality of cliticization and, along with the subjunctive marker, procliticize to an element to their right, so that the clitic cluster is actually split in two, and lexical material can occur between its two parts. (cf. 72d).

- (72) a. *Da → mu → ga → ODmah daš!*
 Subj.Mark.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl immediately give.2Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘You should give it to him immediately!’
- b. *ON ← će da → ZAKasni.*
 he will.3Sg.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark.Cl come-late.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘He will be late.’
- c. *ON ← će da → mu → ga →*
 he will.3Sg.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
DA.
 give.2Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘He will give it to him.’
- d. *DA ← li ← ćeš SUtra da →*
 that.Indic.Comp Inter.Cl 2Sg.Mod.Cl tomorrow Subj.Mark.Cl
ga → VIdiš?
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.2Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘Will you see him tomorrow?’

3.1.3.2 As mentioned, the negation marker is not part of the clitic cluster; it immediately precedes the verb, and forms a phonological word with it (cf. 73a-b). In interrogative clauses, it moves along with the verb (cf. 73c):

- (73) a. *TI ← mu ← ih NE – dade.*
 you 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl not give.3Sg.Aor
 ‘You did not give them to him.’
- b. *NI sam ← joj ← ga Dala.*
 not.Cl+be.1Sg.Cl 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl given.F.Sg./-Part
 ‘I haven’t given it to her.’
- c. *NE – dade ← li ← mu ← ga?*
 not.Cl give.2/3Sg.Aor Inter.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
 ‘Didn’t you/he/she give it to him?’

3.1.4 Dat pronominal clitics always precede Acc clitics and first and second person clitics precede third person ones.

- (74) a. *Petar mi/vam ga/ih je*
 Petar 1Sg/2Pl.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M/3Pl.Acc.Cl be.3Sg.Cl
predstavio.
 introduced.M.Sg./-Part
 ‘Petar introduced him/her/them to me/you.’
- b. **?Petar ga/ih mi/vam je*
 Petar 3Sg.M/3Pl.Acc.Cl 1Sg/2Pl.Dat.Cl be.3Sg.Cl
predstavio.
 introduced.M.Sg./-Part
 purported reading: ‘Petar introduced him/them to me/you.’
- c. **?Petar mu/voj me je*
 Petar 3Sg.M/F.Dat.Cl 1Sg.Acc.Cl be.3Sg.Cl
predstavio.
 introduced.M.Sg./-Part
 purported reading: ‘Petar introduced me to her.’
- d. *??Petar mu/voj vas je*
 Petar 3Sg.M/F.Dat.Cl 2Pl.Acc.Cl be.3Sg.Cl
predstavio.
 introduced.M.Sg./-Part
 purported reading: ‘Petar introduced me/you to him/her.’

3.1.5 Clauses in which the 1st person singular clitic is followed by a 2nd person singular clitic are possible, but all other combinations of first and second person clitics are marginal or ruled out:⁹⁴

- (75) a. *Petar mi te je predstavio.*
 Petar 1Sg.Dat.Cl 2Sg.Acc.Cl be.3Sg.Cl introduced.M.Sg./-Part
 ‘Petar introduced you to me.’
- b. *??Petar nam te/vas je predstavio.*
 Petar 2Pl.Dat.Cl 2Sg/Pl.Acc.Cl be.3Sg.Cl introduced.M.Sg./-Part
 purported reading: ‘Petar introduced you to us.’
- c. **Petar ti me/nas je predstavio.*
 Petar 2Sg/Pl.Dat.Cl 1Sg/Pl.Acc.Cl be.3Sg.Cl introduced.M.Sg./-Part
 purported reading: ‘Petar introduced me/us to you.’
- d. **Petar vam me/nas je predstavio.*
 Petar 2Pl.Dat.Cl 1Sg/Pl.Acc.Cl be.3Sg.Cl introduced.M.Sg./-Part
 purported reading: ‘Petar introduced me/us to you.’

⁹⁴ Instead, sentences in which either the indirect or the direct object is represented by a full pronoun, such as (i-ii), are commonly used:

- (i) *Petar te je predstavio nama.*
 Petar 2Sg.Acc.Cl be.3Sg.Cl introduced.M.Sg./-Part us.Dat
- (ii) *Petar nam je predstavio tebe.*
 Petar 1Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Sg.Cl introduced.M.Sg./-Part you.Sg.Acc
 ‘Petar introduced you to us.’

3.2 Resumptive clitics

In Standard Serbian and Standard Croatian, the clitic forms do not double either (full) pronominal or lexical objects.⁹⁵ The invariant relativizer (*relativum generale*) *što* ‘what’, however, co-occurs with pronominal clitics.⁹⁶

3.2.1 When *što* ‘what’ occurs in direct-object position, its co-occurrence with a pronominal clitic is obligatory if the referent is animate and optional if it is inanimate:

- (76) a. *Čov(j)ek što sam *(ga) sreo...*
 man what be.1Sg.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl met.M.Sg./-Part
 ‘The man that I met...’
- b. *Ključ što mu ?(ga) je dala...*
 book what 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl be.3Sg.Cl given.F.Sg./-Part
 ‘The key that she gave to him...’

3.2.2 When *što* ‘what’ occurs in indirect-object position, its co-occurrence with a pronominal clitic is always obligatory:

- (77) a. *Čov(j)ek što sam *(mu) prodala auto...*
 man what be.1Sg.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl sold.F.Sg./-Part car
 ‘The man that I sold the car to...’
- b. *Sto(l) što sam *(mu) prom(j)enio... nogu...*
 table what be.1Sg.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl changed.M.Sg./-Part leg.Acc
 ‘The table that I changed the leg of...’

⁹⁵ Direct objects of the proximate and distal deictics *evo* ‘here’ and *eno* ‘there’, are exceptional. As an alternative to an NP in the Acc case, we can in this case have an Acc clitic followed by an NP in the Nom case:

- (i) *Eno Petra.*
 there Petar.Acc
- (ii) *Eno ga Petar.*
 there 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl Petar.Nom
 ‘There is Petar.’

Clitic-doubling does occur in the South-Eastern Serbian dialects (*cf.* 3.3), as well as in some Banat Serbian dialects and in some Dalmatian Croatian dialects.

⁹⁶ Note that the use of the relativizer *koji* ‘who/which’, which inflects for gender, number and case and never co-occurs with clitics, is more frequent than the use of the invariant relativizer. Examples:

- (i) *Čov(j)ek koji je došao...*
 man who.M.Sg be.3Sg.Cl come.M.Sg./-Part
 ‘The man who came...’
- (ii) *Čov(j)ek koga sam video...*
 man who.M.Sg.Acc be.1Sg.Cl seen.M.Sg./-Part
 ‘The man whom I saw...’
- (iii) *Čov(j)ek kome sam prodala auto....*
 man whom.M.Sg.Dat be.1Sg.Cl sold.F.Sg./-Part car
 ‘The man to whom I sold the car.’
- (iv) *Ključ koji sam ti dala...*
 key which.M.Sg be.1Sg.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl given.F.Sg./-Part
 ‘The key which I gave you.’

The choice of the relativizer depends on the dialect rather than the idiolect or the circumstances.

3.2.3 The invariant relativizer *što* ‘what’ (*relativum generale*) also relativizes elements that do not function as direct or indirect objects, but in this case it is “resumed” by prepositional phrases with full (non-clitic) pronouns:⁹⁷

- (78) *Čov(j)ek što sam s njim putovao...*
 man what be.1Sg.Cl with him.Dat travelled.M.Sg.I-Part
 ‘The man that I travelled with...’

3.3 Clitic-doubling in the eastern periphery of the South-Eastern Serbian dialects

In the South-Eastern Serbian dialects, which are balkanized to a much greater degree than Standard Serbian, clitic-doubling does occur, though not equally throughout the territory.⁹⁸ In the eastern periphery of the South-Eastern Serbian dialects, where both direct and indirect lexical objects can be clitic-doubled, clitic-doubling of direct objects is contingent on definiteness, while clitic-doubling of indirect objects is contingent on specificity. But it is optional – even with topicalized objects.

3.3.1 In all the South-Eastern Serbian dialects, pronouns can be and often are clitic-doubled, whether in the Left Periphery (as in 79a) or *in situ* (as in 79b):

- (79) a. %*Mene me je zemlja pritislula.*
 me.Acc 1Sg.Acc.Cl be.3Sg.Cl land pressed.F.Sg.I-Part
 ‘I have to ply the soil.’ (lit. ‘The land has pressed me.’)
 b. %*Vikaše ni nas.*
 call.3Sg.Imperf 1Pl.Acc.Cl us
 ‘(S)he was calling us.’

3.3.2 In the western periphery of the South-Eastern Serbian dialects, indirect lexical objects are, as a rule, clitic-doubled. The following examples are from the dialect of Prizren:⁹⁹

⁹⁷ This fact has been given as an argument that *što* ‘what’ is not a relative pronoun (cf. Grickat 1952; Browne 1981:53) Auwera and Kučanda (1985) refer to it as “an atypical relative pronoun”.

⁹⁸ The pronominal and “be” auxiliary clausal clitics are syntactically preverbal but phonologically enclitic (though some adverbs are allowed between them and the verb), and, like their Bulgarian counterparts, do not occur in clause-initial position. The expectative modal clitics, which have one general form but may have a specific 1Sg form, are, however, both syntactically and phonologically proclitic and do occur clause-initially, also like their Bulgarian counterparts (cf. 2.1.4):

- (i) %*Ću te pitam, pope, nešto.*
 will.1Sg.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Acc.Cl ask.1Sg priest.Voc something
 ‘I will ask you something, father.’
 (ii) %*Će mi sad davaš pare.*
 will.Mod.Cl 1Sg.Dat.Cl now give.2Sg money
 ‘You will be giving me money now.’

The negation marker forms a phonological unit with the lexical verb, the “be” auxiliaries or “will” modals to its left, and along with them can host pronominal clitics:

- (iii) %*Neće ← te isečem.*
 not+will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Acc.Cl cut.1Sg
 ‘I won’t cut you.’
 (iv) %*Ne – mogu ← mu ← razbijem spanje.*
 not can.1Sg 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl break.1Sg.Perf.Pres sleeping
 ‘I can’t wake him up.’ (lit. ‘I can’t break his sleeping.’)

Examples (i–iv) are from Topolinjska (1993:152–154). Glosses and translation are mine.

⁹⁹ The examples are from Topolinjska (2001:216), who has taken them from Remetić (1996). (Glosses and translation are mine.) In (80a) the clitic-doubled NP is topicalized, but topicalization does not seem to play any role, as shown by the fact that the non-topicalized NP in (80b) is also clitic-doubled. Note that, in this dialect, the Dat case suffix, which

- (80) a. %*A* *mojemu* *mužu* *došlo* *mu*
 and my.Dat husband.Dat come.N.Sg./I-Part 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl
da *kreči*.
 Subj.Mark.Cl whitewash.3Sg
 ‘And my husband wants to whitewash (the walls).’ (lit. ‘And to my husband it occurred that he should whitewash.’)
- b. %*Ja* *gi* *vikam* *ženama*.
 I 3Pl.Dat/Acc.Cl say.1Sg women.Dat
 ‘I am saying to the women.’

3.3.3 In the eastern periphery of the South-Eastern Serbian dialects, both direct and indirect lexical objects can be clitic-doubled.

3.3.3.1 Direct objects are optionally clitic-doubled when definite:

- (81) %*Nesām* (*ga*) *videl* *ovčara(toga)*.
 not+ be.1Sg.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl seen.M.Sg./I-Part shepherd+the.M.Sg.Acc
 ‘I haven’t seen the shepherd.’

3.3.3.2 Indirect objects, on the other hand, are in these dialects optionally clitic-doubled when specific. Thus, in (82a), where the object is specific, we can have clitic-doubling, whereas in (82b), where the object is not specific, we cannot:

- (82) a. %*Dala* *sām* (*mu*) *cveće* *na*
 given.F.Sg./I-Part be.1Sg.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl flowers to
šefa/ jedno dete.
 chief.Acc a child
 ‘I gave flowers to the chief (namely to X, who happens to be the chief)/to a child (that can be identified).’
- b. %*Dala* *sām* *cveće* *na* *šefa/ jedno*
 given.F.Sg./I-Part be.1Sg.Cl flowers to chief.Acc a
dete.
 child
 ‘I gave flowers to the chief (whoever that may be)/to a child (whose identity is not important).’

3.3.3.3 Topicalization does not play any role in clitic-doubling: clitic-doubling of topicalized objects is also optional:¹⁰⁰

- (83) %*Na* *deteto* *knjigu(tu)* (*mu*) *dade* *Jana*,
 to child+the.N.Sg book+the.Sg.Acc 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl give.3Sg.Aor Jana
a ne Petar.
 and not Petar
 ‘It is Jana who gave the book to the child, not Petar.’

3.3.3.4 “Wh” words functioning as direct or indirect objects are clitic-doubled if specific:

- (84) %*Na* *kogo* (*mu*) (*ju*) *dade* *knjigu(tu)?*
 to whom 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.2/3.Aor book+the.F.Sg.Acc
 ‘To whom (specifically) did you/(s)he give the book?’

has disappeared from most of the South-Eastern Serbian dialects, is also viable. Both the Dat case suffix and the clitic doubling of indirect objects is probably due to contact with Albanian, where the Dat case is regularly distinctly marked and indirect objects are, as a rule, clitic-doubled.

¹⁰⁰ As we see, the article is also optional.

‘hardly/barely’, and *mai* ‘more/again’. The negation marker *nu* occurs amongst the clitics of the clitic cluster, but always carries a stress, i.e. does not have the phonological behaviour of clitics.

4.1.1 The pronominal clitics are given in table 9:¹⁰⁶

Table 9: Romanian pronominal clitics

	Dat		Acc	
	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
1 st	<i>îmi</i> (reduced: <i>mî</i>) ¹⁰⁷	<i>ne/ni</i> (reduced: <i>n</i>)	<i>mă</i> (reduced: <i>m</i>)	<i>ne</i> (reduced: <i>n</i>)
2 nd	<i>îți</i> (reduced: <i>ți</i>)	<i>ve/vi</i> (reduced: <i>v</i>)	<i>te</i> (reduced: <i>t</i>)	<i>vă</i> (reduced: <i>v</i>)
3 rd M	<i>îi</i> (reduced: <i>i</i>)	<i>le/li</i> (reduced: <i>l</i>)	<i>il</i> (reduced: <i>l</i>)	<i>îi</i> (reduced: <i>i</i>)
3 rd F	<i>îi</i> (reduced: <i>i</i>)	<i>le/li</i> (reduced: <i>l</i>)	<i>o</i>	<i>le</i>
Refl	===== <i>își</i> (reduced: <i>și</i>) =====		===== <i>se</i> (reduced: <i>s</i>) =====	

4.1.2 The paradigms of the inflecting auxiliary clitics are given in table 10:¹⁰⁸

Table 10: Romanian auxiliary clitics

	indicative “have” clitics		modal “have” clitics ¹⁰⁹		modal “will” clitics	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	===== <i>am</i> =====		<i>aș</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>voi</i>	<i>vom</i>
2 nd	<i>ai</i>	<i>ați</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>ați</i>	<i>vei</i>	<i>veți</i>
3 rd	<i>a</i>	<i>au</i>	===== <i>ar</i> =====		<i>va</i>	<i>vor</i>

4.1.3 In positive indicative and subjunctive clauses, the clausal clitics, as a rule, occur to the immediate left of the lexical verb and procliticize to it.¹¹⁰ Examples:

- (86) a. *A spus că Ion i-aduce o carte.*
have.3Sg.Cl said.Past.Part that Ion 3Sg.Dat.Cl-bring.3Sg a.F.Sg book
‘He said that he would bring a book for her/him.’
- b. *Ion îi → invită.*
Ion 3Pl.M.Acc.Cl invite.3Sg.Subj
‘Ion is inviting them.’

¹⁰⁶ The pronominal clitics are discussed in section 5.2 of the chapter “Cases and Articles”.

¹⁰⁷ In the reduced forms of the pronominal clitics, the vowel schwa is most frequently dropped. The vowels *a* and *i* (but not *u*) may also be dropped. The reduced forms are used when two or more clitics appear next to each other, when the host of proclitic clitics begins with a vowel, or when the host of enclitic clitics ends with a vowel.

As it may be observed, there are two first and second person plural Dat clitic forms. The forms *ni* and *vi*, which are distinct from the respective Acc forms, are used in the presence of another pronominal clitic, whereas the forms *ne* and *ve*, are used in Dat positions when there is only one pronominal clitic present:

- (i) *Ni le-ați stricat pe toate.*
1Pl.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl-have.2Pl.Cl ruined.Past.Part Acc.Mark all
‘You ruined them all for us.’
- (ii) *Ne sunt stricate jucăriile.*
1Pl.Dat.Cl be.3Pl ruined.Pl.Pass.Part toys+the.F.Pl
‘Our toys are ruined.’

¹⁰⁸ The indicative “have” auxiliary clitics are discussed in section 4.1 of the chapter “The Perfect and the Evidential”. The modal auxiliary clitics are discussed in detail in section 4.2 in the chapter “Infinitives and Subjunctives”, where numerous illustrations of their use are given.

¹⁰⁹ These clitics are translated as ‘would’.

¹¹⁰ In writing, the reduced forms are joined to the host or to each other through dashes.

- c. *L-am* → *mâncat.*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg.Cl eaten.Past.Part
'I've eaten it.'
- d. *I-l* → *dau.*
3Sg.Dat.Cl-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.1Sg
'I'm giving it to him.'
- e. *Paul era sigur că se → va →*
Paul be.3Sg.Past sure.M.Sg that Acc.Refl.Cl will.3Sg.Mod.Cl
întoarce peste două zile.
come-back.Inf after two days
'Paul was sure that he would come back in two days.'
- f. *Dacă nu ar → fi → venit,*
if not would.3Sg/Pl.Mod.Cl be.Inf.Cl come.Past.Part
ar → fi → fost proiectul
would.3Sg.Mod.Cl be.Inf.Cl been.Past.Part project+the.M.Sg
terminat.
finished.Past.Part
'If (s)he/they hadn't come, the project would have been finished.'
- g. *Nu puteam să → mai → cânt.*
not can.1Sg.Imperf Subj.Mark.Cl more.Cl sing.1Sg
'I couldn't sing any more.'

4.1.4 In negated clauses, the clitics to the left of the negation marker procliticize to the negation marker, which carries a stress, whereas the clitics to its right seem to be able to either encliticize to the negation marker or procliticize to the verb. Examples:

- (87) a. *...să → n-o ← mai (←) fi (→)*
Subj.Mark.Cl not-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl again.Cl be.Inf.Cl
văzut.
seen.M.Sg.Pass.Part
'...that (s) shouldn't have seen her any more.'
- b. *Nu ← l-ar ← mai (←) fi (→)*
not 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-would.3Sg/Pl.Mod.Cl more.Cl be.Inf.Cl
văzut...
seen.M.Sg.Pass.Part
'(S)he/they wouldn't have seen him/her any more...'
- c. *Mama nu i-ar → mai →*
mother+the.F.Sg not 3Pl.Acc.Cl-would.3Pl.Mod.Cl more.Cl
tot → certa dacă ar → fi →
still.Cl scold.3Sg.Imperf if would.3Pl.Mod.Cl be.Inf.Cl
liniștiți.
behaved.Pl.Pass.Part
'Their mother wouldn't be scolding them all the time if they were well behaved.'

4.1.5 In clauses with lexical verbs in clause-initial focused position, the clitics can follow the lexical verb:¹¹¹

¹¹¹ In this position, the pronominal clitics always occur in their reduced form.

- (88) a. *Mânca* ← *l-ar* *mama!*
eat.Inf 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-would.3Sg.Mod.Cl mom
'Mom would eat him! (He is so sweet.)'
- b. *Vede*a ← *l-aş* *deja* *acasă!*
see.Inf 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-would.1Sg.Mod.Cl already at home
'If only he were at home already!' (lit. 'I would like to see him at home already!')
- c. *Vede*a ← *te-aş* *moartă!*
see.Inf 2Sg.Acc.Cl-would.1Sg.Mod.Cl dead.F.Sg
'I wish you were dead!' (lit. 'I would like to see you dead!')

4.1.6 The pronominal clitics occur to the immediate right of gerunds and non-negated imperatives:¹¹²

- (89) a. *Mănâncă -l!*
eat.2Sg.Imper-3Sg.Acc.Cl
'Eat it!'
- b. *Du-te!*
carry.2Sg.Imper-2Sg.Dat.Cl
'Go!' (lit. 'Carry yourself.')

4.1.7 The third person singular feminine pronominal clitic precedes inflected verbs but follows participles in construction with "have" auxiliaries (cf. 90c), and can either precede or follow infinitives (cf. (90d):

- (90) a. *O* *cumpăr.*
3Sg.F.Acc.Cl buy.1Sg
'I am buying it.'
- b. *I-o* *cumpăr.*
3Sg.Dat.Cl-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl buy.1Sg
'I am buying it for him.'
- c₁ **O* *am* *cumpărat.*¹¹³
3Sg.F.Acc.Cl have.1Sg.Cl bought.Past.Part

¹¹² In Standard Romanian, verbs with imperative morphology can be negated only if the negation marker is separated from the verb by pronominal clitics as in (i):

- (i) *Nu* *te* *du!*
not Acc.Refl.Cl go.2Sg.Imper
'Don't go!'

Yet, even in utterances with clitics, prohibition is most often expressed by negated subjunctive clauses or negated infinitives, in which case the pronominal clitics occur to the immediate left of the verb:

- (ii) *Să* *nu-l* *lase!*
Subj.Mark.Cl not-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl leave.3Sg.Subj.Pres
'Don't leave him/it!'. (lit. 'S(h)e should not leave him/it.')
- (iii) *A* *nu-l* *lăsa!*
Inf.Mark.Cl not-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl leave.Inf
'Don't leave him/it!' (lit. 'To not leave him/it.')

¹¹³ In Old Romanian (in 17th-19th century chronicles), this word order was used along with the inverted one (Virginia Hill p.c.).

- c₂ *Am* *cumpărat-o.*
have.1Sg.Cl bought.Past.Part-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
‘I have bought it.’
- d₁ *dorința* *de-a* *o* *vedea*
wish+the.F.Sg of-to.Inf.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl see.Inf
d₂ *dorința* *de-a* *vedea-o*
wish+the.F.Sg of-to.Inf.Cl see.Inf-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
‘the wish to see her’

4.1.8 Dat clitics always precede Acc clitics and first and second person clitics always precede third person ones:

- (91) a. *Eu* *i-l* *arăt.*
I 3Sg.Dat.Cl-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl show.1Sg
‘I am showing it to him.’
- b. *Eu* *ți-o* *arăt.*
I 2Sg.Dat.Cl-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl show.1Sg
‘I am showing it to you.’
- c. **Eu* *i-ți* *arăt.*
I 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-2Sg.Dat.Cl show.1Sg
purported reading: ‘I am showing it to you.’
- d. **Eu* *i-te* *arăt.*
I 3Sg.Dat.Cl-2Sg.Acc.Cl show.1Sg
purported reading: ‘I am showing them to your.’

4.1.9 First person singular clitics can be followed by second person ones, but the reverse clitic order is not acceptable. Neither singular nor plural second person clitics can be followed by first person clitic. Thus, (92a-b) are acceptable, while (92c-e) are ruled out.¹¹⁴

- (92) a. *Mi* *te-a* *recomandat.*
1Sg.Dat.Cl 2Sg.Acc.Cl-have.3Sg.Cl recommended.Past.Part
‘(S)he recommend you to me.’
- b. *Ni* *te-a* *recomandat.*
1Pl.Dat.Cl 2Sg.Acc.Cl-have.3Sg.Cl recommended.Past.Part
‘(S)he recommend you to us.’
- c. **Ți* *m-a* *recomandat.*
2Sg.Dat.Cl 1Sg.Acc.Cl-have.3Sg.Cl recommended.Past.Part
purported reading: ‘(S)he recommend me to you.’

¹¹⁴ Instead of a Dat clitic, a full pronoun in the Dat case is used:

- (i) *M-a* *recomandat* *ție.*
1Sg.Acc.Cl-have.3Sg.Cl recommended.Past.Part you.2Sg.Dat
‘(S)he recommended me to you.’
- (ii) *Ne-a* *recomandat* *vă.*
1Pl.Acc.Cl-have.3Sg.Cl recommended.Past.Part you.2Pl.Dat
‘(S)he recommended us to you.’

- d. **Ni* *v-a* *recomandat.*
 1Pl.Dat.Cl 2Pl.Acc.Cl-have.3Sg.Cl recommended.Past.Part
 purported reading: ‘(S)he recommended you to us.’
- e. **Vi* *ne-a* *recomandat.*
 2Pl.Dat.Cl 1Pl.Acc.Cl-have.3Sg.Cl recommended.Past.Part
 purported reading: ‘(S)he recommended us to you.’

4.1.10 Both Dat and Acc pronominal clitics can occur either as the only arguments of the verb or else can co-occur with lexical arguments, i.e. can clitic-double lexical arguments:

- (93) a. *L-am* *văzut.*
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg.Cl seen.Past.Part
 ‘I’ve seen him/it.’
- b. *L-am* *văzut* *pe* *Ion.*
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg.Cl seen.Past.Part Acc.Mark Ion
 ‘I’ve seen Ion.’

4.2 Direct object clitic-doubling

Direct object clitic-doubling in Romanian is contingent on humanness, specificity and topicality, where “topicality” implies occurrence in a topic position in the Left Periphery.¹¹⁵

4.2.1 Direct objects featured by strong DPs, such as names, pronouns and DPs with strong quantifiers, are obligatorily clitic doubled:

- (94) a. **(L)-am* *văzut* *pe* *Petru.*
 3Sg.M.Cl-have.1Sg.Cl seen.Past.Part to Petru.
 ‘I’ve seen Petru.’

¹¹⁵ Direct object clitic-doubling in Romanian has been linked with the Acc marker *pe*, which is discussed in 5.6.3 of the chapter “Cases and Articles”. Nevertheless, non-human direct objects are not introduced by *pe* even when they are clitic-doubled:

- (i) *Filmul* *ăsta* **(l)-am* *văzut.*
 film+the.M.Sg this.M.Sg 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg.Cl seen.Past.Part
 ‘This film, I haven’t seen.’

As pointed out by Virginia Hill (p.c.), direct object topics in the high Left Periphery (which are always separated from the rest of the text by an intonation boundary) are optionally introduced by *pe* and never clitic doubled.

- (ii) *(Pe)* *Ion,* *(*l)-am* *văzut* *(pe)* *el)* *de*
 Acc.Mark Ion 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg.Cl seen.Past.Part Acc.Mark he of
multe ori.
 many times
 ‘As for Ion, I’ve seen him many times.’

There are also examples such as (iii), from Dobrovie-Sorin (1994:234), when *pe* does not co-occur with a doubling clitic:

- (iii) %*Caut* *pe* *o* *secretară.*
 look-for.1Sg Acc.Mark a.F.Sg secretary
 ‘I am looking for a secretary.’

Dobrovie-Sorin (1994:235), however, notes that examples such as this one are marginal for most contemporary speakers of Romanian, though at the beginning of the 20th century they not only were correct but constituted the unmarked possibility. Dobrovie-Sorin does not propose an explanation for this recent evolution, but notes that objects such as the one in (iii) could (and still can, for those speakers who accept them) only be interpreted as specific.

- b₁ *Am* *văzut* **(o)* *pe* *ea*.
 have.1Sg.Cl seen.Past.Part 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl Acc.Mark her.Acc
 ‘I’ve seen her.’
- b₂ *Ion* **(se)* *iubește* *pe* *sine*.
 Ion Acc.Refl.Cl love.3Sg Acc.Mark himself
 ‘Ion loves himself.’
- c. **(O)* *pupă* *pe* *fiecare* *fată*.
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl kiss.3Sg Acc.Mark every girl
 ‘(S)he kisses every girl.’

4.2.2 The strong reading of weak [+human] direct-object DPs also requires clitic doubling (cf. Giering 1997:73). Thus, (95a) is clitic-doubled, while (95b) is not:

- (95) a. *I-am* *văzut* *pe* *mulți* *copii*.
 3Sg.M.Cl-have.1Sg.Cl seen.Past.Part Acc.Mark many.M.Pl children
 ‘I’ve seen many of the children.’
- b. *Am* *văzut* *mulți* *copii*.
 have.1Sg.Cl seen.Past.Part many.M.Pl children
 ‘I’ve seen many children.’

4.2.3 Specific human direct objects without articles¹¹⁶ or preceded by indefinite articles are clitic-doubled, as well:

- (96) a. *L-am* *văzut* *pe* *profesor/* *un*
 3Sg.Acc.Cl.-have.1Sg.Cl seen.Past.Part Acc.Mark professor a.M.Sg
 profesor.
 professor
 ‘I saw/have seen the professor/a (specific) professor.’ [+human, +specific]
- b. *Îl* *caut* *pe* *profesor/* *un* *profesor.*
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl look for.1Sg Acc.Mark professor a.M.Sg professor
 ‘I am looking for the professor/a specific professor.’ [+human, +specific]

4.2.4 Specific human DPs with indefinite articles, as well as specific bare human DPs, are also clitic-doubled:

- (97) a. *L-am* *întâlnit* *pe* *un* *vecin.*
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg.Cl met.Past.Part Acc.Mark a.M.Sg neighbour
 ‘I have met a neighbour (I know).’ [+human, +specific]
- b. *L-am* *văzut* *pe* *copil.*
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg.Cl seen.Past.Part Acc.Mark child
 ‘I have seen the child (that we talked about).’ [+human, +specific]
- c. *Mama* *o* *va* *ajuta* *pe*
 mother her 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl will.3Sg.Cl help.Inf Acc.Mark
 studentă-tă.
 student.F.Sg -your.F.Sg.Cl
 ‘Mother will help your student (that we talked about).’ [+human, +specific]

¹¹⁶ The case-marking preposition *pe* actually voids the use of the definite article (cf. 5.6.3.3 and 5.6.3.3 in the chapter “Cases and articles”).

4.2.5 Human DPs with definite articles are not clitic-doubled, whether they are given a specific interpretation or not:

- (98) (*L)-am văzut profesorul.
 3Sg.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg.Cl seen.Past.Part professor+the.M.Sg
 1. 'I saw/have seen the professor (whom we mentioned).' [+human, +definite, +specific]
 1. 'I saw/have seen the professor (whoever it is).' [+human, +definite, -specific]

4.2.6 Role-denoting DPs with definite articles can, however, be clitic-doubled. For example, the definite human direct object noun *mireasa* in (99a), which has an attributive (non-specific) reading is not clitic-doubled. In (99b), the same noun has a specific reading and is clitic-doubled:¹¹⁷

- (99) a. *La orice nuntă merge, Ion pupă mireasa.*
 to whatever wedding go.3Sg Ion kiss.3Sg bride+the.F.Sg
 'No matter what wedding he goes to, Ion kisses the bride.'
 b. *Ion o pupă pe mireasă.*
 Ion 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl kiss.3Sg Acc.Mark bride.F.Sg
 'Ion kisses the bride.'

4.2.7 Specific topicalized DPs, i.e. DPs in a topic position in the Left Periphery, are clitic-doubled, whether [+human] or [-human]:¹¹⁸

- (100) a. *Pe profesor nu *(l-)am văzut.*
 Acc.Mark professor not 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg.Cl seen.Past.Part
 'The professor, I haven't seen.' [+topic, +human, +specific]
 b. *Filmul ăsta *(l-)am văzut.*
 film+the.M.Sg this.M.Sg 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg.Cl seen.Past.Part
 'This film, I have seen.' [+topic, -human, +specific]
 c₁ *[Plăcinta cu mere] Ion a mâncat-o.*
 pie+the.F.Sg with apple Ion have.3Sg.Cl eaten-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
 c₂ *Ion [plăcinta cu mere] a mâncat-o.*
 Ion pie+the.F.Sg with apple have.3Sg.Cl eaten-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
 'As for the apple pie, Ion has eaten it.' [+topic, -human, +specific]

4.2.8 Non-topicalized, non-human DPs are, as a rule, not clitic-doubled, whether specific or not:

- (101) a. *Am mâncat pește.*
 have.1Sg.Cl eaten.Past.Part fish+the.M.Sg
 'I ate/have eaten the fish.' [-topic, -human, +specific]
 b. *Am mâncat mulți pești.*
 have.1Sg.Cl eaten.Past.Part many.M.Pl fishes
 'I've eaten a lot of different kind of fish.' [-topic, -human, -specific]
 c₁ *A mâncat Ion [plăcinta cu mere].*
 have.3Sg.Cl eaten.Past.Part Ion pie+the.F.Sg with apple
 c₂ *Ion a mâncat [plăcinta cu mere].*
 Ion have.3Sg.Cl eaten.Past.Part pie+the.F.Sg with apple
 'Ion has eaten the apple pie.' [-topic, -human, +specific]

¹¹⁷ The examples are from Gierling (1997:75-76).

¹¹⁸ Examples (100c₁, c₂) and (101c₁, c₂) are from Alboiu and Motapanyane (2000:20)

4.2.9 Bare non-human DPs are, as a rule, not clitic-doubled, even when topicalized (*cf.* 102a). Partitive bare DPs in the Left periphery are, however, clitic-doubled (*cf.* 102b):¹¹⁹

- (102) a. *Legume nu (*le) mănânc.*
vegetables not 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl eat.1Sg
'Vegetables, I do not eat.'
[+topic, -human, -specific]
- b. *Două vaci nu le-am putut*
two cows not 3Pl.F.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg could.Past.Part
vinde.
find.Short.Inf
'Two of the cows I could not find.'
[+topic, -human, -specific]

4.3 Indirect object clitic-doubling

Generally speaking, clitic-doubling of Romanian indirect objects depends on topicality and specificity.

4.3.1 Indirect objects, whether or not definite or human, are obligatorily clitic-doubled when in topic position in the Left Periphery, and optionally clitic-doubled when in non-focused position to the right of the verb:¹²⁰

- (103) a. *Fetei i-a dat Petru*
girl+the.F.Sg.Dat 3Sg.Dat.Cl-have.3Sg.Cl given.Past.Part Petru
o floare.
a.F.Sg flower
'The girl was given a flower by Petru.'
[+topic, +human, +specific, +definite]
- b. *Fiecăruia i s-a dat*
everyone.3Sg.Dat 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl Refl.Cl-have.3Sg.Cl given.Past.Part
ce are nevoie.
what have.3Sg need
'Everyone was given what he needed.'
[+topic, +human, +specific, -definite]
- c. *Mesei i-am pus un picior.*
table+the.F.Sg.Dat 3Sg.Dat.Cl-have.1Sg.Cl put.Past.Part a.M leg
'I fixed a leg in the table.'
[+topic, -human, +specific, +definite]
- (104) a. *Petru (i-a) dat fetei*
Petru 3Sg.Dat.Cl-have.3Sg.Cl given.Past.Part girl+the.F.Sg.Dat
o floare.
a.F.Sg flower
'Petru gave the girl a flower.'
[+topic, +human, +specific, +definite]

¹¹⁹ Example (102b) is from Asenova (2002:114), with my glosses and translation.

¹²⁰ As shown in Cornilescu (2000a:115) the doubled indirect object can occur postverbally and to the right of the subject, as in (i), clause-initially, as in (ii), or preverbally to the left of the subject but to the right of the direct object, as in (iii):

- (i) *Ion tot flori i-a adus Mariei.*
Ion also flowers 3Sg.Dat.Cl-have.3Sg.Cl brought.Past.Part Maria.F.Sg.Dat
'Ion has brought flowers for Maria too.'
- (ii) *Mariei Ion tot flori i-a adus.*
Maria.F.Sg.Dat Ion also flowers 3Sg.Dat.Cl-have.3Sg.Cl brought.Past.Part
'Ion has brought flowers too for Maria.'
- (iii) *Flori Mariei ION i-a adus (nu Petru).*
flowers Maria.F.Sg.Dat Ion 3Sg.Dat.Cl-have.3Sg.Cl brought.Past.Part not Petru
'Ion is the one who brought flowers for Maria, not Petru.'

- b. *Petru (i)-a* *dat* *unei*
 Petru 3Sg.Dat.Cl-have.3Sg.Cl given.Past.Part a.F.Sg.Dat
fete o floare.
 girl.F.Sg.Dat a.F.Sg flower
 ‘Petru gave a (specific) girl a flower.’ [+topic, +human, +specific, –definite]
- c. *(I)-am* *pus* *borcanului* *acest* *capac.*
 3Sg.Dat.Cl-have.1Sg.Cl put.Past.Part pot+the.M.Sg.Dat this.M.Sg lid
 ‘I put this lid to the pot.’ [+topic, –human, +specific, +definite]

4.3.2 The clitic doubling of non-focused (articled) indirect objects to the right of the verb is actually contingent on specificity. Thus, the indirect objects in (105) (from Dobrovie-Sorin 1994:237) are clitic-doubled only if they are given specific interpretation:

- (105) a. *Scrie-(i)* *unui* *elev* *să* *știe*
 write+3Sg.Dat.Cl a.M.Sg.Dat student Subj.Mark.Cl know.3Sg
englezește.
 English
 ‘S(h)e will write to a student that knows English.’
- b. *Ion (ii)* *va* *cere* *unei* *secretare*
 Ion 3Sg.Dat.Cl will.3Sg.Cl ask.Inf a.F.Sg.Dat secretary
să-l ajute.
 Subj.Mark.Cl-3Sg.Dat.Cl help.3Sg
 ‘Ion will ask a secretary to help him.’
- c. *Nu (le)* *am* *scris* *multor* *elevi.*
 not 3Pl.Dat.Cl have.1Sg.Cl written.Past.Part many.Dat students
 ‘I haven’t written to many students.’

4.3.3 Focused indirect objects are not clitic-doubled even when they are definite and human.¹²¹

- (106) a. *Am* *dat* *copilului* *bomboanele.*
 have.1Sg.Cl given.Past.Part child+the.F.Sg.Dat sweets+the.F.Pl
 ‘I have given the child sweets.’ [–topic, +human, ±–specific, +definite]
- b. *Negustorul* *ăsta* *dă* *toteauna*
 shopkeeper+the.M.Sg this.M.Sg give.3Sg always
clienților marfă bună.
 clients+the.F.Sg.Dat merchandise good.F.Sg
 ‘This shopkeeper always gives his clients good merchandise.’
 [–topic, +human, ±specific, +definite]

4.4 Clitic-doubling of “wh” words

Dobrovie-Sorin (1994:198) argues that clitic-doubling of “wh” words is not affected by the interrogative versus relative status of these words, but rather depends on the “wh” word itself: structures with the invariant “wh” word *ce* ‘what’ and the inflecting for case “wh” word *cine* ‘who’ contrast with structures with the inflecting for gender, number and case “wh” word *care* ‘which’.

¹²¹ Example (106a) is from Cornilescu (2000a:100)

An examination of the clitic-doubled “wh” words shows, however, that they are specific; accordingly, one can say that clitic-doubling of “wh” words is dependent on specificity.

4.4.1 The interrogative “wh” word *ce* ‘what’, which is never specific or human, can never be clitic-doubled:¹²²

- (107) a. *Ce (*I)-ai văzut?*
 what 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-have.2Sg.Cl seen.Past.Part
 ‘What have you seen?’
- b. *Ce roman (*I)-ai citit?*
 what novel 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-have.2Sg.Cl read.Past.Part
 ‘What novel have you read?’

4.4.2 *Ce*-relatives,¹²³ according to Dobrovie-Sorin (1994:214), take clitics optionally in short movement configurations (*cf.* 108a) and obligatorily in long “wh” movement (*cf.* 108b-c) and parasitic gap configurations (*cf.* 108d):¹²⁴

- (108) a. ... *cartea ce ai citit(-o)...*
 book+the.F.Sg what have.2Sg.Cl read.Past.Part-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
 ‘...the book that you have read...’
- b. ...*un inel ce zicea că *(il) are dela moși-su...*
 a.M.Sg ring what say.3Sg.Imperf that 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
 have.3Sg.Cl from elders-his.Cl
 ‘...a ring that he said that he had from his elders...’
- c. ...*niște notițe ce am înțeles dela d-l Ionescu că *(le) posedăți...*
 some.Pl notes what have.1Sg.Cl understood.Past.Part from
 Mr Ionescu that 3Pl.Acc.Cl possess.2Sg
 ‘...some notes that I understood from Mr Ionescu that you have...’
- d. ...*moșneagul ce privești fără a-*(l) recunoaște...*
 old-man+the.M.Sg what look-at.2Sg without to-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
 recognize.Inf
 ‘...the old man that you are looking at without recognizing...’

According to Dobrovie-Sorin (1994:214), the accusative clitics that show up in *ce*-relatives should be analyzed not as doubling clitics, but as resumptives, in spite of the fact that, in both cases there is

¹²² Example (107b) is from Dobrovie-Sorin (1994:198).

¹²³ *Ce*, like its counterparts in the other Balkan languages, is referred to as a “general relativizer” (*relativum generale*).

¹²⁴ As pointed out by Dobrovie-Sorin (1994:214), examples (108b-d) are from Sandfeld and Olsen (1936:112). All the examples in (108) are actually archaic. For Virginia Hill (p.c.), the doubling clitic in example (108d) is optional, on a par with that in (108a). Dobrovie-Sorin (*loc. cit.*) quotes an example with a *ce*-relative that does not take a clitic, which is also archaic:

- (i) ...*căci moșneagul ce privești nu e om de rând.*
 because old-man+the.M.Sg what see.2Sg not be.3Sg man of row
 ‘...because the old man that you see is not an ordinary man.’

Virginia Hill, however, tells me that this example is in everybody’s mouth, because the line is taken from Eminescu’s poem *Scrisoarea III* (‘The third letter’), which is extensively fed to students in the school system – so, any judgement about clitic doubling of *ce* constructions would be built around this example.

no sensitivity to “wh” islands.¹²⁵ Yet, we have to recognize the fact that these clitics occur when *ce* relativizes a specific object, as do the doubling clitics.

4.4.3 The interrogative “wh” word *cine* ‘who’, which is always human, is usually not clitic-doubled if functioning as direct object, when it cannot be specific. If it functions as indirect object, however, it can be either [+ specific] or [– specific], and in the latter case, can be clitic-doubled:¹²⁶

- (109) a. *Pe cine (*l-ai) invitat?*
 Acc.Mark who 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-have.2Sg.Cl invited.Past.Part
 ‘Whom did you invite?’
- b. *Cui i-ai trimis bani?*
 whom.Dat 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl-have.2Sg.Cl sent.Past.Part money?
 ‘To whom (of the persons in a given set) did you send money?’¹²⁷

4.4.4 The interrogative “wh” word *care* ‘which’ is always specific and is clitic-doubled, whether functioning as direct or as indirect object.¹²⁸

- (110) a. *Pe care *(l)-ai invitat?*
 Acc.Mark which.M.Sg 3Sg.M.Acc-have.2Sg.Cl invited.Past.Part
 ‘Which one have you invited?’
- b. *Pe care băiat *(l)-ai văzut?*
 Acc.Mark which.M.Sg boy 3Sg.M.Acc-have.2Sg.Cl seen.Past.Part
 ‘Which boy have you seen?’
- c. *Căruia *(i)-ai trimis bani?*
 which.M.Sg.Dat.Pron 3Sg.Dat-have.2Sg.Cl sent.Past.Part money
 ‘To which one have you sent money?’

¹²⁵ Resumptives occur (a) optionally instead of variables or (b) in contexts in which variables are illicit. Dobrovie-Sorin (1994:214) argues that the first case is illustrated in (108a) and the second may be illustrated in (108b-d), if the obligatory occurrence of the clitics is treated as idiosyncratic (i.e. as not derivable from the general principles of language or from any parametrized option characteristic of Romanian) and a constraint other than islandhood is invoked. But this constraint is not identified.

¹²⁶ *Cine* ‘whom’ is not used in headed relatives, but appears in free relatives (always without a doubling clitic). Virginia Hill (p. c.) provided the following examples:

- (i) **Băiatul pe cine a văzut...*
 boy+the.M.Sg Acc.Mark who have.3Sg.Cl seen.Past.Part
 purported reading ‘The boy whom (s)he has seen....’
- (ii) *Pe cine n-ai prins, n-ai cum să*
 Acc.Mark who not-have.2Sg.Cl caught.Past.Part not-have.2Sg.Cl how Subj.Mark.Cl
pedepsești.
 punish.2Sg.Pres
 ‘Whom you haven’t caught you cannot punish.’

¹²⁷ Note that the possible answers to questions with negative indefinite pronouns as indirect objects are also optionally clitic-doubled:

- (i) *Nu (i-)am scris nimănui.*
 not 3Sg.Dat.Cl.-have.1Sg.Cl written.Past.Part nobody.Dat
 ‘I haven’t written to anybody.’
- (ii) *Nu (le-)am scris multor elevi.*
 not 3Pl.M.Dat.Cl.-have.1Sg.Cl written.Past.Part many.M.Pl.Dat students
 ‘I haven’t written to many students.’

¹²⁸ Example (110b) is from Dobrovie-Sorin (1994:198); examples (110c-d) from Dobrovie-Sorin (1994:239). Note that, like *ce* ‘what’ and unlike *cine* ‘who’, *care* ‘which’ can be used both as a pronoun and as a modifier.

- d. *Cărui băiat *(i)-ai trimis bani?*
 which.M.Sg.Dat boy 3Sg.Dat-have.2Sg.Cl sent.Past.Part money
 ‘To which boy did you send money?’

4.4.5 The relativizer *care* ‘which’ co-occurs with a clitic when referring to [+ specific] constituents:¹²⁹

- (111) a. *Băiatul pe care l-am văzut...*
 boy+the.M.Sg Acc.Mark which.M.Sg 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg.Cl
 seen.Past.Part
 ‘The boy which I have seen...’ [+human, +specific]
- b. *Băiatul căruia i-am trimis bani...*
 boy+the.M.Sg.Dat which.M.Sg.Dat.Pron 3Sg.Dat-have.1Sg.Cl sent.Past.Part
 money
 ‘The boy to whom I sent money...’ [+human, +specific]
- c. *Filmul pe care l-am văzut...*
 film+the.M.Sg Acc.Mark which.M.Sg 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg.Cl
 seen.Past.Part
 ‘The film which I have seen...’ [-human, +specific]

4.4.6 When it refers to non-specific constituents, however, *care* ‘which’ does not co-occur with a clitic. Thus, (112a) contrasts with (112b):

- (112) a. *Mănânc pește pe care mi l-ai dat.*
 eat.1Sg fish+the.M.Sg Acc.Mark which.M.Sg 1Sg.Dat.Cl
 him.Acc.Cl-have.2Sg.Cl given.Past.Part
 ‘I’m eating the fish which you have given to me.’ [-human, +specific]
- b. *Am mâncat un pește, care ți ar fi plăcut.*
 have.1Sg.Cl eaten a fish which.M.Sg 2Sg.Dat.Cl
 have.3Sg.Mod.Cl be.Inf.Cl liked.Past.Part
 ‘I’ve eaten a fish which you would have liked.’ [-human, -specific]

4.4.7 The “wh” word *câți* ‘how many’, is clitic-doubled when specific:

- (113) a. *Câți studenți ai văzut?*
 how-many.M.Pl students have.2Sg.Cl seen.Past.Part
 ‘How many students have you seen?’ [+human, -specific]

¹²⁹ Example (111a) is from Dobrovie-Sorin (1994:197); example (111b) from Dobrovie-Sorin (1994:239). Dobrovie-Sorin notes that the clitic that shows up obligatorily in structures such as (111a) is not a resumptive pronoun, as indicated by the fact that the “wh” structures in which it occurs are sensitive to islands, i.e. these structures cannot be extracted and moved across clause boundaries:

- (i) **Băiatul pe care am plecat să-l examineze Popescu...*
 boy+the.M.Sg Acc.Mark which.M.Sg have.1Sg.Cl left.Past.Part before
 Subj.Mark.Cl-3Sg.Acct.Cl examine.3Sg.Subj.Pres Popescu

b.	<i>Pe</i>	<i>câți</i>	<i>studenți</i>	<i>i-ai</i>
	Acc.Mark	how-many.M.Pl	students	3Pl.Acc.Cl-have.2Sg.Cl
	<i>văzut?</i>			
	seen.Past.Part			
	‘How many (of the students in the group) have you seen?’			[+human, +specific]

5. Megleno-Romanian

The forms of the Megleno-Romanian clausal clitics are similar to the Romanian ones, their behaviour is, however, different. The conditions for clitic-doubling are analogous to those in Macedonian.¹³⁰

5.1 Megleno-Romanian clausal clitic system

The Megleno-Romanian clausal clitic system includes sets of Dat and Acc pronominal clitics, sets of indicative present tense forms of the auxiliaries *veari* ‘have’ and *iri* ‘be’, the conditional modal clitic *văv/vri* ‘would’, and the subjunctive marker *si* (reduced *s*) or its morphonological variant *îi*.¹³¹ The negation marker *nu* occurs amongst the clitics of the clitic cluster, but is always stressed, i.e. does not have clitic-like properties.

5.1.1 The forms of the pronominal clitics and those of the ‘have’ and ‘be’ auxiliary clitics are given in tables 11 and 12, respectively:¹³²

Table 11: Megleno-Romanian pronominal clitics

	Dat		Acc	
	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
1 st	<i>ănj</i> (reduced: <i>nj</i>)	<i>nă</i> (reduced: <i>n</i>)	<i>mi</i> (reduced: <i>m</i>)	<i>na</i> (reduced: <i>n</i>)
2 nd	<i>ăt</i> (reduced: <i>t</i>)	<i>vă</i> (reduced: <i>v</i>)	<i>ti</i> (reduced: <i>t</i>)	<i>va</i> (reduced: <i>v</i>)
3 rd M	<i>ăi</i> (reduced: <i>i</i>)	<i>la</i> (reduced: <i>l</i>)	<i>la</i> (reduced: <i>l</i>)	<i>ia</i> (reduced: <i>i</i>)
3 rd F	<i>ăi</i> (reduced: <i>i</i>)	<i>la</i> (reduced: <i>l</i>)	<i>au</i> (reduced: <i>u</i>)	<i>li</i> (reduced: <i>l</i>)
Refl	===== <i>ăș</i> (reduced: <i>ș</i>) =====		===== <i>si</i> (reduced: <i>s</i>) =====	

Table 12: Megleno-Romanian auxiliary clitics

	‘have’ auxiliary clitics		‘be’ auxiliary clitics	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>am</i>	<i>vem</i>	<i>sam</i>	<i>im</i>
2 nd	<i>ai</i>	<i>veț</i>	<i>ieș</i>	<i>îț</i>
3 rd	<i>ari</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>ăi</i> (reduced <i>i/u</i>)	<i>sa</i>

5.1.2 In positive indicative and subjunctive clauses, the clitics occur to the left of the lexical verb or non-clitic auxiliary and procliticize to it:

¹³⁰ Megleno-Romanian has been in intensive contact with Macedonian and has acquired many of its structural features.

¹³¹ The use of the ‘be’ auxiliary is illustrated in section 5.6 of the chapter ‘The Perfect and the Evidential’, while the use of the ‘have’ auxiliary is illustrated in section 5.1 of the same chapter. The use of the modal clitic *văv/vri* ‘would’ is illustrated in section 5.10 of the chapter ‘Infinitives and Subjunctives’. The subjunctive marker is discussed in section 5.2 of the chapter ‘Infinitives and Subjunctives’.

¹³² The reduced forms of the clitics are used when two or more clitics appear next to each other; when the lexical item to their right begins with a vowel; or when the lexical item to their left ends with a vowel. In the reduced forms of the pronominal clitics, the vowel schwa is most frequently dropped, but the vowels *a* and *i* (but not *u*) may also be dropped. The reduced ‘be’ auxiliary form *u* is used after the vowel *i*; in all other cases the reduced form *i* is used.

- (114) a. *Zisi* *c-au* → *ari* → *vizut*.¹³³
 say.3Sg.Aor that-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl have.3Sg.Cl seen.Past.Part
 ‘(S)he said that (s)he has seen her.’
- b. *Ăi* → *la* → *ded* *la* *iljă-su*.
 3Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor to daughter-his/her.M.Sg.Cl
 ‘(S)he gave it to his/her daughter.’
- c. *L-arisi*.
 3Sg.M/3Pl.F.Acc.Cl-like.3Sg
 ‘(S)he likes him/it/them.’
- d. *L-am* → *măncat*.
 3Sg.M/3Pl.F.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg.Cl eaten.Past.Part
 ‘I’ve eaten it/them.’

5.1.3 In negated clauses, the clitics to the left of the negation marker procliticize to the negation marker, whereas the clitics to its right usually encliticize to the negation marker, though procliticization to the verb also seems to be possible. Examples:

- (115) a. *...s-nu* *iă* *vizută* *nișicon...*
 Subj.Mark.Cl+not be.3Sg.Subj.Pres seen.F.Sg.Pass.Part never
 ‘...that she should not be ever seen...’
- b. *...s-nu (←)* *la (→)* *aibă* *măncat...*
 Subj.Mark.Cl+not 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl have.3Sg.Subj.Pres eaten.Past.Part
 ‘...so that (s)he wouldn’t have eaten it.’
- c. *...s-* *nu ← i* *(←) li (→) căntai corfli*.
 Subj.Mark.Cl not 3Sg.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl read.2Sg books+the.F.Pl
 ‘(It would have been better) if you had not read the books to her/him.’

5.1.4 In clauses with nominal predicates, in which the third person singular auxiliary always occurs in its reduced form, the clitics are hosted by the nominal predicate, and can be proclitic or enclitic:

- (116) a₁ *I-u* → *galbină* *fața*.
 3Sg.Dat.Cl- be.3Sg.Cl yellow.F.Sg face+the.F.Sg
- a₂ *Galbină ← i-u* *fața*.
 yellow.F.Sg 3Sg.Dat.Cl-3Sg.Cl face+the.F.Sg
 ‘His/her face is yellow.’
- b₁ *Ăi* → *vizută* *în* *cășăba*.
 be.3Sg.Cl seen.F.Sg.Pass.Part in town
- b₂ *Vizută ← ai* *în* *cășăba*.
 seen.F.Sg be.3Sg.Cl in town
 ‘She has been seen in town.’

¹³³ While the participles that co-occur with forms of the “be” auxiliary inflect for gender (masculine or feminine) and number (singular or plural), the participles that co-occur with forms of the “have” auxiliary do not inflect. Note, however, that the form of the latter participles is equivalent to the masculine singular form of the inflecting participles.

- c₁ *Ăi* → *ța* → *greali* *ăntriborli.*
 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Pl.Cl difficult.M.Pl questions+the.M.Pl
- c₂ *Greali* ← *ăi* ← *ța* *ăntriborli.*
 difficult.M.Pl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl be.3Pl.Cl questions+the.M.Pl
 ‘His questions are difficult.’
- d₁ *I-u* → *tată.*
 3Sg.Dat.Cl-be.3Sg.Cl father
- d₂ *Tată* ← *i-u.*
 father 3Sg.Dat.Cl-be.3Sg.Cl
 ‘He is my father.’
- e₁ *Mulivu-i* *meu.*
 pencil+the.M.Sg-be.3Sg.Cl mine.M.Sg
 ‘The pencil is mine.’
- e₂ *Meu-i* *mulivu.*
 my.M.Sg-be.3Sg.Cl pencil+the.M.Sg
 ‘It is mine, the pencil.’
- f₁ *Țeasta* *cart*¹³⁴-*i* *mea.*
 this.F.Sg book-be.3Sg.Cl mine.F.Sg
 ‘This book is mine.’
- f₂ *Mea-i* *țeasta* *cartă.*
 my.F.Sg-be.3Sg.Cl this.F.Sg book
 It is mine, this book.

5.1.5 In positive imperative clauses, the pronominal clitics occur to the immediate right of the verb and encliticize to it:

- (117) a. *Mancă* ← *la!*
 eat.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
 ‘Eat it!’
- b. *Pucată* ← *mi!*
 look-at.2Sg.Imper 1Sg.Acc.Cl
 ‘Look at me!’

5.1.6 In clauses with negated imperatives, the clitics occur preverbally, between the negation marker and the verb, and encliticize to the negation marker:

- (118) a. *Nu* ← *la* *mancă!*
 not 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl eat.2Sg.Imper
 ‘Don’t eat it!’
- b. *Nu* ← *mi* *pucată!*
 not 1Sg.Acc.Cl eat.2Sg.Imper
 ‘Don’t look at me!’

5.1.7 Dat clitics always precede Acc ones:

¹³⁴ In this sentence, the clitic host is also “reduced” – its final vowel is dropped.

- (119) a. ...*s-mu* *ăi* *la* *da*.
 Subj.Mark.Cl+not 3Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘...so that (s)he wouldn’t give it to him.’
- b. *Ănj* *la* *deadi*.
 1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor
 ‘(S)he gave it to me.’

5.1.8 Not all combinations of Dat and Acc clitics are possible. Dat clitics of any person and gender are predominately followed by 3rd person Acc clitics. First person singular clitics can be followed by second person ones, but any other combination is unacceptable:¹³⁵

- (120) a. *Ănj* *ti* *fălea*.
 1Sg.Dat.Cl 2Sg.Acc.Cl praise.3Sg.Imperf
 ‘(S)he praised you to me.’
- b. ?*Ănj* *va* *fălea*.
 1Sg.Dat.Cl 2Pl.Acc.Cl praise.3Sg.Imperf
 ‘(S)he praised you to me.’
- c. **ĂȚ* *mi* *fălea*.
 2Sg.Dat.Cl 1Sg.Acc.Cl praise.3Sg.Imperf
 purported reading: ‘(S)he praised me to you.’
- d. **Vă* *na* *fălea*.
 2Pl.Dat.Cl 1Pl.Acc.Cl praise.3Sg.Imperf
 purported reading: ‘(S)he praised us to you.’

5.1.9 The pronominal clitics occur either as the only arguments of the verb or else co-occur with lexical arguments, i.e. clitic-double lexical arguments:

- (121) a. *L-am* *vizut*.
 him.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg.Cl seen.Past.Part
 ‘I’ve seen it.’
- b. *L-am* *vizut* *filmu*.
 him.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg.Cl seen.Past.Part film+the.M.Sg
 ‘I’ve seen the film.’

5.2 Direct object clitic-doubling

Clitic-doubling of Megleno-Romanian direct-objects is contingent on definiteness.

5.2.1 Not only definite direct objects featured by strong DPs, as in Romanian, but rather all definite direct objects are clitic-doubled:

- (122) a. *(*L*)-*am* *vizut* *Petru*.
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg.Cl seen.Past.Part Petru
 ‘I’ve seen Petru.’

¹³⁵ Instead of a Dat clitic, a prepositional phrase with a full pronominal form is used:

- (i) *Mi* *fălea* *la* *tini*.
 1Sg.Acc.Cl praise.3Sg.Imperf to you.Sg
 ‘(S)he praised me to you.’
- (ii) *Na* *fălea* *la* *voi*.
 1Pl.Acc.Cl praise.3Sg.Imperf to you.Pl
 ‘(S)he praised us to you.’

- b. *(*Au*) *am* *vizut* *Țea*.
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl have.1Sg.Cl seen.Past.Part her.Acc
 ‘I’ve seen her.’
- c. *(*L*)-*am* *vizut* *filmu*.
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg.Cl seen.Past.Part film+the.M.Sg
 ‘I’ve seen the film.’
- d. *(*Au*) *săruta* *svaca* *feată*.
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl kiss.3Sg every girl
 ‘(S)he kisses every girl.’

5.2.2 Topicalization, i.e. occurrence of the object in topic position in the Left Periphery, plays no role in direct-object clitic-doubling and neither does specificity, if the object is definite. Definite direct-object DPs are actually clitic-doubled whether topicalized or non-topicalized, and whether specific or non-specific.¹³⁶ Thus, the direct object in (123) can be given a specific or a non-specific interpretation, but it is invariably clitic-doubled:

- (123) a. *La* *ubides* *șefu*.
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl look-for.1Sg chief+the.M.Sg
 1. ‘I am looking for the chief (namely for X, who happens to be the chief).’
 2. ‘I am looking for the chief (whoever it is).’
- b. *Șefu* *la* *ubides*.
 chief+the.M.Sg 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl look-for.1Sg
 1. ‘It is the chief (i.e. X, who happens to be the chief) that I am looking for.’
 2. ‘It is the chief that I am looking for (whoever it is).’

5.2.3 Indefinite direct objects (with indefinite articles) are, as a rule, not clitic-doubled:

- (124) *Ioana* *(*au*) *vizu* *ună* *feată*.
 Ioana 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Aor a.F girl
 ‘Ioana saw a girl.’

5.2.4 Partitive direct objects with indefinite articles can, however, be clitic-doubled if specific. Compare (125a) to (125b):¹³⁷

- (125) a. *Au* *marito* *ună* *din* *featăli*.
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl marry.3Sg.Aor a.F from daughters+the.F.Pl
 ‘For one of his/her daughters (namely, Ana) (s)he found a husband.’ (lit. ‘One of his/her daughters (namely Ana) (s)he married.’)
- b. *Marito* *ună* *din* *featăli*.
 marry.3Sg.Aor a.F from daughters+the.F.Sg
 ‘For one of his/her daughters (it does not matter which one) (s)he found a husband.’
 (lit. ‘One of his/her daughters (it does not matter which one) (s)he married.’)

5.2.5 Specific indefinite direct object in heavy (complex) clauses can also be clitic-doubled. Examples:¹³⁸

- (126) a. (*La*) *pusiră* *un* *om* *s-u*
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl put.3Sg.Aor a.M man Subj.Mark.Cl-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl

¹³⁶ As argued in the introduction to this chapter, not all definite DPs are specific.

¹³⁷ The use of the doubling clitic is here analogous to the use of its Macedonian counterpart (cf. 1.2.4).

¹³⁸ Compare with corresponding examples in Macedonian (cf. 1.2.5).

- 5.2.6 The occurrence of direct objects in topic or focus positions in the Left Periphery, as a rule, has no effect on its co-occurrence with the Acc clitic. However, as in Macedonian (*cf.* 1.2.7), indefinites which could be labelled “contrastive indefinites” are clitic doubled if they occur in topic position in the Left Periphery:

- ### 5.2.7 Bare direct objects are not clitic-doubled, even when topicalized.

- Clitic-doubling of Megleno-Romanian indirect objects is contingent on specificity.

- 5.3.1 Specific indirect objects are clitic-doubled, whether topicalized or non-topicalized, human or non-human, definite or indefinite:

(129)	a.	<i>Petre</i>	<i>ăi</i>	<i>ari</i>	<i>dat</i>	<i>flor</i>	<i>la</i>	
		Petre	3Sg.Dat.Cl	have.3Sg.Cl	given.Past.Part	flower	to	
		<i>feata.</i>						
		girl+the.F.Sg						
		'Petre has given a flower to the girl.'						[–topic, +human, +specific, +definite]
	b.	<i>Petre</i>	<i>ăi</i>	<i>ari</i>	<i>dat</i>	<i>flor</i>	<i>la</i>	
		Petre	3Sg.Dat.Cl	have.3Sg.Cl	given.Past.Part	flower	to	
		<i>ună feată.</i>						
		a.F girl						
		'Petre has given a flower to a girl.'						[–topic, +human, +specific, –definite]
	c.	<i>Ai</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>pus</i>	<i>căpac</i>	<i>la tendzera.</i>		
		3Sg.Dat.Cl	have.1Sg.Cl	put.Past.Part	lid	to pot+the.F.Sg		
		'I have put a lid to the pot.'						[–topic, –human, +specific, +definite]
	d.	<i>La</i>	<i>ficioru</i>	<i>si-ăi</i>		<i>trimet</i>	<i>pari moini.</i>	
		to	boy+the.M.Sg	Subj.Mark.Cl+3Sg.Dat.Cl		send.1Sg	money tomorrow	
		'To the boy I will send money tomorrow.'						[+topic, +human, +specific, +definite]
	e.	<i>La</i>	<i>masa</i>	<i>ăi</i>	<i>pus</i>	<i>un picior.</i>		
		to	table+the.F.Sg	3Sg.Dat.Cl	put.1Sg.Aor	a.M leg		
		'I fixed a leg in the table.'						[+topic, –human, +specific, +definite]

5.3.2 Non-specific indirect objects are, as a rule, not clitic-doubled:

- (130) *Petre ari dat flor la ună feată.*
 Petre have.3Sg.Cl given.Past.Part flower to a.F girl
 ‘Petre has given a flower to a(n unspecified) girl.’ [-topic, +human, -specific, -definite]

5.3.3 As in Macedonian (cf. 1.3.5), the specificity effect can sometimes disappear and even bare indefinites, which can never be specific, can be optionally clitic doubled.

- (131) *Iana (i)-u deade carta la*
 Iana 3Sg.Dat.Cl-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor book+the.F.Sg to
ficior.
 child
 ‘Iana gave the book to a child.’

The disappearance of the specificity effect in indirect-object clitic-doubling indicates that the clausal clitics in Megleno-Romanian are close to becoming mere case markers.

5.4 Clitic-doubling of “wh” words

As in the other Balkan languages, in Megleno-Romanian same “wh” word forms function as interrogative and relative pronouns or modifiers. They are clitic-doubled (or clitic-resumed) when specific – whether in direct or indirect object position.¹³⁹

5.4.1 As relative pronouns are always specific, they always co-occur with clitics, i.e. are clitic-resumed, whether inflecting,¹⁴⁰ as the pronoun *cari* ‘who/which’ in (132a-b), or invariant, as the *relativum generale* *fi* ‘what’ in (132c-d):

- (132) a. *Măncai un pești cari și tu*
 eat.1Sg.Imperf a.M fish.M.Sg which.M.Sg and you.2Sg

¹³⁹ Clitic-doubling of quantifiers works on the same principle. Quantifiers or DPs with quantifiers are clitic-doubled if specific, as in (i-iii), and not clitic-doubled if non-specific, as in (iv-vi):

- (i) *Nu l-am pisiit la mult studenț.*
 not 3Pl.Dat.Cl-have.1Sg.Cl written.Past.Part to many students
 ‘I haven’t written to many of the students.’
- (ii) *Nu l-am pisiit la mult.*
 not 3Pl.Dat.Cl-have.1Sg.Cl written.Past.Part to many
 ‘I haven’t written to many of them.’
- (iii) *La nițun nu ieș burciliă s-i pisieș.*
 to nobody not be.2Sg.Cl obliged.F.Sg.Pass.Part Subj.Mark.Cl-3Sg.Dat.Cl write.2Sg
 ‘To nobody specific are you obliged to write.’
- (iv) *Nu am pisiit la mult studenț.*
 not have.1Sg.Cl written.Past.Part to many.Pl students
 ‘I haven’t written to many students.’
- (v) *Nu am pisiit la mult.*
 not have.1Sg.Cl written.Past.Part to many.Pl
 ‘I haven’t written to many.’
- (vi) *Nu ieș burciliă s-i pisieș la*
 not be.2Sg.Cl obliged.F.Sg.Pass.Part Subj.Mark.Cl-3Sg.Dat.Cl write.2Sg to
nițun.
 nobody
 ‘You are not obliged to write to anybody.’

¹⁴⁰ In Megleno-Romanian all full pronouns inflect only for number and gender; there are Dat and Acc forms only for the clitic pronouns.

- vri* *s-la* *ai* *arisit.*
would.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark.Cl-3Sg.Acc.Acc have.2Sg.Cl liked.Past.Part
'I ate a fish which you would have liked.'
- b. *Ficioru* *la* *cari* *ăi* *trimisieş* *pari...*
boy+the.M.Sg to which.M.Sg 3Sg.Dat.Cl send.2Sg.Aor money
'The (particular) boy to whom you sent money....'
- c. *La* *manc* *peaştili,* *ţi-nj*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl eat.1Sg.Pres fish+the.M.Sg what-1Sg.Dat.Cl
la *dădeş.*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.2Sg.Aor
'I'm eating the fish which you gave me.'
- d. *Uomo* *ţi* *la* *nuibom* *i-u* *frati.*
man what 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl meet.3Pl.Aor 3Sg.Dat-be.3Sg.Cl brother
'The man we met is his brother.'

5.4.2 The interrogative pronouns *cari* 'who/which' and *coţ* 'how many' can be specific or non-specific and can accordingly be clitic-doubled or not:

- (133) a. *La* *cari* *ficior* *ăi* *trimisieş* *pari?*
to which.M.Sg boy 3Sg.Dat.Cl send.2Sg.Aor money
'To which boy did you send money?'
- b. *La* *cari* *ăi* *ai* *trimes* *pari?*
to who.M.Sg 3Sg.Dat.Cl have.2Sg.Cl sent.Past.Part money?
'To who (in particular) have you sent money?'
- c. *La* *cari* *ai* *trimes* *pari?*
to who.M.Sg have.2Sg.Cl sent.Past.Part money?
'To who have you sent money?'
- (134) a. *Coţ* *ia* *ai* *vizut?*
how-many.M.Pl 3Pl.M.Acc.Cl have.2Sg.Cl seen.Past.Part
'How many (of them) have you seen?'
- b. *Coţ* *ai* *vizut?*
how-many.M.Pl have.2Sg.Cl seen.Past.Part
'How many have you seen?'

5.4.3 The interrogative pronoun *ţi* 'what' can never be specific and, consequently, can never be clitic-doubled:

- (135) *Ţi* (**ăi*) *ai* *vizut?*
what 3Sg.Dat.Cl have.2Sg.Cl seen.Past.Part
'What have you seen?'

6. Aromanian

The nature and behaviour of the Aromanian clitics, though not their inventory, is basically analogous to those of their Megleno-Romanian counterparts, and so are the conditions for clitic-doubling.¹⁴¹

¹⁴¹ In both Megleno-Romanian and Aromanian, the use of the doubling clitics has been influenced by Macedonian. Note, that the Aromanian analysed in this book is spoken in Macedonia. Since clitic-doubling is very sensitive to the environment, the conditions for clitic-doubling in the Aromanian dialects spoken in Greece may differ.

6.1 Aromanian clausal clitic system

The Aromanian clausal clitic system includes sets of Dat and Acc pronominal clitics, a set of indicative present tense forms of the “have” auxiliary, the expectative modal clitic *va* ‘will’,¹⁴² and the subjunctive marker *si* (reduced *s*).¹⁴³ The negation marker *nu* occurs amongst the clitics of the clitic cluster, but is always stressed, i.e. does not have clitic-like properties.

6.1.1 The pronominal clitics are given in table 13:

Table 13: Aromanian pronominal clitics

	Dat		Acc	
	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
1 st	<i>nji/ănj</i> (reduced: <i>nj</i>) ¹⁴⁴	<i>nă</i> (reduced: <i>n</i>)	<i>mi/me</i> (reduced: <i>m</i>)	<i>nă</i> (reduced: <i>n</i>)
2 nd	<i>tsă/ăts</i> (reduced: <i>ts</i>)	<i>vă</i> (reduced: <i>v</i>)	<i>ti/te</i> (reduced: <i>t</i>)	<i>vă</i> (reduced: <i>v</i>)
3 rd M	<i>lji/ălji</i> (reduced: <i>l/i</i>) ¹⁴⁵	<i>lă</i> (reduced: <i>l</i>)	<i>lu/ăl</i> (reduced: <i>l</i>)	<i>lji/ălji</i> (reduced: <i>lj</i>)
3 rd F	<i>lji/ălji</i> (reduced: <i>lj/i</i>)	<i>lă</i> (reduced: <i>l</i>)	<i>u/o</i>	<i>li/le</i> (reduced: <i>l</i>)
Refl	===== <i>shi</i> (reduced: <i>sh</i>) =====		===== <i>si/să/se</i> (reduced: <i>s</i>) =====	

6.1.2 The “have” auxiliary clitics are given in table 14:

Table 14: Aromanian “have” auxiliary clitics

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>am</i>	<i>avem</i>
2 nd	<i>ai</i>	<i>avets</i>
3 rd Ind	<i>ari/are</i>	<i>au</i>

6.1.2 In positive indicative and subjunctive clauses, the modal clitics, the subjunctive marker and the pronominal clitics, in this order, occur to the left of the lexical verb or non-clitic auxiliary and procliticize to it:

- (136) a. *Va* → *s-tsă* → *dau* *ună* *carte*.
 will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark.Cl-2Sg.Acc.Cl give.1Sg a.F book
 ‘I will give you a book.’
- b. *Biserica* *va* → *(s-)ăl* →
 church+the.F.Sg will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark.Cl-3Sg/Pl.Acc.Cl
agiută *a* *orfânjlor*.
 help.3Sg/Pl.Subj.Pres to poor.M.Pl.Dat
 ‘The church will be giving help to the poor.’
- c. *Lj-u* → *deade* *cartea* *a*
 3Sg.Dat.Cl-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor book+the.F.Sg to

¹⁴² The use of the modal auxiliary *va* ‘will’ is discussed in section 6.9 of the chapter “Infinitives and Subjunctives”.

¹⁴³ The use of the subjunctive marker *si* (reduced *s*) is illustrated in section 6.2 of the chapter “Infinitives and Subjunctives”.

¹⁴⁴ As in Megleno-Romanian, the reduced forms of the pronominal clitics are usually used when two or more clitics appear next to each other, when the host of proclitic clitics begins with a vowel, or the host of enclitic clitics ends with a vowel.

¹⁴⁵ The distinction between the Dat pronominal clitic for third person singular (feminine and masculine) and the one for third person plural, tends to be eliminated.

hiljă-mei.
daughter-my.F.Sg.Dat.Cl
'(S)he gave the book to my daughter.'

6.1.3 In negative indicative and subjunctive clauses, the clitics to the left of the negation marker procliticize to the negation marker, while the clitics to the right of the negation marker seem to be able to either encliticize to the negation marker or procliticize to the verb to their right:

- (137) a. *Nu ← va (s-)lipsea s-*
not will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark.Cl-should.Impers.Imperf Subj.Mark.Cl-
yină.
come.3Sg/Pl.Subj.Pres
'(S)he/they shouldn't have come!'
- b. *Va → s-ira mayine s-nu*
will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark.Cl-be.3Sg.Imperf Compar+good Subj.Mark.Cl-not
l-aibă măcată.¹⁴⁶
3Sg.Acc.Cl-have.3Sg/Pl.Subj.Pres eaten.Past.Part
'It would have been better if (s)he/they had not eaten it.'
- c. *Va → s-ira mayine s-nu (←)*
will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark.Cl-be.3Sg.Imperf Compar+good Subj.Mark.Cl-not
lj-u (→) yuvusei vivlile.
3Sg.Dat.Cl-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl read.2Sg.Imperf book+the.F.Sg
'It would have been better if you had not read the book to her/him.'
- d. *Viniră pregale (tă) → s-nu (←) nă (→)*
come.3Pl.Aor slowly that.Mod Subj.Mark.Cl-not 1Pl.Acc.Cl
dishciaptă.
wake-up.3Sg.Subj.Pres
'They came in slowly not to wake us up.'
- e₁ *...tă → s-nu lji → lu →*
that.Mod Subj.Mark.Cl-not Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
da...
give.3Sg.Subj.Pres
- e₂ *...tă → s-nu ← lji ← lu*
that.Mod Subj.Mark.Cl-not 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
da...
give.3Sg.Subj.Pres
'...so that (s)he wouldn't give it to him.'
- f₁ *...tă s-nu ← lu ← are măcată...*
that.Mod Subj.Mark.Cl-not 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl have.3Sg.Cl eaten.Past.Part

¹⁴⁶ The participle that occurs to the right of the "have" auxiliary forms is invariant. While in Megleno-Romanian the form of the invariant past participle is equivalent to the masculine singular form of the inflecting passive participle, in Aromanian it is equivalent to the feminine singular form of the inflecting participle. Note that in Macedonian, the invariant past participle to the right of the "have" auxiliary is equivalent to the neuter singular form of the inflecting passive participle.

- f₂ ...*tă* *s-nu* *lu* → *are* → *măcată*...
 that.Mod Subj.Mark.Cl-not 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl have.3Sg.Cl eaten.Past.Part
 ‘...so that (s)he wouldn’t have eaten it.’

6.1.4 In positive imperative clauses, the pronominal clitics occur to the immediate right of the verb and encliticize to it:

- (138) a. *Măc-ă!*
 eat.Imper-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
 ‘Eat it!’
 b. *Dă-lj-u!*
 give.Imper-3Sg.M.Dat.Cl-3Sg.Acc.Cl
 ‘Give it to him/her!’

6.1.5 In negative imperative clauses the pronominal clitics are always between the negation marker and the verb and encliticize to the negation marker:

- (139) *Nu* ← *u* *măcă!*
 not 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl eat.2Sg.Imper
 ‘Dont eat it!’

6.1.6 Dat clitics always precede Acc clitics:

- (140) a. *Voi* *s-lj-u* *dao.*
 will.1Sg.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark.Cl-3Sg.Dat.Cl-3Sg.Acc.Cl give.1Sg
 ‘I will give it to him.’
 b. *Nj-u* *deade.*
 1Sg.Dat.Cl-3Sg.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor
 ‘(S)he gave it to him/her.’

6.1.7 Not all combinations of Dat and Acc clitics are possible. Most frequently, third person clitics follow first and second person ones. The first person singular clitic may be followed by second person ones, but any other combination is impossible:¹⁴⁷

- (141) a. *Ănj* *ti* *prezentară.*
 1Sg.Dat.Cl 2Sg.Acc.Cl introduce.3Sg.Aor
 ‘They introduced you to me.’
 b. *?Ănj* *vă* *prezentară.*
 2Sg.Dat.Cl 1Pl.Acc.Cl introduce.3Sg.Aor
 ‘They introduced you to me.’
 c. **Ăts* *mi* *prezentară.*
 2Sg.Dat.Cl 1Sg.Acc.Cl introduce.3Sg.Aor
 purported reading: ‘They introduced me to you.’

¹⁴⁷ In these cases, instead of Dat clitics, prepositional phrases with full pronominal forms are used:

- (i) *Mi* *presentiră* *la* *tine.*
 1Sg.Acc.Cl introduce.3Sg.Aor to you.Sg
 ‘They introduced me to you.’
 (ii) *Na* *presentiră* *la* *voi.*
 1Pl.Acc.Cl introduce.3Sg.Aor to you.Pl
 ‘They introduced us to you.’

- d. **Vă* *nă* *prezentară*.
 2Pl.Dat.Cl 1Pl.Acc.Cl introduce.3Sg.Aor
 purported reading: 'They introduced us to you.'

6.1.8 The pronominal clitics can occur either as the only arguments of the verb or else can co-occur with lexical arguments, i.e. can clitic-double lexical arguments:

- (142) a. *L-om* *vidzută*.
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg.Cl seen.Past.Part
 'I've seen it.'
- b. *L-om* *vidzută* *filmul*.
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg.Cl seen.Past.Part film+the.M.Sg
 'I've seen the film.'

6.2 Direct object clitic-doubling

Clitic-doubling of direct objects is contingent on definiteness and specificity.

6.2.1 Not only direct objects featured by strong DPs, but rather all definite direct objects are clitic-doubled:

- (143) a. *(*L*)-*om* *vidzută* *Petri*.
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg.Cl seen.Past.Part Petri
 'I've seen Petri.'
- b. *(*U*)-*am* *vidzută* *nășă*.
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg.Cl seen.Past.Part her.Acc
 'I've seen her.'
- c. *(*L*)-*om* *vidzută* *filmul*.
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg.Cl seen.Past.Part film+the.M.Sg
 'I've seen the film.'

6.2.2 Topicalization, i.e. the occurrence of the direct object in a topic position in the Left Periphery, plays no role in clitic doubling, and neither does specificity if the doubled objects are definite.¹⁴⁸ Thus, the object in (144) can have a specific or a non-specific interpretation, but it is invariably clitic-doubled:

- (144) a. *L-caftu* *sheflu*.
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-look for.1Sg chief+the.M.Sg
 1. 'I am looking for the chief (namely for X, who happens to be the chief).'
2. 'I am looking for the chief (whoever it is).'
- b. *Sheflu-l* *caftu*.
 chief+the.M.Sg-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl look-for.1Sg
 1. 'It is the chief (i.e. X, who happens to be the chief) that I am looking for.'
2. 'It is the chief I am looking for (whoever it is).'

6.2.3 Indefinite direct objects are, as a rule, not clitic doubled:

- (145) *Jana* *(*u*) *vidzu* *ună* *feată*.
 Jana 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Aor a.F girl
 'Jana saw a girl.'

6.2.4 Partitive direct objects with indefinite articles can, however, for some speakers be clitic-doubled if specific.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ As argued in the introduction to this chapter, not all definite DPs are specific.

¹⁴⁹ The variation in acceptability is probably due to different interpretations (specific *versus* non-specific).

- (146) %U mǎrtă ună di feafile.
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl marry.3Sg.Aor a.F from daughters+the.F.Pl
 ‘For one of his/her daughters (namely, Ana) (s)he found a husband.’ (lit. ‘One of his/her daughters (namely Ana) (s)he married.’)

6.2.5 Specific indefinite direct object in heavy (complex) clauses can also optionally be clitic-doubled for some speakers. Examples:¹⁵⁰

- (147) a. (%Lu) băgără un om s-u
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl force.3Sg.Aor a.M man Subj.Mark.Cl-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
 scotă ploacia.
 remove.3Sg.Subj.Pres boulder+the.F.Sg
 ‘(I saw how) they forced a (specific) man to remove the boulder.’
- b. (%U) vidzură ună soatsă a mea cum
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Aor a.F friend.F to my.F.Sg how
 s-dipune di pi pampore.
 Acc.Refl.Cl-descend.3Sg from on ship
 ‘They saw a (specific) friend of mine descend the ship.’

6.2.6 The occurrence of direct objects in topic or focus positions in the Left Periphery, as a rule, has no effect on its co-occurrence with the Acc clitic. However, indefinites which could be labelled “contrastive indefinites” can marginally be clitic doubled if they occur in topic position in the Left Periphery:

- (148) (%?Ună) alta hoara u apreasiră.
 a.F other.M.Sg village 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl set-on-fire.3Sg.Aor
 ‘As for one other village, they set it on fire.’

6.2.7 Bare direct objects are not clitic-doubled, even when topicalized.

- (149) Verdzătura nu (*u) măc.
 vegetable not 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl eat.1Sg.Pres
 ‘Vegetables, I do not eat.’

6.3 Indirect object clitic-doubling

Clitic-doubling of indirect objects is contingent on specificity.

6.3.1 Specific indirect objects are clitic-doubled, whether topicalized or non-topicalized, human or non-human, animate or inanimate:

- (150) a. Petri lji are dată lilice a
 Petri 3Sg.Dat.Cl have.3Sg.Cl given.Past.Part flower to
 feafilei.
 girl+the.F.Sg.Dat
 ‘Petri has given a flower to the girl.’ [–topic, +human, +specific, +definite]
- b. A ficiorlui va s-lji pitrec
 to boy+the.M.Sg.Dat will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark.Cl-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl send.1Sg
 prats măne.
 money tomorrow
 ‘To the boy I will send money tomorrow.’ [+topic, +human, +specific, +definite]
- c. A cathium lji deade tsi lji
 to everyone 3Sg.Dat.Cl give.3Sg.Aor what 3Sg.Dat.Cl

¹⁵⁰ Compare with corresponding examples in Macedonian and Megleno-Romanian (cf. 1.2.5; 5.2.5).

lipseashce.

need.3Sg

‘Everyone was given what he needed.’

[+topic, +human, +specific, –definite]

- d. *Petri lji are dată lilice a unei*
 Petri 3Sg.Dat.Cl have.3Sg.Cl given.Past.Part flower to a.F.Dat
feată.

girl

‘Petri has given a flower to a girl.’

[–topic, +human, +specific, –definite]

- e. *Lji lu băgai un cior a*
 3Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl put.3Sg.Aor a.M leg to
masăljei.

table+the.F.Sg.Dat

‘(S)he fixed a leg in the table.’

[–topic, –animate +specific, +definite]

- f. *A masăljei ilj băgai un cior.*
 to table+the.F.Sg.Dat 3Sg.Dat.Cl put.3Sg.Aor a.M leg

‘(S)he fixed a leg to the table.’

[+topic, –animate, +specific, +definite]

6.3.2 Non-specific indirect objects with indefinite articles are, as a rule, not clitic-doubled:

- (151) *Petri are dată lilice a unei feată.*
 Petri have.3Sg.Cl given.Past.Part flower to a.F.Dat girl
 ‘Petri has given a flower to a(n unspecified) girl.’

[–topic, +human, –specific, –definite]

6.3.3 Even indirect objects with definite articles may not be clitic-doubled if not specific.¹⁵¹ Thus, we have the following contrast:

- (152) a. *Voi s-lji dao lilice a*
 want.1Sg Subj.Mark.Cl-3Sg.M.Dat.Cl give.1Sg flower to
profesorlui.
 professor+the.M.Sg.Dat
 ‘I want to give a flower to the professor (whom we met).’
- b. *Voi să dao lilice a profesorului.*
 want.1Sg Subj.Mark.Cl give.1Sg flower to professor+the.M.Sg.Dat
 ‘I want to give a flower to (a person who is) the professor (in this department).’

6.3.4 As in Macedonian and Megleno-Romanian (cf. 1.3.5; 5.3.3), the specificity effect can sometimes disappear and even bare indefinites, which can never be specific, can be optionally clitic doubled – an indication that the Aromanian clausal clitics are close to becoming mere markers of indirect objects.

- (153) *Jana (l-)u deade cartea la fciior.*
 Jana 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor letter+the.F.Sg to child
 ‘Jana gave the letter to a mere child.’

6.4 Clitic-doubling of “wh” words

As in Megleno-Romanian, “wh” words, are clitic-doubled only when specific – whether in direct or in indirect object position.¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ As pointed out in the introduction to this chapter, not all definite DPs are specific.

¹⁵² Note that clitic-doubling of quantifiers works on the same principle. Quantifiers or DPs with quantifiers are clitic-doubled if specific, as in (i-iii), and not clitic-doubled if non-specific, as in (iv-vi):

6.4.1 As relative pronouns are always specific, they always co-occur with a clitic, i.e. are clitic-resumed. In (154a) we have an example with the inflecting relative pronoun *care* ‘who/which’; in (154b-c) we have examples with the invariant relative (*relativum generale*) *tsi* ‘what’:

- (154) a. *Ficiorlu a cui ălj pitricush*
 boy+the.M.Sg to who/which.3Sg.M.Dat 3Sg.Dat.Cl send.2Sg.Aor
p(ă)radz....
 money
 ‘The boy to whom you sent money....’
- b. *Omlu tsi lu andămusim lji*
 man+the.M.Sg what 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl meet.1Pl.Aor 3Sg.Dat.Cl
easte frate.
 be.3Sg brother
 ‘The man that we met is his brother.’
- c. *Lu măc pescul, tsi nj-*
 him.Acc.Cl eat.1Sg.Pres fish+the.M.Sg what 1Sg.Dat.Cl
lu dădesh.
 3sg.M.Acc.Cl gave.2Sg.Aor
 ‘I’m eating the fish that you have given to me.’

6.4.2 The interrogative “wh” words *care* ‘who/which’ and *căts* ‘how many’, can be specific or non-specific and can, accordingly, co-occur or not co-occur with a clitic, whether used as pronouns or as modifiers:

- (155) a. *A cui ficior lji pitricush p(ă)radz?*
 to which.M.Sg.Dat boy 3Sg.Dat.Cl send.2Sg.Aor money
 ‘To which (particular) boy did you send money?’
- b. *A cui lji pitricush p(ă)radz?*
 to who.M.Sg.Dat 3Sg.Dat.Cl send.2Sg.Aor money?
 ‘To who in particular did you send money?’

-
- (i) *Nu l-am scriată a multsălor studentsă.*
 not 3Pl.Dat.Cl-have.1Sg.Cl written.Past.Part to many+the.Pl.Dat students
 ‘I haven’t written to many of the students.’
- (ii) *Nu l-am scriată a multsă.*
 not 3Pl.Dat.Cl-have.1Sg.Cl written.Past.Part to many
 ‘I haven’t written to many of them.’
- (iii) *A vărui nu eshci borge s-lji scrii.*
 to nobody not be.2Sg obliged.M.Sg.Pass.Part Subj.Mark.Cl-3Sg.Dat.Cl write.2Sg
 ‘To nobody specific are you obliged to write.’
- (iv) *Nu am scriată a multsălor studentsă.*
 not have.1Sg.Cl written.Past.Part to many+the.Pl.Dat students
 ‘I haven’t written to many students.’
- (v) *Nu am scriată la multsă.*
 whom have.1Sg.Cl written.Past.Part to many
 ‘I haven’t written to many.’
- (vi) *Nu am scriată a vărui.*
 not have.1Sg.Cl written.Past.Part to somebody.Dat
 ‘I haven’t written to anybody.’

- c. *A* *cui* *pitricush* *p(ă)radz?*
to who.M.Sg.Dat send.2Sg.Aor money?
‘Whom did you send money?’
- (156) a. *Căts* *di* *năsh* *lji* *ai* *vidzută?*
how-many.M.Pl of us 3Pl.M.Acc.Cl have.2Sg.Cl seen.Past.Part
‘How many of them have you seen?’
- b. *Căts* *ai* *vidzută?*
how-many.M.Pl have.2Sg.Cl seen.Past.Part
‘How many have you seen?’

6.4.3 The interrogative pronoun *tsi* ‘what’, on the other hand, can never be specific and, consequently, can never co-occur with a clitic.

- (157) *Tsi* *(*lji)* *vidzush?*
what 3Sg.Dat.Cl see.2Sg.Aor
‘What did you see?’

7. Albanian

Like the clausal clitics of the other Balkan languages, the Albanian clausal clitics occur in clusters, which in the prototypical cases occur to the immediate left of tensed verbs. Clitic doubling is obligatory with indirect objects and frequent with direct ones.

7.1 Albanian clausal clitic system

7.1.1 The Albanian clausal clitic system includes: sets of Dat and Acc pronominal clitics, the expectative modal clitic *do* ‘will’ and the subjunctive marker *të*.¹⁵³ The indicative negation marker *nuk* and the modal negation marker *mos* occur to the immediate left of the modal clitic and between the subjunctive marker and the pronominal clitics, respectively, but their phonological behaviour is not clitic-like: they are always stressed and can act as clitic hosts.

7.1.2 The (Tosk) Albanian pronominal clitics are given in Table 15:¹⁵⁴

Table 15: Albanian pronominal clitics

	Dat	Acc
1Sg	= = = = <i>më</i> = = = =	
1Pl	= = = = <i>na</i> = = = =	
2Sg	= = = = <i>të</i> = = = =	
2Pl	= = = = <i>ju</i> = = = =	
3Sg	<i>i</i>	<i>e</i>
3Pl	<i>u</i>	<i>i</i>
Refl	= = = = <i>u</i> = = = =	

7.1.3 Sequences of pronominal clitics or sequences of the subjunctive marker and a pronominal clitic often undergo morphological fusion.

7.1.3.1 The outcome of the fusion of Dat clitics (of any person and number) and Acc third person and reflexive clitics is given in Table 16.

¹⁵³ The use of the expectative clitic is discussed in 7.9; the subjunctive marker is discussed in 7.9.

¹⁵⁴ First and second person clitics are syncretic – there is a common Dat/Acc form for 1Sg, 1Pl, 2Sg and 2Pl.

Table 16: Fused pronominal clitics in Albanian

	Dat	Acc		
		3Sg: <i>e</i>	3Pl: <i>i</i>	Refl: <i>u</i>
1Sg:	<i>më</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>mu</i>
1Pl:	<i>na</i>	<i>na e</i>	<i>na i</i>	<i>na u</i>
2Sg:	<i>të</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>t'i/u</i>
2Pl:	<i>ju</i>	<i>jua</i>	<i>jua</i>	<i>ju</i>
3Sg:	<i>i</i>	<i>ia</i>	<i>ia</i>	<i>iu</i>
3Pl:	<i>u</i>	<i>ua</i>	<i>ua</i>	<i>iu</i>

7.1.3.2 The fusion between the subjunctive marker *të* and the pronominal clitics is exemplified in (158):

- (158) a. *T'a* *mësosh* *mirë.*
 Subj.Mark.Cl+3Sg.Acc.Cl learn.2Sg good/well
 'You should learn it well.'
- b. *T'u* *thuash* *që jemi mirë.*
 Subj.Mark.Cl+3Pl.Dat.Cl tell.2Sg that are.3Pl good/well
 'You should tell them that we are well.'
- c. *Do t'ju shkruaj një letër.*
 will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark.Cl+2Pl.Dat.Cl write.1Sg a letter
 'I will write to you.'

7.1.4 The default position of the clitics is to the left of the lexical verb, to which they, as a rule, procliticize. In imperative clauses,¹⁵⁵ however, the clitics preferably occur to the right of the verb, though we find them to the left of the verb as well:

- (159) a. *Shihe!*
 see.2Sg.Imper+3Sg.Acc.Cl
 'See him/her/it!'
- b₁ *Ma hap derën!*
 1Sg.Dat.Cl+3Sg.Acc.Cl open.2Sg door+the.F.Sg.Acc
- b₂ *Hapma derën!*
 open.2Sg+1Sg.Dat.Cl+3Sg.Acc.Cl door+the.F.Sg.Acc
 'Open the door for me!'
- c₁ *Më shkruani!*
 1Sg.Dat.Cl write.2Pl
- c₂ *Shkruamëni!*¹⁵⁶
 write+1Sg.Dat.Cl+2Pl
 'Write to me!'

7.1.5 In negative clauses, the clitics always occur to the left of the verb. In indicative negative clauses all the clitics are to the right of the negation marker *nuk*; in modal clauses the subjunctive marker occurs to the left of the modal negation marker *mos*, while the other clitics occur to its right. The negation markers are always stressed. The clausal clitics (a) encliticise or procliticise to the

¹⁵⁵ Only verbs of the first conjugation, such as *shoh* see, have imperative morphology.

¹⁵⁶ The pronominal clitic is here nested between the root of the verb (which is equivalent to the 1Sg indicative present tense form) and the person/number marker.

indicative negation marker; (b) procliticize to the modal negation marker or (c) procliticize to the verb.

- (160) a. *Nuk*← *do* ← *ta* *kesh*
 not will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark.Cl+3Sg.Acc.Cl have.2Sg
shitur librin ← *tim* *deri nesër.*
 sold.Part book+the.Sg.Acc my.Acc till tomorrow
 ‘You will not have sold my book by tomorrow.’
- b. *Deshën* *të* → *mos* *ia* →
 want.3Pl.Aor Subj.Mark.Cl not.Mod 3Sg.Dat.Cl+3Sg.Acc.Cl
japë librin.
 give.3Sg.Subj.Pres book+the.M.Sg.Acc
 ‘They wanted him/her not to give him the book.’
- c₁ %*Nuk*←*do* ← *të* *mos* *ketë* *ardhur.*
 not will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark.Cl not.Mod have.3Sg.Subj.Pres come.Part
- c₂ %*Nuk* *do* → *të* → *mos* *ketë* *ardhur.*
 not will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark.Cl not.Mod have.3sg.Subj.Pres come.Part
 ‘(S)he would not have not come.’

7.1.6 The Dat clitic always precedes the Acc one:

- (161) a. *Ta* *dha.*
 2Sg.Dat.Cl+3Sg.Acc.Cl give.3Sg
 ‘(S)he gave it to you.’
- b. *Ua* *lexoi librin.*
 2Pl.Dat.Cl+3Sg.Acc.Cl read.3Sg.Aor book+the.Sg.Acc
 ‘(S)he read the book to you.’

7.1.7 Not all combinations of Dat and Acc clitics are possible. Dat clitics of any person and gender can be followed only by 3rd person Acc clitics.¹⁵⁷ Thus, whereas (162a) is a well-formed Albanian sentence, (162b-c) are unacceptable.¹⁵⁸

- (162) a. *U-a* *dhanë.*
 3Pl.Dat.Cl+3Sg.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Aor
 ‘They gave it to them.’
- b. **Më* *ju* *përshkroi.*
 1Sg.Dat.Cl 2Sg.Acc.Cl describe.3Sg.Aor
 purported reading: ‘(S)he described you to me.’
- c. **Ju* *na* *përshkroi.*
 2Pl.Dat.Cl 2Pl.Acc.Cl describe.3Sg.Aor
 purported reading: ‘(S)he described you to us.’

7.1.8 The pronominal clitics occur either as the only arguments of the verb or else co-occur with lexical arguments, i.e. clitic-double lexical arguments:

- (163) a. *Ia* *dhashë.*
 3Sg.Dat.Cl+3Sg.Acc.Cl give.1Sg.Aor
 ‘I gave it to him.’

¹⁵⁷ Violations of person order are worse in Albanian than in the other Balkan languages.

¹⁵⁸ There are no viable alternatives with full pronouns instead of the clitics.

- b. *Ia* *dhashë* *librin*
 3Sg.Dat.Cl+3Sg.Acc.Cl give.1Sg.Aor book+the.M.Sg.Acc
Agimit.
 Agim+the.M.Sg.Dat
 ‘I gave the book to Agim.’

7.2 Indirect object clitic-doubling

Indirect objects always occur with definite or indefinite articles and are, as a rule, clitic-doubled. Thus, the co-occurrence of Dat clitics with indirect objects is grammaticalized.

7.2.1 In (164a) the indirect object is a proper name (which is always definite), in (164b) a quantified definite expression; in (164c) an indefinite expression with an indefinite article; all of them have to be clitic-doubled.¹⁵⁹

- (164) a. *Agimi* **(i)* *dërgoi* *lule* *Dritës.*
 Agim+the.M.Sg 3Sg.Dat.Cl send.3Sg.Aor flower Drita+the.F.Sg.Dat
 ‘Agim sent flowers to Drita.’
- b. *Agimi* **(u)* *dërgoi* *lule* *gjithë* *vajzave.*
 Agim+the.M.Sg 3Pl.Dat.Cl send.3Sg.Aor flower all girls+the.F.Pl
 ‘Agim sent flowers to all (the) girl.’
- c. *Agimi* **(i)* *dërgoi* *lule* *një* *vajze.*
 Agim+the.M.Sg 3Sg.Dat.Cl send.3Sg.Aor flower a girl.Dat
 ‘Agim sent flowers to a girl.’

7.2.2 Quirky Dat subjects are also clitic-doubled.¹⁶⁰

- (165) *Agimit* **(i)* *mungojnë* *dhjetë* *libra.*
 Agim+the.M.Sg.Dat 3Sg.Dat.Cl miss.3Pl ten books
 ‘Agim is missing ten books.’ (lit. ‘Ten books are missing to Agim.’)

7.2.3 Bare indefinites do not occur in indirect objects.

7.3 Direct object clitic-doubling

Direct object clitic-doubling in Albanian is contingent on discourse factors and specificity: all specific direct objects that are not in focus positions (either in the Left Periphery or to the right of the verb) are clitic-doubled.

7.3.1 As illustrated in (166), not only definite but also indefinite direct object preceded by the indefinite article, and not only animate but also inanimate direct objects can be clitic doubled.¹⁶¹

- (166) a₁ *Jani* *e* *pret* *Merin*
 Jani+the.M.Sg 3Sg.Acc.Cl expect.3Sg Meri+the.Acc
të *ankohet.*
 Subj.Mark.Cl complain.3Sg.M-P
 ‘Jani expects Meri to complain.’
- a₂ *Jani* *e* *pret* *një* *gjë*
 Jani+the.M.Sg 3Sg.Acc.Cl expect.3Sg a thing

¹⁵⁹ The examples are similar to Kallulli’s (2000:212) examples.

¹⁶⁰ The example is from Kallulli (2000:212)

¹⁶¹ Examples (166a₁-a₂) are from Kallulli (2000:215); example (166e) from Kallulli (2000:231); example (166f) from Kallulli (2000:213).

- të* *tillë* *të* *ndodhë*.
 Acc.Agr.Cl such Subj.Mark.Cl happen.3Sg.Subj
 ‘Jani expects something like this to happen.’
- b₁ *E* *pashë* *librin* *tënd* *të*
 3Sg.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Aor book+the.M.Sg.Acc your.Acc Acc.Agr.Cl
ri.
 new
 ‘I saw your new book.’
- b₂ (*E*) *pashë* *një* *libër* *të*
 3Sg.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Aor a book+the.M.Sg.Acc Acc.Agr.Cl
ri.
 new
 ‘I saw a new book.’
- c. *Ma* *hap* *derën!*
 1Sg.Dat.Cl+3Sg.Acc.Cl open.2Sg door+the.F.Sg.Acc
 ‘Open the door for me!’
- d. *Ana* (*e*) *lexoi* *librin*.
 Ana+the.F.Sg 3Sg.Acc.Cl read.3Sg.Aor book+the.M.Sg.Acc
 ‘Ana read the book.’
- e. *Ana* *donte* *t(a)*
 Ana+the.F.Sg want.3Sg.Imperf Subj.Mark.Cl+3Sg.Acc.Cl
blejë *një* *fustan*.
 buy.3Sg.Subj.Pres a dress
 ‘Ana wanted to buy a dress.’
- f. *Do* *ta* *pi* *me* *kënaqësi*
 will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark.Cl+3Sg.Acc.Cl drink.1Sg with pleasure
një *uiski*.
 a whisky
 ‘I will gladly have a whisky.’

7.3.2 CPs in direct object position can also be clitic-doubled. Consider the following examples:

- (167) a. *E* *besoj* *se* *Beni* *shkoi*.
 3Sg.Acc.Cl believe.3Sg that Ben+the.M.Sg leave.3Sg.Aor
 ‘As for the fact that Ben left, I do believe it.’
- b. *Ana* *e* *kuptoi* *që* *kishte*
 Ana+the.F.Sg 3Sg.Acc.Cl realize.3Sg.Aor that had.3Sg
parë *ëndërr*.
 seen dream
 ‘Ana realized that she had had a dream.’

While the CP in (167a) is not clitic-doubled, the one in (167b) is clitic-doubled. Kallulli (2004), from where the examples in (167) are taken, argues that the clitic-doubling of CPs is contingent on factivity:¹⁶²

¹⁶² As argued by Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1971), to whom Kallulli refers, factive complements differ from non-factive complements in that the truth value of the former is presupposed, whereas the truth value of the latter is asserted.

Note that Arnaudova (2003) gives a Bulgarian example of a clitic-doubled CP with a factive predicate (cf. 2.2.2). In Macedonian, however, the factive noun has to be explicitly stated. Thus, whereas (i) is well-formed, neither (ii), where

7.3.3 Movement to the Left Periphery, as a rule, plays no role in direct object clitic doubling in Albanian. As pointed out by Kallulli (2000:215), clitic-doubled DPs occur in Albanian in positions that are typically associated with theta marking and case marking, i.e. in A-positions such as ECM complements (as in 166a₁-a₂) and subjects of small clauses (as in 168).¹⁶³

- (168) *Agimi nuk e konsideron Dritën/*
 Agim+the.M.Sg not 3Sg.Acc.Cl consider.3Sg Drita+the.F.Sg.Acc
një vajzë të tillë inteligjente.
 a girl Acc.Agr.Cl such intelligent
 ‘Agim does not consider Drita/such a girl intelligent.’

7.3.4 Yet, not all Albanian direct objects are clitic-doubled.

7.3.4.1 Kallulli (2000:221) argues that the unacceptability of the clitic in (169) shows that direct object DPs in out-of-the-blue sentences cannot be clitic-doubled:

- (169) A: What happened?
 B: *Agimi (*e) theu termometrin/*
 Agim+the.M.Sg 3Sg.Acc.Cl broke.3Sg.Aor thermometer+the.M.Sg.Acc
një pjatë.
 a plate
 ‘Agim broke the thermometer/a plate.’

7.3.4.2 Kallulli (2000:222-223) also shows that Albanian direct objects with definite or indefinite articles cannot be clitic-doubled if preceded by so-called “focus particles” such as *madje* ‘even’, as in (170a-b),¹⁶⁴ and concludes that Albanian direct objects are clitic-doubled when not focused.

the factive noun is deleted, nor (iii), where the factive noun is present but there is no doubling clitic, are acceptable in Macedonian:

- (i) *Ne go prifakam ona što mi go*
 not 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl accept.1Sg that.N.Sg what 1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
rekovte.
 say.2Pl.Past
 ‘I do not accept what you have told me.’ (Lit. ‘I do not accept that what you have told me.’)
- (ii) **Ne go prifakam što mi go rekovte.*
 not 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl accept.1Sg what 1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl say.2Pl.Past
- (iii) **Ne prifakam ona što mi go rekovte.*
 not accept.1Sg what what 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl say.3Pl.Past say.2Pl

¹⁶³ The examples are similar to Kallulli’s (2000:215) examples.

¹⁶⁴ Note that DPs that do not represent the focus, such as *librin* in (i-iii), whether *in situ*, as in (i) and (ii), or in topic position in the Left Periphery, as in (iii), can be or rather are clitic doubled:

- (i) *Ia DHASHË librin Agimit.*
 3Sg.Dat.Cl+3Sg.Acc.Cl give.1Sg.Aor book+the.M.Sg.Acc Agim+the.M.Sg.Dat
 ‘I did give the book to Agim.’
- (ii) *AGIMIT ia dhashë librin.*
 Agim+the.M.Sg.Dat 3Sg.Dat.Cl+3Sg.Acc.Cl give.1Sg.Aor book+the.M.Sg.Acc
 ‘It was to Agim that I gave the book.’
- (iii) *Librin ia dhashë AGIMIT.*
 book+the.M.Sg.Acc 3Sg.Dat.Cl+3Sg.Acc.Cl give.1Sg.Aor Agim+the.M.Sg.Dat
 ‘As for the book, I gave it to Agim.’

- (170) a. *Papa* (*e) *vizitoi* *edhe* *Tiranën*,
Pope+the.F.Sg 3Sg.Acc.Cl visit.3Sg.Aor and Tirana+the.F.Sg.Acc
jo vetëm Shkodrën.
not only Shkodra+the.F.Sg.Acc
‘The Pope has visited even Tiranë, not only Shkodrë.’
- b. *Jani* (*e) *piu* *madje një birrë*
Jani+the.M.Sg 3Sg.Acc.Cl drink.3Sg.Aor even a beer
para se të shkonte.
before that Subj.Mark.Cl go.3Sg
‘Jani drank even a beer before he left.’

7.3.4.3 Accordingly, the optionally clitic-doubled direct objects in (167) are not clitic-doubled if discourse factors are taken into consideration and the objects are interpreted as focused, as in (172):

- (171) a. (*E) *pashë* *një* *LIBËR* *të*
3Sg.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Aor a book+the.M.Sg.Acc Acc.Agr.Cl
ri.
new
‘It is a new book that I saw.’
- b. *Ana* (*e) *lexoi* *LIBRIN.*
Ana 3Sg.Acc.Cl read.3Sg.Aor book+the.M.Sg.Acc
‘It is the book that Ana read.’
- c. *Ana donte të(-*a)* *blejë* *një*
Ana want.3Sg.Aor Subj.Mark.Cl+3Sg.Acc.Cl buy.3Sg.Subj.Pres a
FUSTAN.
dress
‘It is a dress that Ana wanted to buy.’

7.3.5 Bare indefinite indirect objects are, as a rule, not clitic-doubled (*cf.* 172a), but when occurring in the Left Periphery, they can be clitic doubled (*cf.* 172b):¹⁶⁵

- (172) a. *Ana donte të* (*e) *blejë*
Ana want.3Sg.Aor Subj.Mark.Cl 3Sg.Acc.Cl buy.3Sg.Subj.Pres
fustan/ fustana.
dress.Acc dresses.Acc
‘Ana wanted to buy a dress/dresses.’
- b. *Dhjetra njerëz i mbledhi gryka*
tens people 3Pl.Acc.Cl gather.3Sg.Aor gorge+the.F.Sg
e Lepushës.
F.Sg.Agr.Cl Lepushë+the.F.Sg.Dat
‘The gorge of Lepushë gathered tens of people’.

7.3.6 Kallulli (1999, 2000) argues that not only the [±definite] but also the [±specific] feature is irrelevant for direct object clitic-doubling in Albanian. According to her, bare direct objects cannot be clitic-doubled since they lack a D-slot whose specificity feature could be matched with the specificity feature of the clitic.¹⁶⁶ But this is tantamount to saying that bare indefinites in direct

¹⁶⁵ Example (172b) is from Asenova (2002:114). The glosses are mine.

¹⁶⁶ According to Kallulli (2000) bare singulars are predicates rather than arguments and denote properties rather than individuals. Indefinite plurals, on the other hand, can have an existential or a generic interpretation. While generic

object positions cannot be clitic-doubled because they are not specific. Clitic-doubling of direct objects is actually contingent on discourse factors, as well as on specificity.

7.3.6.1 As shown in (173), a specific (non-focused) article indefinite direct object is clitic-doubled, whereas a non-specific (non-focused) article indefinite direct object is not:

- (173) a. *Ana donte t-a*
 Ana+the.F.Sg want.3Sg.Imperf Subj.Mark.Cl+3Sg.Acc.Cl
blejë një fustan.
 buy.3Sg.Subj.Pres a dress
 ‘Ana wanted to buy a dress (that we saw in the shop-window).’
- b. *Ana donte të blejë një fustan.*
 Ana+the.F.Sg want.3Sg.Imperf Subj.Mark.Cl buy.3Sg.Subj.Pres a dress
 ‘Ana wanted to buy a dress (it does not matter what kind of a dress).’

7.3.6.2 Even definite direct objects have an option of being or not being clitic-doubled. As it transpires from the translations of (174a) and (174b), the doubling clitic is used when the definite direct object is given a specific interpretation, but not when it is given a non-specific interpretation (which admittedly is much less frequent than the specific one):

- (174) a. *Po e kërkoi regjizorin,*
 Asp.Mark 3Sg.Acc.Cl look-for.1Sg movie-director+the.M.Sg.Acc
por nuk po e gjej.
 but not Asp.Mark 3Sg.Acc.Cl find.1Sg
 ‘I am looking for the movie-director (i.e. for X, who happens to be the movie-director), but I cannot find him.’
- b. *Po kërkoi regjizorin, por nuk po e gjej.*
 Asp.Mark look-for.1Sg movie-director+the.M.Sg.Acc but not
 Asp.Mark 3Sg.Acc.Cl find.1Sg
 ‘I am looking for the movie-director (whoever that may be), but I cannot find him.’

7.4 Clitic doubling of “wh” words

While the occurrence of a doubling clitic with “wh” indirect objects is mandatory, clitic-doubling of “wh” direct objects depends on the type of “wh” word and the type of object doubled.

7.4.1 Interrogative “wh” direct objects are not clitic-doubled:

- (175) a. *Kë (*e) pe?*
 whom.Acc 3Sg.Acc.Cl saw.2Sg
 ‘Whom (specifically) did you see?’
- b. *Ç(farë) (*e) pe?*
 what 3Sg.Acc.Cl saw.2Sg
 ‘What did you see?’

plurals denote a kind or an instantiation of it, existential plurals denote properties. In set expressions such as *marr autobusin* ‘take the bus’ in (i), definite phrases in direct object position can also denote properties.

- (i) *Nuk shkoj në këmbë, (*e) marr autobusin.*
 not walk.1Sg with feet, 3Sg.Acc.Cl take.1Sg bus+the.M.Sg.Acc
 ‘I don’t walk, I take the bus (to school).’

7.4.2 As for relative “wh” words, there are two kinds of them: (a) an inflecting “wh” word constructed by the interrogative pronoun *cili* ‘what/which’¹⁶⁷ plus a definite article in the Acc case,¹⁶⁸ and (b) the invariant relativizer (*relativum generale*) *që* ‘that’.

7.4.2.1 The inflecting “wh” word associates only with indefinite direct objects, and then the use of the clitic is obligatory.¹⁶⁹

- (176) *Lexova* *një* *libër* *të* *cilin* **(e)*
 read.1Sg.Aor a book Acc.Agr.Cl which+the.Sg.Acc 3Sg.Acc.Cl
mora *në* *bibliotekë*.
 get.1Sg.Aor in library
 ‘I read a book which I got from the library.’

7.4.2.2 The invariant relativizer can associate with either an indefinite or with a definite direct object. When it associates with an indefinite direct object it cooccurs with a clitic, whereas when it associates with a definite direct object the occurrence of the clitic is illegal:

- (177) a. *Lexova* *një* *libër* *që* **(e)* *mora* *në*
 read.1Sg.Aor a book that 3Sg.Acc.Cl get.1Sg.Aor in
bibliotekë.
 library
 ‘I read a book that I got from the library.’
- b. *Lexova* *librin* *që* **(e)* *mora* *në*
 read.1Sg.Aor book+the.M.Sg.Acc that 3Sg.Acc.Cl get.1Sg.Aor in
bibliotekë.
 library
 ‘I read the book that I got from the library.’

7.4.2.3 An economy principle is at work here: the clitic is used only when there are no other morphological markers for the Acc case. The clitic is in this case actually a case marker.

8. Modern Greek

8.1 Modern Greek clausal clitic system

As in many other Balkan languages, in Modern Greek the clausal clitics basically occur in clusters, which, as a rule, occur to the immediate left of the verb.

8.1.1 The Modern Greek clausal clitic cluster includes sets of Gen and Acc pronominal clitics,¹⁷⁰ the expectative modal clitic *tha*, the subjunctive mood marker *na* and the exhortative mood marker

¹⁶⁷ *Cili* is the masculine Nom form of the interrogative “wh” word with the reading ‘who/which’. The relative inflecting “wh” word always occurs with a definite article and agrees with the referent in gender and number.

¹⁶⁸ *Që* originally meant ‘where’, but is now used only as a relativizer and complementizer.

¹⁶⁹ Examples (176) and (177) are from Kallulli (2004).

¹⁷⁰ The deictic *na* ‘here’ and the interrogative “wh” word *pun* ‘where’ allow the occurrence of nominative clitic pronominal forms (cf. Joseph and Philippaki-Warbuton 1987:214-215)

- (i) *Na* *tos!*
 here 3Sg.Nom.Cl
 ‘Here he is!’
- (ii) *Pu-n* *tos!*
 where+3Sg.Aux.Cl 3Sg.Nom.Cl
 ‘Where is he?’

as.¹⁷¹ The indicative negation marker *dhen* occurs to the immediate left of the modal clitic or the pronominal clitics, whereas the modal negation marker *mi(n)*¹⁷² occurs within the clitic cluster; they are, however, stressed i.e. do not have the phonological characteristics of clitics.

8.1.2 The set of Gen and Acc pronominal clitics is given in Table 16:

Table 16: Modern Greek genitive and accusative pronominal clitics

	Gen	Acc
1Sg	<i>mu</i>	<i>me</i>
1Pl	=== <i>mas</i> ===	
2Sg	<i>su</i>	<i>se</i>
2Pl	=== <i>sas</i> ===	
3Sg.M	<i>tu</i>	<i>to(n)</i>
3Pl.M	=== <i>tus</i> ===	
3Sg.F	<i>tis/tes</i> ¹⁷³	<i>ti(n)</i>
3Pl.F	<i>tus</i>	<i>tis/tes</i>
3Sg.N	<i>tu</i>	<i>to</i>
3Pl.N	<i>tus</i>	<i>ta</i>

8.1.3 In positive indicative and subjunctive clauses, all the clitics occur to the left of the verb and procliticize to it. The Gen clitics precede the Acc ones, while the modal and mood clitics, occur to their left:¹⁷⁴

- (178)

a.

Su

2Sg.Gen.Cl

→

to

3Sg.N.Acc.Cl

→

edhose.

give.3Sg.Aor

‘(S)he gave it to you.’

b.

Mu

1Sg.Gen.Cl

→

ton

3Sg.M.Acc.Cl

→

sistise.

introduce.3Sg.Aor

‘(S)he introduced him to me.’

The full paradigm of these nominative clitics, which occur only in the third person, is as follows:

(iii)		Singular	Plural
	3M	<i>tos</i>	<i>ti</i>
	3F	<i>ti</i>	<i>tes</i>
	3N	<i>to</i>	<i>ta</i>

Being restricted to only the environment of *na* and *pun*, the nominative clitic pronouns never occur in clitic clusters.

As it may be observed in (ii), the “be” auxiliary may also have a clitic form - *n*. But this form never occurs in a clausal clitic cluster.

¹⁷¹ The exhortative mood marker expresses exhortation, wish, consent, indifference, probable inference... (cf. Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton (1987:180). The use of the expectative modal clitic is discussed in 9.10 of the chapter “Infinitives and Subjunctives”.

¹⁷² The occurrence of *n* is phonologically conditioned.

¹⁷³ While *tis* is used when the clitic is proclitic, *tes* is used when it is enclitic (as in imperatives or gerundival expressions).

¹⁷⁴ Isak and Jakab (2004:317) point out that there has been a debate in the literature whether *tha* is a future marker or a modal marker and refer to Roussou (2000) for discussion. Joseph and Philipaki-Warburton (1987:173) note that *tha* is not only a marker of futurity but also a marker of modality, which combines with all verb forms. When it combines with imperfect or perfect verb forms it is the modality value that is prevalent actually. I take future marking to be a type of modal marking. In Modern Greek, *tha* never co-occurs with the subjunctive marker, as it does in the other Balkan languages. But it is still a modal marker distinct from the mood markers. (cf. Tomić 2004a, b, 2005b).

- c. *Na* → *se* → *ixa* *conda* ← *mu!*
 Subj.Mark.Cl 2Sg.Acc.Cl have.1Sg.Imperf near 1Sg.Gen.Cl
 ‘If only I had you near me!’
- d. *Tha* → *tu* → *to* → *exis* *pi.*
 will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.Gen.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl have.2Sg said.Past.Part
 ‘You will have said it to him.’
- e. *Tha* → *su* → *dhoso* *plirofories* *avrio.*
 will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Gen.Cl give.1Sg.Perf.Pres informations tomorrow
 ‘I will give you information tomorrow.’
- f. *Ithelan* *na* → *tu* → *ti(n)* →
 want.3Pl.Imperf Subj.Mark.Cl 3Sg.M.Gen.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
sistisis.
 introduce.2Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘They wanted you to introduce her to him.’

8.1.4 In negated indicative clauses, the indicative negation marker occurs to the left the modal clitic (cf. 179a), while the modal negation marker occurs to the right of the mood complementizers (cf. 179b-c):

- (179) a. *Dhen* *tha* *tu* *to* *exis*
 not will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.Gen.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl have.2Sg
pi.
 said.Past.Part
 ‘You will not have said it to him.’
- b. *Ithelan* *na* *min* *tu*
 want.3Pl.Imperf Subj.Mark.Cl not.Mod 3Sg.M.Gen.Cl
ti(n) *sistisis.*
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl introduce.2Sg
 ‘They wanted you not to introduce her to him.’
- c. *As* *min* *mu* *to* *elejes.*
 let not.Mod 1Sg.M.Gen.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl say.2Sg.Imperf
 ‘You shouldn’t have said that to me.’

8.1.5 In positive imperative clauses¹⁷⁵ the pronominal clitics occur to the right of the verb and encliticize to it, regardless of whether the verb is clause-initial, as in (180a) or is preceded by another element, as in (180b-c). The sequence of the enclitic pronominal clitics in imperatives is usually Gen Acc, as in indicative clauses, in which the clitics are proclitic. Occasionally, however, the relative ordering of the enclitic clitics can be reversed (cf. 180d₁ and 180d₂).¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁵ In positive imperative clauses, the verb occurs in a specific imperative form. That is not the case with negative imperative clauses, in which the form of the verb is identical to the present indicative form, the modal negation marker *mi(n)* being the only signal that the sentence is not indicative. As shown below, in negative imperative clauses, the pronominal clitics occur between the negation marker and the verb:

- (i) *Min* *to* *ghrafis/ghrapsis!*
 Mod.Neg.Mark 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl write.2Sg.Imperf/Perf.Pres
 ‘Don’t write it!’

¹⁷⁶ According to Joseph and Philippaki-Warbuton (1987:213) the reversed order happens with certain very common verbs. Bošković (2004) discusses the possibility to reverse the Dat Acc clitic order in Greek imperatives in a generative framework. Adopting a copy theory of movement, he argues that the accusative genitive clitic order in imperative clauses is made possible by the pronunciation of the lower copy of the clitics, forced by the presence of the PF affix.

- (180) a. *Pes* ← *to!*
say.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
'Say it!'
- b. *Esi pes* ← *to!*
you say.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
You say it!
- c. *Ja kitakste* ← *ton!*
Interj look.2Pl.Imper 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
'(Hey), look at him!'
- d₁ *Dhos* ← *mu* ← *to!*
give.2Sg.Imper 1Sg.Gen.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
- d₂ *Dhos* ← *to* ← *mu!*
give.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl 1Sg.Gen.Cl
'Give it to me!'

8.1.6 Not all combinations of Gen and Acc clitics are possible. Gen clitics of any person and gender may be followed only by 3rd person Acc clitics, but neither 1st nor 2nd person clitics can occur to the right of another pronominal clitic. Thus, clauses such as (181a) and (181b) are well formed, whereas clauses such as (181c) and (181d) are not:¹⁷⁷

- (181) a. *Mu ton sistise.*
1Sg.Gen.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl introduce.3Sg.Aor
'(S)he introduced him to me.'
- b. *Su tin sistise.*
2Sg.Gen.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl introduce.3Sg.Aor
'(S)he introduced her to you.'
- c. **Mu se sistise.*
1Sg.Gen.Cl 2Sg.Acc.Cl introduce.3Sg.Aor
purported reading: '(S)he introduced you to me.'
- d. **Se mas sistise.*
2Sg.Acc.Cl 1Pl.Gen.Cl introduce.3Sg.Aor
purported reading: '(S)he introduced you to us.'

The accusative clitic can actually precede the genitive clitic only when the clitics are pronounced in a lower position, which is the case in imperatives. The optionality of the accusative-genitive ordering is related to an element X, possibly AgrDO (direct object agreement), to which the genitive clitic has to move. Without the presence of X, the Gen-Acc-V complex will be immediately formed, which leads to genitive accusative order of clitics in postverbal position. When X is present in the structure, however, one gets accusative genitive order in postverbal position.

¹⁷⁷ Either the Gen clitic has to be replaced with a prepositional phrase + a full (non-clitic) pronoun, as in (i), or the Acc clitic has to be represented by a full pronoun, as in (ii):

- (i) *Se sistise se mena.*
2Sg.Acc.Cl introduce.3Sg.Aor to me.Acc
'(S)he introduced you to me.'
- (ii) *Mas sistise esena.*
1Pl.Gen.Cl introduce.3Sg.Aor you.Acc
'(S)he introduced you to us.'

8.1.7 Since only one Gen clitic is allowed for each verb in a given clause, a beneficiary dative cannot be rendered by a clitic if the clause has a Gen clitic representing a direct object. In that case, we have a prepositional phrase with beneficiary meaning:

- (182) *Dhose tu to ja/apo mena!*
 give.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.M.Gen.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl for me.Acc
 'Give it to him for my sake!'

8.1.8 The pronominal clitics can function as the only arguments of the clause or clitic-double full pronouns or lexical arguments:

- (183) a. *Me idhe (emena).*
 1Sg.Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Imperf me.Acc.Pron
 '(S)he saw me.'
- b. *Ton idhe (ton Jani).*
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.eSg.Imperf the.M.Sg.Acc Janis.Acc
 '(S)he saw him/(Janis).'

8.2 Direct object clitic-doubling

In many cases, clitics are an obligatory accompaniment of (at least) definite indirect objects. Yet, in formal Modern Greek clitic-doubling has a discourse function, marking old information, "thereby allowing some other constituent in the sentence to be the focus" (cf. Joseph and Philippaki-Warbuton 1987:125).

8.2.1 Topicalized direct objects are always clitic-doubled, whether definite (cf. 184) or indefinite (cf. 185):¹⁷⁸

- (184) a. *Ton Jani ton kseri i Maria.*
 the.M.Sg.Acc Janis.Acc 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl know.3Sg the.F.Sg Maria
 'Janis, Maria knows.'¹⁷⁹
- b. *To vivlio to edhosa tis*
 the.N.Sg.Acc book 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl give.1Sg.Aor the.F.Sg.Gen
Marias/ s ti Maria.
 Maria.Gen to the.F.Sg.Acc Maria
 'As for the book, I gave it to Maria.'
- c. *Ta elinika ine dhiskola na*
 the.N.Pl.Acc Greek.N.Pl.Acc be.3Sg difficult.N.Pl Subj.Mark.Cl
ta katalavo.
 3Pl.N.Acc.Cl understand.1Sg
 'Greek is difficult to understand.'

¹⁷⁸ Note that focused direct objects cannot be clitic doubled:

- (i) *TO VIVLIO (*to) edhosa tis Marias.*
 the.N.Sg.Acc book 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl give.1Sg.Aor the.F.Sg.Gen Maria.Gen
 'It is the book that I gave to Maria.'

¹⁷⁹ Note that the subject *i Maria* can be moved to preverbal position:

- (i) *Ton Jani i Maria ton kseri.*
 the.M.Sg.Acc Janis.Acc the.F.Sg Maria 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl know.3Sg
 'Janis, Maria knows.'

- d. *Ton Jani pote ton idhes?*
 the.M.Sg.Acc Janis.Acc when 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.2Sg.Aor
 ‘Janis, when did you see him?’
- (185) a. *Merikes askisis tis elisa me diskolia.*
 some.Pl exercises 3Pl.F.Acc.Cl solve.1Sg.Aor with difficulty
 ‘Some exercises I solved with difficulty.’
- b. *Ena vivlio tha su to paro.*
 a.N.Sg.Acc book will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Gen.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
 take.1Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘As for a book, I will take for you (but don’t ask for more).’

8.2.2 Definite direct objects *in situ* can also be clitic-doubled, whether human or non-human, animate or inanimate, concrete or abstract:

- (186) a. *Ton vlepo to(n) Jorgo.* [+human]
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.1Sg the.M.Sg.Acc Jorgos.Acc
 ‘I see Jorgos.’
- b. *Ti(n) vlepo ti(n) gata.* [+animate, –human]
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl see.1Sg the.F.Sg.Acc cat
 ‘I see the cat.’
- c. *Tus pira tus markadhorus.* [–animate, +concrete]
 3Pl.M.Acc.Cl take.1Sg.Aor the.M.Pl markers.Acc
 ‘I took the markers.’
- d. *I anthropi dhen ton agapun* [–animate, –concrete]
 the.M.Pl men not 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl like/love.3Pl
ton polemo.
 the.M.Sg war
 ‘People do not like war.’

8.2.3 The doubling of the *in-situ* direct object is, however, not free: only familiar, i.e. contextually bound direct, familiar direct objects are clitic-doubled.

8.2.3.1 Anagnostopoulou (1994:25) illustrates the occurrence of the doubling clitic through “minimal pairs” such as the following one:

- (187) a. *Prosexe! Tha xtipsis ton pezo!*
 watch-out.2Sg.Imper will.Mod.Cl hit.2Sg.Perf.Pres the.M.Sg.Acc pedestrian
- b. *Prosexe! Tha ton xtipsis*
 watch-out.2Sg.Imper will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl hit.2Sg.Perf.Pres
ton pezo!
 the.M.Sg.Acc pedestrian
 ‘Watch out! You will hit the pedestrian.’

The utterance without a doubling clitic (187a) is appropriate when the hearer is not aware of the presence of the pedestrian in the street; its counterpart with doubling clitic (187b), on the other hand, indicates shared knowledge by speaker and hearer that the referent is present in discourse.

8.2.3.2 In environments in which the (full) personal or demonstrative pronouns are linked to already established discourse, they are also clitic-doubled:

- (188) a. *I mathites mu me katalavenun*
the.M.Pl students 1Sg.Gen.Cl 1Sg.Acc.Cl understand.3Pl
emena.
me.Acc.Pron
‘My students understand me.’
- b. *O Petros to katalaveni afto.*
the.M.Sg Petros 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl understand.3Sg this
‘Petros understands this/it.’

8.2.3.3 The doubling of direct objects which denote non-familiar objects is impossible. Anagnostopoulou (1994:28-29) offers the following examples (among others):¹⁸⁰

- (189) a. *Kathe pedhi (*tin) psaxni tin kaliteri fotografia*
every child 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl look-for.3Sg the.F.Sg.Acc best picture
tu eafu tu ja na tin
the.M.Sg.Gen self.Gen 3Sg.F.Gen.Cl for Subj.Mark.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
kremasi ston tixo.
put.3Sg.Perf.Pres in+the.M.Sg.Acc wall
‘Every child is looking for the best picture of himself to put it on the wall.’
- b. *O Janis (*ton) exi ton adhelfo*
the.M.Sg Janis 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl have.3Sg the.M.Sg.Acc brother.Acc
pu tu aksizi.
that 3Sg.M.Gen.Cl deserve.3Sg
‘Janis has the brother that he deserves.’
- c. *O Janis (*tin) exi ti miti*
the.M.Sg Janis 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl have.3Sg the.M.Sg.Acc nose
tu patera tu.
the.M.Sg.Gen father.Gen 3Sg.M.Gen.Cl
‘Janis has his father’s nose.’

8.2.4 Anagnostopoulou (1994) argues that the *in-situ* clitic-doubling is distinct from the clitic-doubling of DPs in topic position in the Left Periphery, which she treats as a clitic left-dislocation, as in Spanish.

8.2.4.1 A major argument for the distinction, according to Anagnostopoulou, is the fact that left-dislocated newly introduced definite DPs can be linked by cross-references to already present

¹⁸⁰ Thus, clitic-doubling in Modern Greek differs substantially from clitic-doubling in Macedonian. In Macedonian, where all definite direct objects are clitic-doubled, the equivalents of *tin kaliteri fotografia tu aftu tu*, ‘the best picture of himself’, *ton aderfo pu tu aksizi* ‘the brother that he deserves’ and *ti miti tu patera tu* ‘his father’s nose’ in sentences corresponding to (189a-c) would be clitic-doubled:

- (i) *Sekoe dete ja bara svojata najubava*
every child 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl look-for.3Sg self.F.Sg+the.F.Sg Superl+beautiful.F.Sg
slika za da ja stavi na zid.
picture for Subj.Mark.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl put.3Sg.Perf on wall
‘Every child is looking for the best picture of himself to put it on the wall.’
- (ii) *Janko go ima bratot što go zaslužuva.*
Janko 3Sg.M/N.Acc.Cl have.3Sg brother+the.M.Sg which 3Sg.M/N.Acc.Cl deserve.3Sg
‘Janko has the brother that he deserves.’
- (iii) *Janko go ima nosot na tatka si.*
Janko 3Sg.M/N.Acc.Cl have.3Sg nose+the.M.Sg on/of father.Acc Refl.Dat.Cl
‘Janko has his fathers nose.’

objects. Among the examples with which she illustrates this, are the following sequences of clauses (cf. Anagnostopoulou 1994:32):

- (190) a. *Xtes* *to* *proi* *aghorasa* *fruta*.
 yesterday the.N.Sg morning buy.1Sg.Aor fruits
 ‘Yesterday morning I bought some fruit.’
- b. *Ta* *mila* *i* *kori* *mu* *dhen*
 the.N.Pl apples the.F.Sg daughter 1Sg.Gen.Cl not
ta *efaghe*.
 3Pl.N.Acc.Cl eat.3Sg.Aor
 ‘The apples, my daughter did not eat.’
- c. **I* *kori* *mu* *dhen* *ta* *efage*
 the.F.Pl daughter 1Sg.Gen.Cl not 3Pl.N.Acc.Cl eat.3Sg.Aor
ta *mila*.
 the.N.Pl.Acc apples

In (190a) the indefinite noun *fruta* ‘fruit’ introduces a new discourse referent. In (190b) the definite noun *mila* ‘apples’ is used. In order to be felicitous, this definite noun has to be linked by cross-reference to the noun *fruta*. According to Anagnostopoulou (1994), this linking is successful when the definite DP is left-dislocated and non-felicitous when it is *in situ*, as in (190c). However, even without the “linking clitic,” (190c) would be inadequate continuation of the discourse initiated by (190a), though it would be an acceptable sentence.

8.2.4.2 Another argument for treating topicalization distinctly, according to Anagnostopoulou, is the fact that topicalized indefinite direct objects can be clitic-doubled, whereas *in-situ* indefinite direct objects cannot.¹⁸¹ She illustrates this by comparing (185a-b) to (191a-b), which she claims are ungrammatical, but other native speakers of Modern Greek¹⁸² find grammatical:

- (191) a. *%Tis* *elisa* *merikes* *askisis* *me* *diskolia*.
 3Pl.F.Acc.Cl solve.1Sg.Aor some.Pl exercises with difficulty
 ‘Some exercises I solved with difficulty.’
- b. *%Ton* *theoro* *enan* *filo* *mu* *idietera*
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl consider.1Sg a.M.Sg.Acc friend 1Sg.Gen.Cl particularly

¹⁸¹ Even specific indefinite *in situ* direct objects, argues Anagnostopoulou (*loc. cit.*), cannot be clitic-doubled. She illustrates this with the sentences (i) and (ii), which being modified by restrictive relative clauses, are evidently specific:

- (i) *Kathimerina* *(*tin)* *akughan* *mia* *jineka* *pu* *traghuduse*
 daily 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl listen.3Pl.Imperf a.F.Sg woman that sing.3Sg.Imperf
rebetika.
rebetika
 ‘Every day, they listened to a woman who was singing rebetika.’
- (ii) *O* *Janis* *(*ton)* *prodose* *enan* *anthropo pu*
 the.M.Sg Janis 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl betray.3Sg.Aor a.M.Sg.Acc man.Acc that
ton *voithise* *mono* *ja* *na* *vgali*
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl help.3Sg.Aor only for Subj.Mark.Cl make.3Sg.Perf.Pres
lepta *parapano*.
 money more
 ‘Janis betrayed a man who had helped him only to make more money.’

¹⁸² I consulted several speakers from Thessaloniki, two speakers from Athens and one from Cretes.

eksipno.

clever

‘A friend of mine I consider particularly clever.’

8.2.4.3 Anagnostopoulou (*loc. cit.*) admits that there are some counter-examples to her claims. Thus, *in situ* DPs determined by *olus* ‘all’ and *perisoteros* ‘more’ can be clitic doubled:

- (192) a. *O* *Janis* *tus* *apoxeretise*
the.M.Sg Janis 3Pl.M.Acc.Cl say-goodbye.3Sg.Aor
olus *tus* *filus* *tu* *apo* *xtes.*
all.Acc the.M.Pl.Acc friends.Acc 3Sg.M.Gen.Cl from yesterday
‘Janis said goodbye to all his friends yesterday.’
- b. *O* *Janis* *tus* *apoxeretise*
the.M.Sg Janis 3Pl.M.Acc.Cl say-goodbye.3Sg.Aor
tus *perisoteros* *filus* *tu* *apo* *xtes.*
the.M.Pl.Acc more friends.Acc 3Sg.M.Gen.Cl from yesterday
‘Janis said goodbye to most of his friends yesterday.’

8.2.4.4 There is also the indefinite DP with the noun *uso*, originally discussed by Kazazis and Pentheroudakis (1976), and quoted by Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton (1987:189), which can be clitic-doubled, whether topicalized or *in situ*:

- (193) a. *Ena* *uzaki* *to* *pino* *efxaristos.*
a.N.Sg.Acc ouzo.Dimin 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl drink.1Sg gladly
- b. *To* *pino* *efxaristos* *ena* *uzaki.*
3Sg.N.Acc.Cl drink.1Sg gladly a.N.Sg.Acc ouzo.Dimin
‘I would gladly have an ouzo.’ (lit. ‘I am gladly drinking one ouzo.’)

8.2.4.5 Anagnostopoulou (1994:11) maintains that utterances such as (193b) are exceptional.¹⁸³ But the example in (194) shows that the construction is productive:

- (194) a. *Mia* *banana* *tin* *troo* *efxaristos.*
a.F.Sg.Acc banana 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl eat.1Sg gladly
- b. *%Tin* *troo* *mia* *banana.*
3Sg.N.Acc.Cl eat.1Sg a.F.Sg.Acc banana
‘I would gladly eat a banana.’ (lit. ‘I am gladly eating one banana.’)

8.2.5 As a matter of fact, in Modern Greek, both definite and indefinite direct objects can be clitic-doubled if non-focused.¹⁸⁴ Topicalized direct objects are always clitic-doubled because they

¹⁸³ She argues that they “have a modal reading, the verbal form used is subject to various aspectual restrictions... and the clitics seem to have a kind of “sentential” function....”

¹⁸⁴ Objects that do not carry articles and are not determined by (definite or indefinite) determiners are never familiar and, therefore, can neither be topicalized nor clitic-doubled *in situ*. Thus, (i) and (ii) are unacceptable:

- (i) **Pedhi to* *idha* *xtes.*
child 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Aor yesterday
- (ii) **Ta* *idha* *pedhia na* *erxonde.*
3Pl.N.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Aor children Subj.Mark.Cl come.3Pl.Imperf

are always discourse linked or familiar. The paucity of clitic-doubled indefinite direct objects is due to the fact that they most frequently express new information.¹⁸⁵

8.3 Indirect object clitic-doubling

Indirect objects in Modern Greek are for some speakers clitic-doubled when not focused, while for others clitic-doubling of indirect objects is fully grammaticalized.

8.3.1 Indirect objects in Modern Greek are either in the genitive, or are represented by a preposition plus an accusative DP.¹⁸⁶ According to Dimitriadis (1999:95)¹⁸⁷ only the non-prepositional alternative can be clitic-doubled, and can be doubled only optionally:

- (195) a. *(Tu)* *eghrapsa* *tu* *Jorghu.*
 3Sg.M.Gen.Cl write.1Sg.Aor the.M.Sg.Gen Jorgho.Gen
 b. *(*Tu)* *egrapsa* *s-to* *Jorgho.*
 3Sg.M.Gen.Cl write.1Sg.Aor to-the.M.Sg.Acc Jorgho
 'I wrote to Jorgho.'

8.3.2 Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton (1987:125), however, argue that there is no free choice in indirect object clitic doubling. Indirect objects are, as a rule, clitic-doubled when not focused, whether occurring in the Left Periphery or to the right of the verb.¹⁸⁸

- (196) a. *To* *vivlio* *tis* *to* *EDHOSA*
 the.M.Sg.Acc book 3Sg.F.Gen.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl give.1Sg.Aor
tis *Marias.*
 the.F.Sg.Gen Maria.Gen
 'As for the book, I gave it to Maria.'
 b. *Tis* *Marias* *tis* *EDHOSA* *ena* *vivlio,*
 the.F.Sg.Gen Maria.Gen 3Sg.F.Gen.Cl give.1Sg.Aor a.N.Sg.Acc book
oxi *TIS* *ANAS.*
 not the.F.Sg.Gen Ana.Gen
 'To Maria I did give a book, to Ana not.'

¹⁸⁵ *Ena uzaki* in (193b) and *mia banana* in (194) represent old information; the focus being represented by *to pino efharistos* and *tin troo*, respectively.

¹⁸⁶ There is no difference in meaning between the two alternatives. Nevertheless, the alternative with a preposition is more frequently employed because of possible interference with the possessive reading that the genitive case also permits (cf. Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton 1987:125).

¹⁸⁷ Dimitriadis (1999) argues that indirect object NPs must receive Case through the mediation of a clitic or a "light" preposition, with the result that a genitive or an accusative case is assigned instead of a dative case.

¹⁸⁸ According to Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton (1987:125), with some speakers, clitic-doubling is licenced even in the prepositionally marked direct objects, while there are speakers for which clitic-doubling of direct objects is obligatory (at least for definite DPs).

- c. *Tis* *EPESE* *tis* *Marias*¹⁸⁹ *to* *potiri*
 3Sg.F.Gen.Cl fall.3Sg.Aor the.F.Sg.Gen Maria.F.Gen the.N.Sg.Acc glass
tu *patera.*
 the.M.Sg.Gen father.Gen
 ‘Mary dropped her father’s glass.’
- d. *Tu* *EDHOSA* *to* *vivlio* *enos* *filo*
 3Sg.M.Gen.Cl give.1Sg.Aor the.N.Sg.Acc book a.M.Sg.Gen friend.Gen
mu.
 1Sg.Gen.Cl
 ‘I did give the book to a friend of mine.’

8.3.3 In Macedonian Greek (in Northern Greece), both the doubling clitic and the doubled noun/pronoun are in the Acc case and clitic doubling in non-prepositional indirect objects is almost obligatory:¹⁹⁰

- (197) a. %*Tin* *edhosa* *ti(n)* *Maria* *to* *vivlio.*
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.1Sg.Aor the.F.Sg.Acc Maria the.N.Sg.Acc book
 ‘I gave Maria the book.’
- b. %*Ton* *edhosa* *to(n)* *Jorgho* *ena* *fili.*
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.1Sg.Aor the.M.Sg.Acc Jorghos.Acc a.N.Sg.Acc kiss
 ‘I gave Jorghos a kiss.’

8.3.4 Note, however, that the Macedonian Greek dialect does not allow a dative object to carry prepositionless accusative in the absence of a clitic. Thus, while (197a) is well-formed in Macedonian Greek, (198a) is well-formed in Standard and Southern Modern Greek, and (198b) is well-formed throughout the Greek speaking area, (198c) is not acceptable anywhere:¹⁹¹

- (198) a. *Tis* *edhosa* *tis* *Marias* *to* *vivlio.*
 3Sg.F.Gen.Cl give.1Sg.Aor the.F.Sg.Gen Maria.Gen the.N.Sg.Acc book
- b. *Edhosa* *sti* *Maria* *to* *vivlio.*
 give.1Sg.Aor to+the.F.Sg.Gen Maria the.N.Sg.Acc book
- c. **Edhosa* *ti* *Maria* *to* *vivlio.*
 give.1Sg.Aor the.F.Sg.Gen Maria the.N.Sg.Acc book
 ‘I gave Maria the book.’

¹⁸⁹ Indirect objects are, as a rule, scrambled to the left of direct objects so as not to be interpreted as possessive modifiers of the latter. If the Gen DP *tis Marias* occurs to the right of *to potiri tu patera*, *tis Marias* would be interpreted as a possessive modifier of *tu patera*, and the doubling Gen clitic would not be given an interpretation in which it is co-referential with the Gen DP *tis Marias*:

- (i) *Tis_j* *epese* *[to* *potiri* *[tu* *patera*
 3Sg.F.Gen.Cl fall.3Sg.Aor the.M.Sg.Acc glass the.M.Sg.Gen father.Gen
[tis *Marias]_i]*
 the.F.Sg.Gen Maria.Gen
 ‘She_j dropped Maria_i’s father’s glass.’

This example and example (196c) are based on example (37) in Dimitriadis (1999).

¹⁹⁰ ‘The goal oriented sense of the indirect object, together with the use of two accusatives after some verbs, encouraged overlaps between the dative and the accusative, and a tendency to replace datives with accusatives spread to other uses, most particularly in the case of clitic pronouns.’ (Horrocks 1997:66)

¹⁹¹ Note that the doubling-clitic always has to agree with the case of the doubled DP.

8.4 Clitic-doubling of “wh” words

Five Modern Greek “wh” words are relevant for clitic-doubling: the interrogatives *pjo* ‘who/which’, *poso* ‘how much/how many’, and *ti* ‘what/what kind’, and the relatives *opio* ‘who/which’ and *pu* ‘where/what/that’.¹⁹²

8.4.1 The “wh” words *pjo*, *poso* and *ti* (the latter with the meaning ‘what kind’) or the DP in which they function as modifiers can be clitic-doubled when they are referential/discourse linked or familiar and specific.

8.4.1.1 Iatridou (1990:27) gives distinct interpretations for the minimal pair in (199), noting that the contrast between (199a) and (199b) becomes especially crisp after a statement like ‘I scolded many people’:

- (199) a. *Posa* *pedhja* *ta* *maloses?*
 how-many.N.Pl children 3Pl.Acc.Cl scold.2Sg.Aor
 ‘Of the children already mentioned, how many of them did you scold?’
- b. *Posa* *pedhja* *maloses?*
 how-many.N.Pl children scold.2Sg.Aor
 ‘Of all the people that you scolded, how many were children?’

8.4.1.2 As shown by Stavrou (p.c.) D-linking renders clitic-doubling possible but not obligatory. In (200a-b) the DPs are discourse linked, whereas in (200c-d) they are not. All the sentences are well-formed, both with and without the doubling clitics.

- (200) a. *Pja* *epiloji* *tis* *i* *Maria*
 which.F.Sg choice 3Sg.F.Gen.Cl the.F.Sg Maria
(tin) *theori* *idietera* *epitiximeni?*
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl consider.3Sg particularly successful.F.Sg
 ‘Which (particular) choice of hers does Maria consider particularly successful?’
- b. *Pjon* *apo* *tus* *filus* *su*
 whom/which.M.Sg.Acc from the.M.Pl.Acc friends.Acc 2Sg.Gen.Cl
(ton) *katalavenis* *kalitera?*
 3Sg.M.Sg.Acc.Cl understand.2Sg better
 ‘Which (particular) friend of yours do you understand better?’
- c. *Pjon* *(ton)* *idhes?*
 whom/which.M.Sg.Acc 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.2Sg.Aor
 ‘Whom/which one did you see?’
- d. *Pjon* *(ton)* *thavi* *i* *kritiki?*
 whom/which.M.Sg.Acc 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl bury.3Pl the.Pl critics
 ‘Whom/which one do the critics bury?’

8.4.2 The invariant “wh” word *pu* functions as a general relativizer and as such often co-occurs with a resumptive clitic. Whether the occurrence of the resumptive clitic is possible and if possible, whether it is obligatory or optional, depends on the relativized element, but also seems to be a syntactic feature on which dialects differ.

¹⁹² *Pjo* ‘who/which’ and *poso* ‘how much/how many’ inflect for gender, number and case and function as pronouns and modifiers. *Ti* ‘what/what kind’ can also function as a pronoun (with the meaning ‘what’) and a modifier (with the meaning ‘what kind’ or ‘which’), but does not inflect. *Opio* ‘who/which’, which always co-occurs with a definite article, inflects for gender number and case, but occurs only as a pronoun. *Pu* ‘that’ is an invariant relative (*relativum generale*) and does not function as a modifier.

8.4.2.1 When *pu* relativizes an indirect object, the occurrence of the resumptive clitic is obligatory, regardless of whether the referent is definite or indefinite:

- (201) a. *To/ ena koritsi pu *(tu) edhosa*
 the.N.Sg a.N.Sg girl that 3Sg.N.Gen.Cl give.1Sg.Aor
to vivlio...
 the.N.Sg book
 'The/a girl to whom I have the book...'
- b. *O/ enas mathitis pu *(tu) eftiaksa*
 the.M.Sg a.M.Sg student that 3Sg.M.Gen.Cl make.1Sg.Aor
ena keik...
 a.N.Sg cake
 'The/a student for whom I baked a cake...'

8.4.2.2 When *pu* relativizes a direct object, the occurrence of the resumptive clitic is common and strongly preferred if the referent is indefinite:¹⁹³

- (202) a. *Ksero tin kopela pu (tin) zituses.*
 know.1Sg the.F.Sg.Acc girl that 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl ask-for.2Sg.Imperf
 'I know the girl that you were asking for.'
- b. *Aghorasa ena vivlio pu (to) dhiavasa*
 buy.1Sg.Aor a.N.Sg.Acc book that 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl read.1Sg.Aor
me megalo endhiaferon.
 with great.N.Sg interest.Acc
 'I bought a book that I read with great interest.'
- c. *Sistisa mia jineka pu *(ti) ghnorisa*
 introduce.1Sg.Aor a.F.Sg.Acc woman that 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl meet.1Sg.Aor
sto Parisi sto Jani xtes.
 in+the.M.Sg.Acc Paris to+the.M.Acc Janis.Acc yesterday
 'Yesterday, I introduced to Janis a woman that I met in Paris.'
- d. *Dhiavasa ena vivlio pu *(to) pira apo*
 read.1Sg.Aor a.N.Sg book that 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl got.1Sg.Aor from
ti vivliothiki.
 the.F.Sg.Acc library
 'I read a book that I got from the library.'

8.4.3 The inflecting "wh" relativizer *opio* 'who/which', which agrees in gender and number with the nominal it replaces, co-occurs with a doubling clitic only occasionally; in particular, in very

¹⁹³ Example (202a) is from Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton (1987:25). Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton also note that when *pu* relativizes elements that are possessives, as in (i), or are objects of comparison, as in (ii), it obligatorily co-occurs with a clitic:

- (i) *Ksero tin kopela pu vrikes to vivlio*
 know.1Sg the.F.Sg.Acc girl that find.2Sg.Aor the.M.Sg.Acc book
**(tis).*
 3Sg.F.Gen.Cl
 'I know the girl whose book you found.'
- (ii) *Ksero tin kopela pu ise meghaliteros *(tis).*
 know.1Sg the.F.Sg.Acc girl that be.2Sg bigger 3Sg.F.Gen.Cl
 'I know the girl that you are bigger than.'

long relative clauses (*cf.* Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton 1987:25). Thus, the doubling clitic is not allowed in (203a), but it is necessary in (203b):¹⁹⁴

- (203) a. *Ksero tin kopela tin opia(n)*
 know.1Sg the.F.Sg.Acc girl the.F.Acc whom.F.Acc
 (**tin*) *zituses.*
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl sought.2Sg.Imperf
 'I know the girl whom you were seeking.'
- b. *Dhen boro na vro to ftiari*
 not can.1Sg Subj.Mark.Cl find.1Sg the.N.Acc shovel
to opio ipe i Maria pos
 the.N.Sg.Acc which.N.Acc say.3Sg.Aor the.F.Sg Maria that
nomizi o Janis pos to evale konda
 think.3Sg the.M.Sg Janis that 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl put.3Sg.Aor near
stin porta.
 to+the.F.Acc door
 'I can't find the shovel which Maria said that Janis thinks he put near the door.'

8.5 Clitic-doubling in coordinate structures

8.5.1 If there are two coordinated direct object DPs, the doubling clitic can be neuter plural if both DPs are neuter, feminine plural if both DPs are feminine; and masculine plural for all other coordinate structures (*cf.* Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton 1987:189):

- (204) a. *Ta aghorases to forema ke*
 3Pl.N.Acc.Cl buy.2Sg.Aor the.N.Sg.Acc dress and
to palto pu itheles?
 the.N.Sg.Acc coat that wanted.2Sg.Imperf
 'Did you buy the dress and the coat that you wanted?'
- b. *Tis sinandises ti Maria ke*
 3Pl.F.Acc.Cl meet.2Sg.Aor the.F.Sg.Acc Maria and
tin Eleni?
 the.F.Sg.Acc Eleni
 'Did you meet Maria and Eleni?'
- c. *Tus idhes ti Maria ke*
 3Pl.M.Acc.Cl see.2Sg.Aor the.F.Sg.Acc Maria and
to Jani?
 the.M.Sg.Acc Janis.Acc
 'Did you meet Maria and Janis?'

8.5.2 It is, however, much more common for the clitic to agree only with the first member of the coordinate structure:¹⁹⁵

- (205) a. *To aghorases to forema ke*
 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl buy.2Sg.Aor the.N.Sg.Acc dress and

¹⁹⁴ The examples are from Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton (1987:24-25). Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton, however, note that some speakers would use the doubling clitic in examples such as (203a).

¹⁹⁵ Plural doubling clitics as in (204) are more appropriate under two conditions: (i) if there is another clause following, where the coordinated constructions function as a subject and, as a consequence, the verb of the following sentence indicates plural subject agreement or (ii) if the next sentence contains a plural pronoun referring back to the coordinated structure.

- tin* *bluza pu* *itheles?*
the.F.Sg.Acc blouse that wanted.2Sg.Imperf
'Did you buy the dress and the coat that you wanted?'
- b. *Ti* *sinandises* *ti* *Maria ke* *ton*
3Sg.F.Acc.Cl meet.2Sg.Aor the.F.Sg.Acc Maria and the.M.Sg.Acc
Jorgho?
Jorgos.Acc
'Did you meet Maria and Jorghos?'
- c. *Tin* *idhes* *ti* *Maria* *ke*
3Sg.F.Acc.Cl see.2Sg.Aor the.F.Sg.Acc Maria and
to *Jani?*
the.M.Sg.Acc Janis.Acc
'Did you see Maria and Janis?'

9. Arli Balkan Romani

The Arli Balkan Romani clausal clitic system includes a set of pronominal clitics, the subjunctive marker *te*,¹⁹⁶ the expectative modal clitic *ka*¹⁹⁷ and the conditional modal clitic *bi*. The clitics do not occur in clusters. The indicative negation marker *na* and the modal negation marker *ma* are always next to the subjunctive marker, but they are stressed and host the subjunctive marker.¹⁹⁸ Clitic-doubling is predominately used for emphasis.

9.1 Arli pronominal clitics

9.1.1 The pronominal clitics are given in Table 17:¹⁹⁹

	Sg	Pl
1 st	<i>ma</i>	-
2 nd	<i>tu</i>	-
3 rd M	<i>le</i>	<i>len</i>
3 rd F	<i>la</i>	~-
Refl	=== <i>pe</i> ===	

9.1.2 Though formally related to the Acc forms of corresponding personal pronouns, the personal pronominal clitics are used in both direct and indirect object positions. Examples:

¹⁹⁶ The subjunctive marker is discussed in the section on Arli Balkan Romani (section 10) in the chapter “Infinitives and Subjunctives”.

¹⁹⁷ The expectative modal clitic *ka* is used in the formation of the future tense. Cf. 10.8 in the chapter “Infinitives and Subjunctives.”

¹⁹⁸ In Arli, subjunctive clauses can be negated either by the indicative negation marker *na* to the right of the subjunctive marker, or by the modal negation marker *ma* to its left. In the former case the subjunctive marker procliticises to the negation marker, in the latter it encliticises to it:

- (i) *Vakergjum* *leske* *ma* ← *te* *drabarel.*
tell.1Sg.Past him.Dat not.Mod Subj.Mark read.3Sg
- (ii) *Vakergjum* *leske* *te* → *na* *drabarel.*
tell.1Sg.Past him.Dat Subj.Mark not read.2Sg
- ‘I told him not to read.’

¹⁹⁹ There are no clitic forms for 1st and 2nd person plural.

- (206) a. *Dengja ma o lil.*
 give.3Sg.Past 1Sg.Cl the.M.Sg book
 ‘(S)he gave me the book.’
- b. *Dikhlja ma.*
 see.3Sg.Past 1Sg.Cl
 ‘(S)he saw me.’

9.1.3 All the pronominal clitics occur to the right of the verb, whether in indicative contexts as in (206), or in imperative contexts as in (207):

- (207) a. *De ma le!*
 give.2Sg.Imper 1Sg.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
 ‘Give it to me!’
- b. *Ma de le mangje!*
 not.Mod give.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.M.Sg.Cl 1Sg.Dat.Pron
 ‘Don’t give it to me!’

9.2 Clitic-doubling

9.2.1 In emphatic environments, (full) pronominal Acc and Dat forms are doubled by pronominal clitics, whether or not topicalized:

- (208) a. *Diklja men amen.*
 see.3Sg.Past 1Pl.Acc.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Pron
 ‘(S)he did see us.’
- b. *Dengja le o lil (o)leske.*
 give.3Sg.Past 3Sg.M.Cl the.M.Sg book 3Sg.Dat.Pron
 ‘(S)he did give the book to him.’
- c. *Mangje dengja ma o lil!*
 1Sg.Dat.Pron give.3Sg.Past 1Sg.Cl the.M.Sg book
 ‘(S)he gave the book to ME (not to anybody else)!’
- d. *Man ma hemin ma ko*
 1Sg.Acc.Pron not.Mod mix.2Sg.Imper 1Sg.Cl in+the.M.Sg
asavke bukja!
 such.Pl things
 ‘Don’t mix ME with such things!’

9.2.2 Clitic forms double direct objects of the impersonal verbs *isi* ‘be’, its past tense counterpart *sine*, and the negative verb *na(n)e* ‘not+be’, when they denote possession:²⁰⁰

- (209) a. *Man isi ma jekh kher.*
 1Sg.Acc.Pron be.3Pres 1Sg.Cl a house
 ‘I have a house.’ (lit. ‘To me is a house.’)
- b. *Jekhe daja isi la duje čhaven.*
 a.Obl mother.Acc be.3Pres 3Sg.F.Cl two children.Acc
 ‘A mother has two children.’ (lit. ‘To a mother are two children.’)

²⁰⁰ Examples (209d-e) are from Bajrami Severjan’s translation of a page of Hemingway’s novel “The Old Man and the Sea”. (cf. Appendix Two).

The Arli “be” auxiliary *isi* makes person, but no tense distinctions in the first and second person, and present vs. past tense, but no number distinctions in the third person (cf. 10.1 in the chapter “The Perfect and the Evidential”).

- c. *Jekhe daja sine la duje čhaven.*
a.Obl mother.Acc be.Impers.Past 3Sg.F.Cl two children.Acc
‘A mother had two children.’ (lit. ‘To a mother were two children.’)
- d. *E bale na(n)e le doborom*
the.Obl pig.M.Sg.Acc not+be.3Pres 3Sg.M.Cl much
buvlo muj.
big mouth
‘The pig doesn’t have a very big mouth.’ (lit. ‘To the pig is not very big mouth.’)
- e. *E džukele sine le muj sar lopata.*
the.M dog.Acc be.Impers.Past 3Sg.M.Cl mouth like shovel.
‘The dog had a mouth like a shovel.’ (lit. ‘To the dog was a mouth like a shovel.’)

9.2.3 Definite non-focused direct objects can also be clitic-doubled.²⁰¹

- (210) a. *O Cirko DIKLJA la i Merita!*
the.M.Sg Cirko see.3Sg.Past 3Sg.F.Cl the.F.Sg Merita
‘Cirko did see Merita!’
- b. *I Merita DENGJA le o lil*
the.F.Sg.Nom Merita give.3Sg.Past 3Sg.M.Cl the.M.Sg book
jekhe čhaveske!
a.Obl man.Dat
‘Merita did give the book to a man!’
- c. *O melalo pani na piena le NI*
the.M dirty water not drink.3Pl 3Sg.M.Cl neither
DŽUKELE.
dogs
‘Even dogs do not drink the dirty water.’

²⁰¹ Note that the doubled DP is not focused. In (210a-b) the predicate is focused; in (210c) the object is focused, while the doubled DP is in a topic position in the Left Periphery.

Chapter Five

THE PERFECT AND THE EVIDENTIAL

The Proto-Indo-European tense system made a distinction between the aorist – referring to events that had been completed before the moment of speaking, the imperfect – referring to events that lasted for a given period of time before the moment of speaking, and a synthetic perfect – referring to events that occurred in the past, but are relevant at the moment of speaking. Subsequently, an analytic perfect developed, which, throughout Europe and especially in its central parts, has been ousting out the other past tenses and taking over their functions. In the Balkans, however, the analytic perfect, with functions distinct from the aorist and the imperfect, coexists with the latter two tenses, though the spread and use of these tenses and their interrelationship are different in different Balkan languages.

Extending Sedláček's (1958:68-69) analysis of the relationship of the aorist and the perfect on the Balkans, Asenova (2002:269-274) establishes four zones with respect to the spread of the analytic perfect in the area. In the northern zone, comprising most of the Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian and Romanian dialects, the perfect has almost ousted out the use of the other past tenses. In a "transitory" zone, including the Northern Geg Albanian, the South-Eastern Serbian and some Eastern Bulgarian and Eastern Romanian dialects, the perfect prevails, though the aorist is still in use. In the central zone, comprising the majority of the Bulgarian dialect, as well as the Eastern and Northern Macedonian dialects, the perfect is as much used as the synthetic past tenses. In the southern zone, comprising all the Greek dialects, the Tosk Albanian dialects, the Southern Macedonian dialects and all the Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian dialects, the perfect is sparingly used. Speaking in general, the perfect is (almost) the only past tense in the very north of the peninsula and is (almost) non-existent in its southernmost fringes. Asenova's southern zone should however, be reconsidered: most of the Northern Greek and Southern Tosk Albanian dialects, Aromanian, Megleno-Romanian and most of the Southern Macedonian dialects do use the forms of the perfect as frequently as those of the other past tense(s),¹ though their uses differ from those of the perfect in Bulgarian and Northern Albanian.

In Bulgarian, the Proto-Indo-European distinction between the aorist and the imperfect has been preserved and the forms of these tenses are used along the forms of the "be" perfect, which has retained its original general Slavic function of referring to events that have occurred in the past, but are relevant at the moment of speaking,² while acquiring a new modal function. In the Eastern

¹ In the the South-Western Macedonian dialects of Bitola and Resen and in the Macedonian dialects in Kostur (Kastoria) in Northern Greece and Korça (Korçë) in Southern Albania there are no "be" perfects.

² This perfect is witnessed already in Old Church Slavonic, though its use has subsequently increased. In Middle Bulgarian it was used for the expression of resultativeness, and in emotionally coloured expressions (*cf.* Dejanova 1966:148-149).

Macedonian dialects, the fate of the perfect is analogous to that in Bulgarian. As one moves westwards in the Macedonian-speaking territory, however, the use of the exponents of the common Slavic “be” perfect become increasingly restricted to marking the new modal, while a new “have” perfect takes over the function of referring to events that have occurred in the past, but are relevant at the moment of speaking. In Albanian, in Tosk Albanian specifically, alongside active and medio-passive aorist and imperfect forms, we have active and medio-passive present, past and pluperfects, formally and functionally distinct from sets of forms marking the new modal category, which have actually developed from inverted perfects. In Megleno-Romanian, both the synthetic past tenses – aorist and imperfect – and the perfect are active and there is an inverted perfect with modal functions, while in Aromanian we have aorist, imperfect and perfect, but the new modal category is, generally speaking, not grammaticalized.

In South Slavic, as in Slavic in general, the perfect is traditionally constructed with forms of the “be” auxiliary, plus a kind of active participle that agrees in number and gender with the subject of the clause, to which we refer as *l*-participle.³ In Modern Greek, there are two types of constructions functioning as perfects: (a) constructions in which the present or past forms of the “have” auxiliary associate with the invariable perfect participle and (b) constructions in which the present or past forms of the “have” auxiliary associate with inflecting passive participles (*cf.* 9.1). Albanian has (a) active perfects, constructed by forms of the “have” auxiliary, plus invariant past participles of intransitive or transitive verbs, and (b) medio-passive perfects, constructed by forms of the “be” auxiliary, plus invariant participles of exclusively intransitive verbs (*cf.* 7.1). In the Balkan Romance languages, in addition to the “have” perfects, there are perfects constructed by forms of the “be” auxiliary, plus inflecting passive participles (*cf.* 4.1, 4.3, 5.1, 5.6, 6.1, 6.4). In the South-Western Macedonian dialects, which have been in close contact with Modern Greek, Albanian and Aromanian, two new types of perfects have developed (and spread in other dialects, including the standard dialect) – one with forms of the “have” auxiliary, plus invariant past participles of transitive or intransitive verbs, and another with forms of the “be” auxiliary, plus inflecting passive participles of predominately intransitive verbs;⁴ while the constructions of the common Slavic perfect – forms of the “be” auxiliary plus forms of the *l*-participle, have become exponents of the above mentioned modal category.⁵ The constructions with “have” auxiliaries, plus

³ The label reflects the fact that the phoneme *l* is present in all the suffixes of the participle: *-l* for M.Sg, *-la* for F.Sg, *-lo* for N.Sg and *-li* or *-le* for plural. (In Bulgarian the plural ending is *-li*, in Macedonian *-le*, while in Serbo-Croatian *-li* is used for masculine and neuter gender, and *-le* for feminine gender.) The *l*-participle appears already in Proto-Slavonic, though in Old Church Slavonic its use was restricted to direct speech (*cf.* Lindstedt 1994:33).

⁴ Perfects in which the “be” auxiliary is associated with inflecting passive participles of transitive verbs are also encountered with some verbs in some Macedonian dialects (*cf.* 1.4).

⁵ Note that in most Bulgarian dialects, as well as in the Northern and Eastern Macedonian dialects, the “be” perfect has both the meanings associated with the perfect and those associated with the new modal category. In this connection, note that in many languages the perfect is associated with modal functions. Lindstedt (1994:45), referring to Weinrich (1964) and Haugen (1987), points out that in German and the Scandinavian languages, the perfect is associated with inferentiality.

participles of transitive verbs, are used as exponents of the perfect of result, in which a present state is referred to as being the result of some past situation (*cf.* Comrie 1976:56), or as exponents of the experiential perfect, which indicates that a given situation has held at least once during some time in the past leading up to the present (*cf.* Comrie 1976:38). The constructions with “have” auxiliaries, plus inflecting participles of intransitive verbs, are used as exponents of the experiential perfect or the perfect of result of transitive verbs, while the constructions with “be” auxiliaries, plus inflecting passive participles (of mainly intransitive verbs), are used as exponents of the perfect of result of intransitive verbs (*cf.* 1.4 and 1.5).

The situation in Bulgarian and Macedonian is complicated by the fact that, in addition to the distinction between the aorist and imperfect tenses, there is a distinction between the perfective and imperfective verb bases on all temporal planes, so that on the past plane there are two aspectual oppositions operating simultaneously. While the aorist is used when the situation referred to is bounded temporally, the perfective base is used only if the bound is not only temporal but is materially defined by the type of the action (*cf.* Lindstedt 2000b). In Macedonian, where the aorist forms are disappearing, the conflict between the temporal and aspectual oppositions has in many cases been resolved by using the imperfect when the bounding is temporal, so that we practically have one single past tense with two aspectual distinctions. Similar “adjustments” have been done in Modern Greek, so that in both Macedonian and Modern Greek, instead of the aorist versus the imperfect, one can speak of perfective versus imperfective past tense (*cf.* 1.1 and 9.1 in the chapter “Infinitives and Subjunctives”).

In both Macedonian and Bulgarian, the exponents of the perfect are also used as exponents of the new modal category, while in Albanian and Megleno-Romanian, distinct markers for this category, based on the perfect, have been developed. Various linguists have been giving different names to this category and have differed in defining it (for details *cf.* Friedman 2004:102-104). Bulgarian grammars list distinct paradigms that describe “unwitnessed events” (*cf.* BAN 1982-83; Bojadžiev, Kucarov, Penčev 1999), whereas Albanian grammars name a series of paradigmatic sets that have developed from the perfect, but have distinct usage, *habitore*, from *habi* ‘surprise’ (*cf.* Newmark, Hubbard and Prifti 1982). However, the term “unwitnessed” does not cover all the uses that the listed forms have in that language (*cf.* 2.3), just as ‘surprise’ is not the only meaning that the Albanian *habitore* paradigms impart (*cf.* 7.4). Following Friedman (2004:103), I adopt the term “evidentiality” and define the new modal category as a modal category that expresses “the subjective relationship of the participant in the speech event to the narrated event”.⁶

⁶ Friedman (2004:103) points out that this definition was provided by Jacobsen (1986:5), remarking that it reflects Aronson’s (1977:14) insights (though Aronson used the term “status”). According to Friedman, the Balkan evidentials developed under the influence of Turkish. “The geographic distribution of evidentiality in Balkan Slavic argues for a sociolinguistically based explanation for the spread of the phenomenon from South-Western Macedonia (together with the imperfect *l*-participle and the “have” perfect) and Eastern Bulgaria (together with the imperfect *l*-participle and the reinterpretation of auxiliary omission). That is, regions with heavy concentrations of Turkish-speakers in urban centers served as sources of innovation. The spread of the Albanian admirative northward and southward from a heavily

1. Macedonian

Within the Macedonian standard code, two verb subsystems intersect. Subsystem (A) has a (simple) past tense (with distinct paradigms for perfective and imperfective verbs) and “be” present and past perfects used to express resultativeness and experience, as well as evidentiality. Subsystem (B) has (a) a simple past tense (with distinct paradigms for perfective and imperfective verbs), “be” present and past perfects with inflecting (for gender and number) passive participles, used exclusively to express evidentiality, (b) “have” present and past perfects with invariant past participles, which express resultativeness and experience, and (c) “be” perfects with inflecting passive participles, used to express resultativeness (*cf.* Tomić 1991). While, in the South-Western dialects of Ohrid and Struga only the (B) system operates, and in the Eastern Macedonian dialects only the (A) system is used, in most Western and Central dialects, as well as in Standard Macedonian, the two systems intersect.⁷

The opposition between the aorist and the imperfect has in Macedonian been transformed into an aspectual distinction through an elimination of tense forms when their most expected meaning conflicted with their aspect. Thus, the imperfective forms of the aorist are hardly in use,⁸ while the

Turkish-influenced urbanized center looks quite similar.” (*cf.* Friedman 2004:124-125). Referring to Akan (2000) Friedman points out that Turkish functioned as a marker of urban identity.

Note that Turkish is part of a larger Turkic complex in which evidential meaning is always grammatically encoded, utilizing different material in different languages. The Balkan Slavic and Albanian evidentials show conceptual convergence with Turkish – calquing of new meaning onto existing material. In Farsheriote Aromanian we have an example of borrowing the meaning of evidentiality via new material (*cf.* 6.5).

⁷ Note that in the South-Western Macedonian dialects of Bitola and Resen and in the Macedonian dialects in Kostur (Kastoria) in Northern Greece and Korča (Korçë) in Southern Albania, the category of evidentiality is not grammaticalized. The latter dialects do not even have *l*-participles.

⁸ Imperfective aorist forms are used relatively more frequently in the South-Western dialects. Examples:

- (i) %*I* *jas* *piv* *od* *vinoto*.
 and I drink.3Sg.Imperf.Aor from wine+the.N.Sg
 ‘I drank from the wine, too.’
- (ii) %*Koj* *tka* *včera?*
 who weave.3Sg.Imperf.Aor yesterday
 ‘Who was weaving yesterday?’
- (iii) %*Go* *miv*, *ama* *ne* *go* *izmiv*.
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl wash.1Sg.Imperf.Aor but not 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl wash.3Sg.Perf.Aor
 ‘I was washing it but did not wash it clean.’

In Standard Macedonian, the imperfective aorist is used only in certain set expressions, such as (iv):

- (iv) *Vika*, *vika*, *dovika*.
 cry.3Sg.Imperf.Aor cry.3Sg.Imperf.Aor stop crying.3Sg.Perf.Aor
 ‘(S)he cried, cried and finally stopped crying.’

imperfective forms of the perfective verbs are used only in modal contexts and can actually be treated as modal forms.⁹

1.1 Forms of the “be” and “have” present and past perfect

1.1.1 The “be” present perfect for 1st and 2nd person, singular or plural, employs the present tense forms of the “be” auxiliary, plus *l*-participles that inflect for (masculine, feminine or neuter) gender and (singular or plural) number.¹⁰ In the third person, however, there is no auxiliary, the “be” perfect being represented solely by the *l*-participle.¹¹

Many verbs with *i* and *e* bases have kept their imperfect and aorist forms. I am listing below the imperfect and aorist paradigms for the verbs *dava* ‘give’, and *bere* ‘gather’. (Note that the citation form of the Macedonian lexical verbs is the third person singular form.)

Imperfect and aorist forms of the Macedonian verbs <i>dava</i> ‘give’ and <i>bere</i> ‘gather’				
<i>dava</i> ‘give’				
	Imperfect		Aorist	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>davav</i>	<i>davavme</i>	<i>dadov</i>	<i>dadovme</i>
2 nd	<i>davaše</i>	<i>davavte</i>	<i>dade</i>	<i>dadovte</i>
3 rd	-"-	<i>davaa</i>	-"-	<i>dadoa</i>
<i>bere</i> ‘gather’				
	Imperfect		Aorist	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>berev</i>	<i>berevme</i>	<i>brav</i>	<i>bravme</i>
2 nd	<i>bereše</i>	<i>berevte</i>	<i>bra</i>	<i>bravte</i>
3 rd	-"-	<i>berea</i>	-"-	<i>braa</i>

The forms of the imperfect are, however, most often treated as imperfective past tense forms, whereas the forms of the aorist are treated as perfective past tense forms.

Some aorist forms have been “adapted” to fit the aspectual distinction. Thus, instead of the old aorist form *pisav* ‘write.1Sg.Aor’, derived from an aorist base, in Standard Macedonian we have *pišav* ‘write.1Sg.Perf.Past’, derived from a present base, and in aspectual opposition with the derived imperfective past tense form *pišuvav* ‘write.1Sg.Imperf.Past’. (Note that the form *pisav* is still used in some dialects, e.g. in the dialect of Ohrid.)

By comparing Sanskrit and Greek, Darden (2001) has come to the conclusion that Macedonian has developed a system which, in the use of aspect in the indicative is essentially identical to the Indo-European system reconstructed before the discovery of Hittite.

⁹ Accordingly, the imperfective forms of the perfect can be treated both as archaisms and as innovations. The modal use of these forms is discussed in the chapter “Infinitives and Subjunctives.”

¹⁰ Some verbs in some dialects make a distinction between aorist and imperfect *l*-participles. The forms of the aorist *l*-participles are a continuation of the original Slavic active past participles, which were formed by adding the suffixes *-lā* for M.Sg, *-la* for F.Sg, *-lo* for N.Sg, *-ly* for all persons plural, to infinitival bases. The imperfect *l*-participles are innovations constructed by adding to present bases the suffixes *-l* for M.Sg, *-la* for F.Sg, *-lo* for N.Sg, *-li* for all persons plural. Examples:

- (i)

jal
eaten.M.Sg.Aor./-Part

jadel
eaten.M.Sg.Imperf./-Part
- (ii)

spal
slept.M.Sg.Aor./-Part

spiel
slept.M.Sg.Imperf./-Part

Some perfective verbs, however, exhibit another distinction: *l*-participles with aorist bases, which are used in indicative (evidential) contexts, versus *l*-participles with present bases, which are used in subjunctive contexts. Examples:

- (iii)

došol
come.M.Sg./-Part

dojdel
come.M.Sg.Subj./-Part
- (iv)

našol
found.M.Sg./-Part

najdel
found.M.Sg.Subj./-Parte

There is, however, a tendency of extinguishing the distinction between the two types. In the speech of the Skopje youth, the forms *dojdel* and *najdel* do not exist, *došol* and *našol* being used in any context.

Forms of the Macedonian *l*-participles of the verbs *doaga* ‘come’ and *naoĝa* ‘find’ derived from aorist bases

	<i>doaga</i> ‘come’	<i>naoĝa</i> ‘find’
M.Sg	<i>došol</i>	<i>našol</i>
F.Sg	<i>došla</i>	<i>našla</i>
N.Sg	<i>došlo</i>	<i>našlo</i>
Pl	<i>došle</i>	<i>našle</i>

¹¹ Note that the third person “be” auxiliaries are used as copulas in clauses with nominal predicates, as well as in clauses in which the “be” auxiliary is followed by passive participles (which are marked by the suffixes *-n/-t* for M.Sg, *-na/-ta* for F.Sg, *-no/-to* for N.Sg, *-ni/-ti* for all persons plural; cf. footnote 24). Examples:

- (i)

Petko
Petko

mi
1Sg.Dat.Cl

e
be.3Sg

tatko.
father

‘Petko is my father.’
- (i)'

Tie
they

mi
1Sg.Dat.Cl

se
be.3Pl

sestri.
sisters

‘They are my sisters.’
- (ii)

Petko
Petko

e
be.3Sg

dobar.
good.M.Sg

‘Petko is a good man.’ (lit. ‘Petko is good.’)
- (ii)'

Ovie
these

devojki
girls

se
be.3Pl

mnogu
very

ubavi.
beautiful.Pl

‘These girls are very beautiful.’
- (iii)

Petko
Petko

e
be.3Sg

veke
already

dojden.
come.M.Sg.Pass.Part

‘Petko has already come.’
- (iii)'

Ovie
these

pantoloni
trousers

se
be.3Pl

skinati.
torn-out.Pl.Pass.Part

‘These trousers are torn out.’

1.1.1.1 The present tense forms of the “be” auxiliary are as follows:

Table 1: Present tense forms of the Macedonian auxiliary *sum*¹² ‘be’

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>sum</i>	<i>sme</i>
2 nd	<i>si</i>	<i>ste</i>
3 rd	<i>e</i>	<i>se</i>

1.1.1.2 The “be” present perfect of the verb *čita* ‘read’ is as follows:

Table 2: “Be” present perfect of the Macedonian lexical verb *čita* ‘read’

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>sum čital/la/lo</i>	<i>sme čitale</i>
2 nd	<i>si čital/la/lo</i>	<i>ste čitale</i>
3 rd	<i>čital/la/lo</i>	<i>čitale</i>

1.1.2 The “be” past perfect is constructed with past tense forms of the “be” auxiliary, plus *l*-participles.

1.1.2.1 The past tense forms of the “be” auxiliary are as follows:¹³

Table 3: Past tense forms of the Macedonian auxiliary *sum* ‘be’

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>bev</i>	<i>bevme</i>
2 nd	<i>beše</i>	<i>bevte</i>
3 rd	<i>beše</i>	<i>bea</i>

1.1.2.2 The past perfect tense of the verb *čita* ‘read’ is given in Table 4:

Table 4: Past perfect of the Macedonian lexical verb *čita* ‘read’¹⁴

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>bev čital</i>	<i>bevme čitale</i>
2 nd	<i>beše -"-</i>	<i>bevte -"-</i>
3 rd	<i>beše -"-</i>	<i>bea -"-</i>

¹² The citation form of the Macedonian “be” auxiliary is the 1st person singular form.

¹³ The present and past tense forms of the “be” auxiliary are formed from different bases.

¹⁴ Only the masculine forms of the participles are given.

¹⁵ This form of the past participle is equivalent to the third person neuter gender forms of the passive participles.

1.1.3 The “have” present and past perfects employ the invariable past participle ending on the suffix *-no*.¹⁵ In the present perfect, this participle combines with the present tense forms of the auxiliary *ima* ‘have’ or its negated counterpart *nema* ‘not+have’, whereas in the past perfect it combines with the past tense forms of these auxiliaries.

1.1.3.1 The present and past tense forms of the “have” auxiliary and its negated counterpart are equivalent to the corresponding forms of the lexical verb *ima* ‘have’ or *nema* ‘have+not’, respectively. They are given in Table 5:

Table 5: Present and past tenses of the Macedonian verbs *ima* ‘have’ and *nema* ‘not+have’

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

1.1.3.2 The present and past “have” perfect tenses of the verb *čita* ‘read’ are presented in Table 6:

Table 6: Present and past perfect tenses of the Macedonian lexical verb *čita* ‘read’

	Present Perfect			
	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>imam/nemam</i>	<i>čitano</i>	<i>imame/nemame</i>	<i>čitano</i>
2 nd	<i>imaš/nemaš</i>	-"-	<i>imate/nemate</i>	-"-
3 rd	<i>ima/nema</i>	-"-	<i>imaat/nemaat</i>	-"-
	Past Perfect			
	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>imav/nemav</i>	<i>čitano</i>	<i>imavme/nemavme</i>	<i>čitano</i>
2 nd	<i>imaše/nemaše</i>	-"-	<i>imavte/nemavte</i>	-"-
3 rd	-"-	-"-	<i>imaa/nemaa</i>	-"-

1.2 Use of the “be” perfect in subsystem (A)

In subsystem (A), the “be” perfect is an exponent of the perfect as well as an exponent of evidentiality.

1.2.1 As an exponent of the perfect, the “be” perfect expresses events that had taken place at an indefinite point of time in the past, but are relevant at the moment of speaking:¹⁶

¹⁶ In the Northern dialects, which border with Southern Serbian dialects, the “be” perfect can also be used to refer to events that had occurred at a given point of time in the past, i.e. it can be used in environments in which the synthetic past tense is used:

- (1) a. *Ne sum go videla od ponedelnikot.*
 not be.1Sg 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl seen.F.Sg./-Part from Monday+the.M.Sg
 ‘I haven’t seen him since Monday.’
- b. *Koga go vidov se setiv*
 when 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Perf.Past Acc.Refl.Cl remember.1Sg.Perf.Past
deka ne sum mu ja vratil
 that not be.1Sg 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl returned.M.Sg./-Part
knigata.
 book+the.F.Sg
 ‘When I saw him, I remembered that I hadn’t returned the book to him.’
- c. *Sum došla da si pozboruvame.*
 be.1Sg come.F.Sg./-Part Subj.Mark Dat.Ref.Cl talk.1Pl.Repet
 ‘I have come to have a word with you.’ (lit. I have come for us to talk to each other.)

1.2.2 As an exponent of evidentiality, the “be” perfect has all the functions that it has in the subsystem (B), where the forms of the “be” perfect are exponents of the category of evidentiality exclusively.¹⁷

-
- (i) *%Sum došol včera.*
 be.1Sg come.1Sg./-Part yesterday
 ‘I came yesterday.’

In the other dialects, including the standard one, events that had taken place at a given moment in the past are exclusively denoted by the (perfective or imperfective) past tense:

- (ii) *Starecot go izbriša sečivoto od*
 old-man+the.M.Sg 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl wipe.3Sg.Perf.Past blade+the.Neut.Sg from
nožot.
 knife+the.M.Sg
 ‘The old man wiped out the blade of his knife.’
- (iii) *Starecot go briše sečivoto od*
 old man+the.M.Sg 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl wipe.3Sg.Imperf.Past blade+the.Neut.Sg from
nožot.
 knife+the.M.Sg
 ‘The old man was wiping the blade of his knife.’

Example (ii) is from Duško Crvenkovski and Save Cvetanovski’s translation of Hemingway’s novel “The Old Man and the Sea” (cf. the Macedonian text in Appendix Two).

¹⁷ These functions are discussed in 1.6 below.

1.3 Use of the “be” past perfect

Prototypically, the past perfect denotes a past event that has taken place before another event in the past (as in 2a). Nowadays, it is increasingly used to denote remote pastness, as in story telling (cf. 2b).¹⁸

- (2) a. *Koga toj dojde, nie veke bevme*
 when he come.3Sg.Perf.Past we already be.1Pl.Past
završile so jadenjeto.
 finished.1Pl./Part with eating+the.N.Sg
 ‘When he came, we had already finished eating.’
- b. *Koga si trgnaa gostite, beše*
 when Acc.Refl.Cl set-off.3Pl.Imperf.Past guests+the.Pl be.1Sg.Past
bilo kako što saka tie.
 been.N.Sg./Part as what want.3Pl.Imperf.Past they
 ‘When the guests set off, things were as they wanted.’ (lit. ‘When the guests set off, it had been as they wanted.’)

1.4 Use of the “have” perfects

The Macedonian “have” perfects combine aspect and tense. Their use increases as one moves westwards in the Macedonian-speaking territory and is most intense in the South-Western Macedonian dialects.¹⁹

¹⁸ Mindak (1988) notes that in the famous Cepenkov’s 19th century collections of folk tales, the “be” past perfect denotes changes of situation important in story-telling.

¹⁹ In the South-Western Macedonian dialects of Ohrid and Struga, “have” perfects are constructed even from the verbs *ima* ‘have’ and *sum* ‘be’:

- (i) %*Imam imano vakov fustan.*
 have.1Sg had.Past.Part such.M.Sg dress
 ‘I have had a dress like this one.’
- (ii) %*Imam bideno vo ovoj grad.*
 have.1Sg been.Past.Part in this.M.Sg town
 ‘I have been in this town.’

The Prilep (West-Central) dialect uses a perfect which is intermediary between the “be” perfect of the Eastern dialects and the “have” perfect of the Western dialects. As observed in (i), in this perfect, forms of the “be” auxiliary are followed by the invariant past participle, which is characteristic for the “have” perfect:

- (iii) %*Ne ti je Stojan umreno.*
 not 2Sg.Eth.Dat be.3Sg Stojan.M.Sg died.Past.Part
 ‘Your Stojan has not died.’

In some Kičevo (West-Central) dialects, as reported by Koneski (1986:171), the older “have” perfect forms with inflecting passive participles are preserved:

1.4.1 With transitive and unergative verbs, the “have” perfects may have experiential or resultative reading.²⁰ In the case of the present perfect, resultativeness relates to the moment of speaking, while in the case of the past perfect it relates to a past moment.²¹

1.4.1.1 The “have” present perfect and “have” past perfect with experiential readings are illustrated in (3):

- (3) a. *Nikogaš go nemam videno*
 never 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl not+have.1Sg seen.Perf.Past.Part
nasmean.
 smiling.M.Sg.Pass.Part
 ‘I have never seen him smiling.’
- b. *Koga go vidov se setiv*
 when 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Perf.Past Acc.Refl.Cl remember.1Sg.Perf.Past
deka poveke pati go imav sretnato
 that more times 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl have.1Sg.Past met.Perf.Past.Part
na istoto mesto.
 on same+the.N.Sg place
 ‘When I saw him, I remembered that I had met him more than once at the same place.’

1.4.1.2 The “have” present perfect and “have” past perfect with resultative readings are illustrated in (4):

- (4) a. *Sè ušte ja nemam pročitano knjigata.*
 still 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl not+have.1Sg read.Perf.Past.Part book+the.F.Sg
 ‘I haven’t yet finished reading the book.’
- b. *Koga ti dojde toj veke ja*
 when you come.3Sg.Perf.Past he already 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl

-
- (iv) %*Edna kuća što imat najdena epten uba.*
 a.F.Sg house what have.3Sg found.F.Sg.Pass.Part extremely beautiful
 ‘(S)he has found an extremely beautiful house.’ (lit. ‘A house which (s)he has found extremely beautiful.’)

In the south-westernmost Macedonian dialects (in North-Western Greece) there are no “be” perfect forms and the “have” perfect has taken over many of its functions.

²⁰ The difference between the two readings can be established through context or through the presence of adverbs or adverbial expressions. Thus, *nikogaš* ‘never’ and *poveke pati* ‘more than once/often’ signal the experiential reading in (3), while *sè ušte* ‘still’ and *veke* ‘already’ signal the resultative reading in (4).

²¹ Note, however, that in the past perfect, the anteriority reading is often stronger than the resultative one.

imaše pročitano knjiga.
 have.3Sg.Past read.Perf.Past.Part book+the.F.Sg
 ‘When you came, he had already finished reading the book.’

1.4.2 With unaccusative (intransitive) verbs, the “have” perfects have only experiential readings:

- (5) a. *Imam dojdeno ovde poveke pati.*
 have.1Sg come.Perf.Past.Part here more times
 ‘I have come here more than once.’
- b. *Go znaev patot. Imav*
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl know.1Sg.Imperf.Past way+the.M.Sg have.1Sg.Past
otideno тамо повеке pati.
 gone.Perf.Past.Part there more times
 ‘I knew the way. I had gone there more than once.’

1.4.3 The “have” present perfect and “have” past perfect combine with the invariable modal clitic *će* ‘will’, to yield complex structures that feature modality, aspect and tense and are traditionally referred to as “future perfect”, if *ima* ‘have’ is in the present tense, and “future perfect-in-the-past”, if *ima* ‘have’ is in the past tense:

- (6) a. *Do utre napladne će go imame*
 till tomorrow at noon will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl have.1Pl
završeno proektot.
 finished.Perf.Past.Part project+the.M.Sg
 ‘Till tomorrow at noon we will have finished the project.’
- b. *Ako ne dojdete će go*
 if not come.2Pl.Subj.Past will.Mod.Cl it.Acc.Cl
imavme završeno proektot.
 have.1Pl.Past finished.Perf.Past.Part project+the.M.Sg
 ‘If you had not come we would have finished the project.’

1.4.4 The “have” present perfect combines with signals of evidentiality – forms of the “be” auxiliary, plus *-l* participles:

- (7) *Do utre napladne će sme go imale*
 till tomorrow at noon will.Mod.Cl be.1Pl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl had.3Pl.l-Part
završeno proektot.
 finished.Perf.Past.Part project+the.M.Sg
 ‘Till tomorrow at noon we would, reportedly, have finished the project.’

In (7) *će* is an exponent of volitional modality, *sme* contains features of person, number, tense and 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.²²

1.5 “Be” perfect with passive participles

For the expression of the result of the action of unaccusative (intransitive) verbs, Macedonian employs the present and past tense forms of the “be” auxiliary, plus inflecting passive participles – formal devices typically characterising passive sentences.²³

1.5.1 While the construction in which the passive participle is in association with present tense “be” auxiliaries could be referred to as “be” present perfect, the construction in which the passive participle is in association with past tense “be” auxiliaries could be referred to as “be” past perfect. The “be” present perfect and “be” past perfect of the verb *doaĝa* ‘come’ (with masculine passive participles)²⁴ are as follows:

²² Note that in the Bitola-Resen dialects constructions with *l*-participles of the “have” auxiliary, plus past (*-no*) participles, express events that the speaker has witnessed, i.e. events that are used in non-evidential contexts. This, like the rise of the “have” perfect itself, has been attributed to the influence of Aromanian (cf. Gołąb 1984:135, Koneski 1986:148).

²³ In passive sentences, the initiator of the event/action is demoted (cf. 1.4.7.2 in the chapter “Cases and Articles”) and the internal argument of the verb appears in subject position. Compare the passive sentences in (i) and (ii) to the active sentences with verbs with perfect forms in (8):

- (i) *Knigata e skinata.*
book+the.F.Sg be.3Sg torn.F.Sg.Pass.Part
‘The book is torn.’
- (ii) *Knigata beše skinata.*
book+the.F.Sg be.3Sg.Past torn.F.Sg.Pass.Part
‘The book was torn.’

²⁴ The Macedonian passive participles are marked by the suffixes *-en/-na/-no/-ni* or *-at/-ta/-to/-ti*, the distinction being formal – the latter suffixes occur in verbs with **n** bases. The passive participles are illustrated on the example of the participles of the verbs *doaĝa* ‘come’ and *skinuva* ‘tear’:

Macedonian passive participles of the verbs *doaĝa* ‘come’ and *skinuva* ‘tear’

	M.Sg	F.Sg	N.Sg	Pl
<i>doaĝa</i> ‘come’	<i>dojden</i>	<i>dojdena</i>	<i>dojdeno</i>	<i>dojdeni</i>
<i>skinuva</i> ‘tear’	<i>skinat</i>	<i>skinata</i>	<i>skinato</i>	<i>skinati</i>

The auxiliaries in constructions with passive participles are preferably enclitic (cf. 1.1.3 of the chapter “Clitic Clusters and Clitic Doubling”) and, when there are no overt subjects or topicalized elements, follow the participles.

Table 7: “Be” present perfect and “be” past perfect of the Macedonian lexical verb *doaĝa* ‘come’²⁵

	“Be” present perfect		“Be” past perfect	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>dojden sum</i>	<i>dojdeni sme</i>	<i>dojden bev</i>	<i>dojdeni bevme</i>
2 nd	<i>dojden si</i>	<i>dojdeni ste</i>	<i>dojden beše</i>	<i>dojdeni bevme</i>
3 rd	<i>dojden e</i>	<i>dojdeni se</i>	<i>dojden -"</i>	<i>dojdeni bea</i>

1.5.2 The Macedonian “be” present perfect forms express events that happened in the past but have present relevance, like the “have” present perfect forms, whereas the “be” past perfect forms express events that happened in the past before another past event and have relevance while that event is happening, like the “have” past perfect forms. However, while the “have” perfects are used with transitive, unergative and unaccusative (intransitive) verbs and can have either resultative or experiential readings, the “be” perfects are mainly used with unaccusative (intransitive) verbs and have only resultative readings.²⁶ Examples:

- (8) a. *Dojdena* *sum* *da* *si* *pozboruvame.*
come.F.Sg.Perf.Pass.Part be.1Sg Subj.Mark Dat.Refl.Cl talk.1Pl.Repet
‘I have come to have a word with you.’ (lit. ‘I have come for us to talk to each other.’)
- b. *Bev* *dojdena* *da* *si*
be.1Sg.Past come.F.Sg.Perf.Pass.Part to 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.)

1.6 Evidentials

Whereas in the subsystem (A) the forms of the “be” perfect are exponents of the category of evidentiality, in addition to referring to actions or states that began at some point in the past and last until

²⁵ Only the masculine forms of the participles are given.

²⁶ With intransitive verbs, the “have” perfects actually have only experiential readings and the “be” perfects may be considered as “suppletive” forms for the expression of resultativeness. Note, however, that the “be” forms, though sanctioned by the norm, are actually used only in the Western Macedonian dialects. In the Ohrid-Struga South-Western dialects, they are even constructed from transitive verbs:

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

the moment of speaking,²⁷ in the subsystem (B) the forms of the “be” perfect are exponents of the category of evidentiality exclusively.²⁸

1.6.1 Typically, the Macedonian evidentials impart the speaker’s non-awareness of the event to which the verb refers. Consider the following sentences:

- (9) a. *Veli deka si me videl.*
say.3Sg that be.2Sg 1Sg.Acc.Cl seen.M.Sg./-Part
‘(S)he says that you have seen me.’
- b. *Se gleda deka si zboruvala so Ana.*
Acc.Refl.Cl see.3Sg that be.2Sg spoken.F.Sg./-Part with Ana
‘One can see that you have spoken to Ana.’
- c. *Ovaa forma se upotrebuva za dejstva što se*
this.F form Acc.Refl.Cl use.Impers for actions that Acc.Refl.Cl
izvršile pred nekoe drugo dejstvo vo
accomplished./-Part before some.N.Sg other.N.Sg action in
minatoto.
past+the.N.Sg
‘This form is used to express actions that have taken place before some other actions in the past.’

²⁷ Note that Friedman (2004:104-105) refers to the forms of the Macedonian “be” perfect as exponents of “non-confirmative” evidentiality, and contrasts them to the exponents of the (simple) past tense, which according to him function as exponents of “confirmative” evidentiality. He illustrates the two types of evidentiality with examples such as (i):

- (i) *Mu se javiv na vujko mi. Ne*
3Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl call.1Sg.Perf.Past to uncle 1Sg.Dat.Cl not
beše doma, na plaža bil.
be.3Sg.Past at-home on beach been./-Part
‘I called my uncle. He was not at home; apparently, he was at the beach.’

Both statements about the uncle are based on the same telephone call. The first statement is in the (simple) past tense, which, according to Friedman, is an exponent of confirmative evidentiality, because the speaker is personally convinced that his uncle would have come to the telephone had he been at home. The second statement is expressed by the “be” perfect, which is an exponent of non-confirmative evidentiality, since neither the speaker nor his interlocutor could actually know for sure where the uncle was. According to Friedman (2004), the opposition confirmative: non-confirmative evidentiality, existing in Macedonian, also exists in Bulgarian and Turkish, but not in Albanian or Megleno-Romanian. Cf. also Friedman (2000).

²⁸ The heart of the subsystem (A) is Ohrid, a city in South-Western Macedonia where Albanian, Romance, Slavic, and Greek were all in contact and competition and were overlain by Turkish, which according to Friedman (2004:123-124), is the source for the development of the Balkan category of evidentiality. Note that, in the dialect of Bitola, seventy kilometers to the north-east of Ohrid, the evidential forms are not used at all – most probably under the influence of Aromanian and Greek.

In (9a) we have a reported event; in (9b) a circumstantial deduction;²⁹ in (9c) the *l*-participle *izvršile* is used in a definition.

1.6.2 Related to unawareness is the use of evidentials to express surprise, admiration, amazement or irony.³⁰

- (10) 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.F.Sg beautiful.F.Sg hat 2Sg.Dat.Cl knitted.F.Sg./l-Part

²⁹ The verbs in the main clauses in (9a) and (9b) signal only the type of evidentiality, not evidentiality itself. The information imparted by these sentences can be rendered without the introductory main clauses, in which case the type of evidentiality is deduced from the circumstances or from previous text. Depending on context, (i) and (ii) could have any 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 zborovala 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.'

³⁰ As we see on the example of (10), 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 *će* – a construction which expresses counterfactuality:

- (i) *Toj će me natepal mene!*
 he will.Mod.Cl 1Sg.Acc.Cl beaten.M.Sg./l-Part me.Pron
 'Him to beat me!'
- (ii) *Ti će si me natepal mene!*
 he will.Mod.Cl be.2Sg 1Sg.Acc.Cl beaten.M.Sg./l-Part me.Pron
 'You to beat me!'

- majka* *ti!*
 mother 2Sg.Poss.Cl
 ‘What a beautiful hat has your mother knitted for you!’ (admiration)
- c. *Ti* *si* *go* *skršila* *bokalot!*
 you are.2Sg 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl broken.F.Sg./-Part jug+the.M.Sg
 ‘You’ve broken the jug?!’ (amazement, wondering)
- d. *Ne* *sum* *znaela* *deka* *si* *tolku*
 not be.1Sg known.F.Sg./-Part that are.2Sg that much
silen!
 strong.M.Sg
 ‘I did not know that you were so strong!’ (surprise, admiration, irony)

1.6.3 Evidential forms can commonly be used in narratives:

- (11) a. *Sum* *(ti)* *stanala* *rano* *i* *sum*
 be.1Sg 2Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl got-up.F.Sg./-Part early and be.1Sg
(ti) *se* *dala* *na* *rabota.*
 2Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl given.F.Sg./-Part on work
 ‘Lo and behold, I got up early and got to task.’ (lit. ‘I got up early and gave myself to work.’)
- b. *Si* *bil* *eden* *car* *i* *si*
 Dat.Refl.Cl been.M.Sg./-Part a.M.Sg king and Dat.Refl.Cl
imal *dva* *sina.*
 had.M.Sg./-Part two sons
 ‘There was a king and he had two sons.’

1.6.4 The exponents of evidentiality can in some cases interact with exponents of the “have” perfect. The uses exemplified in 1.6.1 and 1.6.2 actually have counterparts with “have” perfects, while the uses exemplified in 1.6.3 do not. Thus, (12a-d) are well formed sentences of Macedonian, but (12e-f) are not:

- (12) a. *Reče* *deka* *si* *me* *imala*
 say.3Sg.Perf.Past that be.2Sg 1Sg.Acc.Cl had.F.Sg./-Part
videno.
 seen.Perf.Past.Part
 ‘(S)he said that you had seen me.’
- b. *Se* *gledaše* *deka* *si* *imala*
 Acc.Refl.Cl see.3Sg.Imperf.Past that be.2Sg had.F.Sg./-Part

- zboruvano* *so* *Ana.*
spoken.Past.Part with Ana
'One could see that you had spoken to Ana.'
- c. *Kakva* *ubava* *šapka* *ti* *imala*
what.kind.F.Sg beautiful.F.Sg hat 2Sg.Dat.Cl had.F.Sg./-Part
ispleteno *majka* *ti!*
knitted.Perf.Past.Part mother 2Sg.Dat.Cl
'What a beautiful hat had your mother knitted to you!' (admiration)
- d. *Ti* *si* *go* *imala* *skršeno*
you are.2Sg 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl had.F.Sg./-Part broken.Perf.Past.Part
bokalot!
jug+the.M.Sg
'You had broken the jug?!' (amazement, wondering)
- e. **Sum* (*ti*) *imala* *stanato* *rano*
be.1Sg 2Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl had.F.Sg./-Part got-up.Perf.Past.Part early
i *sum* (*ti*) *se* *imala*
and be.1Sg 2Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl had.F.Sg./-Part
dadeno *na* *rabota.*
given.Perf.Past.Part on work
- f. **Si* *imal* *bideno* *eden* *car*
Dat.Refl.Cl had.M.Sg./-Part been.Past.Part a.M.Sg king
i *si* *imal* *imano* *dva* *sina.*
and Dat.Refl.Cl had.M.Sg./-Part had.Past.Part two sons

The verb forms resulting from the interaction of the “be” perfect and the “have” perfect actually express non-witnessed events performed during a period in the past, with an effect at the moment of speaking.

1.6.5 In the South-Western Macedonian dialects, the constructions marking evidentiality can be preceded by 3rd person singular past tense form of the “be” auxiliary, *beše*, used as a frozen modal particle that can be translated into English as ‘unlikely’ or ‘hardly’:

- (13) a. %*Na* *vakov* *den* *beše* *si* *go*
on such.M.Sg.Prox1 day hardly are.2Sg 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
našla *doma.*
found.F.Sg./-Part home
'On a day like this you would hardly find him at home.'

- b. %Beše sme im go videle liceto.
 unlikely be.1Pl 3Pl.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl seen.Pl./-Part face+the.N.Sg
 ‘We’ll never see their face again!’ (lit. ‘It is very unlikely that we would see their
 face.’)

2. Bulgarian

Bulgarian has an amazingly great variety of verb forms, among which especially prominent are sets of “be” perfect constructions. The “have” perfect occurs only in the southernmost Rhodopi Bulgarian dialects.³¹

2.1 The Bulgarian perfect and its relationship to the aorist and the imperfect
While preserving its original function of referring to events that have taken place before a given point of time, the Bulgarian perfect has acquired a new modal evidential function.

2.1.1 The Bulgarian perfect is constructed with present tense forms of the “be” auxiliary, plus perfective or imperfective *l*-participles.³²

2.1.1.1 The present tense forms of the Bulgarian “be” auxiliary are as follows:³³

³¹ In standard Bulgarian, there are syntactic constructions in which forms of “have” associate with passive participles of transitive verbs, which agree with the direct object of the sentence, such as:

- (i) Imam izpisani dve tetradki.
 have.1Sg written-up.Pl.Pass.Part two notebooks
 ‘I have two notebooks written up (i.e. full).’

³² The almost parallel existence of perfective and imperfective *l*-participles is due to the “innovative work” of the Bulgarian codifiers, who have in many cases introduced “missing” counterparts.

³³ The citation form of all Bulgarian verbs is the 1st person singular present indicative form. Since the “be” auxiliary forms are phonologically enclitic clitics, they cannot occur in initial position and follow the participles if they are clause-initial, while preceding it when there are other elements to their left, to which clitics can encliticize (*cf.* section 2.1.3 in the chapter “Clitic Clusters and Clitic Doubling”).

The *l*-participle has distinct perfective and imperfective masculine, feminine and neuter singular and masculine/neuter and feminine plural forms. The paradigms of the perfective and imperfective *l*-participles of the verb *četa* ‘read’ are as follows:

L-participle forms of the Bulgarian verb <i>četa</i> ‘read’				
	Perfective		Imperfective	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
M	čel	čeli	četjal	četjali
F	čela	“-”	četjala	“-”
N	čelo	“-”	četjalo	“-”

Table 8: Present tense forms of the Bulgarian auxiliary *săm* ‘be’

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>săm</i>	<i>sme</i>
2 nd	<i>si</i>	<i>ste</i>
3 rd	<i>e</i>	<i>sa</i>

2.1.1.2 The perfect of the verb *četa* ‘read’, with masculine *l*-participles, is as follows:

Table 9: Perfect of the Bulgarian lexical verb *četa* ‘read’

	with perfective <i>l</i> -participles		with imperfective <i>l</i> -participles	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>čel săm</i>	<i>čeli sme</i>	<i>četjal săm</i>	<i>četjali sme</i>
2 nd	<i>čel si</i>	<i>čeli ste</i>	<i>četjal si</i>	<i>četjali ste</i>
3 rd	<i>čel (e)</i>	<i>čeli (sa)</i>	<i>četjal</i>	<i>četjali</i>

2.1.2 Ever since the appearance of Andrejčin’s grammar (cf. Andrejčin 1944/1978), Bulgarian linguists have referred to the paradigm with perfective *l*-participles and auxiliary clitics for all persons (including the 3rd person) as “past indefinite” tense (cf. BAN 1982-83; Bojadžiev, Kucarov, Penčev 1999), while a version of the same paradigm in which in the third person singular or plural the participle appears unaccompanied by the auxiliary clitic, have been referred to as “past indefinite tense, renarrated mood” or even “renarrated aorist” (cf. Bojadžiev, Kucarov, Penčev 1999:418). The paradigm with imperfective *l*-participles, in which the 3rd person auxiliary clitic does not appear, is, in turn, referred to as “imperfect tense, renarrated mood” (“renarrated imperfect” in Bojadžiev, Kucarov and Penčev 1999:418).

2.1.3 The perfect originally employed perfective participles and referred to events that had taken place before a given point of time in the past. Subsequently, it has come to be constructed not only with perfective, but also with imperfective participles,³⁴ and while preserving its original function, has acquired a new modal function of denoting evidentiality. This situation has instigated the grammarians to posit parallel, correspondent indicative: evidential paradigms.³⁵

³⁴ According to Friedman (2004:120) the imperfective *l*-participle (which developed in the Eastern Bulgarian dialects and is used in Western Bulgaria only by speakers of the standard) makes the “be” perfect exactly parallel to the simple tenses in terms of the subordinate aspectual distinction aorist/imperfect. The development of the imperfective *l*-participle, and its use in the perfect, alongside the perfective *l*-participle, is independent on the use of the “be” perfect as an exponent of evidentiality, though one cannot dismiss the possibility that the alternation of perfects with the auxiliary, with perfects in which the auxiliary is absent, is a reinterpretation of the superficial similarity between Turkish forms with the evidential marker *miş* and forms without this marker.

³⁵ Lindstedt (1994:48) points out that indicative: renarrated correspondences have lead to various descriptive proposals for doing away with the perfect tense in Bulgarian. It should, however, be noted that in many of the typical uses of the perfect, the event referred to is clearly not renarrated. Examples:

2.1.3.1 In Table 10, I am listing the correspondent indicative: renarrated past indefinite forms on the example of the first and third person singular of the verb *četa* ‘read’ (only with participles for masculine gender):³⁶

Table 10: Indicative: renarrated mood correspondences

	Indicative		Renarrated	
	1Sg	3Sg	1Sg	3Sg
Present	<i>četa</i>	<i>čete</i>	<i>četjal sām</i>	<i>četjal</i>
Aorist	<i>četox</i>	<i>čete</i>	<i>čel sām</i>	<i>čel</i>
Imperfect	<i>četjax</i>	<i>četeše</i>	<i>četjal sām</i>	<i>četjal</i>
Past Indefinite	<i>čel sām</i>	<i>čel e</i>	<i>bil sām čel</i>	<i>bil čel</i>
Past Anterior	<i>bex čel</i>	<i>beše čel</i>	<i>bil sām čel</i>	<i>bil čel</i>
Future	<i>šte četa</i>	<i>šte čete</i>	<i>štjal sām da četa</i>	<i>štjal da čete</i>
Future-in-the-Past	<i>štex da četa</i>	<i>šteše da čete</i>	<i>štjal sām da četa</i>	<i>štjal da čete</i>
Future Anterior	<i>šte sām čel</i>	<i>šte e čel</i>	<i>štjal sām da sām čel</i>	<i>štjal da e čel</i>
Fut. Anter.-in-the-Past	<i>štjax da sām čel</i>	<i>šteše da e čel</i>	<i>štjal sām da sām čel</i>	<i>štjal da e čel</i>

2.1.3.2 As it can be noticed, in four cases, one renarrated form corresponds to two indicative ones. Moreover, as pointed out by Alexander (2001:17), the forms of the indicative past indefinite are often found with the meaning of renarrated aorist, and the third person forms of the renarrated

-
- (i) *Često* (e) *pātuval* v *Amerika.*
 often be.3Sg travelled.M.Sg.I-Part in America.
 ‘He has often travelled to America.’
- (ii) *Hodila* sām v *Amerika* poveče ot deset pāti.
 gone.F.Sg.I-Part be.1Sg in America more from ten times.
 ‘I have gone to America more than ten times.’

³⁶ The forms are taken from the paradigms in the grammar of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (BAN 1972-83). The labels are direct translations from their Standard Bulgarian names, as provided by Alexander (2001:14-20). The “past indefinite” is actually the perfect, the “past anterior” is the past perfect, the “future anterior” is the future perfect and the “future anterior-in-the-past” is the future perfect-in-the-past. The past perfect is discussed below; the future tenses are discussed in the chapter “Infinitives and Subjunctives” (cf. section 2.9 of that chapter). Note that, in addition to the listed forms, there are passive forms, which employ tensed forms of the “be”auxiliary and passive participles of lexical verbs:

- (i) *Knigata* e *četena.*
 book+the.F.Sg be.3Sg read.F.Sg.Perf.Pass.Part
 ‘The book has been read (i.e. it is not new).’
- (ii) *Knigata* šjala da bāde *četena.*
 book+the.F.Sg would.F.Sg.I-Part Subj.Mark be₂.3Sg read.F.Sg.Perf.Pass.Part
 ‘The book would reportedly be read.’

imperfect are often used with the auxiliary. This presumes the existence of a distinct paradigm. And indeed, Kucarov (1994:5-136) accounts for such a paradigm, calling it “conclusive mood”.³⁷

2.1.4 It is extravagant to assume the existence of distinct paradigms, which differ only in the presence or absence of the auxiliaries in two members of the paradigm. The less so, since the absence of the third person auxiliary is not an unambiguous marker of reportedness and *vice versa*, in reported events the 3rd person auxiliary can be missing.³⁸

2.1.4.1 For example, drawing a dress out of the cupboard, which you share with a friend, and noticing that the dress is wrinkled, you might exclaim:

- (14) a. *Tja e nosila тази рокля!*
 she be.3Sg worn.F.Sg./-Part this.F dress
 b. *Nosila e тази рокля!*
 worn.F.Sg./-Part be.3Sg this.F dress
 ‘She has worn this dress!’

The auxiliary can hardly be omitted from this exclamation, although, clearly, the referred event is inferred.

2.1.4.2 On the other hand, looking through the window, one may describe the scenery using a perfect with or without a 3rd person auxiliary:

- (15) *Hubavo vreme, slănce. Nad planinata oblacite (sa)*
 beatiful weather sun over mountain+the clouds+the.Pl be.3Pl

³⁷ Other authors speak of “inferential” or “presumptive” mood (*cf.* Geredžikov 1984). A reviewer of this book wrote: “The 3rd person auxiliary is not optional since (at least according to the standard view) its presence is a mark of the inferential and serves to distinguish it from the reported. To illustrate the inferential (s)he gave the following example from Kucarov (1994:156):

- (i) *Dokato toj e mislel, Petrov e vzel deteto...*
 while he be.3Sg thought.3Sg./-Part Petrov is taken.3Sg./-Part child+the.N.Sg
 i go e otnesāl. Štjal e da
 and 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl be.3Sg carry-away.3Sg./-Part would./-Part be.3Sg Subj.Mark
 go vārne, no e zabeljazal tragite....
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl return.3Sg.Perf.Pres but be.3Sg noticed.M.Sg./-Part traces+the.Pl
 ‘While he was considering the matter, Petrov had taken the child ... and had carried him away. He had presumably wanted to return it, but had noticed the traces....’

³⁸ For Krapova (p.c.), the view that the perfect has a modal function and that the presence versus the absence of the auxiliary does not reflect grammatical distinction is typically held by foreign linguists. For her, the absence of the auxiliary is a distinctive feature of the evidential. This may be true for literary Bulgarian, which is heavily influenced by the codifiers, but not for Bulgarian in general.

spreli *kato* *kuli*.
stopped.Pl./-Part like towers
'Nice weather, sunshine. Over the mountain, clouds souring like towers.'

2.1.5 Rather than assume the existence of two (almost) homonymous sets of forms with distinct labels, we should allow for one single set of forms to carry two distinct functions in the system of the language. The omission of the third person auxiliary from the Bulgarian “be” perfect, is part of a process of auxiliary loss which associates with some narrative system understood as a “system of grammatical devices, mainly verb categories, used to structure connected narration of past events” (Lindstedt 1998).³⁹ As argued by Fielder (1999, 2000, 2001) the auxiliary variation was originally a discourse-pragmatic grounding device for narration, and became available, at least in the North-Eastern Bulgarian dialects, as a grounding device from a narrative viewpoint. It has two distinct patterns, depending upon whether the *l*-participle involved is paired or unpaired for aspect. Since paired for aspect *l*-participles already have the perfective/imperfective opposition, available for expressing foregrounded *vs.* backgrounded events, auxiliary variation has primarily an evidential function – it foregrounds or backgrounds the narrator with respect to the narrated events. For unpaired *l*-participles, however, the aorist/imperfect opposition serves as the primary aspectual opposition, which puts the burden of signalling the foreground/background distinction on the auxiliary (*cf.* Fielder (2001:183).

2.1.5.1 In narratives, i.e. in texts that narrate past events, the perfect is used for the representation of non-witnessed events, the aorist and imperfect being used for the representation of witnessed events (*cf.* Lindstedt 1998:179).⁴⁰ Examples of the use the perfect, the aorist and the imperfect in narratives are given in (16a), (16b) and (16c), respectively:⁴¹

³⁹ According to Lindstedt (1998:179), this definition of the narrative system is based on Ivančev (1984). Note that in Serbo-Croatian, where the perfect is used as a general past tense, which does not have evidential functions (*cf.* 3.1), the 3rd person auxiliary can also be omitted in narratives.

(i) *Bio,* *ručao* *i* *otišao*.
been.M.Sg./-Part dined.M.Sg./-Part and left.M.Sg./-Part
'He was here, had dinner and left.'

⁴⁰ The aorist and imperfect paradigms of the verb *četa* ‘read’ are as follows.

Aorist and imperfect forms of the Bulgarian verb <i>četa</i> ‘read’				
	Aorist		Imperfect	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>četox</i>	<i>četoxme</i>	<i>četjax</i>	<i>četjaxme</i>
2 nd	<i>čete</i>	<i>četoxte</i>	<i>četeše</i>	<i>četjaxte</i>
3 rd	<i>čete</i>	<i>četoxa</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>četjaxa</i>

⁴¹ The examples are from literary works. Example (16a) is from a work by Jovkov (quoted in Bojadžiev, Kucarov and Penčev (1999:391); example (16b) is from a work by Karaslavov (quoted in Bojadžiev, Kucarov and Penčev 1999:387-388); example (16c) from a work by Dimov (quoted in Bojadžiev, Kucarov and Penčev 1999:396).

- (16) a. *Rabotil* *săm a ne săm stojal* *po*
 worked.M.Sg./-Part be.1Sg and not be.1Sg stood.M.Sg./-Part along
krăčmite kato teb.
 pubs+the.Pl like you.Acc
 ‘I have worked, I have not been hanging around pubs, like yourself.’
- b. *...pogledna plaxo-učudena kato sled*
 glance.3Sg.Aor scared-and-wondering.F.Sg.Pass.Part like after
težāk sãn, popipa liceto si..., no ne
 heavy.M.Sg dream feel.3Sg.Aor face+the.N.Sg Dat.Refl.Cl but not
stana.
 get-up.3Sg.Aor
 ‘...she glanced scared and wondering like after a bad dream, felt her face, but did not get up.’
- c. *Kostov stareeše i тази вечер той*
 Kostov get-old.3Sg.Imperf and this.F evening he
se useštaše... po-umoren...
 Acc.Refl.Cl feel.3Sg.Imperf more-tired.M.Sg
 ‘Kostov was getting old and this evening he was feeling more tired....’

2.1.5.2 In non-narrative contexts, the perfect usually depicts an event that had taken place at an indefinite time up to the moment of speaking. Examples:

- (17) a. *Trjabva da priznaja če ne săm naučila*
 need.Impers Subj.Mark admit.1Sg that not be.1Sg learnt.F.Sg./-Part
uroka.
 lesson.Acc
 ‘I have to admit that I have not learnt my lesson.’
- b. *Kato dete săm revala.*
 like child be.1Sg cried.F.Sg./-Part
 ‘I cried like a child.’

2.1.5.3 Note, however, that the forms of the perfect can also be used to represent events that happened in a defined period of time in the past, which can be represented by the aorist, as well.⁴² Asenova (2002:265) gives the following example:

- (18) *Včera săm čel (= četox) cjal den.*
 yesterday be.1Sg read.M.Sg./-Part read.1Sg.Aor whole day
 ‘Yesterday, I was reading/read the whole day.’

⁴² For Friedman (2001), the Bulgarian “be” perfect is an unmarked past, while Alexander (2001:37) refers to it as “generalized past” and argues that it is evolving into a *koiné* of educated speakers.

2.2 Past perfect

The Bulgarian past perfect denotes an event that had taken place in the past before another event. Unlike the forms of the present perfect, the forms of the past perfect do not have evidential readings.

2.2.1 The Bulgarian past perfect is constructed by imperfect forms of the “be” auxiliary plus perfective *l*-participles.

2.2.1.1 The imperfect forms of the “be” auxiliary are given in Table 11:

Table 11: Imperfect forms of the Bulgarian auxiliary *sām* ‘be’

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>bjax</i>	<i>bjaxme</i>
2 nd	<i>beše</i>	<i>bjaxte</i>
3 rd	“-”	<i>bjaxa</i>

2.2.1.2 The past perfect of the verb *četa* ‘read’ (with masculine *l*-participles) is given in Table 12:

Table 12: Past perfect of the Bulgarian lexical verb *četa* ‘read’

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>bjax čel</i>	<i>bjaxme čeli</i>
2 nd	<i>beše</i> “-”	<i>bjaxte</i> “-”
3 rd	<i>beše</i> “-”	<i>bjaxa</i> “-”

2.2.2 When events represented by the past perfect are narrated the same construction which is used to renarrate events represented by the perfect is used.⁴³ In (19a) we have an event represented by a verb in the past perfect. The same event is narrated in (19b).⁴⁴

⁴³ As shown in Table 5, the past perfect shares with the perfect the renarrated (evidential) construction – perfective participles of the “be” auxiliary, followed by the present tense “be” auxiliary forms (though not in the case of 3rd person) and the perfective participles of the lexical verb.

⁴⁴ In (19) the lexical participle follows the auxiliary one. In marked contexts, however, the ordering of the participles may be reversed:

- (i) *Kazali* *bjaxte* *da* *vi* *se* *obadja.*
said.Pl./-Part be.2Pl.Imperf Subj.Mark you.2Pl.Dat.Cl Acc.Ref.Cl call.1Sg.Perf.Pres
‘You had indeed said that I should call you.’
- (ii) *Pātuvali* *sme* *bili* *mnogo* *časove* *kogato* *avtobusāt*
travelled.Pl./-Part be.1Pl been.Pl./-Part many hours when+Anaph bus+the.M.Sg
sprjal *v* *njakakāv* *grad.*
stopped.M.Sg./-Part in some kind town
‘(Apparently) we had been travelling for many hours when the bus stopped in some town.’

Note that when subjects or any other elements occur to the left of the participles, the tensed “be” forms have to precede the participles and the auxiliary participles have to precede the lexical ones:

- (19) a. *Bjaxme pātuvali mnogo časove kogato avtobusāt*
 be.1Pl.Imperf travelled.Pl./-Part many hours when+Anaph bus+the.M.Sg
sprja vāv njakakāv grad.
 stop.3Sg.Aor in some kind town
 ‘We had been travelling for many hours when the bus stopped in some town.’
- b. *Kazva če sme bili pātuvali mnogo*
 say.3Sg.Pres that be.1Pl been.Pl./-Part travelled.Pl./-Part many
časove kogato avtobusāt sprjal v njakakāv
 hours when+Anaph bus+the.M.Sg stopped.M.Sg./-Part in some kind
grad.
 town
 ‘He says that we had been travelling for many hours when the bus stopped in some town.’

-
- (iii) **Vie kazali bjaxte da vi se*
 you said.Pl./-Part be.2Pl.Imperf Subj.Mark you.2Pl.Dat.Cl Acc.Ref.Cl
obadja.
 call.1Sg.Perf.Pres
- (iii)’ *Vie bjaxte kazali da vi se*
 you say.2Pl.Imperf said.Pl./-Part Subj.Mark you.2Pl.Dat.Cl Acc.Ref.Cl
obadja.
 call.1Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘You had said that I should call you.’
- (iv) **Vie pātuvali ste bili mnogo časove kogato*
 you.Pl travelled.Pl./-Part be.2Pl been.Pl./-Part many hours when+Anaph
avtobusāt sprjal vāv njakakāv grad.
 bus+the.M.Sg stopped.M.Sg./-Part in some-kind town
- (iv)’ **Vie bili ste pātuvali mnogo časove kogato*
 you.Pl been.Pl./-Part be.2Pl travelled.Pl./-Part many hours when+Anaph
avtobusāt sprjal vāv njakakāv grad.
 bus+the.M.Sg stopped.M.Sg./-Part in some-kind town
- (iv)’’ *Vie ste bili pātuvali mnogo časove kogato*
 you.Pl be.2Pl been.Pl./-Part travelled.Pl./-Part many hours when+Anaph
avtobusāt sprjal vāv njakakāv grad.
 bus+the.M.Sg stopped.M.Sg./-Part in some-kind town
 ‘(Apparently) you had been travelling for many hours, when the bus had stopped in some town.’

2.3 Evidential functions of the Bulgarian perfects

The Bulgarian perfects have most of the evidential functions expressed by the Macedonian “be” perfect.⁴⁵

2.3.1 The Bulgarian perfects can express reported or circumstantially deduced events. The Macedonian examples in (9) have the following Bulgarian counterparts:

- (20) a. *Kazva če si me vidjal.*
say.3Sg that be.2Sg 1Sg.Acc.Cl seen.M.Sg./-Part
‘(S)he says that you have seen me.’
- b. *Vižda se če si govorila s Ana.*
see.3Sg Acc.Refl.Cl that be.2Sg spoken.F.Sg./-Part with Ana
‘One can see that you have spoken to Ana.’
- c. *Tāzi forma se upotrejava za izražavane na dejstvija*
this.F form Acc.Refl.Cl use.3Sg for expression on actions
koito sa se izvršili predi njakoe
which+Anaph be.3Pl been.Pl./-Part accomplished.Pl./-Part before some
drugo dejstvie v minaloto.
other action in past+the.N.Sg
‘This form is used to express actions that have taken place before some other action in the past.’

2.3.2 The Bulgarian perfects can also express surprise, admiration, amazement or irony. The Bulgarian counterparts of the Macedonian sentences in (10) are as follows:

⁴⁵ While in Macedonian the third person auxiliary clitic is always absent, in Bulgarian it can be present. Friedman (2001:214) quotes the following examples:

- (i) *V Sofija vremeto bilo xubavo.*
In Sofia weather+the.N.Sg been.N.Sg nice
‘In Sofia the weather is reported to be nice.’
- (ii) *A kato ti e bilo bolno deteto*
And how+the.N.Sg 2Sg.Dat.Cl be.1Sg been.N.Sg sick.N.Sg child+the.N.Sg
na ti pari da go ceriš.
here 2Sg.Dat money Subj.Mark 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl cure.2Sg
‘And if your child is sick, as reported, here you have money to treat him.’

In both cases we have a circumstantially deduced event; in (i) the auxiliary is absent, while in (ii) it is present. The presence of the auxiliary is not possible with all types of evidentials, however. Friedman (2004:107-108) notes that he has not encountered a dubitative evidential with the auxiliary present.

- (21) a. *Če, ti si bil junak!*
 but you be.2Sg been.M.Sg./-Part hero
 1. ‘You are such a hero!’ (admiration)
 2. ‘(I am surprised to see that) you are a hero.’
 3. ‘You a hero!’ (irony)
- b. *Kakva hubava šapka e isplela majka ti!*
 what.kind.F.Sg beautiful.F.Sg hat be.3Sg knitted.F.Sg./-Part mother
 2Sg.Dat.Cl
 ‘What a beautiful hat has your mother knitted to you!’ (admiration)
- c. *Ti si šćupila čašata!*
 you be.2Sg broken.F.Sg./-Part glass+the.M.Sg
 ‘You’ve broken the glass?!’ (amazement, wondering)
- d. *Ne sām znaela će si tolkoz silen.*
 not be.1Sg known.F.Sg./-Part that be.2Sg that-much
 strong.M.Sg
 ‘I did not know that you were so strong!’ (amazement or irony)

2.3.3 The Bulgarian perfects cannot, however, be used in story-telling, or in narrating events that the speaker has experienced. Thus, the Macedonian sentence (11a) has no adequate equivalent in Bulgarian, while in the Bulgarian equivalent of (11b), given in (22), instead of the *l*-participle of the “be” auxiliary, preceded by a Dat reflexive clitic, we have the *l*-participle of the “have” auxiliary:

- (22) *Imalo edin car i toj imal dvama sina.*
 had.N.Sg./-Part a.M.Sg king and he had.M.Sg./-Part two.M sons
 ‘There was a king and he had two sons.’

2.4 *The probabilitive mood of the Bulgarian village of Novo Selo*

Friedman (2004:113) mentions a Slavic modal paradigmatic set that appears to calque the Romanian “presumptive” (cf. 4.4), namely the probabilitive mood of the Bulgarian village of Novo Selo, in North-Western Bulgaria, across the Danube from Romania and a few kilometers from the Serbian border.

2.4.1 In this dialect, described by Mladenov (1967), the ordinary future is formed by means of an invariant “will” modal clitic (*čā*), plus a lexical verb. The Serbian future tense type – formed by means of an inflecting modal clitic attached to a stem based on the infinitive – has been here reinterpreted as an evidential category with present, future, and past tenses. For the verb *gledam* ‘see’ we have the following forms:

Table 13: *Novo Selo* probabilitive present and future singular and 3Sg perfect of *gleda*

	Indicative		Probabilitive			
	1Sg	2Sg	3Sg	1Sg	2Sg	3Sg
present	<i>glédām</i>	<i>glédaš</i>	<i>gléda</i>	<i>gledàčām</i>	<i>gledàčāš</i>	<i>gledàčā</i>
future	<i>čā glédām</i>	<i>čā glédaš</i>	<i>čā glédā</i>	<i>čā gledàčām</i>	<i>čā gledàčāš</i>	<i>čā glādàčā</i>
Perf. 3Sg	=====e glādāl=====		=====budàčā būdā=====		=====bičā glādāl=====	

2.4.2 According to Friedman (*loc. cit.*), the *Novo Selo* probabilitive mood expresses reported or circumstantially deduced actions as well as surprise, admiration, amazement or irony, but is not in opposition with a (simple) past tense in which the speaker expresses actions or events that he has witnessed. Referring to Mladenov (1967:111), Friedman points out that this probabilitive mood is especially common in questions as in example (23):

- (23) %Čā idàčāš jútra ú-grad?
will.Mod.Cl go+will.2Sg.Mod.Cl tomorrow in-town
‘Will you go to town tomorrow?!’

3. Serbo-Croatian

In Serbo-Croatian there are only “be” perfect tenses.⁴⁶ Standard Serbian and Standard Croatian and most of their dialects do not grammaticalize evidentiality, but the perfect of the South-Eastern dialects includes the function of evidentiality and in the easternmost boundary of these dialects there is a construction to which we may refer as “evidential future-in-the-past.”

3.1 The Serbo-Croatian perfect

Following the tendency of replacing the synthetic past tenses with analytic ones, which obtains in many European languages, Serbo-Croatian uses its “be” present perfect at the expense of the other past tenses. It is used to denote (a) events that happened at a definite point in the past (and are instantaneous or last for a period of time), (b) events that happened in the past, but have present relevance and (c) events of which the speaker is unaware. It is actually a general past tense.

3.1.1 The Serbo-Croatian present perfect is constructed with present tense forms of the “be” auxiliary *biti* ‘be’ in association with *l*-participles of lexical verbs, which inflect for gender and number.

⁴⁶ As in Bulgarian, there are syntactic constructions in which “have” auxiliaries associate with passive participles of transitive verbs, which agree with the direct object of the sentence, such as:

- (i) *Imam pripremljeno ono što mi treba.*
have.1Sg prepared.N.Sg.Pass.Part that.N.Sg what 1Sg.Dat.Cl need.Impers
‘I have everything that I need ready.’

3.1.1.1 The present tense forms of the Serbo-Croatian “be” auxiliary are as follows:

Table 14: Present tense forms of the Serbo-Croatian auxiliary *biti* ‘be’

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>sam</i>	<i>smo</i>
2 nd	<i>si</i>	<i>ste</i>
3 rd	<i>je</i>	<i>su</i>

3.1.1.2 The paradigm of the Serbo-Croatian perfect is given in Table 15, on the example of the verb *čitati* ‘read’ (with masculine *l*-participles):⁴⁷

Table 15: Perfect of the Serbo-Croatian lexical verb *čitati* ‘read’

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>čitao sam</i>	<i>čitali smo</i>
2 nd	<i>čitao si</i>	<i>čitali ste</i>
3 rd	<i>čitao je</i>	<i>čitali su</i>

3.1.2 The auxiliary precedes the participle if there is a subject or some other non-clitic word to the left of it, and follows it otherwise.⁴⁸

- (24) a. *Starac je močio ob(j)e ruke u vodi.*
old man be.3Sg soaked.M.Sg./-Part both hands in water.Loc
‘The old man soaked both his hands in the water.’
- b. *Močio je ob(j)e ruke u vodi.*
soaked.M.Sg./-Part be.3Sg both hands in water.Loc
‘He soaked both his hands in the water.’

3.1.3 While in Bulgarian narratives the present perfect represents only unwitnessed events, in Serbo-Croatian narratives it is the unmarked tense used for any story placed in the past. Thus, the present perfect would be used not only in the Serbo-Croatian counterparts of the Bulgarian sentence (16a) – (25a), but also in the counterpart of (16b) and (16c) – (25b) and (25c), respectively:

⁴⁷ The participle has distinct masculine, feminine and neuter forms. The *l*-participle forms of the verb *čitati* ‘read’ are as follows:

L-participle forms of the Serbo-Croatian verb *čitati* ‘read’

	Singular	Plural
M	<i>čitao</i>	<i>čitali</i>
F	<i>čitala</i>	<i>čitale</i>
N	<i>čitalo</i>	<i>čitala</i>

⁴⁸ The Serbo-Croatian “be” auxiliary is a second-position or Wackernagel clausal clitic. In unmarked sentences in which the pronominal subjects are, as a rule, dropped, the clitics would be stranded in clause-initial position unless the participle moves to their left and provides a host to which they can encliticize (cf. 3.1.3 in the chapter “Clausal Clitics and Clitic-Doubling”).

- (25) a. *Radio* *sam, nisam* *visio* *po*
 worked.M.Sg./-Part be.1Sg not+be.1Sg hang.M.Sg.Imperf./-Part along
krčmama kao ti.
 pubs.Loc like you
 ‘I have worked, I have not been hanging around pubs, like yourself.’
- b. *...pogledala* *je uplašena* *i začuđena*
 glanced.F.Sg.Perf./-Part be.3Sg scared.F.Sg and wondering.F.Sg
kao posle košmarnog sna, opipala je
 like after disturbed.M.Sg.Gen dream.Gen felt.F.Sg.Perf./-Part be.3Sg
lice, ali nije ustala.
 face but not+be.3Sg got-up.F.Sg.Perf./-Part
 ‘...she glanced scared and wondering like after a bad dream, felt her face, but did not get up.’
- c. *Kostov je stareo/?staro* *i te*
 Kostov be.3Sg get-old.3Sg.Imperf./-Part and that.F.Dat/Loc
večeri se osećao
 evening.Dat/Loc Acc.Refl.Cl felt.M.Sg.Imperf./-Part
umornijim...
 tired.M.Sg.Instr.Compar
 ‘Kostov was getting old and this evening he was feeling more tired....’

3.1.4 As pointed above, the Serbo-Croatian present perfect is regularly used in non-narrative contexts, both to refer to events that happened in the past and have present relevance (i.e. with experiential and resultative usage), as in (26a-b), and to refer to events that happened at a defined period of time in the past, as in (26c):

- (26) a. *Došla ti je majka.*
 come.F.Sg./-Part 2Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Sg mother
 ‘Your mother has arrived.’
- b. *Nije želeo da se slika.*
 not+be.3Sg wanted.M.Sg./-Part Subj.Mark Refl.Acc.Cl photograph.3Sg
 ‘He did not want to get photographed.’
- c. *Projekat smo završili juče.*
 project are.1Pl finished.Pl./-Part yesterday
 ‘We finished the project yesterday.’

3.1.5 The imperfect has practically disappeared in this language,⁴⁹ while the aorist is used only as a stylistic device⁵⁰ – “for a more colourful representation of the event” (cf. Mrazović and Vukadinović 1990:119). Examples:⁵¹

- (27) a. *Zatvori brzo prozor, svuče se*
 close.3Sg.Aor fast window undress.3Sg.Aor Acc.Refl.Cl
i leže.
 and lie-down.3Sg.Aor
 ‘(S)he hurriedly closed the window, undressed and went to bed.’
- b. *Jadnoj ženi suze čak udariše na oči.*
 poor.F.Sg.Dat woman.Dat tears even strike.3Sg.Aor on eyes
 ‘Even tears began to run out of the poor woman’s eyes.’

3.2 Past perfect

The Serbo-Croatian past perfect is still active, though the present perfect is gradually ousting it out.

3.2.1 The Serbo-Croatian past perfect can be constructed (a) with imperfect forms of the “be” auxiliary, followed by *l*-participles of lexical verbs,⁵² or (b) with the perfect of the “be” auxiliary (which is formed by “be” participles followed by present tense forms of the “be” auxiliary), which are followed by *l*-participles of lexical verbs.

⁴⁹ The imperfect is never used in the mass media and colloquial speech. When used in the literature, it has an archaic note. (cf. Mrazović and Vukadinović 1990:118).

⁵⁰ The aorist is, as a rule, constructed from perfective verbs, while the imperfect is constructed from imperfective verbs. The aorist of the perfective verb *pročitati* ‘read’ and the imperfect of the imperfective verb *čitati* ‘read’ are as follows:

Aorist of the Serbo-Croatian perfective verb *pročitati* ‘read’ and imperfect of the imperfective verb *čitati*

	Aorist		Imperfect	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>pročitah</i>	<i>pročitasmo</i>	<i>čitah</i>	<i>čitаше</i>
2 nd	<i>pročita</i>	<i>pročitaste</i>	<i>čitаше</i>	<i>čitasmo</i>
3 rd	<i>“-</i>	<i>pročitaše</i>	<i>“-</i>	<i>čitahu</i>

⁵¹ Example (27a) is from the novel *Pesma* by Davičo, example (27b) from the novel *Ruke* by Marinković, both listed in Mrazović and Vukadinović (1990:119). The verbs in example (25b) could also be in the aorist if the author wants to make the narration more vivid:

- (i) *...pogleda uplašena i začuđena kao posle*
 glance.3Sg.Aor scared.F.Sg.Pass.Part and wondering.F.Sg.Pass.Part like after
košmarnog sna, opipa lice, ali ne ustade.
 disturbed.M.Sg.Gen dream.Gen feel.3Sg.Aor face but not get-up.3Sg.Aor
 ‘...she glanced scared and wondering like after a bad dream, felt her face, but did not get up.’

⁵² The constructions with imperfective forms of “be” are predominately used in South-Western Serbia, and Montenegro.

3.2.1.1 The imperfect forms of the “be” auxiliary are as follows:⁵³

Table 16: Imperfect of the Serbo-Croatian verb *biti* ‘be’

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>be(ja)h</i>	<i>be(ja)smo</i>
2 nd	<i>be(ja)še</i>	<i>be(ja)ste</i>
3 rd	<i>be(ja)še</i>	<i>be(ja)hu</i>

3.2.1.2 The two variants of the past perfect (with masculine *l*-participles) are represented in Table 17, on the example of the verb *čitati* ‘read’:

Table 17: Past perfects of the Serbo-Croatian lexical verb *čitati* ‘read’

	with imperfect “be” forms		with perfect “be” forms	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>be(ja)h čitao</i>	<i>be(ja)smo čitali</i>	<i>bio sam čitao</i>	<i>bili smo čitali</i>
2 nd	<i>be(ja)še -"-</i>	<i>be(ja)ste -"-</i>	<i>bio si -"-</i>	<i>bili ste -"-</i>
3 rd	<i>be(ja)še -"-</i>	<i>be(ja)hu -"-</i>	<i>bio je -"-</i>	<i>bili su -"-</i>

3.2.2 The Serbo-Croatian past perfect is used in expressions that denote actions that had taken place at a time point that precedes another time point in the past. Examples:⁵⁴

⁵³ Note that the variants (with or without brackets) do not reflect Serbian versus Croatian usage. The variant without brackets is actually predominately used in South-Western Serbia, Hercegovina and Montenegro.

The base from which the imperfect forms are derived differs from the base from which the present tense forms are derived.

⁵⁴ In clauses in which the subject is expressed or there are other elements to the left of the “be” auxiliary clitic, to which it can encliticize, the “be”auxiliary clitic precedes the “be” participle:

- (i) *Starac je bio završio sa jelom kad*
old-man be.3Sg been.M.Sg./l-Part finished.M.Sg./l-Part with food.Instr when
sam došao.
be.1Sg come.M.Sg./l-Part
‘The old man had finished eating when I came.’

In emphatic environments, the lexical participles can precede the tensed auxiliaries:

- (ii) *Završio be(ja)še sa jelom kad sam došao.*
finished.M.Sg./l-Part be.3Sg.Imperf with food.Instr when be.1Sg come.M.Sg./l-Part
(iii) *Završio je bio sa jelom, kad sam*
finished.M.Sg./l-Part be.3Sg been.M.Sg./l-Part with food.Instr when be.1Sg
došao.
come.M.Sg./l-Part
‘He HAD finished eating when I came.’

- (28) a₁ *Be(ja)še završio sa jelom, kad*
 be.3Sg.Imperf finished.M.Sg./I-Part with food.Instr when
sam došao.
 be.1Sg come.M.Sg./I-Part
- a₂ *Bio je završio sa jelom,*
 been.M.Sg./I-Part be.3Sg finished.M.Sg./I-Part with food.Instr
kad sam došao.
 when be.1Sg come.M.Sg./I-Part
 ‘He had finished eating when I came.’
- b₁ *Znao je tačno šta/što bejaše naučio*
 know.M.Sg./I-Part be.3Sg exactly what be.3Sg.Imperf learnt.M.Sg./I-Part
od Marka.
 from Marko.Gen
- b₂ *Znao je tačno šta/što je bio*
 know.M.Sg./I-Part be.3Sg exactly what be.3Sg been.M.Sg./I-Part
naučio od Marka.
 learnt.M.Sg./I-Part from Marko.Gen
 ‘He knew exactly what he had learnt from Marko.’

3.2.3 In all environments, however, the present perfect can be and often is used instead of the past perfect.

3.3 *Present and past perfects in the South-Eastern Serbian dialects*

In the South-Eastern Serbian dialects, the use of the perfect only partially shares the use of the perfect in Standard Serbian or Standard Croatian.

3.3.1 In non-narrative contexts the perfect depicts an event that has taken place at an indefinite time up to the moment of speaking (*cf.* 29a-d), as well as an event that has taken place at a definite time in the past (*cf.* 29e). Examples:

- (29) a. *%Treba da priznam da nesām*
 need.Impers Subj.Mark admit.1Sg.Perf.Pres that not+be.1Sg
naučila lekciju.
 learned.F.Sg./I-Part lesson.Acc
 ‘I have to admit that I haven’t learnt my lesson.’
- b. *%Rovala sam kako dete.*
 cried.F.Sg./I-Part be.1Sg like child
 ‘I cried like a child.’

- c. %*Išla* *sam u Ameriku više od deset puti.*
gone.F.Sg./-Part be.1Sg in America.Acc more from ten times
'I have gone to America more than ten times.'
- d. %*Često e putuval u Ameriku.*
often be.3Sg travelled.M.Sg./-Part in America.Acc
'He has often travelled to America.'
- e. %*Jučer sâm prodal kravu.*
yesterday be.1Sg sell.M.Sg./-Part cow.Acc
'Yesterday, I sold a/the cow.'

3.3.2 Note, however, that an event that has taken place at a definite time in the past is just as often expressed by the aorist:

- (30) %*Jučer prodadoh kravu.*
yesterday sell.3Sg.Aor cow.Acc
'Yesterday, I sold a/the cow.'

3.3.3 The imperfect, which in Standard Serbian is used only in environments with an archaic note, in the South-Eastern Serbian dialects is regularly used to denote an event that lasts for some period of time in the past. Thus, the Standard Serbian sentence (31a) with a verb in the perfect, would in the South-Eastern Serbian dialects be rendered by a sentence with a verb in the imperfect (*cf.* 31b):

- (31) a. *Gledala je zabrinuto prema reci.*
look..F.Sg./-Part be.3Sg worriedly towards river.Dat/Loc
- b. %*Gledaše zabrinuto prema reku.*
look.3Sg.Imperf worriedly towards river.Acc
'(S)he was looking worriedly towards the river.'

3.3.4 The use of the perfect in narratives is in some respects like its use in Bulgarian and in others like its use in Serbian. Lindstedt (1998:179-180) quotes the beginning of a South-Eastern Serbian (Torlak) folk tale recorded and transcribed by Olaf Broch at the very beginning of the twentieth century (*cf.* Broch 1903):

- (32) %*Jedān ribar išāl da vata*
a.M.Sg fisherman gone.M.Sg./-Part Subj.Mark catch.3Sg
ribe. Pa kāt se vrnul iz lov,
fish.Pl so when Acc.Refl.Cl come-back.M.Sg./-Part from hunt
najde na put lisicu koja se bila
find.3Sg.Aor on road fox.Acc which.F.Sg Acc.Refl.Cl been.F.Sg./-Part
umrtvila. *On ju uzne i*
made-like-dead.F.Sg./-Part he 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl take.3Sg.Perf.Pres and
turi u kola. Kād je išāl niz put
put.3Sg.Perf.Pres/Aor in cart when be.3Sg gone.M.Sg./-Part along road
lisica uzne ribe i izvrljala ribe iz kola...
fox take.3Sg.Perf.Pres fish.Pl and thrown.F.Sg./-Part fish.Pl from cart
'A fisherman went to catch fish. When he came back from fishing, on the road he found a fox that had made itself dead. He took it and put it on the cart. When he went along the road, the fox took the fish and threw them down from the cart....'

3.3.5 The story begins as a typical Bulgarian folk tale, with a DP with an indefinite article (*jedān ribar* ‘a fishermen’) and a verb in the perfect without auxiliary (*išāl* ‘gone.M.Sg./-Part’). The perfect is also used later in the plot. It however, alternates with the perfective present and the aorist, which, as shown above (cf. 3.1.5), in Serbo-Croatian are used to make the presentation more colourful (cf. Mrazović and Vukadinović 1990:119). Moreover, Lindstedt (1998:179) points out that further down in the story, the fox’s speech is rendered by a perfect with an auxiliary, as in standard Serbian:⁵⁵

- (33) %*Ja sām ji navatala.*
 I be.1Sg Pl.Acc.Cl caught.F.Sg./-Part
 ‘I have caught them.’

3.3.6 In the South-Eastern Serbian dialects, there is no clear distinction between the representation of events witnessed by the speakers and the representation of events of which the speaker is unaware. Yet, the perfect can sometimes have an evidential function. Thus, wondering or admiration is in the South-Eastern Serbian dialects expressed by the perfect, as in Macedonian and Bulgarian (cf. 1.5.2 and 2.3.2).⁵⁶

- (34) %*Ama ti si bil veliki junak!*
 but you be.2Sg been.M.Sg./-Part great hero
 ‘(I did not know that) you are (such) a great hero!’

3.3.7 Events that had taken place before the events in the past are rendered by the past perfect (in which *l*-participles of lexical verbs are in construction with present forms of the “be” auxiliary, as well as with the *l*-participle of that auxiliary). Example:⁵⁷

- (35) %*Bili su putovali mnogo sati kad je avtobus stao u neki grad.*
 have.Pl./-Part be.3Pl travelled.M.Pl./-Part many hours when be.1Sg
 bus stopped.M.Sg./-Part in some town
 ‘They had been travelling for many hours when the bus stopped in some town.’

⁵⁵ In Bulgarian, direct speech like this would be rendered by the aorist.

⁵⁶ In standard Serbian, a sentence like (34) would be unacceptable.

⁵⁷ The clausal clitics are syntactically preverbal but phonologically enclitic, as in Bulgarian, and, accordingly, cannot occur in clause-initial position. The participles appear in clause-initial position when the subject is dropped and there are no other lexical elements to the left of the clitics in the Left Periphery. The lexical participle appears in this position only in marked sentences.

3.3.8 In the easternmost boundary of the South-Eastern Serbian dialects, there are constructions formed by conditional (“would”) *l*-participles, followed by “be” auxiliary clitics and subjunctive constructions, which are used to narrate non-witnessed or reported events, to which we may refer as “evidential future-in-the-past” constructions.⁵⁸

4. Romanian

In Romanian, the appearance of the perfect is related to the rearrangement of the system of past tenses in late Latin, when resultativeness began to be expressed by the auxiliaries *habeo* ‘have’ and *esse* ‘be’, plus past participles. Subsequently, these constructions replaced the synthetic Latin perfect in its basic function of expressing the completion of an action in the past (cf. Asenova 2002:242-243). In Standard Romanian, the synthetic perfect does not occur; it is used only in some Romanian dialects. Evidentiality is only peripherally grammaticalized, if at all.

4.1 “Simple” and “composite” perfects

Romanian grammars make a distinction between a synthetic perfect tense – traditionally referred to as the “simple perfect, and an analytic “have” perfect – traditionally referred to as the “composite perfect”.

4.1.1 While the simple perfect is derived through suffixation, the composite perfect is constructed from present tense forms of the auxiliary *avea* ‘have’, followed by invariant past participles.

4.1.1.1 When used as an auxiliary, *avea* ‘have’ has phonologically reduced, clitic forms. The present tense forms of *avea* are given in Table 18:

Table 18: Present tense forms of the Romanian verb *avea* ‘have’

	Singular		Plural	
	Full	Clitic	Full	Clitic
1 st	===	<i>am</i> =====	<i>avem</i>	<i>am</i>
2 nd	===	<i>ai</i> =====	<i>aveți</i>	<i>ați</i>
3 rd	<i>are</i>	<i>a</i>	===	<i>au</i> ==

4.1.1.2 The paradigms of the simple and composite perfect for the verb *dormi* ‘sleep’ are given in Table 19:

⁵⁸ Cf. 3.12.4 in the chapter “Infinitives and Subjunctives”.

Table 19: “Simple” and “composite” perfect tenses of the Romanian lexical verb *dormi* ‘sleep’

	Simple Perfect (Aorist)		Composite Perfect	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>dormii</i>	<i>dormirăm</i>	<i>am dormit</i>	<i>am dormit</i>
2 nd	<i>dormiși</i>	<i>dormirăți</i>	<i>ai -"-</i>	<i>ați -"-</i>
3 rd	<i>dormi</i>	<i>dormiră</i>	<i>a -"-</i>	<i>au -"-</i>

4.1.2 The simple perfect, actually the aorist, is used only in certain regions – Oltenia, Banat, Crishana, where it refers to an event that has taken place in the recent past.⁵⁹ D’Hulst, Coene and Avram (2004:363) quote the following example from Oltenia:

- (36) %*Ieri* *am* *primit* *telegrama* *și* *azi*
yesterday have.1Sg accepted.Past.Part telegram and today
venii *aici.*
come.1Sg.Aor here
‘Yesterday I received a telegram and today I came here.’

In Standard Romanian, as well as in many of its regional dialects, the analytic “have” perfect has ousted out the simple perfect.

4.1.3 Unlike the “have” perfects of the Western Romance languages, which are selected only by unaccusative verbs (unergative verbs selecting the “be” perfect), the Romanian “have” perfect is selected by both unaccusative and unergative verbs. It is used both for the expression of an action

⁵⁹ Up to the 19th century, the aorist was currently used to denote an action that took place in the past. D’Hulst, Coene and Avram (2004:363) quote the following 19th century example (from Heliade Rădulescu 1828:92):

- (i) %*Săvîrșiiiă* *ceea* *ce* *mi* *ai* *dat.*
end.3Sg.Aor that what 1Sg.Dat.Cl have.2Sg given.Past.Part
‘I finished the task that you assigned to me’. (lit. ‘I ended that what you have given me.’)

Unlike the aorist, the imperfect is still, though rarely, used. The imperfect forms for the verb *dormi* ‘sleep’ are as follows:

Imperfect forms of the Romanian verb *dormi* ‘sleep’

	Singular	Plural
1 st	===== <i>dormeam</i> =====	
2 nd	<i>dormeai</i>	<i>dormeați</i>
3 rd	<i>dormea</i>	<i>dormeau</i>

D’Hulst, Coene and Avram (2004:363) quote the following example with an imperfect:

- (i) *El* *pe* *cal* *încăleca.*
he on horse ride.3Sg.Imperf
‘He came riding a horse’.

that has begun at a point of time in the past and lasts until the moment of speaking, and for the expression of an action that has occurred at a given point of time in the past:

- (37) a. *Au* *bătut* *ei* *copilul.*
have.3Pl.Cl beaten.Past.Part they child+the.M.Sg
'They have beaten/beat the child.'
- b. *Au* *sosit* *toți* *musafirii.*
have.3Pl.Cl arrived.Past.Part all.M.Pl guests+the.M.Sg
'All the guests (have) arrived.'
- c. *Au* *zburat* *toate* *vrăbiile*
have.3Pl.Cl flown.Past.Part all.F.Pl sparrows+the.M.Pl
de pe rengi.
from of branches.
'All the sparrows have flown/flew from the branches.'
- d. *Am* *plantat* *un* *trandafir* *în* *grădină.*
have.1Sg planted.Past.Part a rose in garden
'I (have) planted a rose in the garden.'
- e. *Nu* *l-am* *văzut* *demult* *pe*
not 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg seen.Past.Part of-much Acc.Mark
Ion.
Ion
'I haven't seen Ion for a long time.'
- f. *L-am* *văzut* *pe* *Ion* *ieri.*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg seen.Past.Part Acc.Mark Ion yesterday
'I saw Ion yesterday.'
- g. *M-am* *plimbat* *prin* *oraș* *ieri.*
1Sg.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg walked.Past.Part through town yesterday.
'I walked through the town yesterday.'
- h. *Am* *vrut* *să* *mănînc*
have.1Sg wanted.PastPart Subj.Mark eat.1Sg
sandwichiul acela.
sandwich+the.M.Sg that
'I wanted to eat that sandwich.'

4.2 Past perfect

For the expression of an action that has taken place prior to another action in the past, Romanian does not use a "have" past perfect, as do the majority of Romance languages, but rather a (synthetic) past perfect.

4.2.1 For the verb *dormi* ‘sleep’, the paradigm of this past perfect is as follows:⁶⁰

Table 20: Past perfect of the Romanian lexical verb *dormi* ‘sleep’

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>dormisem</i>	<i>dormiserăm</i>
2 nd	<i>dormiseși</i>	<i>dormiserăți</i>
3 rd	<i>dormise</i>	<i>dormiseră</i>

4.2.2 An example of the use of the past perfect is given in (38):

- (38) *M-a* *invitat* *la* *film,* *dar* *îl*
1Sg.Acc.CI-have.3Sg invited.Past.Part to movie but 3Sg.Acc.CI
văzusem *deja.*
see.3Sg.Past.Perf already
‘(S)he invited me to a movie, but I had seen it already.’

4.3 Use of the “be” auxiliary

Forms of the “be” auxiliary are used in a number of constructions.

4.3.1 The “be” auxiliary has three indicative sets of forms – present, past (imperfect) and past perfect,⁶¹ which are listed in Table 21:

Table 21: Indicative forms of the Romanian “be” auxiliary

	Present		Past (Imperfect)		Past Perfect	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>sunt</i>	<i>suntem</i>	<i>eram</i>	<i>era</i>	= = = <i>fusesem</i> = = =	
2 nd	<i>ești</i>	<i>sunteți</i>	<i>erai</i>	<i>erați</i>	<i>fuseseseși</i>	<i>fuseserăți</i>
3 rd	<i>este</i>	<i>sunt</i>	<i>era</i>	<i>erau</i>	<i>fusesese</i>	<i>fuseseră</i>

4.3.2 The present tense “be” auxiliary forms, in construction with inflecting passive participles⁶² of unaccusative verbs, express events that had taken place in the past, but have present relevance,

⁶⁰ With strong verbs, the morpheme used to express the simple past or aorist is reduplicated in the past perfect. For the verb “tell”, D’Hulst, Coene and Avram (2004:363) quote the following first person aorist and past perfect forms:

- (i) aorist past perfect
spu-se-i *spu-se-se-m*
‘I told’ ‘I had told’

⁶¹ There is also a set of subjunctive forms (cf. 4.4.3 of the chapter “Infinitives and Subjunctives”).

⁶² The passive participles have distinct forms for masculine singular, feminine singular and masculine plural and feminine plural.

while the past tense “be” auxiliary forms, in construction with inflecting passive participles of unaccusative verbs, express events that had taken place before another past event, but their relevance extends up to the moment when that event is happening. Examples with present tense “be” forms are given in (39):⁶³

- (39) a. Copiii sunt plecați.
children+the.M.Pl be.3Pl left.M.Pl.Pass.Part
'The children have left.'
- b. Sunt mâncată, pot să rezist.
am eaten.F.Sg.Pass.Part can.1Sg Subj.Mark resist.1Sg
'I have eaten and can last.'

4.3.3 According to Alboiu and Motapanyane (2000:18), Avram (1997) argues that the structures exemplified in (39) have properties distinct from the properties of *avea* ‘have’ plus invariable past participle structures, and do not have the value of a present perfect. But the only difference between these two sets of forms seems to be that the “be” forms plus inflecting participles are (mainly or only) used with unaccusative (intransitive) verbs and have only resultative readings, while the “have” forms are used with transitive, unergative as well as with unaccusative (or intransitive) verbs and can have either resultative or experiential readings. Like their Macedonian counterparts (*cf.* 1.5.2), the Romanian structures exemplified in (39) could be treated as “be” perfects.

4.3.4 Present or past tense “be” auxiliary forms, plus passive participles of transitive verbs, yield passive constructions:

- (40) Nu este tăiată.
not be.3Sg cut.F.Sg.Pass.Part
'It is not cut.'

4.3.5 The invariant form of the “be” auxiliary *fi*, which originally was a third person aorist form, but nowadays is referred to as “infinitive form” or “perfect form”, combines with past participles of lexical verbs to express anteriority to a past event/action.⁶⁴

Forms of the Romanian passive participles of the verb *tăia* ‘cut’

	Singular	Plural
Masc.	<i>tăiat</i>	<i>tăiați</i>
Fem.	<i>tăiată</i>	<i>tăiate</i>

⁶³ Example (39b) is from Alboiu and Motapanyane (2000:18).

⁶⁴ The label “perfect form” reflects its usage to express anteriority to past events/actions. According to D’Hulst, Coene and Avram (2004:364) *fi* can be considered as a perfect auxiliary, merging with the perfect infinitive in subjunctive, conditional and future configurations.

- (41) *Voiam* *să* *mă* *fi* *plimbat.*
want.1Sg.Imperf Subj.Mark 1Sg.Acc.Cl be.Inf walked.Past.Part
'I wished that I had walked.'

4.3.6 Preceded by the invariable modal clitic *o* or by inflecting expectative (“will”) modal clitics, *fi*, plus invariable past participles, represents the “future-in-the-past” tense, while preceded by forms of the inflecting modal “have” clitics, it represents the “past conditional” tense of the language.⁶⁵

4.3.6.1 The forms of the “will” auxiliaries and the modal “have” auxiliaries are given in Table 22:

Table 22: Forms of the Romanian “will” auxiliary and the modal “have” auxiliary⁶⁶

	“will” auxiliaries		modal “have” auxiliaries	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>voi</i>	<i>vom</i>	<i>aș</i>	<i>am</i>
2 nd	<i>vei</i>	<i>veți</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>ați</i>
3 rd	<i>va</i>	<i>vor</i>	====	<i>ar</i> =====

4.3.6.2 Examples of usage of the “future-in-the-past” and “past conditional” tenses are given (42a) and (42b), respectively:

- (42) a₁ *S-o* *fi* *plimbat* *Ion.*
Acc.Refl.Cl-will.Cl be.Inf walked.Past.Part Ion
a₂ *Se* *va* *fi* *plimbat* *Ion.*
Acc.Refl.Cl will.3Sg.Mod.Cl be.Inf walked.Past.Part Ion
'Ion will have walked.'
b. *Ar* *fi* *mai bine* *să* *nu-i*
would.3Sg.Mod.Cl be.Inf more good Subj.Mark not-3Sg.Dat.Cl
citească *aceste cărți.*
read.3Sg.Subj.Pres these books
'It would be better if (s)he did not read these books to her/him.'

4.3.7 In construction with a present participle or gerund, *fi* expresses a continuous action to take place in the future. Example:

⁶⁵ While the forms of the “will” auxiliaries historically relate to the modal auxiliary *vrea* ‘will’, the forms of the modal “have” auxiliaries historically relate to the auxiliary *avea* ‘have’. D’Hulst, Coene and Avram (2004:364) argue that, contrary to their lexical counterparts, the auxiliaries *avea* ‘have’ and *fi* ‘be’ do not inflect for tense, so that in the future perfect and the past conditional, anteriority is expressed on the main verb, not on the auxiliary.

O is a reduced invariant form of the “will” auxiliary clitic for some authors, while for others it is a reduced invariant form of the “have” auxiliary.

⁶⁶ The modal “have” auxiliaries are translated into English as ‘would’.

- (43) *Ion s-o fi plimbînd.*
 Ion Acc.Refl.Cl-will.Cl be.Inf walking.Pres.Part
 ‘Ion will be walking (now).’

4.3.8 In clauses with nominal predicates, *fi* is in constructions with the “be” participle *fost*:

- (44) a. *Dacă n-ar fi fost bolnav,*
 if not-would.3Sg.Mod.Cl be.Inf been.Past.Part ill.M.Sg
s-ar fi plimbat.
 Acc.Refl.Cl-would.3Sg.Mod.Cl be.Inf walked.Past.Part
 ‘If he hadn’t been ill, he would have gone for a walk.’
- b. *Dacă ai fi fost aici,*
 if have.2Sg be.Inf been.Past.Part here
te-ar fi luat.
 2Sg.Acc.Cl-would.3Pl.Mod.Cl be.Inf taken.Past.Part
 ‘If you had been here, they would have taken you.’
- c. *Ar fi fost mai bine să*
 would.3Sg.Mod.Cl be.Inf been.Past.Part more good Subj.Mark
fie o fată.
 be.3Sg.Imperf a.F girl
 ‘It would have been better if it was a girl.’

4.3.9 In some Transylvanian dialects,⁶⁷ the “be” auxiliary past participle *fost* is used in the construction of perfect tenses. Examples:

- (45) a. *%o fost venînd*
 have.3Sg.Cl been.Past.Part come.Pres.Part
 ‘he had been coming’
- b. *%o fost venit*
 have.3Sg.Cl been.Past.Part come.Past.Part
 ‘he had come’

4.4 Evidentiality

Constructions with forms of the “will” or “would” modal auxiliaries, plus *fi*, plus present or past participles, have been treated as some kind of exponents of evidentiality.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ In the dialects of Apuseni and Tara Hațegului, and to some extent in the dialects of Maramureș and Muntenia. In these dialects, the third person singular of the “have” auxiliary is *o*.

⁶⁸ Dimitriu (1979: 269-71) treats the “will”/“would”, plus *fi*, plus present participle constructions, as present presumptive and the “will”/“would”, plus *fi*, plus past participle constructions, as past presumptive constructions. Nevertheless, as pointed out by Friedman (2004:112), evidential-like uses of similar modal constructions in Western Romance can be adduced as an argument against the independent status of the Romanian past presumptive. On the other hand, none

4.4.1 Friedman (2004:112) quotes Romanian translations of Bulgarian sentences in which the “be” perfect is used to report a past event, pointing out that in these translations, constructions with *fi* are used:

- (46) a. Bul *Kaza mi, e tuj mome imalo*
 tell.3Sg.Aor 1Sg.Dat.Cl that this boy had.N.Sg./-Part
u vas, v Blgarija, brat inovnik.
 by you.Acc in Bulgaria brother official
- Rom *mi spuse cum c biatul*
 1Sg.Dat.Cl say.3Sg.Aor how that boy+the.M.Sg
ar fi avnd n Bulgaria
 would.3Sg.Mod.Cl be.Inf having.Pres.Part in Bulgaria
un frate ofiter.
 a brother officer
- ‘He told me that this boy had a brother, an official.’
- b. Bul *Baj Ganjo poiska az da poerpja,*
 Baj Ganjo want.3Sg.Aor I Subj.Mark treat.1Sg.Perf.Pres
ponee iz ptja sm puil ot
 because along road+the.M.Sg be.1Sg smokedM.Sg./-Part from
negovija tjutjun.
 his+the.M.Sg tobacco
- Rom *Bai Ganiu mi ceru s-i*
 Bai Ganiu 1Sg.Dat.Cl sought.3Sg.Aor Subj.Mark-3Sg.M.Acc
fac cinste, deoarece pe drum a
 make.1Sg treat since on road would.1Sg.Mod.Cl
fi fumat din tutumul lui.
 be.Inf smoked.Past.Part from tobacco+the.M.Sg his
- ‘Baj Ganjo wanted me to treat him, since on the road I had smoked some of his tobacco.’

5. Megleno-Romanian

In Megleno-Romanian the “have” perfect coexists with synthetic past tense forms.⁶⁹ There is a “be” perfect. Evidentiality is grammaticalized by distinct forms.

of the Western Romance languages possesses a construction equivalent to the Romanian present presumptive, nor do they use the “be” auxiliary in active constructions (*cf.* Manoliu-Manea 1994: 270).

⁶⁹ The aorist and the imperfect are used regularly.

5.1 Forms of the Megleno-Romanian perfects

There are two perfect and two inverted perfect sets of forms in Megleno-Romanian which use the present and past (imperfect) forms of the auxiliary *veari* ‘have’, respectively.

5.1.1 The present and past tense forms of the auxiliary *veari* are given in Table 23:

Table 23: Present and past tense forms of the Megleno-Romanian auxiliary *veari* ‘have’

	Present		Imperfect	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>am</i>	<i>vem</i>	=====	<i>veam</i> =====
2 nd	<i>ai</i>	<i>veŧ</i>	<i>veai</i>	<i>veaŧ</i>
3 rd	<i>ari</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>vea</i>	<i>veau</i>

5.1.2 The present tense forms of the Megleno-Romanian auxiliary *veari* ‘have’, plus invariant past participles, yield the Megleno-Romanian present perfect.⁷⁰ The paradigm of the present perfect of the verb *viniri* ‘come’ is listed in Table 24:

Table 24: Present perfect of the Megleno-Romanian lexical verb *viniri* ‘come’

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>am vinit</i>	<i>vem vinit</i>
2 nd	<i>ai</i> -"-	<i>veŧ</i> -"-
3 rd	<i>ari</i> -"-	<i>au</i> -"-

5.1.3 Past (imperfect) forms of the Megleno-Romanian auxiliary *veari* ‘have’, plus invariant past participles, yield the Megleno-Romanian past perfect. The past perfect paradigm of the verb *viniri* ‘come’ is listed in Table 25:

Table 25: Past perfect of the Megleno-Romanian lexical verb *viniri* ‘come’

	Singular	Plural
1 st	== = <i>veam vinit</i> == =	
2 nd	<i>veai vinit</i>	<i>veaŧ vinit</i>
3 rd	<i>vea vinit</i>	<i>veau vinit</i>

5.1.4 Past participles of lexical verbs, followed by present tense forms of the auxiliary *veari* ‘have’ yield the inverted present perfect. The paradigm of the inverted present perfect of the verb *viniri* ‘come’ is given in Table 26:

⁷⁰ The form of this (past) participle is equivalent to the masculine form of the inflected passive participle.

5.2.2 The present perfect can also be used to express events that occurred at a definite point of time in the past – in free variation with the aorist or the imperfect:⁷²

- (48) a. *Si duŭea ăŃ căŝăba ier.*
Acc.Refl.Cl walk.3Sg.Imperf in town yesterday
b. *Si ari dus ăŃ căŝăba ier.*
Acc.Refl.Cl have.3Sg walked.Past.Part in town yesterday
'(S)he walked through town yesterday.'
- (49) a. *Nu la vizui ier.*
not 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Aor yesterday
b. *Nu l-am vizut ier.*
not 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl+have.1Sg seen.Past.Part yesterday
'I didn't see him yesterday.'
- (50) a. *Mi umăroi mult ier.*
1Sg.Acc.Cl get tired.1Sg.Aor much yesterday
b. *Mi am umărot mult ier.*
1Sg.M.Acc.Cl have.1Sg tired.Past.Part much yesterday
'I got very tired yesterday.'

5.2.3 Preceded by the subjunctive marker *si*, the present perfect denotes an action that is to be completed by a definite point of time in the future.⁷³ Example:

- (51) *Pana moini la rucioc s-la vem*
till tomorrow to lunch Subj.Mark-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl have.1Sg
sfărŝot proectu.
finished.Past.Part project+the.M.Sg
'By tomorrow noon we shall have finished the project.'

⁷² The aorist and imperfect forms of the verb *viniri* 'come' are as follows:

Aorist and imperfect forms of the Megleno-Romanian verb *viniri* 'come'

	Aorist		Imperfect	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>vinii</i>	<i>vinim</i>	===== <i>vineam</i> =====	
2 nd	<i>viniş</i>	<i>vinii</i>	<i>vinei</i>	<i>vineai</i>
3 rd	<i>vini</i>	<i>vinii</i>	<i>vinea</i>	<i>vineau</i>

⁷³ The present perfect preceded by the subjunctive marker actually acts as a future-in-the-past in Megleno-Romanian, where the "will" auxiliary is not used in the formation of the future tenses. Cf. 5.8.1 in the chapter "Infinitives and Subjunctives."

5.3 Use of the Megleno-Romanian past perfect

The Megleno-Romanian past perfect denotes an action that has taken place before another action in the past.

- (52) a. *Si vea ănvirnot la*
 Acc.Refl.Cl have.3Sg.Imperf become-angry.Past.Part to
tini, di ȝea nu vini.
 you.Sg.Obl for that not come.3Sg.Aor
 ‘He had gotten angry with you, that is why he didn’t come.’
- b. *Con vinii io ȝea vichim vea*
 when come.1Sg.Aor I she already have.1Sg.Imperf
fuzit.
 gone.Past.Part
 ‘When I arrived, she was already gone.’

5.4 Use of the inverted present perfect

The inverted present perfect is an exponent of evidentiality.

5.4.1 Typically, the Megleno-Romanian inverted present perfect can render reported or circumstantially deduced actions:

- (53) a. *Nu verues ca ie vinitau.*
 not believe.1Sg that he come.3Sg/Pl.Inv.Perf
 ‘I don’t believe that he has come.’
- b. *Ei ȝtiutau ama nu na spusară.*
 they know.3Sg/Pl.Inv.Perf but not 3Pl.Acc.Cl say.3Pl.Aor
 ‘They must have known (that), but did not tell us.’
- c. *Nu ra casă; fostau la lucru.*
 not be.3Sg.Imperf but be.3Sg/Pl.Inv.Perf on work
 ‘He wasn’t at home; (I understand that) he was at work.’

5.4.2 The Megleno-Romanian inverted present perfect can express surprise, admiration, amazement or irony:

- (54) *Tu fostai ăncrilață!*
 you be.3Sg.Inv.Perf clever.F.Sg
 1. You are clever!’ (admiration)
 2. ‘(I am surprised to see that) you are so clever.
 3. ‘You clever!’ (irony)

5.4.3 The Megleno-Romanian inverted present perfect can also be used in story-telling:⁷⁴

- (55) *Ășh vutau ună mumă trei feati shi*
 Dat.Refl.Cl have.3Sg.Inv.Perf a.F mother three girls and
li trimeasau la spilarea la vali. Cum
 3Pl.Acc.Cl send.3Sg/Pl.Inv.Perf to washing to river as
spilatau cuola vinitau ună meară di pri vali...
 wash.3Sg.Inv.Perf there come.3Sg/Pl.Inv.Perf a.F apple from along river
 ‘(Once upon a time) a mother had three daughters and she sent them to do laundry at the river. As they were washing there an apple came (floating) down the river...’

5.5 Use of the inverted past perfect

The inverted past perfect typically expresses reported or circumstantially deduced events or actions that have begun at a point of the past and last until a past moment.

- (56) a. *Con vinii io Țea vichim vutau*
 when come.1Sg.Aor I that.F/she already have.3Sg/Pl.Inv.Perf
fuzit.
 gone.Past.Part
 ‘When I came, she had already gone.’
- b. *Vutau vizut vrină feată ăń drumu.*
 have.3Sg/Pl.Inv.Perf seen.Past.Part some girl in road+the.M.Sg
 ‘(S)he/they had, reportedly, seen some girl on the way.’
- c. *Zisi ca Ț-li vutau dat.*
 say.3Sg that 2Sg.Dat.Cl+3Pl.F.Acc.Cl have.3Sg/Pl.Inv.Perf given.Past.Part
 ‘(S)he says that (s)he had given them to you.’

5.6 Use of the “be” auxiliary

While the “have” auxiliary is used in construction with invariant past participles, the “be” auxiliary is used in construction with passive participles that inflect for gender and number.

5.6.1 The (indicative) present, aorist and imperfect forms of the Megleno-Romanian auxiliary *iri* ‘be’ are given in Table 29:

⁷⁴ (55) is from Atanasov (1990: 220-221).

Table 29: Present, aorist and imperfect of the Megleno-Romanian auxiliary *iri* ‘be’

Present			Aorist	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>sam</i>	<i>im</i>	<i>fui</i>	<i>fum</i>
2 nd	<i>ies</i> ⁷⁵	<i>iṭ</i>	<i>fuş</i>	<i>fuṭ</i>
3 rd	<i>ăi</i> (reduced: <i>i/u</i>) ⁷⁶	<i>sa</i> (variant: <i>ṭa</i>) ⁷⁷	<i>fu</i>	<i>fu</i>
Imperfect				
	Singular	Plural		
1 st	===== <i>ram</i> =====			
2 nd	<i>rai</i>	<i>raṭ</i>		
3 rd	<i>ra</i>	<i>rau</i>		

⁷⁵ The first person singular ending *-m* and second person singular ending *-ş* are borrowed from Macedonian. There are dialects in which these endings appear to the right of the native Megleno-Romanian first and second person singular endings *-u* and *-i*, respectively. Thus we have:

- (i) %*aflum* (*aflu* + *-m*) ‘find.1Sg’
- (ii) %*afliş* (*aflī* + *-ş*) ‘find.2Sg’

⁷⁶ Reduced forms occur when the auxiliary is preceded by pronominal clitics. *U* occurs to the left of pronominal clitics ending on the vowel *i* or a palatal consonant, otherwise we have *i*:

- (i) *La mini nj-u greu.*
to me 1Sg.Dat.Cl-be.3Sg difficult
‘It is difficult for me.’
- (ii) *La tini ṭ-u greu.*
to you.Sg 2Sg.Dat.Cl-be.3Sg difficult
‘It is difficult for you.’
- (iii) *La iel i-u greu.*
to him 3Sg.Dat.Cl-be.3Sg difficult
‘It is difficult for him.’
- (iv) *La noi na-i greu.*
to us 1Pl.Dat.Cl-be.3Sg difficult
‘It is difficult for us.’

⁷⁷ *ṭa* occurs to the left of a lexical item or a pronominal clitic ending on the vowel *i*. Example:

- (i) *Ăi ṭa greli ăntriborli.*
3Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Pl difficult.F.Pl questions+the.F.Sg
‘The questions are difficult for him./His questions are difficult.’

5.6.2 The present tense forms of the “be” auxiliary, in construction with (inflecting) passive participles of unaccusative verbs⁷⁸ actually represent a “be” perfect, which expresses the result of an action that had begun some time in the past and lasts until the moment of speaking.⁷⁹ Examples:

- (57) a. *Io sam turnat din Bitola.*
 I be.1Sg returned.M.Sg.Pass.Part from Bitola
 ‘I have come back from Bitola.’
- b. *Sam vinit si zăprikăjom.*⁸⁰
 be.1Sg come.M.Sg.Pass.Part Subj.Mark talk.1Pl
 ‘I have come for a chat.’ (lit. ‘I have come to talk a little.’)

5.6.3 The imperfect forms of the “be” auxiliary plus inflecting passive participles of unaccusative verbs represent the Megleno-Romanian “be” past perfect, which renders the result of an action that had begun some time in the past and lasts until another moment in the past. Examples:

- (58) *Ram turnat din Bitola, con ea vini.*
 be.1Sg.Imperf returned.M.Sg.Pass.Part from Bitola when she come.3Sg.Aor
 ‘I had come back from Bitola, when she came.’

5.6.4 Any of the “be” forms, in construction with inflecting passive participles of transitive verbs, participate in passive constructions. Examples:

- (59) a. *Nu-i prătăiat.*
 not+be.1Sg cut.M.Sg.Pass.Part
 ‘It is not cut.’
- b. *Nu fu/ra prătăiat ier.*
 not be.3Sg.Imperf/Aor cut.M.Sg.Pass.Part yesterday
 ‘It was not cut yesterday.’

6. Aromanian

As in Megleno-Romanian, in Aromanian, the “have” perfect coexists with synthetic past tense forms. Evidentiality is not, as a rule, grammaticalized.⁸¹

⁷⁸ The passive participles have distinct forms for masculine singular, feminine singular and masculine/feminine plural.

Forms of the Megleno-Romanian passive participles of the verb *viniri* ‘come’

M.Sg *vinit*
 F.Sg *vinita*
 M/F.Pl *viniti*

⁷⁹ While the “have” perfect constructions lay an emphasis on the experience, the “be” perfect constructions express resultativeness (though they can also be used to express past actions/states). Compare to (57b) to (47c).

⁸⁰ This verb – a borrowing from Macedonian, has a repetitive meaning. Note that in the Macedonian word *poprika-žuvame* ‘talk.1Pl.Repet’, which was the source for this Megleno-Romanian word, the repetitive meaning is represented by the prefix *po-*. Thus, the Slavonic aspect has reflexes in Megleno-Romanian.

⁸¹ Urban Aromanian blocked the development of the Balkan Slavic evidential in the southern Macedonian city of Bitola.

6.1 *Forms of the Aromanian “have” perfect*

The Aromanian “have” perfect is constructed from present and past (imperfect)⁸² forms of the verb *am*⁸³ ‘have’, plus invariant past participles.⁸⁴

6.1.1 The present and imperfect forms of *am* ‘have’ are listed in Table 30:

Table 30: Present and imperfect forms of the Aromanian auxiliary *am* ‘have’

	Present		Imperfect	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>am</i>	<i>avem</i>	===== <i>aveam</i> =====	
2 nd	<i>ai</i>	<i>avets</i>	<i>avei</i>	<i>aveats</i>
3 rd	<i>are</i>	<i>au</i>	===== <i>avea</i> =====	

6.1.2 The present perfect is constructed from present tense forms of *am* ‘have’, plus invariant past participles. The paradigm of the present perfect of the verb *yin*⁸⁵ ‘come’ is listed in Table 31:

Table 31: Present perfect of the Aromanian lexical verb *yin* ‘come’

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>am vinită</i>	<i>avem vinită</i>
2 nd	<i>ai</i> -"-	<i>avets</i> -"-
3 rd	<i>are</i> -"-	<i>au</i> -"-

6.1.3 The imperfect forms of *am* ‘have’, plus invariant past participles, yield the Aromanian past perfect. The past perfect forms of the verb *yin* ‘come’ are listed in Table 32:

Table 32: Past perfect of the Aromanian lexical verb *yin* ‘come’

	Singular	Plural
1 st	===== <i>aveam vinită</i> ==	
2 nd	<i>avei vinită</i>	<i>aveats vinită</i>
3 rd	===== <i>avea vinită</i> ==	

⁸² These are the only past tense forms of the auxiliary *am* ‘have’ in actual use.

⁸³ The citation forms of all Aromanian verbs are the 1st person indicative present tense forms.

⁸⁴ While the forms of the Macedonian invariant past participle are equivalent to the neuter forms of the inflecting passive participle, and the forms of the Aromanian invariant past participle are equivalent to the masculine forms of the inflecting passive participle, the forms of the Aromanian invariant past participles are equivalent to the feminine form of inflecting passive participles.

⁸⁵ The verb *yin* ‘come’ is suppletive.

6.2 Use of the Aromanian present perfect

6.2.1 The Aromanian present perfect is primarily used for the representation of an action that has begun some time in the past and lasts until the moment of speaking:

- (60) a. *Nu l-am vidzută di lun.*
not 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl+have.1Sg seen.Past.Part from Monday
'I haven't seen him since (last) Monday.'
- b. *U-am yiuvisită aistă carte.*
3Sg.F.Acc.Cl+have.1Sg read.Past.Part this.F book
'I have read this book.'
- c. *Am vinită atsia multe or.*
have.1Sg come.Past.Part here many.F.Pl times
'I have come here more than once.'
- d. *Me-am dusă tu aistă politie multe or.*
1Sg.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg gone.Past.Part in this.F city many times
'I have gone to this city more than once.'
- e. *Me-am aflată tu lae catastase.*
1Sg.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg found.Past.Part in bad.F.Sg situation
'I ended up in a bad situation.'
- f. *Me-am curmată multu ază.*
1Sg.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg tired.Past.Part much today
'I have got very tired today.'

6.2.2 The Aromanian present perfect can also be used to express events that occurred at a definite point of time in the past – in free variation with the aorist (and occasionally with the imperfect forms of the lexical verb).⁸⁶

- (61) a. *Am vinită di Ohârda aseara.*
have.1Sg come.Past.Part from Ohrid yesterday

⁸⁶ Some verbs have both imperfect and aorist forms, while others have only imperfect or only aorist ones. The aorist and imperfect forms of the verb *yin* 'come' are as follows:

Aorist and imperfect forms of the Aromanian verb *yin* 'come'

	Aorist		Imperfect	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>vinj</i>	<i>vinim</i>	= = = <i>yineam</i>	= = =
2 nd	<i>vinish</i>	<i>vinits</i>	<i>yinei</i>	<i>yineats</i>
3 rd	<i>vini</i>	<i>viniră</i>	= = = <i>yinea</i>	= = =

- b. *Vinj di Ohârda aseara.*
 come.1Sg.Aor from Ohrid yesterday
 ‘I came from Ohrid yesterday.’
- (62) a. *Nu l-am vidzută aseara.*
 not 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl+have.1Sg seen.Past.Part yesterday
 b. *Nu lu vidzui aseara.*
 not 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Aor yesterday
 ‘I didn’t see him yesterday.’
- (63) a. *Me-am curmată multu aseara.*
 1Sg.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg tired.Past.Part much yesterday
 b. *Mi curmai multu aseara.*
 1Sg.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg tire.1Sg.Aor much yesterday
 ‘I got very tired yesterday.’

6.2.3 Preceded by the modal clitic *va* ‘will’ and the subjunctive marker *să*, the present tense forms of *am* ‘have’ represent the Aromanian future perfect, which denotes an action that is to be completed by a definite point of time in the future.⁸⁷ Example:

- (64) *Păn măne ti prândzu va s-lu*
 till tomorrow for lunch will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark-3Sg.M.Acc
avem bitisită proiectul.
 have.1Pl finished.Past.Part project+the.M.Sg
 ‘Till tomorrow noon we shall have finished the project.’

6.3 Use of the Aromanian past perfect

6.3.1 The Aromanian past perfect denotes an action that has taken place before another action in the past. Examples:

- (65) a. *Tsă si avea nirită, ti*
 2Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl have.3Sg.Imperf got-angry.Past.Part for
atsea nu tsă zbura.
 that.F not 2Sg.Dat.Cl speak.3Sg.Imperf
 ‘He had gotten angry at you; that is why he didn’t speak to you.’

⁸⁷ Cf. the section 6.10.2 in the chapter “Infinitives and Subjunctives”.

- b. *Căndu vinj* *io,* *năse* *lu* *avea*
when come.1Sg.Aor I they.F 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl have.3Pl.Imperf
bitisită *proectul.*
finished.Past.Part project+the.M.Sg
‘When I arrived, they had finished the project.’

6.3.2 Preceded by the modal clitics *va* ‘will’, along with the subjunctive marker *să*, the imperfect forms of *am* ‘have’, plus invariant past participles, represent the Aromanian future-perfect-in-the-past. This tense is used in the *apodosis* of *irrealis* conditional sentences, which have two readings: (a) *irrealis* from the point of view of the moment of speaking and (b) *irrealis* from the point of view of a past moment.⁸⁸ Example:

- (66) *S-nu* *yinea* *va* *s-lu*
Subj.Mark-not come.3Sg.Imperf will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark-3Sg.M.Acc
bitiseam *proectul.*
finish.1Pl.Imperf project+the.M.Sg
1. ‘If he didn’t come, we would finish the project.’
2. ‘If he hadn’t come we would have finished the project.’

6.4 Use of the “be” auxiliary

As in Romanian, Megleno-Romanian and the (B) Macedonian subsystem (*cf.* 1.5), in Aromanian the “be” auxiliary is encountered in constructions with passive participles which inflect for number and gender, whereas the “have” auxiliary is encountered in constructions with invariant past participles.

6.4.1 The (indicative) present and imperfect forms⁸⁹ of the Aromanian “be” auxiliary are given in Table 33:

Table 33: Present and imperfect forms of the Aromanian auxiliary *escu* ‘be’⁹⁰

	Present		Imperfect	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>escu/hiu/him</i>	<i>him</i>	====	<i>iram</i> =====
2 nd	<i>eashti/eshci/hii</i>	<i>hits</i>	<i>irai</i>	<i>irats</i>
3 rd	<i>easte/iaste/e</i>	<i>săntu/suntu</i>	====	<i>ira</i> =====

⁸⁸ Cf. section 6.10 in the chapter “Infinitives and Subjunctives”.

The structure and use of the Aromanian future perfect and future perfect-in-the-past are very much like the structure and use of the Macedonian future perfect and future perfect-in-the-past, respectively. (*Cf.* 1.4.3, 1.4.4)

⁸⁹ In addition to the imperfect forms there are aorist forms with the root *fu* and an invariant participial form *fost*.

⁹⁰ There are many variant present tense forms; some of them being used in the same dialect.

6.4.2 The Aromanian “be” present perfect, in which, as pointed above, present tense forms of the “be” auxiliary are in construction with inflecting passive participles,⁹¹ represent the Aromanian “be” present perfect, which expresses the result of an action that had begun some time in the past and lasts until the moment of speaking.⁹² Examples:

- (67) a. *Mini escu turnat di Bitule.*
 I be.1Sg return.M.Sg from Bitola
 ‘I have come back from Bitola.’
- b. *Escu vinită tă să zburăm.*
 be.1Sg come.F.Sg that.Subj Subj.Mark talk.1Pl
 ‘I have come for a chat.’

6.4.3 The past tense forms of the “be” auxiliary, in construction with inflecting passive participles of unaccusative verbs, form the Aromanian “be” past perfect, which expresses the result of an action that had begun some time in the past and lasts until another moment in the past. Examples:

- (68) *Mine iram vinit di Bitule, cându vini nășă.*
 I be.1Sg.Imperf come.M.Sg.Pass.Part from Bitola, when come.3Sg.Aor she
 ‘I had come back from Bitola, when she came.’

6.4.4 Both the present and past tense “be” forms, along with inflecting passive participles of transitive verbs, are used in passive constructions. Example:

- (69) a. *Cartea aistă easte acumprată di Petri.*
 book+the.F.Sg this.F be.3Sg bought.F.Sg.Pass.Part from Petri
 ‘The book is bought by Petri.’
- b. *Căndu vinj mine, proiectul ira*
 when come.1Sg.Aor I project+the.M.Sg be.3Sg.Imperf
bitisit.
 finished.M.Sg.Pass.Part
 ‘When I arrived, the project was already finished.’

⁹¹ The passive participles have distinct forms for masculine singular, feminine singular and masculine/feminine plural.

Forms of the Aromanian passive participles of the verb *vin* ‘come’

M.Sg *vinit*
 F.Sg *vinită*
 M/F.Pl *viniti*

⁹² As in Macedonian and Megleno-Romanian, while the “have” perfects emphasize experience, the “be” perfects express resultativeness. Compare (67b) to (60c).

expression of the perfect.⁹⁷ In standard Albanian, and in many of its dialects, evidentiality is systematically morphologically encoded.

7.1 *Forms of the Standard Albanian perfect tenses*

The forms of the Standard Albanian perfect tenses involve the use of the indicative present, imperfect and aorist forms of the auxiliaries *kam* ‘have’ and *jam* ‘be’.⁹⁸ While the active perfect tenses are constructed by associating forms of the auxiliary *kam* ‘have’ with non-finite verb forms to which we refer as “participles”, the passive perfect tenses are constructed by associating forms of the auxiliary *jam* ‘be’ with the same non-finite verb forms.⁹⁹

7.1.1 The forms of the indicative present, imperfect and aorist of the auxiliaries *kam* ‘have’ and *jam* ‘be’ are given in tables 35 and 36:

Table 35: Present, imperfect and aorist forms of the Albanian auxiliary *kam* ‘have’

	Indicative Present		Indicative Imperfect		Indicative Aorist	
	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
1 st	<i>kam</i>	<i>kemi</i>	<i>kisha</i>	<i>kishim</i>	<i>pata</i>	<i>patëm</i>
2 nd	<i>ke</i>	<i>keni</i>	<i>kishe</i>	<i>kishit</i>	<i>pate</i>	<i>patët</i>
3 rd	<i>ka</i>	<i>kanë</i>	<i>kishte</i>	<i>kishin</i>	<i>pati</i>	<i>patën</i>

Table 36: Present, imperfect and aorist forms of the Albanian auxiliary *jam* ‘be’

	Indicative Present		Indicative Imperfect		Indicative Aorist	
	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
1 st	<i>jam</i>	<i>jemi</i>	<i>isha</i>	<i>ishim</i>	<i>qeshë</i>	<i>qemë</i>
2 nd	<i>je</i>	<i>jeni</i>	<i>ishe</i>	<i>ishit</i>	<i>qe</i>	<i>qetë</i>
3 rd	<i>është</i>	<i>janë</i>	<i>ishte</i>	<i>ishin</i>	<i>qe</i>	<i>qenë</i>

7.1.2 The association of the indicative present tense forms of *kam* and non-finite (participial) forms of lexical verbs yields the paradigm of the active indicative present perfect tense; the associ

⁹⁷ There are also optative forms, which express wishes, blessings or curses. Albanian grammars list sets of present and perfect optative forms. The only Albanian utterances expressing wishes or blessings that I have been able to elicit, however, employ present tense optative forms. Examples:

- (i) *Qofsh* *i* *fuqishëm*.
be.Opt.Pres Agr.Cl strong
‘May you become mighty!’
- (ii) *Qofsh* *i* *bekuar*.
be.Opt.Pres Agr.Cl blessed
‘Be blessed!’

⁹⁸ The citation form of the Albanian verbs is the first person singular form.

⁹⁹ Each Albanian verb has only one non-finite form.

ation of the imperfect indicative forms of *kam* and non-finite (participial) forms of lexical verbs yields the paradigm of the active indicative past perfect tense, while the association of the aorist indicative forms of *kam* and non-finite (participial) forms of lexical verbs yields the paradigm of the active indicative pluperfect tense. The paradigms of the active indicative present perfect, past perfect and pluperfect tenses of the Albanian verb *laj* ‘wash’ are given in Table 37:

Table 37: Active indicative present perfect, past perfect and pluperfect forms of the Albanian verb *laj* ‘wash’

	Present Perfect		Past Perfect		Pluperfect	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>kam larë</i>	<i>kemi larë</i>	<i>kisha larë</i>	<i>kishim larë</i>	<i>pata larë</i>	<i>patëm larë</i>
2 nd	<i>ke -"</i>	<i>keni -"</i>	<i>kishe -"</i>	<i>kishit -"</i>	<i>pate -"</i>	<i>patët -"</i>
3 rd	<i>ka -"</i>	<i>kanë -"</i>	<i>kishte -"</i>	<i>kishin -"</i>	<i>pati -"</i>	<i>patën -"</i>

7.1.3 The medio-passive indicative perfect paradigms differ from their active counterparts only in the use of the forms of the auxiliary *jam*, instead of those of *kam*. The paradigms of the medio-passive present perfect, past perfect, and pluperfect tenses of the Albanian verb *laj* ‘wash’ are given in Table 38:

Table 38: Medio-passive indicative present perfect, past perfect and pluperfect forms of the Albanian verb *laj* ‘wash’

	Present Perfect		Past Perfect		Pluperfect	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>jam larë</i>	<i>jemi larë</i>	<i>isha larë</i>	<i>ishim larë</i>	<i>qeshë larë</i>	<i>qemë larë</i>
2 nd	<i>je -"</i>	<i>jeni -"</i>	<i>ishe -"</i>	<i>ishit -"</i>	<i>qe -"</i>	<i>qetë -"</i>
3 rd	<i>është -"</i>	<i>janë -"</i>	<i>ishte -"</i>	<i>ishin -"</i>	<i>qe -"</i>	<i>qenë -"</i>

7.2 Use of the perfect

7.2.1 The Standard and Tosk Albanian forms of the active indicative present perfect tense express an action that had begun in the past and lasts until the moment of speaking. Examples:¹⁰⁰

- (71) a. *Kam ardhur të bisedojmë.*
have.1Sg come.Part Subj.Mark talk.1Pl
‘I have come to talk (with you).’
- b. *Kam ardhur këtu shumë herë.*
have.1Sg come.Part here many time
‘I have come here many a time.’

¹⁰⁰ In (71a-b) we have an intransitive verb, in (71c-d) a transitive one. Sentences (71a) and (71c) denote resultativeness, sentences (71b) and (71d) experience.

- c. *E ka lexuar këtë libër.*
3Sg.Acc.Cl have.3Sg read.Part this.M.Sg book+the.M.Sg
'(S)he has read this book.'
- d. *Nuk kemi parë njeri.*
not have.3Pl seen.Part somebody
'We haven't seen anybody.'

7.2.2 The forms of the active indicative past perfect tense express an action that had begun before a reference point of time in the past and lasts until that point. Examples:

- (72) a. *Kisha ardhur të bisedojmë.*
have.1Sg.Imperf come.Part Subj.Mark talk.1Pl
'I had come to talk (with you).'
- b. *E dija rrugën. Kisha shkuar aty më parë.*
3Sg.Acc.Cl know.1Sg way+the.M.Sg.Acc have.1Sg.Imperf
gone.Part there more early
'I knew the way. I had gone there before.'
- c. *Kur erdhe ti, ai tashmë e kishte lexuar librin.*
when come.2Sg.Aor you he already 3Sg.Acc.Cl
have.3Sg.Imperf read.Part book+the.M.Sg.Acc
'When you came he had already finished reading the book.'
- d. *Nuk e kishim parë njerin deri dje.*
not 3Sg.Acc.Cl have.1Pl.Imperf seen.Part man+the.M.Sg.Acc
until yesterday
'We hadn't seen the man until yesterday.'

7.2.3 The forms of the active indicative pluperfect tense are used for reference to a remote past. Examples:

- (73) a. *E pamë Agimin. Nuk e patëm parë prej vitesh.*
3Sg.Acc.Cl see.1Pl.Aor Agim+the.M.Sg.Acc not 3Sg.Acc.Cl
have.1Pl.Aor seen.Part from years.Abl
'We saw Agim. We hadn't seen him for years.'

- b. *Para shumë viteve, të patëm dhënë*
 before many years.Dat 2Sg.Dat/Acc.Cl have.1Pl.Aor given
një plug. Ç' ndodhi me të?
 a plough what happen.3Sg.M-P.Aor with that.M.Sg.Acc
 'Many years ago, we had given you a plough. What happened to it?'

7.2.4 The forms of the medio-passive indicative present perfect express a passive or reflexive event which had begun in the past and lasts until the moment of speaking, while the forms of the medio-passive indicative past perfect express a passive or reflexive event that had begun before a reference point of time in the past and lasts until that point. Examples:¹⁰¹

- (74) a. *Jam/ isha larë disa herë.*
 be.1Sg be.1Sg.Imperf washed.Part several time
 'I have/had washed myself several times.'
- b. *I është/ishte prishur makina*
 3Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Sg.Pres/be.3Sg.Imperf gone-bad.Part car+the.F.Sg
 'His car has/had broken.'

7.2.5 The forms of the medio-passive indicative pluperfect are used for reference to a remote past. Examples:

- (75) a. *Nuk qe rruar me vite. Kishte*
 not be.3Sg.Aor shaved.Part with years.Dat have.3Sg.Imperf
mjekër të gjatë.
 beard Acc.Agr.Cl long
 'He hadn't shaved for years. He had a long beard.'
- b. *Ky pallat qe ndërtuar prej vitesh.*
 this.M.Sg palace be.3Sg.Aor built.Part before years.Abl
 'This palace had been built many years ago.'

7.3 Evidential forms

The Albanian evidential forms developed from inverted perfect forms. As mentioned previously in this chapter, Albanian grammars refer to these forms as *habitore* (from *habi* 'surprise') – a term which corresponds to the French term *admiratif*, used by Dozon (1879) in a manual of Albanian grammar (cf. Friedman 2004:108).¹⁰² It is by this term, which refers to the most common use of the Albanian evidentials (the use for the expression of the speaker's surprise at the

¹⁰¹ In (74a) we have an intransitive verb, in (74b) a transitive one. While (74a) express experience, (74b) expresses the result of an action.

¹⁰² As pointed out by Friedman (2004:108), the French term *admiratif*, was introduced by Dozon (1879:226-227) as a translation for the Greek term *aprosdokito* 'unexpected'.

occurrence of something unexpected) that these forms have become known in the Western literature. The most common use has actually given name to the entire set of paradigms, which has a variety of uses.

7.3.1 There are two sets of synthetic evidential forms in Albanian, to which going along with standard practice, we shall refer as “admirative present” and “admirative imperfect” sets of forms. There are also a number of sets of analytic evidential forms: (a) active and medio-passive admirative present perfect forms; (b) active and medio-passive admirative past perfect forms; (c) active and medio-passive present pluperfect forms; and (d) active and medio-passive past pluperfect forms.

7.3.2 The forms of the admirative present tense have developed from inverted perfect forms in which simple (indicative) present tense forms of the verb *kam* ‘have’ occurred to the immediate right of the non-finite (participial) form of a verb.¹⁰³ The paradigm of the admirative present tense of the lexical verb *laj* ‘wash’ is given in Table 39:

Table 39: Admirative present tense forms of the Albanian verb *laj* ‘wash’

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>lakam</i>	<i>lakemi</i>
2 nd	<i>lake</i>	<i>lakeni</i>
3 rd	<i>laka</i>	<i>lakan</i>

7.3.3 The forms of the admirative imperfect have developed from an inverted perfect form in which imperfect forms of the verb *kam* ‘have’ occurred to the immediate right of the non-finite (participial) form of any verb.¹⁰⁴ The paradigm of the admirative imperfect tense of the lexical verb *laj* ‘wash’ is represented in Table 40:

Table 40: Admirative imperfect forms of the Albanian verb *laj* ‘wash’

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>lakësha</i>	<i>lakëshim</i>
2 nd	<i>lakëshe</i>	<i>lakëshit</i>
3 rd	<i>lakësh</i>	<i>lakëshin</i>

7.3.4 The paradigms of the active and medio-passive admirative perfect tenses are constructed by associating the admirative present tense forms of the auxiliaries *kam* ‘have’ and *jam* ‘be’, respectively, with the non-finite (participial) form of any verb. The active and medio-passive admirative perfect forms of the verb *laj* ‘wash’ are given in Table 41:

¹⁰³ Used as suffixes, the forms of *kam* are unstressed. As a consequence of the loss of stress on the syllable preceding it, the final *ë* in the third person plural is dropped.

¹⁰⁴ The resulting forms undergo a number of morphonological changes.

Table 41: Admirative perfect forms of the Albanian verb *laj* ‘wash’

	Active		Medio-Passive	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>paskam larë</i>	<i>paskemi larë</i>	<i>qenkam larë</i>	<i>qenkemi larë</i>
2 nd	<i>paske -"-</i>	<i>paskeni -"-</i>	<i>qenke -"-</i>	<i>qenkeni -"-</i>
3 rd	<i>paska -"-</i>	<i>paskan -"-</i>	<i>qenka -"-</i>	<i>qenkan -"-</i>

7.3.5 The paradigms of the active and medio-passive admirative past perfect tenses are constructed by associating the forms of the admirative imperfect forms of the verbs *kam* ‘have’ and *jam* ‘be’, respectively, with the non-finite (participial) form of any verb. The lexical verb *laj* ‘wash’ would have the following admirative past perfect forms:

Table 42: Admirative past perfect forms of the Albanian verb *laj* ‘wash’

	Active		Medio-Passive	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>paskësha larë</i>	<i>paskëshim larë</i>	<i>qenkësha larë</i>	<i>qenkëshim larë</i>
2 nd	<i>paskëshe -"-</i>	<i>paskëshit -"-</i>	<i>qenkëshe -"-</i>	<i>qenkëshit -"-</i>
3 rd	<i>paskësh -"-</i>	<i>paskëshin -"-</i>	<i>qenkësh -"-</i>	<i>qenkëshin -"-</i>

7.3.6 The present and past pluperfect admirative forms are constructed by associating the present perfect admirative and past perfect admirative forms of *kam* ‘have’ and *jam* ‘be’ with non-finite (participial) forms of any verb.

7.4 Use of the evidential forms

The existence and use of the admirative is dialectally differentiated. The development of the inverted perfect into a classic admirative set of paradigms is especially characteristic of central Albania (Southern Geg and Northern Tosk).¹⁰⁵ It is barely present in Northern Geg Albanian and does not show up in the dialects of the extreme south of Albania and adjacent parts of Northern Greece (Friedman 2004:121-122).

7.4.1 Typically, the Albanian evidential (admirative) forms express admiration, surprise or irony:

- (76) a. *TI (me të vërtetë) flitke kinezçe.*
you with Agr.Cl true speak.2Sg.Admir Chinese
‘You (really) speak Chinese!’
- b. *Agimi (me të vërtetë) paska*
Agim+the.M.Sg with Agr.Cl true have.3Sg.Admir

¹⁰⁵ Friedman (2004) argues that the admirative developed under the influence of Turkish; it was most conspicuous in urban centers dominated by Turkish and functioned as a marker of urban identity.

genë *i* *mençur!*
 been.Part M.Sg.Agr.Cl clever
 ‘Agim is (really) clever!’¹⁰⁶

7.4.2 By inference, the Albanian evidential (admirative) forms are also used to assert the occurrence of an action or the existence of a state.

- (77) a. *Ai* (*vërtetë*) *e* *paska* *përdorur*
 he true 3Sg.Acc.Cl have.3Sg.Admir used.Part
 thikën.
 knife+the.M.Sg.Acc
 ‘He (truly) used the knife!’
- b. *Dritaret* (*vërtetë*) *qenkan* *hapur* *vetë.*
 windows+the.F.Pl true be.3Pl.Admir opened.Part alone.
 ‘The windows (truly) opened by themselves!’
- c. *Ai* (*me* *të* *vërtetë*) *e* *paskësh*
 he with Agr.Cl true 3.Sg.Acc.Cl have.3Sg.Imperf.Admir
 dashur *Dritën.*
 loved.Part Dritë.Acc
 ‘He had (indeed) loved Dritë!’
- d. *Stërgjyshi* *i* *tij* (*vërtetë*)
 great-grandfather+the.M.Sg M.Sg.Agr.Cl that.M.Sg.Dist.Acc true
 qenkësh *shitur* *si* *rob.*
 have.3Sg.Imperf.Admir sold.Part as slave
 ‘His great grandfather had (indeed) been sold as a slave!’

It is noteworthy that, while in Balkan Slavic the evidential forms always have some sort of past reference, even when the apparent meaning is present, the Albanian evidential system has a true present.¹⁰⁷

7.4.3 The evidential (admirative) forms are also used to express disagreement, or uncertainty:

- (78) a. *Thonë* *se* *shtëpia* *jote* *qenka* *rrëzuar.*
 say.3Pl that house+the.F.Sg your.2Sg be.3Sg.Admir fallen.Part
 ‘They say that your house has fallen down (but I do not see that it has).’

¹⁰⁶ The same sentence can express admiration or irony, though with specific intonation.

¹⁰⁷ Observe the difference between the readings of (77a) and (77b). Friedman (1982) demonstrates that the use of Albanian present admirative corresponds to the use of the Balkan Slavic evidentials and the Turkish *miş*-past in only about 10% of the cases in comparable translations.

- b. *Më thonë se e paskeni*
 1Sg.Dat.Cl say.3Pl that 3Sg.Acc.Cl have.2Pl.Admir
lyer shtëpinën.
 white-washed.Part house+the.F.Sg.Acc
 ‘They tell me that you have whitewashed the house (but it does not show).’
- c. *Thonë se lakam/lakësha tesa çdo*
 say.3Pl that wash.1Sg.Pres/Imperf.Admir clothes every
ditë.
 day
 ‘They say that I wash/was washing clothes every day (but I don’t).’
- d. *(Më duket) sikur po afroheshkan*
 1Sg.Dat.Cl seem.Impers as-if Asp.Mark approach.3Pl.M-P.Admir.Pres
retë.
 clouds
 ‘(It seems to me) that the clouds are approaching.’

7.4.4 While the Balkan Slavic evidential forms are used only in declarative sentences, the Albanian admirative forms can also be used in questions:¹⁰⁸

- (79) *Ku qenka mjeshtri?*
 where be.3Sg.Admir master-craftsman+the.M.Sg
 ‘Where could the master-craftsman be?’

7.4.5 The Albanian admirative is never used in narratives.

8. Northern Geg Albanian

Northern Geg Albanian has present perfect, past perfect and pluperfect paradigms parallel to those of Standard and Tosk Albanian, but with different usage. It practically has no evidentials.

8.1 Northern Geg Albanian perfect

The Northern Geg Albanian perfect forms are constructed by associating forms of the auxiliaries *pàs* ‘have’ and *qen* ‘be’ with the non-finite form of the lexical verb, which functions as an infinitive when preceded by the infinitive marker *me* ‘to’ and as a participle when preceded by tensed forms

¹⁰⁸ The example is from Friedman (2004:109). Note that the Macedonian counterpart of (79) would have a subjunctive construction:

- (i) *Kade da e majstorot?*
 where Subj.Mark be.3Sg master-craftsman+the.F.Sg
 ‘Where could the master-craftsman be?’

of the “have” or “be” auxiliaries.¹⁰⁹ While the active paradigms employ forms of the auxiliary *pàs* ‘have’ their medio-passive counterparts employ forms of the auxiliary *qen* ‘be’.

8.1.1 The association of the present forms of *pàs* ‘have’ and the non-finite (infinitive) form of any verb yields the paradigm of the active present perfect; the association of the imperfect forms of *pàs* and the non-finite (infinitive) form of any verb yields the paradigm of the active past perfect, while the association of the aorist forms of *pàs* and the non-finite form of any verb yields the paradigm of the active pluperfect. The paradigms of the active present perfect, past perfect and pluperfect of the verb *lâ* ‘wash’ are given in Table 43:¹¹⁰

Table 43: Active present perfect, past perfect and pluperfect forms of the Northern Geg Albanian verb *lâ* ‘wash’

	Present Perfect		Past Perfect		Pluperfect	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plurals	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>kam lâ</i>	<i>kemi lâ</i>	<i>kisha lâ</i>	<i>kishim lâ</i>	<i>pata lâ</i>	<i>patëm lâ</i>
2 nd	<i>ke -"</i>	<i>keni -"</i>	<i>kishe -"</i>	<i>kishit -"</i>	<i>pate -"</i>	<i>patët -"</i>
3 rd	<i>ka -"</i>	<i>kan -"</i>	<i>kishte -"</i>	<i>kishin -"</i>	<i>pati -"</i>	<i>patën -"</i>

8.1.2 The medio-passive perfect paradigms differ from their active counterparts only in the use of the forms of the auxiliary *qen* ‘be’, instead of those of *pàs* ‘have’. The paradigms of the medio-passive present perfect and past perfect¹¹¹ of the verb *lâ* ‘wash’ are given in Table 44:

Table 44: Medio-passive present perfect and past perfect forms of the Northern Geg Albanian verb *lâ* ‘wash’

	Present Perfect		Past Perfect	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>jam lâ</i>	<i>jemi lâ</i>	<i>isha lâ</i>	<i>ishim lâ</i>
2 nd	<i>je -"</i>	<i>jeni -"</i>	<i>ishe -"</i>	<i>ishit -"</i>
3 rd	<i>âsht -"</i>	<i>jan -"</i>	<i>ishte -"</i>	<i>ishin -"</i>

8.2 Use of the perfect tenses in Northern Geg Albanian

8.2.1 As in Standard and Tosk Albanian, the forms of the indicative perfect tense can be used to indicate that an action which had begun in the past lasts until the moment of speaking or else until a reference point in the past. Examples:

¹⁰⁹ There is only one non-finite form (cf. 8.1 in the chapter “Infinitives and Subjunctives”). The citation form of the verb is the non-finite (infinitive) form.

¹¹⁰ The hat symbol (^) in Geg Albanian denotes nasalization. Nasal vowels are typical for Geg Albanian.

¹¹¹ There are no medio-passive pluperfect forms.

- (80) a. %*Kam/kishim/patëm* *ârdh* *me* *u*
 have.1Sg.Pres/Imperf/Aor come.Non-Fin to.Inf.Mark 3Pl.Dat.Cl
pâ.
 see.Non-Fin
 ‘I have/had/had had/ come to see you.’
- b. %*Ende* *nuk* *âsht/ishte* *lâ* *njeri.*
 still not be.3Sg.Pres/Imperf wash.Non-Fin nobody
 ‘Nobody is/was yet washed.’

8.2.2 The Northern Geg Albanian present perfect tense has, however, a much wider usage than its standard Albanian counterpart. Here the perfect has actually completely ousted out the other past tenses and actions that have taken place at a definite point in the past are referred to by the same forms as actions that had begun in the past but last until the moment of speaking. Examples:

- (81) a. %*Çka* *ke* *pâ?*
 what have.2Sg see.Non-Fin
 ‘What did you see/have you seen?’
- b. %*Cilin* (*e*) *ke* *pâ?*
 whom.Acc 3Sg.Acc.Cl have.2Sg see.Non-Fin
 ‘Whom did you see/have you seen?’
- c. %*Agimi* *e* *ka* *pi*
 Agim+the.M.Sg 3Sg.Acc.Cl have.3Sg drink.Non-Fin
ni *bir* *para* *se* *me* *shku.*
 a beer before that to.Inf.Mark go.Non-Fin
 ‘Agim drank a beer before he left.’
- d. %*Baba* *im* *e* *ka* *vizitu*
 father my.M.Sg 3Sg.Acc.Cl have.3Sg visit.Non-Fin
Tiranën.
 Tirana+the.F.Sg.Acc
 ‘My father (has) visited even Tirana.’

8.2.3 The Northern Geg Albanian perfect forms are also used in sentences in which standard Albanian uses admirative forms.¹¹² Compare the Standard Albanian sentences in (77) to the Geg Albanian sentences in (82):

¹¹² In some Northern Albanian dialects there are inverted perfect forms which function as evidentials (cf. Friedman:2004).

- (82) a. %Ai (vërtet) e ka pās përdor
 he true 3Sg.Acc.Cl have.3Sg.Pres have.Non-Fin use.Non-Fin
thikën.
 knife+the.F.Sg.Acc
 ‘He has truly used the knife!’
- b. %Ai (me t’ vertet) e kishte
 he with Agr.Cl true 3Sg.Acc.Cl have.3Sg.Imperf
pās dasht Dritën.
 have.Non-Fin love.Non-Fin Dritë.Acc
 ‘He had indeed loved Dritë!’
- c. %Agimi (me t’ vrtet) ka pās
 Agim+the.M.Sg with Agr.Cl true have.3Sg.Pres have.Non-Fin
qen i mençëm!
 be.Non-Fin M.Sg.Agr.Cl clever
 ‘(I didn’t know that) Agim was a clever man!’

9. Modern Greek

The Ancient Greek synthetic perfect, which expressed past actions with present relevance, had by the 4th century A.D. become isofunctional with the aorist, and by the end of the 7th century it had completely disappeared. In Middle Greek, the verbs *exo* ‘have’ and *imi* ‘be’ in construction with passive participles, began to be used as analytic perfects.¹¹³

- (83) a. ἔχω γεγραμμένον
 have.1Sg written.Pass.Part
 ‘I have written’
- b. εἰμί γεγραμμένος
 be.1Sg written.M.Sg.Pass.Part
 ‘I have written (lit. ‘I am written’)

In the post-Byzantine period, however, the use of the constructions with *imi* ‘be’ was restricted to passive clauses. The constructions with *exo*, on the other hand, continued to be used along with another, newly introduced perfect in which *exo* combines with a fossilized non-finite form derived from an aorist basis, to which we shall refer as the “perfect participle”:

- (84) *exo* *ghrapsi*
 have.1Sg written.Perf.Part
 ‘I have written’

¹¹³ The examples in (83) and (84) are from Asenova 2002:241-242, with my glosses and translation.

Evidentiality has not been grammaticalized in Modern Greek.¹¹⁴

9.1 Forms of the Modern Greek “have” perfect tenses

In the Modern Greek perfect tenses both forms with *exo* ‘have’ plus perfect participles and forms with *exo* ‘have’ plus passive participles are operative. Since the forms of *exo* can be present or past,¹¹⁵ and the perfect participle can be active or medio-passive, there are six distinct “have” perfect paradigms in Modern Greek: present perfect with active perfect participles, present perfect with medio-passive perfect participles, present perfect with passive participles, past perfect with active perfect participles, past perfect with medio-passive perfect participles and past perfect with passive participles.¹¹⁶ While the perfect participle is invariant, the passive participle has distinct masculine singular, feminine singular, neuter singular and plural forms and shows agreement with the object.

9.1.1 The present and past tense forms of the auxiliary *exo* ‘have’ are given in Table 45:

Table 45: Present and past tense forms of the Modern Greek auxiliary *exo* ‘have’

	Present		Past	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>exo</i>	<i>exume</i>	<i>ixa</i>	<i>ixame</i>
2 nd	<i>exis</i>	<i>exete</i>	<i>ixes</i>	<i>ixate</i>
3 rd	<i>exi</i>	<i>exun(e)</i>	<i>ixe</i>	<i>ixan(e)</i>

9.1.2 The paradigms of the present and past tenses with active and medio-passive perfect participles of the verb *ghrafo* ‘write’ are given in Table 46:

¹¹⁴ There are some traces of evidentiality in the use of the third person singular form *lei* ‘says’ as a kind of particle expressing assertion. Friedman (2004:116) lists the following question: answer pair (glosses are mine):

(i) Question: *Itan* *kalo* *to* *faghito?*
 be.3Sg.Past good the.N.Sg meal
 ‘Was the meal good?’

Answer: *Kalo,* *lei!*
 good Evid.Particle
 ‘Very good!’

¹¹⁵ The citation form of all Modern Greek verbs is the 1st person present tense form. While lexical verbs have distinct imperfect and aorist (simple) past tense forms – which are often interpreted and referred to as “past tense forms of the perfective and imperfective aspect” – the auxiliary *exo* ‘have’ has only one set of past tense forms. We shall refer to the perfect tenses constructed with the present tense forms of *exo* as “present perfect” forms and to the perfect tenses constructed with the past tense forms of *exo* as “past perfect” forms.

¹¹⁶ Preceded by the modal clitic *tha* ‘will’, the forms of the “have” perfect yield the future perfect and future perfect-in-the-past – tenses used in *irrealis* conditional sentences (cf. 9.11.2).

Table 46: Perfects of the Modern Greek verb *ghrafo* ‘write’ with perfect participles

Present perfect with active perfect participles				Present perfect with medio-passive participles			
	Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural		
1 st	<i>exo ghrapsi</i>	<i>exume ghrapsi</i>		<i>exo ghrapti</i>	<i>exume ghrapti</i>		
2 nd	<i>exis -"-</i>	<i>exete -"-</i>		<i>exis -"-</i>	<i>exete -"-</i>		
3 rd	<i>exi -"-</i>	<i>exun(e) -"-</i>		<i>exi -"-</i>	<i>exun(e) -"-</i>		
Past perfect with active perfect participles				Past perfect with medio-passive participles			
	Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural		
1 st	<i>ixa ghrapsi</i>	<i>ixame ghrapsi</i>		<i>ixa ghrapti</i>	<i>ixame ghrapti</i>		
2 nd	<i>ixes -"-</i>	<i>ixate -"-</i>		<i>ixes -"-</i>	<i>ixate -"-</i>		
3 rd	<i>ixe -"-</i>	<i>ixan(e) -"-</i>		<i>ixe -"-</i>	<i>ixan(e) -"-</i>		

9.1.3 The paradigms of the present and past perfects of the verb *ghrafo* ‘write’ with neuter passive participles¹¹⁷ are given in table 47:

Table 47: Perfects of the Modern Greek verb *ghrafo* ‘write’ with passive participles

Present perfect with passive participles				Past perfect with passive participles			
	Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural		
1 st	<i>exo ghrameno</i>	<i>exume ghrameno</i>		<i>ixa ghrameno</i>	<i>ixame ghrameno</i>		
2 nd	<i>exis -"-</i>	<i>exete -"-</i>		<i>ixes -"-</i>	<i>ixate -"-</i>		
3 rd	<i>exi -"-</i>	<i>exun(e) -"-</i>		<i>ixe -"-</i>	<i>ixan(e) -"-</i>		

9.2 Use of the Modern Greek Perfect Tenses

9.2.1 The present perfect tenses denote (a) an event that began to happen at some past moment and lasts until the moment of speaking, as well as (b) an event that took place at a definite point of time in the past.¹¹⁸ The examples in (85) illustrate the use of the present perfect with active perfect

¹¹⁷ The passive participle forms of the verb *ghrafo* ‘write’ are as follows:

Passive participles of <i>ghrafo</i> ‘write’		
	Singular	Plural
M	<i>ghramenos</i>	<i>ghrameni</i>
F	<i>ghramena</i>	<i>ghramenes</i>
N	<i>ghrameno</i>	<i>ghramena</i>

Note that, while in the constructions with *imi* ‘be’ the participles agree with the subject, in the *exo* perfect the participles agree with the object.

¹¹⁸ Note that the use of the perfect with adverbs with meanings such as ‘yesterday’ and ‘last year’ is not excluded:

participles; the examples in (86) illustrate the use of the present perfect with medio-passive perfect participles; while the examples in (87) illustrate the use of the present perfect with passive participles.¹¹⁹

- (85) a. *Ta adhefia mu exun lisi*
 the.N.Pl brothers 1Sg.Gen.Cl have.1Pl solved.Act.Perf.Part
ola tus ta provlimata.
 all 3.Pl.F.Gen.Cl the.N.Pl problems
 ‘My brothers (have) solved all their problems.’

- (i) *Ixame pai stin taverna xtes to vradhi.*
 have.1Pl.Past gone.Act.Perf.Part to+the.F.Sg tavern yesterday the.N.Sg evening
 ‘We went to the tavern last night.’
- (ii) *Persi to kalokeri ixe pai stin Kriti.*
 last-year the.N.Sg summer have.3Sg.Past gone.Act.Perf.Part the.N.Sg Creta
 ‘Last summer he went to Creta.’

Actions completed at a definite point of time in the past can also be expressed by the aorist. Thus, we have the following alternatives:

- (iii) *Exo kurasti poli simera.*
 have.1Sg got.M-P.Perf.Part very tired.F.Sg
- (iii)’ *Kurastika poli simera.*
 get.1Sg.M-P.Aor very tired
 ‘I got very tired.’
- (iv) *Egho exo vrethi se kaki katastasi.*
 I have.1Sg found.M-P.Perf.Part in bad.N.Sg situation
- (iv)’ *Egho vrethika se kaki katastasi.*
 I find.1Sg.M-P.Aor in bad.F.Sg situation
 ‘I ended up in a bad situation.’

In some cases, however, the aorist imparts a meaning distinct from that imparted by the present perfect. Compare the readings of (v) and (vi):

- (v) *X exi grapsi mono ena mithistorima.*
 X have.3Sg written.Act.Perf.Part only one novel
 ‘X has written only one novel (so far, but he may write more).’
- (vi) *Y egrapse mono ena mithistorima.*
 Y write.1Sg.Aor only one novel
 ‘Y wrote only one novel (and he is not going to write any more, since he is no longer alive).’

¹¹⁹ The forms with passive participles are used when the subject has some kind of “control” over or “responsibility” for the state expressed by the participle (Yanis Veloudis, p.c.).

- b. *Dhen ton exo dhi apo*
not 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl have.1Sg seen.Act.Perf.Part from
ti dheftera.
the.F.Sg.Acc.Cl Monday
'I haven't seen him since last Monday.'
- c. *Exis pai sto Londhino?*
have.2Sg gone.Act.Perf.Part in/to+the.N.Sg.Cl London
'Have you been to London?'¹²⁰
- d. *Exun grapsi dheka ergha.*
have.3Pl written.Perf.Part ten items
'They have written ten items.'
- (86) a. *Exo vrethi se aftin tin*
have.1Sg found.M-P.Perf.Part in this.F.Sg the.F.Sg.Acc
katastasi perisoteres apo mia fores.
situation more than a.F time
'I have been in this situation more than once.' (lit. 'I have found myself in this situation more than a time.')
- b. *Exo kurasti poli simera.*
have.1Sg got.M-P.Perf.Part very tired.F.Sg
'I got very tired.'
- (87) a. *Exo dhiavazmeno to ghrama.*
have.1Sg read.N.Sg.Pass.Part the.N.Sg letter
'I have read the letter.'
- b. *Ta adhelpfia mu exun limena*
the.N.Pl brothers 1Sg.Gen.Cl have.3Pl solved.N.Pl.Pass.Part
ola ta provlimata.
all the.N.Pl problems
'My brothers have all the problems solved.'

9.2.2 The past perfect tenses denote an event that happened in the past prior to another past event. The examples in (88) illustrate the use of the past perfect tense with active perfect participles; the

¹²⁰ Compare with (i), where the verb is in the aorist:

- (i) *Pighes sto Londhino?*
go.2Sg.Aor in+the.N.Sg.Cl London
'Did you go to London?'

example in (89) illustrates the use of the past perfect tense with medio-passive perfect participles; while the examples in (90) illustrate the use of the past perfect tense with passive participles.

- (88) a. *Tu* 3Sg.M.Gen.Cl *ixe* have.3Sg.Past *idhi* already *milisi* spoken.Act.Perf.Part
otan tin *sinandisa.*
 when 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl meet.1Sg.Aor
 ‘(S)he had already spoken to him when I met her.’
- b. *Otan ton* 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl *idha* see.1Sg.Aor *thimithika* remember.1Sg.M-P.Aor *oti* that
ton 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl *ixa* have.1Sg.Past *ghnorisi* acquainted.Act.Perf.Part *noritera.* earlier
 ‘When I saw him, I remembered that I had met him earlier.’
- c. *Otan ton* 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl *idha* see.1Sg.Aor *thimithika* remember.1Sg.M-P.Aor *oti* that *dhen* not
tu 3Sg.M.Gen.Cl *ixa* have.1Sg.Past *epistrepsi* returned.Act.Perf.Part *to* the.N.Sg *vivlio.* book
 ‘When I saw him, I remembered that I hadn’t returned the book to him.’
- d. *Otan esi* 2Sg.M.Gen.Cl *irthes* come.2Sg.Aor *aftos* he *idhi* already *to* 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
ixe have.3Sg.Imperf *dhiavasi* read.Act.Perf.Part *to* the.N.Sg.Cl *vivlio.* book
 ‘When you came, he had already finished reading the book.’
- e. *Tu* 3Sg.M.Gen.Cl *ixe* have.3Sg.Past *idhi* already *milisi* spoken.Act.Perf.Part
otan ti 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl *sinandisa.*
 when 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl meet.1Sg.Aor
 ‘She had already spoken to him when I met her.’
- f. *Otan tin* 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl *ixa* have.1Sg.Past *sinandisi* met.Act.Perf.Part *ja* for *proti* first
fora time *spudhaze* study.3Sg.Imperf *akoma* still *sto* in+the.N.Sg.Cl *panepistimio.* university
 ‘When I had met her for the first time she was still studying at the university.’
- (89) *Egho* I *ixa* have.1Sg.Past *vrethi* found.M-P.Perf.Part *se* in *kaki* bad.N.Sg *katastasi.* situation
 ‘I ended up in a bad situation.’ (lit. ‘I found myself in a bad situation.’)

- (90) a. *Ixa dhiavazmeno to ghrama.*
have.1Sg.Past read.N.Sg.Pass.Part the.N.Sg letter
'I had read the letter.'
- b. *Ta adhelfia mu ixan*
the.N.Pl brothers 1Sg.Gen.Cl have.1Pl.Imperf.Past
limena ola ta provlimata.
solved.N.Pl.Pass.Part all the.N.Pl problems
'My brothers have all the problems solved.'

9.3 Use of the "be" auxiliary

The "be" auxiliary with passive participles¹²¹ as complements is used in passive sentences.

9.3.1 The present and past (imperfect) tense forms of the "be" auxiliary are provided in Table 48:

Table 48: Present and past tense forms of the Modern Greek auxiliary *ime* 'be'

	Present		Past	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>ime</i>	<i>imaste</i>	<i>imun(a)</i>	<i>imastan</i>
2 nd	<i>ise</i>	<i>is(as)te</i>	<i>isun(a)</i>	<i>isastan</i>
3 rd	===== <i>ine</i> =====		===== <i>itan(e)</i> =====	

9.3.2 The use of the "be" forms in construction with passive participles is illustrated in (91):

- (91) a. *Ola ta provlimata ine limena.*
all the.N.Pl problems be.3Pl solved.N.Pl.Pass.Part
'All the problems are solved.'
- b. *Ta vivlia ine/itan ghramena*
the.N.Pl.Cl books be.3Pl.Pres/Past written.N.Pl.Pass.Part
sta anglika.
in+the.N.Pl.Cl English
'The books are/were written in English.'
- c. *Imastan kathismeni sto saloni.*
be.1Pl.Past seated.Pl.Pass.Part in+the.N.Sg sitting room
'We were seating in the sitting room.'
- d. *I ghata ine/itan ksaplomeni sto*
the.F.Sg.Cl cat be.3Sg.Pres/Past lain.F.Sg.Pass.Part in+the.N.Sg
krevati.
bed
'The cat is/was lying on the bed.'

¹²¹ The forms of the passive participles are given in footnote 117.

10. Arli Balkan Romani

In Arli Balkan Romani there are only “be” perfect tenses.¹²² Evidentiality is not grammaticalized.¹²³

10.1 The “be” auxiliary and its use in the formation of the Arli analytic tenses

10.1.1 The Arli “be” auxiliary *isi* makes person, but no tense distinctions in the first and second person, and has only one past tense form:

Table 49: Paradigm of the Arli auxiliary *isi* ‘be’

	Singular	Plural
1 st Pres	<i>sijum</i>	<i>sijam</i>
2 nd Pres	<i>sijan</i>	<i>sijen</i>
3 rd Pres	= = = = (<i>i</i>) <i>si</i> = = = =	
Past	= = = = <i>sine</i> = = = =	

10.1.2 In clauses with predicative nominals, *isi* is interchangeable with the suppletive participle *tano* ‘been.M.Sg’, *tani* ‘been.F.Sg’:

- (92) a. *Ov* *si/* *tano* *mlo* *chavo*.
 he be.3Pres been.M.Sg.Part my.M.Sg son
 ‘He is my son.’

¹²² The meanings which in other Indo-European languages are expressed by “have” auxiliaries are in Arli expressed by the sequence “be” auxiliary plus Acc forms of personal pronouns. Examples:

- (i) *Na(n)e* *amen* *ko* *te* *bičhavel* *amenge* *lil*.
 not+be.3Pres me.Acc who Subj.Mark send.3Sg us.Dat letter
 ‘We have no-one who can send us a letter.’ (lit. ‘There is no-one with us who can send us a letter.’)
- (ii) *Na(n)e* *amen* *kaske* *te* *bičha* *o* *lil*.
 not+be.3Pres us.Acc who.Dat Subj.Mark send.1Pl the. M.Sg letter
 ‘We have no-one to whom we can send the letter.’ (lit. ‘There is no-one with us to whom we can send the letter.’)

¹²³ Friedman (2004:115) points out that, according to Kostov (1973), the Balkan Romani dialect of Sliven in Bulgaria has borrowed the *l*-marker of the participle from the Bulgarian *l*-participle, and uses it as a marker of evidentiality. Friedman quotes the following example from Kostov (1963:108):

- (i) *Oda vakergjas* *mangi, či* *tu phirsas-li*.
 he tell.3Sg.Past me that you go.2Sg.Past.Evid
 ‘He told me that you were going.’

- b. *Ola* *si/* *tani* *mli* *chaj.*
 she be.3Sg been.F.Sg.Part my.F.Sg daughter
 ‘She is my daughter.’

10.1.3 The past tense form of the auxiliary *isi* ‘be’, *sine*, can appear to the right of the forms of the active/medio-passive present/past tense forms.¹²⁴ The resulting analytic forms are used in

¹²⁴ Lexical verbs have distinct active present tense and (simple) past tense paradigms. For the verbs *čhinela* ‘cut’ and *avela* ‘come’ we have the following paradigms:

Present and past tense paradigms for the verbs *čhinela* ‘cut’ and *avela* ‘come’

<i>čhinela</i> ‘cut’				<i>avela</i> ‘come’			
Present		Past		Present		Past	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>čhinava</i>	<i>čhinaja</i>	<i>čhingjum</i>	<i>čhingjam</i>	1 st	<i>avava</i>	<i>avaja</i>
2 nd	<i>čhinea</i>	<i>čhinena</i>	<i>čhingjan</i>	<i>čhingjen</i>	2 nd	<i>avea</i>	<i>avena</i>
3 rd	<i>čhinela</i>	<i>čhinena</i>	<i>čhingja</i>	<i>čhingje</i>	3 rd M	<i>avela</i>	<i>avena</i>
					3 rd F	-’-	-’-
						<i>ali</i>	-’-

As observed, the third person past tense forms of the verb *avela* ‘come’, differ from the third person past tense forms of the verb *čhinela* ‘cut’. The third person past tense forms of verbs of becoming or motion, such as *avela* ‘come’, are actually participial: we have a masculine singular, a feminine singular and a common plural form – all of them showing gender and number agreement with the subject of the clause.

Note that all present tense forms have short forms, in which the final syllable is missing. While the long forms are used only in indicative clauses, the short forms are used both in indicative and subjunctive ones.

The active present tenses of many transitive verbs have medio-passive counterparts, whose characteristic marker is the affix -ov-. The verb *čhinela* would have the following medio-passive present tense forms:

Medio-passive present tense forms of the Arli verb *čhinela* ‘cut’

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>čhinovav</i>	<i>čhinova</i>
2 nd	<i>čhinove</i>	<i>čhinoven</i>
3 rd	<i>čhinovel</i>	<i>čhinoven</i>

The use of the medio-passive present tense forms, in contrast with their active counterparts, is illustrated in the following examples:

- (i) *Me* *sikljovav* *te* *vozinav.*
 I learn/teach.1Sg.M-P.Pres Subj.Mark drive.1Sg
 ‘I am teaching myself/learning to drive.’
- (ii) *Me* *sikljava* *le* *te* *vozinel.*
 I learn/teach.1Sg.Act.Pres 3Sg.M.Cl Subj.Mark drive.3Sg
 ‘I am teaching him to drive.’

There are medio-passive counterparts to the past tense forms, constructed by inserting the affix -il- between the root and the person/number/past tense marking suffix. These forms are, however, predominately used in idiomatic expressions such as (vi-vi):

environments in which the the perfect tenses of the other Balkan languages are used (though they also have other uses) and we shall refer to them as forms of the “present perfect” and “past perfect”, respectively.¹²⁵ For the verbs *činela* ‘cut’ and *avela* ‘come’ we have the following present and past perfect paradigms:¹²⁶

Table 50: Present and past perfect forms of the Arli verbs *činela* ‘cut’ and *avela* ‘come’

<i>čhinela</i> ‘cut’					
Present Perfect			Past Perfect		
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	
1 st	<i>čhinava sine</i>	<i>čhinaja sine</i>	<i>čhingjum sine</i>	<i>čhingjam sine</i>	
2 nd	<i>čhinea</i> -"-	<i>čhinena</i> -"-	<i>čhingjan</i> -"-	<i>čhingjen</i> -"-	
3 rd	<i>čhinela</i> -"-	<i>čhinena</i> -"-	<i>čhingja</i> -"-	<i>čhingje</i> -"-	
<i>avela</i> ‘come’					
Present Perfect			Past Perfect		
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	
1 st	<i>avava sine</i>	<i>avaja sine</i>	<i>aljum sine</i>	<i>aljam sine</i>	
2 nd	<i>avea</i> -"-	<i>avena</i> -"-	<i>aljan</i> -"-	<i>aljen</i> -"-	
3 rd M	<i>avela</i> -"-	<i>avena</i> -"-	<i>alo</i> -"-	<i>ale</i> -"-	
3 rd F	-"- -"	-"- -"	<i>ali</i> -"-	-"- -"	

- (iv)

Me
1Sg.Pron.Cl

kergiljum
do.1Sg.M-P.Past

šuko
dry

kaš.
tree/wood

‘I have lost a lot of weight.’ (lit. ‘I have become dry wood.’)
- (v)

Me
1Sg.Pron.Cl

topindiljum.
melt.1Sg.M-P.Past

‘I felt small (out of shame).’ (lit. ‘I have melted.’)
- (vi)

Me
1Sg.Pron.Cl

kergiljum
do.1Sg.M-P.Past

vojniko.
soldier

‘I joined the army/was enlisted.’ (lit. ‘I have become a soldier.’)

¹²⁵ According to Boretzky (p.c.) the forms which combine with *sine* were originally imperfect forms. The imperfect suffix *-as/-ahi*, existing in other Romani idioms, was lost in Arli and *sine* was introduced in order to re-institute the distinction between the aorist and the imperfect. In the Arli spoken in Skopje, the former aorist forms are used as simple past tense forms, while the forms with *sine* are primarily used to express actions which were begun at some point of time in the past and last until the moment of speaking, though in bare subjunctives and in subjunctives used as complements of the impersonal verb *isi* ‘be’, they are used on a par with the imperfects in other Balkan languages (cf. 10.7.4. in the chapter “Infinitives and Subjunctives”).

¹²⁶ The citation form for lexical verbs is the third person singular present tense form. As pointed out above (cf. footnote 124), the third person past tense forms of verbs of motion, such as *avela* ‘come’, differ from the third person past tense forms of the other verbs.

10.1.4 There is another perfect tense, formed by the auxiliary *isi* ‘be’ or its negative counterpart *na(n)e*, followed by Acc pronominal forms and participles of lexical verbs.¹²⁷ We shall refer to it as “periphrastic perfect”.

10.2 Use of the Arli past and perfect tenses

10.2.1 The Arli past tense is usually used to express actions that were completed at a specified moment in the past:

- (93) a. *Dikhljum e čhaja.*
 see.1Sg the.Obl girl.Acc
 ‘I saw the girl.’
- b. *Alo jekh rom.*
 come.3Sg.Past.Part a man
 ‘A man came.’

10.2.2 An action that had taken place in the past, but whose effects are felt at a moment of speaking, is usually expressed by the present perfect:

- (94) a. *Avava sine akate pobut droma.*
 come.1Sg be.Past here Compar+many times
 ‘I have come here many times.’
- b. *Na dikhjela sine asavke bukja.*
 not see.3Sg be.Past such.F.Pl things
 ‘He hasn’t seen such things.’
- c. *Avela sine te kerel tumengje lafi.*
 come.3Sg be.Past Subj.Mark do/make.3Sg you.Pl.Dat
 words
 ‘He has come to have a word with you.’
- d. *Sikljovel le sine te nangjovel.*
 show/teach.3Sg 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl be.Past Subj.Mark swim.3Sg
 ‘(S)he has taught him to swim.’

10.2.4 The past perfect is used in complex clauses, to render an event/action that has taken place before another event/action. Example:

- (95) *Kada ov alo amen haljam sine.*
 when he came.M.Sg.Past.Part we eat.1Pl.Past be.Past
 ‘When he came, we had (already) eaten.’

¹²⁷ When reference is made to third person, no pronominal forms are used.

10.2.3 The periphrastic pefect is used as an alternative to the present perfect. Thus, sentences (94a) and (94b) have (96a) and (96b) s their respective alternatives:

- (96) a. *Isi* *ma* *alo* *akate pobut*
 be.3Pres 1Sg.Acc.Cl come.M.Past.Part here Compar+many
 droma.
 times
 ‘I have come here many times.’
- b. *Na(n)e* *dikhlo* *asavke bukja.*
 not+be.3Pres seen.M.Sg.Past.Part such things
 ‘He hasn’t seen such things.’

Chapter Six

INFINITIVES AND SUBJUNCTIVES

The most perspicuous and most widely discussed feature of the Balkan Sprachbund languages is the loss of the infinitive and its replacement by structurally comparable subjunctive constructions. It should, however, be pointed out that there is no uniformity in either the loss of the infinitive or its replacement by subjunctive constructions. The infinitive has been completely lost in Macedonian, Modern Greek and Arli Balkan Romani and almost completely in Bulgarian, Aromanian and the South-Eastern Serbian dialects. In Megleno-Romanian, it shows up in a limited number of constructions, while in Standard Serbian and Standard Croatian, and to some degree in Romanian, it thrives, though many of its uses are shared by subjunctive constructions. As for Albanian, it is not quite clear whether the Indo-European infinitive was lost at one point and reinstituted atypically (with devices that are distinct from the common Indo-European devices) prior to the publication of the first Albanian written document – Buzuku's *Missal*, published in 1555, or else the Albanian quasi-infinitival constructions are not related to infinitives at all (cf. Demiraj 1969:89; Joseph 1983).¹

The loss of the infinitive and its replacement by subjunctive constructions was gradual. Since in Greek this replacement began to occur earlier than in other Balkan languages, it is often assumed that the replacement in the other Balkan languages occurred under the influence of Greek (cf. Asenova 2002:196).

In Ancient Greek, tensed nominal clauses, introduced by a variety of complementizers, occurred alongside the infinitive. In Biblical Greek texts written since the 7th century, the use of the infinitive decreases (cf. Hatzidakis 1892:214-215), and in the late Byzantine period (1100-1453) it appears only in future tense constructions (cf. Browning 1969:83), to be completely ousted out of the grammar of the language after that period. The loss of the infinitive in Modern Greek is ascribed to the fact that, in addition to the general functions of the Indo-European infinitive, it had secondary functions, such as expressing anteriority or posteriority, which enabled infinitives to be used interchangeably with finite clauses introduced by *tvα*, from which the Modern Greek subjunctive marker has developed. (cf. Kurcová 1966).

According to Joseph (1983) the loss of the infinitive in Balkan Slavic was influenced by Greek. Mirčev (1937:22), however, argues that the replacement of the infinitive by subjunctive constructions in Old Church Slavonic is in contrast with the fact that some of the infinitives in the Greek originals in the Bible were translated into Old Church Slavonic by finite clauses introduced by the complementizer *da*, which shows that the uses of the infinitive and the subjunctive in Greek and Old Church Slavonic differed. One has to bear in mind, however, that the uses of the infinitive and the subjunctive in Old Church Slavonic were not clearly differentiated. In any case, in the early translations of the Bible into Old Church Slavonic (10th and 11th century) infinitival constructions are used alongside nominal clauses introduced by the subordinator *da* 'that'.² Subsequently, in the

¹ Joseph's (1983) argument can be summarized as follows: The IE infinitive, to the extent that it can be reconstructed, appears to have been a case form of a nominal derivative of a verbal root. Neither the Geg Albanian infinitival constructions, nor the (Tosk) Albanian *për të* plus participle construction fit into the reconstructed IE infinitival system, especially since the suffixes used in the major verbal part of the infinitive in Albanian continue IE suffixes that were properly participial/adjectival (Tosk Albanian *-në/-rë* < IE **-no-*; Geg Albanian *-m/më* < IE **-mo-*). Moreover, in Buzuku's *Missal*, infinitival (Geg) constructions are quite frequent, while in the writings of many other Balkan languages of the time (16th century) the infinitive is rarely used, if at all.

² Krapova (2001:109) notes that subjunctive structures were first of all introduced in clauses that required distinct subjects (i) and in ECM (Exceptional Case Marking) clauses (ii):

Balkan Slavic spoken in the areas in which at the present Bulgarian and Macedonian are spoken, the infinitive lost its infinitival suffix and appeared in a “short form” (Asenova 2002:143). From the 16th century onwards, in the South Slavic spoken to the south and east of the Serbian river Timok, the infinitive appeared productively only in future tense constructions, from which it has subsequently also been ousted out by subjunctive clauses.³

In the earliest (16th century) Romanian texts, the full (suffixal) infinitive was functioning as a verbal noun, as it does in contemporary Romanian and Aromanian, as well as a “proper” infinitive (Rosetti 1964:98). Subsequently, the function of the “proper” infinitive was relegated to the short (suffixless) infinitive,⁴ which according to Asenova (2002:146), is a Slavic influence, while the use of the full infinitival form is strictly nominal.

Whatever the degree of loss of the infinitive, in all the Balkan languages it has been replaced by analogous constructions – indicative and subjunctive clauses, which have parallel structures with respect to (a) subordinators – “that”-complementizers and subjunctive markers, respectively,⁵ (b) ordering of clitics and negation markers and (c) in some languages, choice of negation markers and verbal morphology.⁶

In all the languages of the Sprachbund, subjunctive clauses are basically used in analogous environments – most notably (a) in the formation of future tenses with expectative (“will”) and

(i)	<i>Ašte</i>	<i>hoštom</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>tŭ</i>	<i>prevondetŭ...</i>	(Old Church Slavonic)	
	if	want.1Sg	Subj.Mark	he	survive.3Sg		
	‘If I want him to survive...’						
(ii)	<i>Ne</i>	<i>hoštemŭ</i>	<i>semu</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>caruetŭ</i>	<i>nadŭ</i>	<i>nami.</i>
	not	want.1Pl	him	Subj.Mark	rule.3Sg	above	us
	‘We don’t want him to govern us.’						

As pointed out by Asenova (2002:198) this is due to the fact that the infinitive is modally neutral. When the modality of the complement cannot be deduced from the modality of the main clause, a finite complement is more desirable. In fact, the infinitive might have disappeared in the Balkan languages even without the stipulation of the disappearance of the infinitive in Greek: the need for speakers of different languages to communicate with each other required transparency and finite clauses are more transparent than infinitives.

³ Currently, in Balkan Slavic, the “short infinitive” occurs in the formation of the future tense of some Standard Serbian verbs (cf. 3.2.4) and in standard and dialectal Bulgarian constructions expressing prohibition (cf. 2.1).

⁴ Note that in Megleno-Romanian in constructions with modals, the suffixed infinitive is still functioning as a “proper infinitive”.

⁵ In Balkan Romance and Albanian, the subjunctive markers can and in some environments have to, co-occur with “that”-complementizers. This fact, and the modal nature of the subjunctive marker, have prompted generative analyses in which the subjunctive markers are derived in nodes distinct from C⁰, where the indicative complementizers are derived. According to Krapova (2001:105), who refers to Phillipaki-Warburton (1987), Rivero (1995) and Terzi (1992), there is a widely held view in current Modern Greek studies that the subjunctive marker does not exhibit complementizer properties. Joseph and Phillipaki-Warburton (1987) treat the Modern Greek subjunctive marker as a verbal particle, Rudin (1985, 1987) derives the Bulgarian subjunctive marker under the Aux node, Terzi (1992) and Motapanyane (1991) treat the Modern Greek and Romanian subjunctive markers as independent modal heads, and Rivero (1994) treats analogously the Bulgarian, Albanian, Modern Greek and Romanian subjunctive markers. Note, however, that the head in which the Balkan subjunctive markers are derived should be distinguished from the head in which the modal markers that participate in the formation of the Balkan future tenses are derived. In Tomić (2004a, to appear c, 2005b) the subjunctive markers are derived in mood nodes to the right of the modality node, where the modal clitics are derived.

⁶ In Modern Greek, Albanian and Arli Balkan Romani, subjunctives select negation markers which are distinct from the negation markers selected by indicatives, and occur in other non-finite constructions. Albanian has distinct subjunctive forms for 2nd and 3rd person singular, while Romanian, Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian have a distinct common subjunctive forms for 3rd person singular and plural.

“have” auxiliaries;⁷ (b) as complements of modal verbs; (c) as complements of a group of verbs that may go under the name “intentional verbs”, which include control verbs, such as verbs with the meaning ‘try’, causatives, such as verbs with the meaning ‘force’;⁸ volitional verbs, such as verbs with the meaning ‘want’, inchoative verbs, such as verbs with the meaning ‘start’;⁹ and (d) as “bare subjunctives”, i.e. as subjunctives that do not occur in complement positions of main clauses, which basically express orders or wishes.¹⁰ Verbs of perception and believing also take subjunctive complements, though, with a slightly different meaning, they can take indicative complements, as well. Since the lack of time reference distances them from prototypical finite structures, the Balkan subjunctive constructions may be used as nominal modifiers or as adjuncts.

When used as complements, the subjunctive constructions can have joint or disjoint reference with the main clauses.¹¹ In cases of joint reference, i.e. in cases when the subjunctive

⁷ The term “expectative” is from Friedman (2003). In some of the languages (Macedonian, Bulgarian, Modern Greek and Arli Balkan Romani), the subjunctive marker does not appear in the future tense.

⁸ Rivero (1995:25) notes that causatives usually take subjunctive structures with Exceptional Case Marking.

⁹ Verbs of knowledge, thinking, saying and asking, which in their epistemic sense take indicative complements, can have intentional readings that reflect the attitude of the speaker towards the event, and in this case they take subjunctive complements.

¹⁰ Some linguists (e.g. Isak and Jakab 2004) refer to this use as the “use of subjunctives as main clauses”. I prefer the term “bare subjunctives”, which allows for a covered existence of a main clause expressing a command or wish. A clause such as (i) actually has the meaning of (ii) or (iii):

- (i) *Da odiš!* (Macedonian)
 Subj.Mark go.2Sg
 ‘You should go.’
- (ii) ‘I order you to go.’
- (iii) ‘I wish that you go.’

¹¹ Krapova (2001) makes a distinction between (a) subjunctive constructions which can take any person/number value, irrespective of the agreement within the matrix clause, such as (i), from Krapova (2001:110); and (b) subjunctive constructions with anaphoric subjects, which impose a strict identity condition on the agreement specification of the matrix and the embedded verbs, such as (ii), from Krapova (2001:112):

- (i) *Nadjavam se da dojdeš/dojdat.* (Bulgarian)
 hope.1Sg Acc.Refl.Cl Subj.Mark come.2Sg/3Pl.Perf.Pres
 ‘I hope that you/they come.’
- (ii) *Ivan može da zamine/(*zaminem)/(zamineš).*
 Ivan can.3Sg Subj.Mark leave.3Sg/1Pl/2Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘Ivan can leave/(for us to leave)/(for you to leave).’

Krapova argues that the former subjunctive constructions have pro subjects, while the latter ones have PRO subjects. I am, however, making a distinction between (a) predicates that take subjunctive complements that have disjoint reference with the matrix clause; (b) predicates that take subjunctive complements that have joint reference with the matrix clause; and (c) predicates that can take subjunctive complements with joint as well as ones with disjoint reference with the matrix clause (cf. the subsections entitled “Typical Uses of Subjunctive Constructions” in the sections on individual languages below). While the complex sentences with subjunctive complements that have disjoint reference with their respective matrix clauses are bi-clausal, the complex sentences with subjunctive complements that have joint reference with their respective matrix clauses are monoclausal restructuring structures with two finite verbs (cf. Tomić 2004a). The predicates that can take both subjunctive complements that have joint reference with their matrix clauses and subjunctive complements that have disjoint reference with their matrix clauses, are monoclausal restructuring structures in the former case and bi-clausal structures in the latter.

construction is co-referential with the main clause, there is a correlation with (subject) control infinitives in languages which distinguish between finite and non-finite complements.¹²

With some exceptions, the future tenses of the Balkan Sprachbund languages are analytic constructions of four types: (1) inflected “will” modal clitics plus infinitives; (2) inflected “will” modal clitics plus subjunctive constructions; (3) invariant “will” modal clitics plus subjunctive constructions; (4) invariant “will” modal clitics plus tensed verbs whose forms are analogous to the forms of the verbs in the subjunctive constructions of the languages in question. These constructions evolved from configurations in which infinitives appeared as complements of lexical “will” modals, which were in complementary distribution with constructions in which infinitives appeared as complements of verbs with the meaning ‘have’ (cf. Tomić 2004a, 2004d).¹³ During the late Middle Ages (1100-1453) the use of the future tense constructions with “have” decreases. Nowadays, future tenses with “have” auxiliaries appear in Geg Albanian and in the Romanian “intentional” future tense. In Bulgarian, Macedonian, the South-Eastern Serbian dialects, Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian, negated “have” auxiliaries are used in the formation of negative future tenses.

Most of the Balkan languages have future-in-the-past constructions in which invariant “will” clitics are followed by verbs in the past or past perfect tense, or else by inflected non-clitic “will” modal auxiliaries in a past tense, plus subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense. These constructions are used in counterfactual contexts.

1. Macedonian

In Macedonian, the infinitive has disappeared.¹⁴ Most of its functions are performed by subjunctive constructions, though some of them can also be performed by verbal nouns.

1.1 *Infinitive-like function of verbal nouns*

1.1.1 The forms of verbal nouns are derived by adding the suffix *-nje* to the former infinitival base of the verb. Examples:

¹² Note that Romanian and Standard Serbian, which have both infinitival and subjunctival complements, do not instantiate the obviation effect typical for Romance subjunctives, i.e. it is not the case that in these languages, the infinitival complements are used when there is joint reference, while the subjunctive constructions are used when there is disjoint reference. In Standard Croatian, however, the obviation effect obtains (cf. Tomić 2002-2003; Stojanović and Marelj 2004).

¹³ In Tomić (2004a, 2004d) it is shown that all the Balkan Slavic Future tenses have developed from restructuring configurations in which subjunctive constructions appear as complements of forms of the Old Church Slavonic verb *xotěti* ‘will/want’. The development has gone through three stages, though not all Balkan Slavic languages have gone through all of them. In the first stage, represented in contemporary Serbo-Croatian, we have finite modal clitics plus infinitives or subjunctive constructions. In the second stage, which is to some extent represented in the South-Eastern Serbian dialects, non-finite modal clitics are followed by subjunctive constructions. In the third stage, represented in Macedonian and Bulgarian, non-finite modal clitics are followed by finite verbs.

¹⁴ In some Macedonian dialects, there are short infinitives (i.e. infinitives from which the infinitival suffix *-ti* is missing). The following examples are from Koneski (1967:178), with my glosses and translation:

(i)	% <i>Nim</i> not+1Sg.Dat.Cl ‘Don’t get angry!’	<i>se</i> Acc.Refl.Cl <i>kosi!</i> get angry.Inf	(the dialect of Gevgelija)
(ii)	% <i>Numu</i> not+3Sg.Dat.Cl ‘Don’t speak to him!’	<i>lafi!</i> speak.Inf	(the dialect of Tikveš)

But, as pointed out by Koneski (1967:178) and shown by the translations, the suffixless infinitives are interpreted as imperatives.

- (1) a. *imanje*
having
b. *sakanje*
wanting
c. *doaganje*
coming

1.1.2 When occurring as objects of modal or intentional verbs, the Macedonian verbal nouns have a function analogous to that of the Indo-European infinitives. Examples:

- (2) a. *Gravot saka dolgo vrienje.*
beans+the.M.Sg want.3Sg long boiling
'The beans need to be boiled long.' (lit. 'The beans want long boiling.')
- b. *Deteto bara nosenje.*
child+the.N.Sg seek.3Sg carrying
'The child asks to be carried.' (lit. 'The child seeks to be carried.')

1.2 The subjunctive marker in contrast with indicative complementizers

1.2.1 Subjunctive constructions are introduced by the subjunctive marker *da*:

- (3) a. *Saka da dojde.*
want.3Sg Subj.Mark come.3Sg.Perf.Pres
'(S)he wants to come.'
- b. *Se obiduvam da zaspijam.*
Acc.Ref.Cl try.1Sg Subj.Mark fall-asleep.3Sg.Perf.Pres
'I am trying to sleep.'

1.2.2 The subjunctive marker is formally distinct from "that"-complementizers introducing indicative clauses.¹⁵

1.2.2.1 The most frequent "that"-complementizers are *deka* – a permutation of the locative "wh" adverb *kade* 'where' and *oti* – a borrowing from Greek:¹⁶

¹⁵ In older Macedonian, the *da*-complementizer used to introduce indicative clauses, as well. Bužarovska (2002:98) records the following example from a late 18th century text:

- (i) %*Ona (devojka) se vidi da e ot carski rot.*
that.F girl Acc.Refl.Cl see.3Sg that be.3Sg from royal origin
'One can see that that girl is of royal descent.'

Topolinjska (1995:139) records the following examples from South-Western Macedonian (spoken in Northern Greece):

- (ii) %...*velat da se-j izbluval krāv.*
say.3Pl that Acc.Refl.Cl+be.3Sg thrown-up.M.Sg.Perf./-Part blood
'They say that he threw up blood.'
- (iii) %...*mislum da-j taka po-arno.*
think.1Sg that+be.3Sg so Compar-good
'...I think that it is better that way.'

(Glosses and translation are mine.)

¹⁶ In some Eastern Macedonian dialects, *deka* is also used as an interrogative locative adverb with the meaning 'where':

- (i) %*Deka e majka ti?*
where be.3Sg mother 2Sg.Dat.Cl
'Where is your mother?'

- (4) a. *Reče deka/oti ke dojde.*
 say.3Sg that will.Mod.Cl come.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘(S)he said that (s)he would come.’
- b. *Da im kažeš deka/oti sme dobro.*
 Subj.Mark 3Pl.Dat.Cl tell.2Sg.Perf.Pres that be.1Pl well
 ‘You should tell them that we are well.’

1.2.2.2 The locative “wh” adverb *kade* is also used as an indicative complementizer, though this use is qualified as “old-fashioned”:¹⁷

- (5) *%Deteto videlo kade plače majka mu.*
 child+the.N.Sg seen.N.Sg.Perf./-Part where cry.3Sg mother 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl
 ‘The child saw that his mother was crying.’

1.2.2.3 Indicative complement clauses of emotional and factive verbs are introduced by the invariant “wh” word *što* ‘what’:¹⁸

In the West-Central Macedonian dialects, *oti* is also used as an interrogative adverb with the meaning ‘why’, which can also introduce clauses of reason:

- (ii) *%Oti ne idiš?*
 why not come.2Sg
 ‘Why aren’t you coming?’
- (iii) *%Si odi oti ke go tepam.*
 Dat.Refl.Cl go.3Sg because will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl beat.1Sg
 ‘He is leaving because I am going to beat him.’

Thus, a word which has been borrowed as a conjunction has been grammaticalized as an adverb – an unusual directionality of grammaticalization. (As a rule, words of “higher” word classes are grammaticalized as words of “lower” word classes, e.g. adverbs and pronouns are grammaticalized as conjunctions.)

Note that in Modern Greek the adverbial function of reason is expressed by *jati* (< *ja* ‘for’ + *ti* ‘what’), in analogy to which the Standard Macedonian adverb of reason *zašto* (< *za* ‘for’ + *što* ‘what’) was derived.

¹⁷ The locative pronoun *kade* ‘where’ was (and still is in some South-Western Macedonian dialects) a very general marker of subordinate clauses. As exemplified in (i), it can also introduce a relative clause:

- (i) *%Deteto videlo edna moma kade ja češla*
 child+the.N.Sg seen.N.Sg.Perf./-Part a.F.Sg girl where 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl comb.3Sg
majka mu.
 mother 3Sg.F/M.Poss.Cl
 ‘The child saw a girl combing the hair of her mother.’

¹⁸ In a Macedonian dialect in Southern Albania (the Korča/Korçe region) *što* ‘what’ is used in indicative complements of any verb. Example (from Topolinjska 1995:132), with my glosses and translation:

- (i) *%...sluši što pejat i igrat.*
 hear.3Sg what sing.3Pl and dance.3Pl
 ‘...(s)he hears that they are singing and dancing.’

Što has developed from the Common Indo-European interrogative pronoun for neutral gender **čā*. In most Slavic languages, the “descendent” of this pronoun, in association with the anaphoric particle *-to*, serves as an interrogative pronoun with readings analogous to that of the Indo-European **čā*. In Macedonian, *š* + *-to* → *što* (< **čā* + *-to*), in addition to being a very general interrogative pronoun and determiner with the meaning ‘what kind’, has developed into a complementizer and a general relativizer (*relativum generale*) (cf. Topolinjska 1996:83-89), in the latter case, alone or accompanied by the relativizers *koj* ‘who/which.M.Sg’/*koja* ‘who/which.F.Sg’/*koe* ‘who/which.N.Sg’/*koi* ‘who/-which.Pl’. The use of *što* as an interrogative pronoun, interrogative determiner and general relativizer is illustrated in (ii), (iii) and (iv), respectively:

- (6) a. *Se raduvam što ve gledam.*
 Acc.Refl.Cl rejoice.1Sg what 2Pl.Acc.Cl see.1Sg
 'I am glad to see you.'
- b. *Gi iskara što došle.*
 3Pl.Acc.Cl scold.3Sg.Perf.Past what come.Pl./-Part
 '(S)he scolded them for coming.'

1.2.3 While there are verbs that, as a rule, select indicative complementizers or subjunctive markers, quite a number of verbs can take either – most often with distinct meanings. A typical case in point are verbs of saying. In (7a), where the complement is indicative, the verb *veli* 'say' has an epistemic reading; while in (7b) *veli* is used as an intentional verb:

- (7) a. *Veli deka će dojde.*
 say.3Sg that will.Mod.Cl come.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 '(S)he says that (s)he would come.'
- b. *Veli da odiš.*
 say.3Sg Subj.Mark go.2Sg
 '(S)he says that you should go.'

1.3 Forms of verbs in the subjunctive construction

Verbs in subjunctive constructions can have present and past tense forms.

1.3.1 While in ordinary indicative (affirmative or interrogative) sentences only present tense forms of imperfective verbs are used, subjunctive constructions employ present tense forms of both imperfective and perfective verbs.¹⁹ Thus, we have the following acceptability judgements.

- (8) a. *(Mu) ja čitam/*pročitam knjiga.*
 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl read.1Sg.Imperf/Perf.Pres book+the.Prox1.F.Sg
 'I am reading the book (to him).'

-
- (ii) *Što e ova?*
 what be.3Sg this.N.Sg
 'What is this?'
- (iii) *Što čovek e toj?*
 what-kind man be.3Sg he
 'What kind of a man is he?'
- (iv) *Devojkata (koja)što ja vidovte mu*
 girl+the.F.Sg who/which.F.Sg+what 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl see.2Pl.Perf.Past 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl
e sestra na Petreta.
 be.3Sg sister to Petre.Acc
 'The girl whom you saw is Petre's sister.'

The function of *što* as a complementizer is illustrated in (6).

Note that *što* also appears in association with a number of prepositions:

- (v) *za + što → zošto* 'why/because'

¹⁹ Perfective present tense forms can occur in negative-interrogative sentences. Thus, (i) contrasts with (ii):

- (i) *Što ne zemeš od sirenjevo?*
 why not take.2Sg.Perf.Pres from cheese+the.N.Sg.Prox1
 'Why don't you help yourself to the cheese?' (lit. 'Why don't you take from the cheese?')
- (ii) **Što zemeš od sirenjevo?*
 why take.2Sg.Perf from cheese+the.N.Sg.Prox1
 purported reading: 'Why do you take from the cheese?'

- b. *Sakam* *da* *(mu)* *ja*
 wish.1Sg.Imperf.Pres Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
čitam/ pročitam *knigava.*
 read.1Sg.Imperf/Perf.Pres book+the.Prox1.F.Sg
 'I want to read the book (to him).'

1.3.2 Most perfective verbs are constructed by prefixations. With a number of verbs, some of which very frequently used, the Old Church Slavonic imperfective/perfective aspectual distinction through morphological alternation has, however, been preserved. Compare the present tense forms of perfective verbs in the a. examples, to the present tense forms of imperfective verbs in the b. examples in (9-11):²⁰

- (9) a. *Imam* *mnogu da* *ti* *davam.*
 have.1Sg much Subj.Mark 2Sg.Dat.Cl give.1Sg.Imperf.Pres
 'I am very much indebted to you.' (lit. I have much to give to you.)
- b. *Imam* *nešto* *da* *ti* *da(da)m.*
 have.1Sg something Subj.Mark 2Sg.Dat.Cl give.1Sg.Perf.Pres
 'I have something to give to you.'
- (10) a. *Ne* *prestana* *da* *naođa*
 not stop.3Sg.Perf.Past Subj.Mark find.Imperf.Pres
izgubeni *raboti.*
 lost.Pl.Perf.Pass.Part things
 '(S)he never stopped finding lost things.'
- b. *Saka* *da* *najde* *nešto.*
 want.3Sg Subj.Mark find.3Sg.Perf.Pres something
 '(S)he wants to find something.'
- (11) a. *Ne* *treba* *da* *dođaš* *sekoj den.*
 not need.Impers Subj.Mark come.2Sg.Imperf.Pres every day
 'You needn't come every day.'
- b. *Ne* *treba* *da* *dojdeš* *utre.*
 not need.Impers Subj.Mark come.2Sg.Perf.Pres tomorrow
 'You needn't come tomorrow.'

1.3.3 Like the present tense forms, the past tense forms used in subjunctive constructions can be constructed not only from imperfective, but also from perfective verbs. The past tense forms of perfective verbs in subjunctive clauses are distinct from the past tense forms in indicative clauses.

²⁰ As illustrated in (i-iii) only the a. forms are acceptable in indicative contexts:

- (i) *Ti* *davam/*da(da)m* *golem* *podarok.*
 2Sg.Dat.Cl give.1Sg.Imperf/Perf.Pres big present
 'I am giving you a big present.'
- (ii) *Neprestano* *naođa/*najde* *nešto.*
 incessantly find.3Sg.Imperf/Perf.Pres something
 '(S)he is incessantly finding something.'
- (iii) *Ti* *ne* *dođaš/*dajdeš* *vamo* *sekoj* *den.*
 you.2Sg not come.2Sg.Imperf/Perf.Pres here every day
 'You are not coming here every day.'

The former used to be forms of the perfective imperfect²¹ but are now used only in modal contexts.²² We shall refer to them as “subjunctive past tense forms.”²³

1.3.3.1 As illustrated in (12-15), the subjunctive past tense forms are distinct from the perfective past tense forms. While the perfective past tense forms are used in clauses that state that certain events have taken place at given points of time in the past, the subjunctive past tense forms are used in complex counterfactual conditional sentences (cf. 1.11):

- (12) a. *Petre go pročitā pismoto.*
 Petre 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl read.3Sg.Perf.Past letter+the.N.Sg
 ‘Petre read the letter.’
- b. *Da beše ovde će go*
 Subj.Mark be.3Sg.Past here will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
pročitaše pismoto.
 read.2/3Sg.Subj.Past letter+the.N.Sg.
 ‘Had you/(s)he been here, you/(s)he would have read the letter.’
- (13) a. *Petre dojde, a ne ja vide.*
 Petre come.3Sg.Perf.Past and not 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Perf.Past
 ‘Petre came, but he didn’t see her.’
- b. *Da dojdeše, će ja videše.*
 Subj.Mark come.2.3Sg.Subj.Past will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
 see.3Sg.Subj.Past
 ‘Had you/(s)he come, you/(s)he would have seen her.’
- (14) a. *Studentite gi zedoa knjigite, a*
 students+the.Pl 3Pl.Acc.Cl take.3Pl.Perf.Past books and
ne ni kaža.
 not 1Pl.Dat.Cl tell.Pl.Perf.Past
 ‘The students took the books, but didn’t tell us (that).’
- b. *Da gi zemea, će*
 Subj.Mark 3Pl.Acc.Cl take.3Pl.Subj.Past will.Mod.Cl
vi kaža.
 2Pl.Dat.Cl tell.3Pl.Subj.Past
 ‘If they had taken them, they would have told you.’
- (15) a. *Rekoa deka će si odat utre.*
 say.3Pl.Perf.Past that will.Mod.Cl Refl.Dat.Cl go.3Pl tomorrow
 ‘They said that they would leave tomorrow.’
- b. *Da rečea će im*
 Subj.Mark say.3Pl.Subj.Past will.Mod.Cl 3Pl.Dat.Cl

²¹ Occasional examples of imperfective aorists occurred in literary writings through the first half of the twentieth century (cf. Koneski 1967:423).

²² The restriction on the use of perfective imperfects has actually been effected by shifting the perfective imperfect forms into subjunctive, or more generally into modal constructions.

²³ The use of the subjunctive past is not restricted to subjunctive clauses. It can actually be used in any modal context and can occur to the right of the modal clitic *će* ‘will’, which is used in future tense constructions (cf. 1.10), the interrogative clitic *li*, the exhortative marker *neka* ‘let’ and the modal subordinators *ako* ‘if’, *dokolku* ‘insofar as’, *dodeka* ‘while/until’, *duri* ‘while/until’.

*pomognevme.*²⁴

help.1Pl.Subj.Past

‘If they had said (so), we would have helped them.’

1.3.4 Parallel to the subjunctive past tense forms, there are *l*-participles ending on *-el/-ela/-elo/-eli* used only in subjunctive contexts, to which we shall refer as “subjunctive *l*-participles.” Contrast the a. examples in (16) and (17), in which the *l*-participles are used in indicative contexts presenting the information that certain events had not taken place at given points of time in the past, to their b. counterparts, in which the *l*-participles are used in complex counterfactual sentences:

- (16) a. *Ne došle i ne donesle ništo.*
not come.Pl.Perf.Indic./-Part and not brought.Pl.Perf./-Part nothing
‘They reportedly didn’t come and didn’t bring anything.’²⁵
- b. *Da dojdele ke donesele*²⁶
Subj.Mark come.Pl.Subj./-Part will.Mod.Cl brought.Pl.Subj./-Part
nesreka.
misfortune
‘Had they come, they would have reportedly brought misfortune.’
- (17) a. *Ne ste našle ništo.*
not be.2Pl found.Pl.Perf./-Part nothing
‘Reportedly, you didn’t find anything.’
- b. *Da ste go najdele*
Subj.Mark be.2Pl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl found.Pl.Subj./-Part
*ke ste im go dadele.*²⁷
will.Mod.Cl be.2Pl 3Pl.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl given.Pl.Subj./-Part
‘As reported, if you had found it, you would have given it to them.’

1.3.5 Quite a number of verbs (actually almost all the verbs with *e* bases and most of the verbs with *i* bases)²⁸ have perfective present and past tense forms and *l*-participles that are used only in modal contexts – distinct from the imperfective present tense forms used in both indicative and modal contexts, and from both the imperfective and perfective past tense forms that are used only in indicative contexts. For the verb *dava* ‘give’, we have the following present and past tense paradigms:²⁹

²⁴ The corresponding indicative past tense form of this verb is *pomognavme*.

²⁵ The *l*-participle signals evidentiality – in the case of 1st and 2nd person, along with forms of the “be” auxiliary; in the case of 3rd person by itself.

²⁶ The corresponding indicative *l*-participle of this verb is *donesle*. Note that indicative *l*-participles can be used in subjunctive contexts, as well.

²⁷ The corresponding indicative *l*-participle form of this verb is *dale*.

²⁸ The aorist forms of these verbs had undergone morphonological changes.

²⁹ The citation forms of the lexical verbs are the third person singular indicative forms.

Table 1: Paradigms of the Macedonian verb *dava* ‘give’

Imperfective Present (used in both indicative and modal contexts)			Perfective Present (used only in modal contexts)			
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural		
1 st	<i>davam</i>	<i>davame</i>	<i>dadam</i>	<i>dademe</i>		
2 nd	<i>davaš</i>	<i>davate</i>	<i>dadeš</i>	<i>dadete</i>		
3 rd	<i>dava</i>	<i>davaat</i>	<i>dade</i>	<i>dadat</i>		
Indicative Imperfective Past (used in both indicative and modal contexts)			Indicative Perfective Past (used in both indicative and modal contexts)		Subjunctive Perfective Past (used only in modal contexts)	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>davav</i>	<i>davavme</i>	<i>dadov</i>	<i>dadovme</i>	<i>dadev</i>	<i>dadevme</i>
2 nd	<i>davaše</i>	<i>davavte</i>	<i>dade</i>	<i>dadovte</i>	<i>dadeše</i>	<i>dadevte</i>
3 rd	"-"	<i>davaa</i>	"-"	<i>dadoa</i>	"-"	<i>dadea</i>
Indicative <i>l</i> -participle: <i>dal</i>			Subjunctive <i>l</i> -participle: <i>dadel</i>			

1.3.6 The “be” auxiliary/copula has a set of present tense forms that have developed from the Old Church Slavonic verb *jesmь*, and a set of present and two sets of past tense forms that have developed from the Old Church Slavonic verb *byti*.³⁰ The present tense forms which have developed from the Old Church Slavonic verb *jesmь*, function in both indicative and subjunctive/modal contexts, and one of the two sets of past tense forms – *bev* ‘be.1Sg’, *beše* ‘be.2/3Sg’, *bevme* ‘be.1Pl’, *bevte* ‘be.2.Pl’ *bea* ‘be.3Pl’ – is its past tense counterpart; we shall refer to them as “indicative present and past tense forms of the Macedonian “be” auxiliary”, respectively. The set of present tense forms that has developed from the Old Church Slavonic verb *byti*, coupled with the other set of past tense forms, is used only in subjunctive/modal contexts; we shall refer to these forms as “subjunctive present and past tense forms of the Macedonian “be” auxiliary”. There are also distinct indicative and subjunctive *l*-participles.

1.3.6.1 The present and past tense indicative and subjunctive forms of the Macedonian “be” auxiliary/copula are given in Table 2:

Table 2: Paradigms of the Macedonian “be” auxiliary/copula

	Indicative Present		Subjunctive Present	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>sum</i>	<i>sme</i>	<i>bidam</i>	<i>bideme</i>
2 nd	<i>si</i>	<i>ste</i>	<i>bideš</i>	<i>bidete</i>
3 rd	<i>e</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>bide</i>	<i>bidat</i>

³⁰ The latter verb also served as a basis for the construction of (a) the imperative forms *bidi* ‘2Sg.Imper’ and *bidete* ‘2Pl.Imper’, (b) the *l*-participles *bil* for M.Sg, *bila* for F.Sg, *bilo* for N.Sg, *bile* for Pl; (c) the passive participles *biden* for M.Sg, *bidena* for F.Sg, *bideno* for N.Sg, *bideni* for Pl; and paradigms with what we might call “continuous “be” forms”, of which only the third person singular and the *l*-participle are currently used:

- (i) *Taa rabota ne biva.*
that.F job not be.3Sg.Cont.Pres
‘That wouldn’t work.’ (lit. ‘That job does not be.’)
- (ii) *Bivalo taka?*
be.N.Sg.Cont.*l*-Part so
‘Is it all right to do that?!’ (lit. ‘Be so?!’)

	Indicative Past		Subjunctive Past	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>bev</i>	<i>bevme</i>	<i>bidev</i>	<i>bidevme</i>
2 nd	<i>beše</i>	<i>bevte</i>	<i>bideše</i>	<i>bidevte</i>
3 rd	<i>-"</i>	<i>bea</i>	<i>-"</i>	<i>bidea</i>
	Indicative <i>I</i> -participle: <i>bil</i>		Subjunctive <i>I</i> -participle: <i>bidel</i>	

1.3.6.2 As shown above, while the use of the subjunctive forms is restricted to subjunctive/modal contexts, the indicative “be” forms can be used in both indicative and modal environments. As shown by the translations of the examples in (18), in modal contexts, the subjunctive “be” forms are almost interchangeable with the indicative “be” forms:³¹

- (18) a₁ *Treba* *sekogaš da* *si* *točen.*
should.Impers always Subj.Mark be.2Sg.Indic.Pres punctual.M.Sg
‘You should always be punctual.’
- a₂ *Treba* *sekogaš da* *bideš* *točen.*
should.Impers always Subj.Mark be.2Sg.Subj.Pres punctual.M.Sg
‘You should always try to be punctual.’
- b₁ *Ķe* *beše* *poarno* *da*
will.Mod.Cl be.3Sg.Indic.Past Compar.Mark+good Subj.Mark
bideše *tixa.*
be.2/3Sg.Subj.Pres quiet.F.Sg
‘It would have been better if you/(s)he were quiet.’³²
- b₂ *Ķe* *bideše* *poarno* *da*
will.Mod.Cl be.3Sg.Subj.Past Compar.mark+good Subj.Mark
beše *tixa.*
be.2/3Sg.Indic.Past quiet.F.Sg
‘It would have been better if you/(s)he had made an effort to be quiet.’
- c. *Ķe* *ste* *?bile/* *bidele* *dobri*
will.Mod.Cl be.2Pl been.Indic.*I*-Part been.Subj.*I*-Part good
ovoj pat.
this time
‘You will reportedly be good this time.’

1.4 Typical uses of subjunctive constructions

Typically, subjunctive constructions are used (a) as complements of the lexical modal verbs *može* ‘can/be able/be possible/may’, *mora* ‘must’, *smee* ‘dare/may/be allowed’, *treba* ‘should/ought/-need’, *ima* ‘have’; and (b) as complements of control verbs such as *se obiduva* ‘try’, causatives such as *tera* ‘force’, volitional verbs such as *saka* ‘want’, inchoatives such as *počnuva* ‘begin’, and intentional verbs such as *namerava* ‘intend’, *planira* ‘plan’, *se gotvi* ‘prepare’, *izbegava* ‘avoid’, *zapoveduva* ‘order’, *preporačuva* ‘suggest’, all of which may go under the general name of “intentional verbs”.³³ The verb of the subjunctive constructions can but need not agree in person and

³¹ The subjunctive forms imply personal involvement.

³² In sentences with two occurrences of “be” auxiliaries (in different clauses), there is a tendency to use distinct forms.

³³ Verbs of knowledge, thinking, saying and asking, which in their epistemic sense usually take indicative complements, can express an attitude and take subjunctive complements. Compare the reading of the verbs *znae* ‘know’ and *misli* ‘think’ in the sentences with indicative complements to their readings in the sentences with subjunctive complements:

number with the verb of the main clause. Whenever such an agreement occurs, there is “equi” deletion and only one subject surfaces – in unmarked sentences, to the left of the main verb. When the subject of the subjunctive construction is different from the subject of the main clause, it surfaces to the left of the subjunctive marker or to the right of the verb of the subjunctive construction. Pronominal subjects are dropped, unless emphatic. The subjunctive marker is always adjacent to the verb.

1.4.1 The modal verb *treba* ‘should/ought/need/be necessary’ takes subjunctive constructions only as an impersonal verb,³⁴ the modal verbs *može* ‘can/be able/may/be possible’, *mora* ‘must’, *smee* ‘dare/may/be allowed’ and *ima* ‘have’ can have subjunctive complements both as impersonal and as personal verbs,³⁵ whereas the verb *umee* ‘can/be able’ occurs only as a personal verb. The impersonal modal verbs can take subjunctive complements with any person/number features, whereas the personal ones are control verbs, i.e. have joint reference with the verb in their complement.

1.4.1.1 The use of subjunctive constructions as complements of the modal verb *treba* ‘should/ought/need/be necessary’ is illustrated in (19).³⁶

-
- (i) *Znam deka obično doađa docna.*
 know.1Sg that usually come.3Sg late
 ‘I know that (s)he usually comes late.’
- (i)* *Znae da dojde docna.*
 know.3Sg Subj.Mark come.3Sg.Perf.Pres late
 ‘(S)he can come late.’ (i.e. ‘It is not unusual that (s)he comes late.’)
- (ii) *Mislam deka ne doađa so nas.*
 think.1Sg that not come.3Sg with us.Acc
 ‘I think that (s)he is not coming with us.’
- (ii)* *Mislam da dojdám.*
 think.1Sg Subj.Mark come.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘I intend to come.’

A variety of verbs, which in their basic readings take indicative complements, can have inchoative intentional readings and take subjunctive complements. Such are the verbs *faĉa* (with basic reading ‘catch’), *zema* (with basic reading ‘take’), *trgnuva* (with basic reading ‘set off’), *stanuva* (with basic reading ‘get up’), *skoknuva* (with basic reading ‘jump’). In (iii) all of these verbs have the reading ‘start/begin’ and take a subjunctive complement:

- (iii) *Zede/fati/trgna/stana/skokna da trĉa.*
 start/begin.3Sg.Perf.Past Subj.Mark run.3Sg
 ‘(S)he started running.’

³⁴ As a personal verb, with the meaning ‘need’, this verb occurs in constructions with Dat NP/DP complements:

- (i) *Ti trebam li?*
 2Sg.Dat.Cl need.1Sg Inter.Cl
 ‘Do you need me?’
- (ii) *Ne mi trebaš TI, Petko mi treba.*
 not 1Sg.Dat.Cl need.2Sg you Petko 1Sg.Dat.Cl need.3Sg
 ‘I do not need YOU, I need Petko.’

³⁵ Impersonal verbs have third person singular suffixes.

³⁶ In (19a) the pronominal subject of the verb in the subjunctive construction is dropped. Nothing but pronominal and auxiliary clitics can occur between the subjunctive marker and the verb.

In (19b) the nominal subject of the subjunctive construction occurs to the left of the main verb. Focused subject can, however, occur between the main verb and the subjunctive construction or to the right of the verb:

- (19) a. *Treba da dojdám/dojdeš.*
 should/need.Impers Subj.Mark come.1/2Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘I/you should/ought/need to come.’
- b. *Trebaše Petko toa da*
 should/ought.Impers.Imperf.Past Petko that/it.N Subj.Mark
mu go kaže.
 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl say.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘Petko should have told him that.’

1.4.1.2 The use of subjunctive structures as complements of the impersonal modal verbs *može* ‘can/may/be possible’ *mora* ‘must’ and *sme* ‘may/be allowed’ is illustrated in (20):³⁷

- (20) a₁ *Može da dojdát/dojdete.*
 can/may/be possible.Impers Subj.Mark come.3/2Pl.Perf.Pres
 1. ‘They/you can/may come.’
 2. ‘It is possible for them/you to come.’
- a₂ *Može da se vleve.*
 can/may/be possible.Impers Subj.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl enter.Impers
 1. ‘It is possible to enter.’
 2. ‘One can enter.’
- b₁ *Mora da završíte/završíte na vreme.*
 must.Impers Subj.Mark finish.2/1Pl.Perf.Pres on time
 ‘You/we have to finish on time.’
- b₂ *Mora da se dojde.*
 must.Impers Subj.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl come.Impers
 ‘One has to come.’
- c. *Ovde ne sme da se puši.*
 here not be-allowed.Impers Subj.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl smoke.3Sg
 1. ‘It is not allowed to smoke here.’
 2. ‘One may not smoke here.’

1.4.1.3 The use of subjunctive structures as complements of the personal modal verbs *može* ‘can/be able’, *sme* ‘dare/be allowed’ *ume* ‘can/be able’, *mora* ‘must’ and *ima* ‘have’³⁸ is illustrated in (21):

- (i) *Trebaše PETKO toa da mu go*
 should.Impers.Imperf.Past Petko that.N Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
kaže.
 say.3Sg.Perf.Pres
- (ii) *Trebaše toa da mu go kaže*
 should.Impers.Imperf.Past that.N Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl say.3Sg.Perf.Pres
PETKO.
 Petko
 ‘It is Petko who should have told him that.’

³⁷ The impersonal verb *sme* ‘be allowed’ takes only complements with reflexive verbs. The use of subjunctive constructions as complements of the impersonal modal verb *ima* ‘have’ is illustrated in 1.5.

³⁸ When it is in the second person, the personal verb *ima* ‘have’ expresses a very strong obligation, almost an order.

- (21) a. *Ne moževme da go*
not can/be-able.1Pl.Imperf.Past Subj.Mark 3Sg.M/N.Acc.Cl
vidime.
see.1Pl.Perf.Pres
'We couldn't/were not able to see him/it.'
- b. *Ne smeeja da ne*
not dare/be-allowed.3Pl.Imperf.Past Subj.Mark 1Pl.Acc.Cl
poglednat.
look-at.3Pl.Perf.Pres
'They didn't dare/were not allowed to look at us.'
- c. *Ne umeeja da čitaat.*
not can.3Pl.Imperf.Past Subj.Mark 1Pl.Acc.Cl
'They couldn't read.'
- d. *Moravme da mu go*
must.1Pl.Imperf.Past Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
dademe.
give.1Pl.Perf.Pres
'We had to give it to him.'
- e. *Imam da peram.*
have.1Sg Subj.Mark wash.1Sg
'I have some washing to do.' (lit. 'I have to wash.')

1.4.2 As for the intentional verbs, some of them have to have joint reference with their subjunctive complements, while others do not. As a matter of fact, with respect to agreement with the person/number features of their subjunctive complements, intentional verbs fall into three classes: (A) Verbs that have joint reference with their subjunctive complements (e.g. *namerava* 'intend', *izbegava* 'avoid', *se obiduva* 'try'). (B) Verbs that have disjoint reference with their subjunctive complements (e.g. *zapoveduva* 'order', *sugerira* 'suggest', *kani* 'invite'). (C) Verbs that may have joint or disjoint reference with their subjunctive complements (e.g. *saka* 'want', *planira* 'plan').

1.4.2.1 The verbs of class (A) are subject control verbs and the subjects of subjunctive constructions that occur in their complements are, as a rule, dropped.³⁹

- (22) a. *Namerava da patuva/(*patuvaš).*
intend.3Sg Subj.Mark travel.3/2Sg
'(S)he intends (*for you) to travel.'
- b. *Izbegava da te sretne.*
avoid.3Sg Subj.Mark 2Sg.Acc.Cl meet.3Sg.Perf.Pres
'(S)he avoids meeting you.'
- c. *Se obiduva da ja zaboravi/(*zaboravite).*
Acc.Refl.Cl try.3Sg Subj.Mark 2Sg.Acc.Cl forget.3Sg/2Pl.Perf.Pres
'(S)he is trying (*for you) to forget her.'

³⁹ For emphatic purposes, a pronominal subject with same reference as the subject of the main clause can appear to the left of the subjunctive marker:

- (i) *Namerava TOJ da dojde.*
intend.3Sg he Subj.Mark come.3Sg.Pef.Pres
'He intends to come himself.'

1.4.2.2 The structures in which subjunctive constructions appear as complements of intentional verbs of class (B) can be of three subtypes.

1.4.2.2.1 In subtype (a) the agent of the subjunctive construction surfaces as a subject of the subjunctive clause if lexical, while pronominal agents do so only if they are emphatic, non-emphatic pronominal subjects being dropped.⁴⁰

- (23) a. *Zapoveduвам Marija da dojde vednaš.*
 order.1Sg Marija Subj.Mark come.3Sg.Perf.Pres immediately
 'I am giving an order that Marija should come immediately.'
- b. *Porača (TI) da go*
 send-a-word.3Sg.Perf.Past you Subj.Mark 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
kupiš mesoto.
 buy.2Sg.Perf.Pres meat+the.N.Sg
 'S(h)e sent a word that you should buy the meat (yourself).'

1.4.2.2.2 In subtype (b) the agent of the subjunctive construction surfaces in the position of indirect object of the main clause, and the intentional verb is described as "indirect object control" verb.⁴¹ In this case, the intentional verb is obligatorily preceded by a Dat pronominal clitic.⁴²

- (24) a. *Í zapoveduвам na Marija da*
 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl order.1Sg to Marija Subj.Mark
dojde vednaš.
 come.3Sg.Perf.Pres immediately
 'I am ordering Marija to come immediately.'
- b₁ *Ti porača da go*
 2Sg.Dat.Cl send-a-word.3Sg.Perf.Past Subj.Mark 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
pratiš pismoto.
 send.2Sg.Perf.Pres letter+the.N.Sg
 S(h)e sent a word to you to send the letter.'
- b₂ *(TEBE) ti porača (TEBE)*
 you.Obl 2Sg.Dat.Cl send-a-word.3Sg.Perf.Past you.Obl
da go pratiš pismoto.
 Subj.Mark 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl send.2Sg.Perf.Pres letter+the.N.Sg
 '(It is to you that) s(h)e sent a word to send the letter.'

⁴⁰ In analogous structures in Romanian, a complementizer appears obligatorily to the left of the subject of the subjunctive constructions (cf. 4.5.3.2). Since the occurrence of this complementizer is precluded in Romanian structures analogous to the structures exemplified in (24) and (25) (cf. 4.5.3.2), the distinct properties of those structures have been ascribed to the non-existence or deletion of the complementizer. In Megleno-Romanian, Aromanian and Albanian, however, a complementizer can optionally appear in all three subtypes of structures (cf. 5.4.3.2; 6.4.3.2; 7.5.3.2) – to the immediate left of the subjunctive marker or to the left of the subject or another focused element of the subjunctive construction.

⁴¹ The subject of the subjunctive construction can be focused and occur to the left of the intentional (main) verb. Pronominal subjects are dropped unless focused.

⁴² All the verbs that have the structures illustrated in (24) also have structures such as those illustrated in (23). In earlier generative analyses, structures such as those in (24) were derived from structures like those in (23) through "subject-to-object raising". In current generative analyses the structures illustrated in (24) and (25) are referred to as ECM (exceptional case marking) structures and their relationship to the main verb is ascribed to the lack of a CP node, which makes the subject of the embedded clause exposed to c-command and control from the upper clause.

1.4.2.2.3 In subtype (c) the agent of the subjunctive construction surfaces in the position of direct object of the intentional verb, and the intentional verb is described as “direct object control” verb. The intentional verb is obligatorily preceded by an Acc pronominal clitic.

- (25) a. *Marija go ubedi Petreta da*
 Marija 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl convince.3Sg.Perf.Past Petre.Acc to
dojde.
 come.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘Marija convinced Petre to come.’
- b₁ *Me natera da go*
 1Sg.Acc.Cl force.2/3Sg.Perf.Past Subj.Mark 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
podgotvam izveštajot.
 prepare.1Sg.Perf.Pres report+the.M.Sg
 ‘You/(s)he forced me to prepare the report.’
- b₂ *(MENE) me natera (MENE) da*
 me.Obl 1Sg.Acc.Cl force.2/3Sg.Perf.Past me.Obl Subj.Mark
go podgotvam izveštajot.
 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl prepare.1Sg.Perf.Pres report+the.M.Sg
 ‘It is me that you/(s)he forced to prepare the report.’

1.4.2.3 The verbs of class (C) can have joint or disjoint reference with the verbs of the subjunctive constructions in their complements. In the former case, the subjects of the subjunctive constructions are dropped unless emphatic (cf. 26a and 27a),⁴³ whereas in the latter case they can be dropped or expressed by lexical DPs/NPs or pronouns, which can occur to the right of the verb or to the left of the subjunctive marker.⁴⁴

- (26) a. *(JAS) sakam (JAS) da mu go*
 I want.1Sg I Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
dadam (podarokot).
 give.1Sg.Perf.Pres present+the.M.Sg
 ‘I (myself) want to give it/(the present) to him.’
- b₁ *Saka (decata) da dojdāt*
 want.3Sg children+the.Pl Subj.Mark come.3Pl.Perf.Pres
(decata).
 children+the.Pl
 ‘(S)he wants (the children) to come.’
- b₂ *Saka (TIE) da dojat (TIE).*
 want.3Sg they Subj.Mark come.3Pl.Perf.Pres they
 ‘(S)he wants (for THEM) to come.’
- c₁ *Petar saka decata da mu*
 Petar want.3Sg children+the.Pl Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl
dadat podarok.
 give.3Pl.Perf.Pres present
 ‘Petar wants the children to give him a present.’

⁴³ In emphatic environments, the subject of the subjunctive construction is in this case expressed by a pronoun with same reference as the subject of the main clause.

⁴⁴ The pronouns are used only if focused. The lexical subjects, on the other hand, can be focused or not.

- c₂ *Petar saka podarokot (DECATA/ TIE)*
 Petar want.3Sg present+the.M.Sg children+the.Pl they
 da mu go dadat (DECATA/
 Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.3Pl.Perf.Pres children+the.Pl
 TIE)
 they
 ‘As for the present, it is the children/them that Petar wants to give it to him.’
- (27) a. *Ana planira (TAA) da odi vo Amsterdam.*
 Ana plan.3Sg she Subj.Mark go.3Sg in Amsterdam
 ‘Ana is planning to go to Amsterdam (herself).’
- b. *Ana planira (decata) da zaminat*
 Ana plan.3Sg children+the.N.Pl Subj.Mark leave.3Pl.Perf.Pres
 ut্রে.
 tomorrow
 ‘Ana is planning for the children to leave tomorrow.’

1.4.3 Whereas in Bulgarian, Modern Greek and Albanian verbs of perception often take subjunctive complements, in Macedonian they do so in two strictly specific environments⁴⁵ – when negated, as in (28) or when they themselves occur in subjunctive complements, as in (29). In both cases, we typically have disjoint reference.

- (28) a. *Te nemam videno da učiš.*
 2Sg.Acc.Cl not+have.1Sg seen.Perf.Past.Part Subj.Mark study.2Sg
 ‘I haven’t seen you study.’
- b. *Te nemam čueno da peeš.*
 2Sg.Acc.Cl not+have.1Sg heard.Perf.Past.Part Subj.Mark sing.2Sg
 ‘I haven’t heard you sing.’
- (29) a. *Sakam da vidam (Ivan) da*
 want.1Sg Subj.Mark see.1Sg.Perf.Pres Ivan Subj.Mark
 uči (Ivan).
 tudy.3Sg Ivan
 ‘I want to see him/(Ivan) study.’

⁴⁵ More often, verbs of perception take indicative “that”- or “wh” complements:

- (i) *GLEdam deka/oti → Uči.*
 see.1Sg.Imperf.Pres that study.3Sg
 ‘I see that he studies.’
- (ii) *GLEdam kako/ → %kade → Uči.*
 see.1Sg.Imperf.Pres how where study.3Sg
 ‘I see that he is studying.’

The “wh” complementizers *kako* and *kade* should be distinguished from the “wh” adverbs with the meanings ‘how’ and ‘where’, respectively. As it can be seen by comparing (ii) to (iii), while the “wh” complementizer is unstressed and procliticizes to the verb, the “wh” adverb is a stressed independent word:

- (iii) *GLEdam KAko/ KAde Uči.*
 see.1Sg.Imperf.Pres how where study.3Sg
 ‘I am observing how/where he is studying.’

- b. *Sakam (Ivana) da go čujam*
 want.1Sg Ivan.Acc Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl hear.1Sg.Perf.Pres
(Ivana) da pee (Ivana).
 Ivan.Acc Subj.Mark sing.3Sg Ivan.Acc
 'I want to hear him/(Ivan) sing.'

1.4.4 In reported speech, subjunctive constructions appear as complements of verbs of saying, which in other environments take indicative complements. Examples:

- (30) a. *Mu velam da molči.*
 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl tell.1Sg Subj.Mark be-silent.3Sg
 'I am telling him to be silent.'
- b. *Ti rekov da ne čitaš.*
 2Sg.Dat.Cl say.1Sg.Perf.Past Subj.Mark not read.2Sg
 'I told you not to read.'

1.5 Subjunctive constructions as complements of the impersonal modals *ima* and *nema*

1.5.1 Clauses in which subjunctive constructions occur as complements of the impersonal modal verb *ima* 'have', express obligation.⁴⁶ Examples:

- (31) a. *Ima da dojdad!*
 have.Impers Subj.Mark come.3Pl.Perf.Pres
 'They have to come!'
- b. *Ima da go zememe!*
 have.Impers Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl take.1Pl.Perf.Pres
 'We have to take it!'

1.5.2 When negated, the impersonal modal verb *ima* 'have' becomes a distinct lexical unit – *nema* 'not have', whose associations with subjunctive constructions have meanings distinct from that of the *ima* + subjunctive constructions.

⁴⁶ According to Blaže Koneski (1967:487), subjunctive constructions as complements of the impersonal verb *ima* 'have' are productive variants of the more common future tense constructed by the invariant modal clitic *ќе*, plus present tense forms of lexical or auxiliary verbs (cf. 1.10). Kiril Koneski (1999) also notes that positive futures are formed with *ima* plus subjunctive constructions, though considerably less often than with *ќе* plus present tense forms of lexical or auxiliary verbs. Nevertheless, the use of the sequence *ima* plus subjunctive constructions for the expression of futurity is very rare in actual usage. In Kate Minnis' (2004) survey of variation in the Macedonian future, out of 709 future tense expressions in a variety of literary texts and newspapers, there are only 2 cases of positive future tense with *ima* plus subjunctive construction:

- (i) *Ama vo Xogvorts ima da ti bide*
 but in Xogvorts have.Impers Subj.Mark 2Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Sg.Subj.Pres
super....
 great
 'But at Hogwarts it will be great for you....'
- (ii) *...mu vele deka ima da bide*
 3Sg.Dat.Cl say.3Pl.Imperf.Past that have.Impers Subj.Mark be.3Sg.Subj.Pres
super
 great
 '... they were telling him that it will be great...'

As observed, the future tense in these cases is stylistically marked and expresses a great degree of decisiveness or readiness of the speaker for the completion of the action.

1.5.2.1 Clauses in which subjunctive constructions (with present tense verb forms) occur as complements of the negative impersonal modal verb *nema* 'not have' represent a preferred alternative to the negated future tense (cf. 1.10.5.1):⁴⁷

- (32) a. *Nema* *da* *dojdat.*
 not+have.Impers Subj.Mark come.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 'They won't come.'
- b. *Nema* *da* *go* *zemeš.*
 not+have.Impers Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl take.2Sg.Perf.Pres
 'You won't take it (I guess).'

1.5.2.2 Clauses in which subjunctive constructions (with present tense verb forms) occur as complements of the negative impersonal modal verb *nema* 'not have' also denote strong determination (if the verb is in the first person) or prohibition (if the verb is in the second or third person):⁴⁸

- (33) a. *Nema* *da* *dojdam!*
 not+have.Impers Subj.Mark come.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 'I am not coming!'
- b. *Nema* *da* *dojdat!*
 not+have.Impers Subj.Mark come.3Pl.Perf.Pres
 'I forbid them to come!' (lit. 'They are not to come!')
- c. *Nema* *da* *go* *zemeš!*
 not+have.Impers Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl take.2Sg.Perf.Pres
 'I forbid you to take it!' (lit. 'You are not to take it!')

1.5.3 The sequence *nema* 'not+have' plus subjunctive construction can include past tense signals, which are attached either to *nema* or to the verb in the subjunctive construction. In either case, the sentence expresses a possibility that failed to be realized and the verb expression is actually an alternative counterpart of the future-in-the-past tense (cf. 1.10.5.2), which is most often used in *irrealis* conditional sentences (cf. 1.11). Examples:

⁴⁷ In Kate Minnis' (2004) survey of variation in the Macedonian future tense, negative futurity is expressed by *nema* 'not+have' plus subjunctive construction in 80 per cent of the cases.

⁴⁸ The prohibition expressed through *nema* 'not+have' + subjunctive construction has components of spite or defiance and is, thus, distinct from the prohibition expressed through the negative counterparts of imperative forms, which can be constructed (a) by simply negating the positive imperative form, as in (i), or (b) by placing a subjunctive construction in complement positions of the negative verb *nemoj*, which itself is a frozen negative imperative form of the verb *može* 'can', as in (ii):

- (i) *Ne* *zemaj* *go!*
 not take.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
- (ii) *Nemoj* *da* *go* *zemeš!*
 not+can.2Sg.Imper Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl take.2Sg.Perf.Pres
 'Don't take it!'

Note that the *nemoj* imperative, followed by subjunctive construction, is used in threats or warnings:

- (iii) *Nemoj* *da* *si* *pisnal* *za* *ova!*
 not+can.2Sg.Imper Subj.Mark be.2Sg screamed.M.Sg.Perf./-Part for this.N
 'Don't you dare let out a squeak about this!' (lit. Don't you dare scream for this.)

- (34) a. *Nemaše* *da* *go* *zemeš.*
not+have.Impers.Past Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl take.2Sg.Perf.Pres
- b. *Nema* *da* *go* *zemeše.*
not+have.Impers.Past Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl took.2Sg.Subj.Past
- ‘(In all probability), you would not have taken it.’

1.6 Subjunctive complements with “wh” words as arguments or adjuncts

Subjunctive complements can have “wh” words as subjects, objects or adjuncts – all of them raised to clause-initial position.

1.6.1 Most frequently, the subjunctive clauses with “wh” words used as subjects, objects or adjuncts are embedded questions. Examples:

- (35) a. *Odlučija* *koj* *da* *gi* *pretstavuva.*
decide.3Pl.Perf.Past who Subj.Mark 3Pl.Acc.Cl represent.3Sg
‘They decided who should represent them.’
- b. *Razmišliva* *komu* *da* *poveruva.*
contemplate.3Sg whom.Dat Subj.Mark trust.3Sg.Perf.Pres
‘(S)he is contemplating who to trust.’
- c. *Ne znam* *što* *da* *pravam.*
not know.1Sg what Subj.Mark do.1Sg
‘I do not know what to do.’
- d. *Ne razbiraat* *zošto* *da* *ti* *gi*
not understand.3Pl why Subj.Mark 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl
dadat *parite.*
give.3Pl.Perf.Pres money+the.Pl
‘They do not understand why they should give you the money.’
- e. *Učam* *(kako)*⁴⁹ *da* *pišuvam* *so* *penkalo.*
learn.1Sg how Subj.Mark write.1Sg with fountain-pen
‘I am learning how to write with a fountain pen.’

1.6.2 Subjunctive complements with “wh” words as arguments or adjunct can also occur as complements of verbs expressing (a) assertion or denial of existence or (b) coming into view or availability or causation of one of these (cf. Grosu 2004:406).⁵⁰

1.6.2.1 In Macedonian, assertion or denial of existence is expressed by the existential verb *ima* ‘have’ or its negative counterpart *nema* ‘not+have’, which, unlike the modal verbs *ima* and *nema*

⁴⁹ Subjunctive clauses including the “wh” adjunct *kako* ‘how’ occur most frequently as complements of verbs of learning, such as *uči* ‘learn/teach’, *vežba* ‘practice’ or *znae* ‘know’. The adjunct *kako* ‘how’ can be deleted with no effect to the meaning of the sentence.

⁵⁰ Grosu (2004) refers to subjunctive complements with “wh” arguments or adjuncts as “modal existential “wh” constructions” (MECs), and argues that they have the superficial appearance of a “wh” clause, but the semantics of a narrow-scope existential generalized quantifier, such that the property expressed by the IP has modal possibility/ability force. Building on Grosu (1994), Grosu and Landman (1998) and Izvorski (1998), and modifying some of the views in these works, Grosu (2004) proposes that MECs are non-core relative constructions consisting of a bare CP which carries the feature [GQ₃], as well as a specification of its particular modality. Cross-linguistic distribution is captured by extensions of subcategorization options from nominal to CP arguments, such extensions being potentially “licensed” by semantic-pragmatic properties of the matrix predicates in conjunction with the larger context, in the sense that they constitute necessary, but not sufficient, conditions for extension.

(cf. 1.5), can be not only impersonal, but also personal. Examples of subjunctive constructions with “wh” arguments or adjuncts as complements of *ima/nema* are given in (36):⁵¹

- (36) a. *Ima* *koj* *da* *mi* *pomogne.*
have.Impers who Subj.Mark 1Sg.Dat.Cl help.3Sg.Perf.Pres
‘There is someone to help me.’
- b. *Imame* *komu* *da* *davame.*
have.1Pl whom.Dat Subj.Mark give.1Pl
‘We have someone to whom we can give (whatever we have).’
- c. *Ima* *što* *da* *kupiš* *vo* *ovoj*
have.Impers what Subj.Mark buy.2Sg.Perf.Pres in this.M.Prox1
dukan.
shop
‘There are things you can buy in this shop.’ (lit. ‘There is what to buy in this shop.’)
- d. *Nema* *što* *da* *se* *pravi.*
not+have.Impers what Subj.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl do.3Sg
‘There is nothing one can do.’
- e. *Nemaat* *kon* *kogo* *da* *se*
not+have.3Pl towards whom.Acc Subj.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl
svrtat.
turn.3Pl.Perf.Pres
‘They have no one to turn to.’
- f. *Nema* *za* *što* *da* *se* *fatat.*
not+have.Impers for what Subj.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl catch.3Pl.Perf.Pres
‘There is nothing they can hold onto.’ (lit. There isn’t what to catch.)
- g. *Nema* *kako* *da* *go* *pratiš*
not+have.Impers how Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl send.2Pl.Perf.Pres
paketot.
parcel+the.M.Sg
‘There is no way you can send the parcel.’

1.6.2.2 Coming into view or availability or causing something to be visible or available can be expressed by a variety of verbs, but not all of them take subjunctive existential constructions. In (36) we have subjunctive complements with “wh” arguments/adjuncts as complements of the verbs *izbira* ‘choose’ and *naoĝa* ‘find’:

- (37) a. *Izbira* *koj* *da* *ja* *zameni.*
choose.3Sg.Perf.Past who Subj.Mark 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl replace.3Sg.Perf.Pres
‘She chose someone to take her place.’

⁵¹ Analogous constructions can sometimes be constructed with indefinite pronouns with a “wh” component such as:

- (i) *Ima* *nešto* *da* *ti* *kaže.*
have.3Sg something Subj.Mark 2Sg.Dat.Cl tell.3Sg.Perf.Pres
‘He has something to tell you.’
- (ii) *Nemam* *ništo* *da* *ti* *da(da)m.*
not+have.1Sg nothing Subj.Mark 2Sg.Dat.Cl give.1Sg.Perf.Pres
‘I have nothing to give to you.’

- b. *Najdov* *so* *što* *da* *se*
 find.1Sg.Perf.Past with what Subj.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl
pokrijam.
 cover.1Sg.Perf.Pres
 'I found something with which to cover myself.'

1.7 Subjunctive constructions as nominal modifiers or as adjuncts

Macedonian subjunctive constructions can function as nominal modifiers or as adjuncts – by themselves or along with the prepositions in whose complements they occur.

1.7.1 Subjunctive constructions appearing to the immediate right of indefinite lexical complements of the personal lexical verb *ima* 'have/possess', function as nominal modifiers which describe the use or activity of the indefinite complement:⁵²

- (38) a. *Imam* *braća* *da* *mi* *pomognat.*
 have.1Sg brothers Subj.Mark 1Sg.Dat.Cl help.3Pl.Perf.Pres
 'I have brothers to help me.'
- b. *Imaš* *deca* *da* *se* *raduvaš.*
 have.2Sg children Subj.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl rejoice.2Sg
 'You have children to give you joy.'
- c. *Imaat* *kuće* *da* *gi* *čuva.*
 have.3Pl dog Subj.Mark 3Pl.Acc.Cl protect.3Sg
 'They have a dog to protect them.'
- d. *Imame* *pečka* *da* *ne* *topli.*
 have.1Pl stove Subj.Mark 1Pl.Acc.Cl warm.3Sg
 'We have a stove to keep us warm.'

1.7.2 Marginally, subjunctive constructions can function as nominal modifiers to complements of the verb *bara* 'look-for/seek',⁵³ though the preferred interpretation of such subjunctive constructions is as adjuncts of purpose (*cf.* 1.7.3).⁵⁴

⁵² Example (38a) is from Bužarovska (2004:396). Note that the subjunctive constructions in all of these and similar examples have dual interpretation: as nominal modifiers and as adjuncts of purpose. When, the subjunctive construction is preceded by the preposition *za* 'for' the sentences are disambiguated in favour of the adjuncts of purpose reading (*cf.* 1.7.3).

⁵³ Bužarovska (2004) qualifies the verb *bara* 'look-for/seek' as a "verb of quest". She examines the syntactic environments that favor the realization of an isofunctional syntactic pattern which occurs in the mixed domain of purpose and modification in Macedonian, Aromanian, Albanian and Modern Greek, shows that Macedonian, Aromanian, Albanian and Modern Greek share a limited set of ditransitive verbs and argues that the weakening of control at the expense of benefactive meaning is responsible for gradual shift from purpose to modification.

⁵⁴ The examples in (39) are retrieved from the Internet (through Google search). In Bulgarian and some other Balkan languages, subjunctive constructions can function as nominal modifiers of complements of a number of verbs, which, along with verbs with the meaning of 'look-for/seek' and its opposite meaning 'find' – representing the final stage of looking for/seeking – can go under the name of "verbs of quest". In Macedonian, however, only examples of subjunctive constructions functioning as modifiers of complements of the verb *bara* 'look-for/seek' can be found. In Bužarovska and Tomić (To appear) it is reported that, in 750 pages of surveyed texts from literary works, there were no examples of subjunctives used as nominal modifiers, which points out that these subjunctives are a feature of the spoken language.

Note that in some South-Western Macedonian dialects, indefinite complements of *bara* 'look-for/seek' can be modified by clauses in which the subjunctive construction is introduced by the invariant relativizer (*relativum generale*) *što* 'what'. Thus, in the Macedonian dialect of Korča in Southern Albania, as described by Mazon 1936, sentences along the lines of (i) could be found:

- (39) a. *Baram kauč/krevet da prespijam.*
look-for.1Sg couch/bed Subj.Mark sleep.1Sg.Perf.Pres
'I am looking for a couch/bed to spend the night in.'
- b. *Baram nekoj da mi*
look-for.1Sg someone Subj.Mark 1Sg.Dat.Cl
dade link za Sky Star.
give.3Sg.Perf.Pres link for Sky Star
'I am looking for someone to give me a link for Sky Star.'
- c. *Baram zgodna plavuša da mi*
look-for.1Sg attractive.F.Sg blond.Noun Subj.Mark 1Sg.Dat.Cl
zgotvi sarma za ruček.
prepare.3Sg.Perf.Pres stuffed-cabbage/wine leaves for lunch
'I am looking for an attractive blond to prepare stuffed cabbage/wine leaves for my lunch.'
- d. *Baram žena da meti ednaš dnevno, da*
look-for.1Sg woman Subj.Mark sweep.3Sg once daily Subj.Mark
mie sadovi dva pati dnevno, da gotvi
wash.3Sg dishes two times daily Subj.Mark prepare.3Sg
jadenje tri pati i barem četiri pati dnevno
meal three times and at-least four times daily
da i tekne na mene.
Subj.Mark 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl remember.3Sg.Perf.Pres of me
'I am looking for a woman to sweep (the floor) once a day, to wash the dishes twice a day, to prepare a meal three times a day and at least four times a day to think of me.'

1.7.3 As a complement of the preposition *za* 'for',⁵⁵ together with that prepositions, subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense function as adjuncts of purpose:⁵⁶

- (i) %*Baram čovek što da znaet grčki.*
look-for.1Sg man what Subj.Mark know.3Sg Greek
'I am looking for a man who knows Greek.'

⁵⁵ In older Macedonian, subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense appeared as complements of any preposition. Nowadays, in many cases, we find the expletive *toa* 'it' between the preposition and the subjunctive construction:

- (i) *Došol do toa da go sožalevaat site.*
come.M.Sg.Perf./-Part to it Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl feel-sorry.3Pl all+the.Pl
'He is in such a deplorable situation, that everybody feels sorry for him.' (lit. 'He came to it that everybody feels sorry for him.')
- (ii) *Nema ništo poprijatno od toa da bideš majka.*
not+have.Impers nothing Compar.Mark+pleasant from it Subj.Mark be.2Sg.Subj.Pres
mother
'There is nothing more pleasant than being a mother.'

⁵⁶ The sequence *za da* 'for that' correlates with the use of indicative complementizers to the left of subjunctive markers in Balkan Romance, Albanian, and to some extent in Bulgarian (cf. 4.3; 5.2.2; 6.2.1; 7.3.3; 2.2.5). When the subject of the subjunctive clause is not equivalent to the subject of the main clause and has to be expressed overtly, the Macedonian preposition *za* 'for' occurs to the left of the subject, in positions in which in Romanian and Aromanian we have subjunctive complementizers (cf. 4.3, 6.2.1). In emphatic clauses, the subject of the subjunctive clause can occur to the left of the preposition, but never between the subjunctive marker and the verb. Thus, (i-ii) are well-formed sentences, while (iii-iv) are not:

- (40) a. *Napravivme pauza ?(za) da gi*
 make.1Pl.Perf.Past pause for Subj.Mark 3Pl.Acc.Cl
čueme vestite.
 hear.1Pl.Perf.Pres news+the.Pl
 'We paused in order to hear the news.'
- b. *Se javuvame ?(za) da vidite deka*
 Acc.Refl.Cl call.1Pl for Subj.Mark see.2Pl.Perf.Pres that
se grižime za vas.
 Refl.Acce.Cl care.1Pl for you.Acc
 'We are calling so that you (may) see that we care about you.'
- c. **(Za) da pobedi, treba da*
 for Subj.Mark win.3Sg.Perf.Pres should.Impers Subj.Mark
uči.
 study.3Sg
 'In order to win, (s)he has to study.'
- d. **(Za) da pobedi, treba da ne*
 for Subj.Mark win.3Sg.Perf.Pres should.Impers Subj.Mark not
padne.
 fall.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 'In order to win, (s)he should not fall.'
- e. *Dojdov (za) da ve izvestam*
 come.1Sg.Perf.Past for Subj.Mark 2Pl.Acc.Cl inform.1Sg.Perf.Pres
deka si odam.
 that Dat.Refl.Cl leave.1Sg
 'I came to inform you that I am leaving.'
- f. *Go storiv toa ?(za) da ti*
 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl do.1Sg.Perf.Past that for Subj.Mark 2Sg.Dat.Cl
pomognam.
 help.1Sg.Perf.Pres
 'I did that in order to help you.'

-
- (i) *Gi pokanija za Jane da ja*
 3Pl.Acc.Cl invite.3Pl.Perf.Past for Jane Subj.Mar 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
sretne Marija.
 meet.3Sg.Perf.Pres Marija
- (ii) *Gi pokanija Jane za da ja*
 3Pl.Acc.Cl invite.3Pl.Perf.Past Jane for Subj.Mar 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
sretne Marija.
 meet.3Sg.Perf.Pres Marija
- (iii) **Gi pokanija za da Jane ja*
 3Pl.Acc.Cl invite.3Pl.Perf.Past for Subj.Mar Jane 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
sretne Marija.
 meet.3Sg.Perf.Pres Marija
- (iv) **Gi pokanija za da ja Jane*
 3Pl.Acc.Cl invite.3Pl.Perf.Past for Subj.Mar 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl Jane
sretne Marija.
 meet.3Sg.Perf.Pres Marija
 'They invited them so that Jane would meet Marija.'

- g. *Dojde vreme (?za) da rodi.*
 come.3Sg.Perf.Past time for Subj.Mark bear.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘The time came (for her) to bear a child.’
- h. *Dojde vreme (?*za) da mi go*
 come.3Sg.Perf.Past time for Subj.Mark 1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
dadeš ona što mi dolžiš.
 give.2Sg.Perf.Pres that what 1Sg.Dat.Cl owe.2Sg
 ‘The time came (for you) to give me what you owe me.’

1.7.4 As a complement of the preposition *bez* ‘without’, together with that preposition, subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense function as adjuncts of concession.⁵⁷ Examples:

- (41) a. *Go stori toa bez da*
 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl do.3Sg.Perf.Past that without Subj.Mark
znae zošto.
 know.3Sg why
 ‘(S)he did it without knowing why.’
- b. *Ja navrediv bez da sakam.*
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl offend.1Sg.Perf.Past without Subj.Mark want.1Sg
 ‘I offended her without wanting (to do it).’

1.7.5 Preceded by the preposition *duri* or *dodeka* ‘until’, or by the adverb *tokmu* ‘just’, subjunctive constructions (with verbs in the present tense) function as adjuncts of time.

- (42) a. *Ķe bidam ovde duri/dodeka da*
 will.Mod.Cl be.1Sg.Subj.Pres here until Subj.Mark
dojde majka ti.
 come.3Sg.Perf.Pres mother 2Sg.Dat.Cl
 ‘I will be here until your mother comes.’
- b. *Treba da čeka mnogu duri/dodeka*
 should.Impers Subj.Mark wait.3Sg much until
da ja premine ulicata.
 Subj.Mark 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl cross.3Sg.Perf.Pres street+the.F.Sg
 ‘(S)he should wait a long time until (s)he can cross the street.’

⁵⁷ Analogous constructions are formed with verbal nouns:

- (i) *Ja navrediv bez sakanje.*
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl offend.1Sg.Perf.Past without wanting
 ‘I offended her without wanting (to do it).’

It is noteworthy that the verbal noun can also be preceded by the preposition *so* ‘with’, while a subjunctive construction cannot:

- (ii) *Ja navrediv so sakanje.*
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl offend.1Sg.Perf.Past with wanting
 ‘I offended her intentionally’. (lit. ‘I offended her with wanting (to do it).’)
- (iii) **Ja navrediv so da sakam.*
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl offend.1Sg.Perf.Past with Subj.Mark want.1Sg

- c. *Tokmu* *da* *ja* *dofatam,* *odednaš*
 just Subj.Mark 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl catch.1Sg.Perf.Pres at-once
se *svrte.*
 Acc.Ref.Cl turn.3Sg.Perf.Past
 ‘I was just about to catch her when she turned.’ (lit. Just to catch her, at once she turned.)

1.7.6 Preceded by the invariant relativizer *što* ‘what’, subjunctive constructions appear as modifiers of adverbial phrases of degree:

- (43) *Uspea* *da* *ni* *go*
 succeed.3Sg.Perf.Past Subj.Mark 1Pl.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M/N.Acc.Cl
doblíži *do* *taa* *mera* *što* *da*
 approach.3Sg.Perf.Pres to that.F measure what Subj.Mark
se *počuvstova* *kako* *svoj.*
 Acc.Refl.Cl feel.3Sg.Perf.Pres like own.M.Sg
 ‘(S)he succeeded to bring him/it so close to us that one feels him/it as one’s own.’ (lit. ‘(S)he succeeded to approach it to that extent that it is felt as (one’s) own.’)

1.7.7 Noteworthy is the occurrence of subjunctive constructions (with verbs in any tense) to the immediate right of the preposition *kako* ‘like/as’ in sentences such as (44):

- (44) *Izgleda* *kako* *da* *leta/* *poleta/*
 appear.3Sg like/as Subj.Mark fly.3Sg.Pres start-to-fly.3Sg.Perf.Past
će *poleta.*
 will.Mod.Cl start-to-fly.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘It appears as if (s)he is flying/has started to fly/will start to fly.’

1.8 Bare subjunctive constructions

Subjunctive constructions (with verbs in the present or past tenses) can be bare, i.e. can occur by themselves and not as complements of main clauses.

1.8.1 Bare subjunctive constructions with present tense verbs, second or third person, singular or plural, most frequently express a wish⁵⁸ or a command.⁵⁹ Examples:

⁵⁸ A wish for something bad is a curse. Curses can have the same structure as wishes for something good, but they can also be expressed with what we may call “double subjunctives”, i.e. by structures where the first subjunctive marker is followed by the modal *bi* ‘would’, which takes as a complement a subjunctive construction introduced by a subjunctive marker (cf. 1.8.5):

- (i) *Da* *pukneš!*
 Subj.Mark burst.2Sg
 ‘May you burst!’
- (ii) *Da* *bi* *da* *pukneš!!*
 Subj.Mark would.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark burst.2Sg
 ‘May (it happen so that) you burst!’ (lit. ‘That would that you burst!’)

⁵⁹ For second person (singular and plural) there are distinct imperative forms. Note, however, that in this case the subjunctive is used on a par with the imperative. We even find a second person imperative conjoined to a second person subjunctive:

- (45) a. *Da se blagosloveni!*
 Subj.Mark are.3Pl blessed.Pl.Pass.Part
 ‘May they be blessed!’
- b. *Golem da rasteš!*
 big Subj.Mark grow.2Sg
 ‘May you grow big!’
- c. *Da e da sum na tvoe mesto!*
 Subj.Mark be.3Sg Subj.Mark be.1Sg on your.N.Sg place
 ‘May it be that I am in your place!’
- (46) a. *Da odiš!*
 Subj.Mark go.2Sg
 ‘You should go!’
- b. *Da gi prečekate!*
 Subj.Mark 3Pl.Acc.Cl meet/welcome.2Pl.Perf.Pres
 ‘You should meet/welcome them!’

1.8.2 Bare subjunctive constructions with present tense verbs, first person singular or plural, can (with appropriate intonation) express resolution or agreement:⁶⁰

- (47) a. *Da probam/probame.*
 Subj.Mark try.1Sg/Pl
 1. ‘Let me/us try.’
 2. ‘So, I/we shall try.’
- b. *Da gi prečekame.*
 Subj.Mark 3Pl.Acc.Cl meet/welcome.1Pl.Perf.Pres
 1. ‘Let us meet/welcome them.’
 2. ‘So, we shall meet/welcome them.’

-
- (i) *Ti ostani tamo a vie da dojdete*
 you.Sg remain.2Sg.Imper there and you.Pl Subj.Mark come.2Pl.Perf.Pres
vamo!
 this-way.
 ‘You remain there but you (Pl) (should) come here!’

Commands to third persons can also be expressed by exhortative clauses, introduced by the exhortative marker *neka* ‘let’:

- (ii) *Neka odi/odat!*
 let go.3Sg/Pl
 ‘Let him/them go!’
- (iii) *Neka proba/probaat!*
 let try.3Sg/Pl
 ‘Let him/them try!’
- (iv) *Neka gi prečeka/ prečekaat!*
 let 3Pl.Acc.Cl meet/welcome.3Sg/Pl.Perf.Pres
 ‘Let him/them meet/welcome them!’

⁶⁰ In the Macedonian dialects spoken in Northern Greece (Aegean Macedonia) bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense (in any person and number) are used for the expression of futurity relative to the moment of speaking. Note that the usage of the bare subjunctive constructions in Megleno-Romanian is analogous (*cf.* 5.9.1)

- c. *Da ti go da(da)m/dademe.*
 Subj.Mark 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.1Sg/Pl.Perf.Pres
 1. 'Letme/us give it to you.'
 2. 'So, I/we shall give it to you.'

1.8.3 Bare subjunctive constructions with present tense verbs (any person and number), can express astonishment:

- (48) a. *Da imaš pari a da živeš kako bednik!*
 Subj.Mark have.2Sg money and Subj.Mark live.2Sg like
 poor-man
 'To have money and to live as a poor man!'
- b. *Da znae a da ne ni kaže!*
 Subj.Mark know.3Sg and Subj.Mark not 1Pl.Dat
 tell.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 'To know and not to tell us!'
- c. *Da se omaži taka mlada!*
 Subj.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl marry.3Sg.Perf.Pres so young
 'To get married so young!'
- d. *Da sum taka glup!?*
 Subj.Mark be.1Sg so foolish.M.Sg
 'To be such a fool!?' (lit. 'That I be so foolish!')

1.8.4 Bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the perfective (or subjunctive) past tense, express a missed opportunity.⁶¹ Examples:

- (49) a. *Da dojde!*
 Subj.Mark come.3Pl.Subj.Past
 'They (were invited and) should have come! (They shouldn't blame anybody for not coming.)'

⁶¹ With the intonation of questions, these sentences can express a suggestion or a plea:

- (i) *Da gi prečekavme?*
 Subj.Mark 3Pl.Acc.Cl meet/welcome.1Pl.Perf.Past
 'Why not meet/welcome them?' (lit. 'To have met them?')
- (ii) *Da mi dadevte malku leb?*
 Subj.Mark 1Sg.Dat.Cl give.2Pl.Subj.Past little bread
 'Could you give me some bread, please?' (lit. 'To have given me a little bread.')

Note that in the South-Western Macedonian dialects, unrealized probability can also be expressed by a construction in which the modal clitic *bi* 'would' is followed by *I*-participles (i.e. by *potentialis* constructions (cf. 1.11.4)).

- (iii) *%Bi ste mu kazale!!*
 would.Mod.Cl be.2Pl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl told.Pl.I-Part
 'You should have told him (but you didn't)!'
- (iv) *%Bi si došla na vreme!!*
 would.Mod.Cl be.2Sg come.F.Sg.Perf.I-Part on time
 'You should have come on time (but you didn't)!'

The forms of the "be" auxiliary mark second person, singular or plural, constructions without these forms being interpreted as being in the third person.

- b. *Da go zemeše!*
 Subj.Mark 3Sg.MAcc.Cl take.3Sg.Perf.Past
 ‘You should have taken it! (Now you cannot blame anyone for not taking it.)’

1.8.5 Bare subjunctive constructions followed by the conditional modal clitic *bi* ‘would’ plus forms of the *l*-participle (i.e. followed by *potentialis* expressions) are used in curses:

- (50) a. *Da bi ti žena ne rodila!*
 Subj.Mark would.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl wife not born.F.Sg.Perf.*l*-Part
 ‘May your wife bear no children!’ (lit. ‘May your wife did not bear (a child).’)
- b. *Da bi te odnesla matnata!*
 Subj.Mark would.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Acc.Cl carried-away.F.Sg.Perf.*l*-Part
 troubled+the.F.Sg
 ‘May troubled waters carry you away!’

1.8.6 Negated bare subjunctive constructions with present tense verbs in the second or third person, singular or plural, express prohibition.

- (51) a. *Da ne odiš/odati tamo!*
 Subj.Mark not go.2Sg/3Pl there
 ‘Don’t go there!’
- b. *Da ne mu go davaš!*
 Subj.Mark not 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.2Sg
 ‘Don’t give it to him!’

1.8.7 Negated bare subjunctive constructions with present tense verbs, first person plural, can (with appropriate intonation) express resolution or agreement.

- (52) a. *Da ne odime tamo.*
 Subj.Mark not go.1Pl there
 1. ‘Let us not go there.’
 2. ‘So, we aren’t going/shan’t go there.’
- b. *Da ne im go davame.*
 Subj.Mark not 3Pl.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.1Pl
 1. ‘Let us not give it to them.’
 2. ‘So, we shan’t give it to them.’

1.8.8 Negated bare subjunctive constructions with present tense verbs, first person singular, can express agreement.

- (53) a. *Da ne odam tamo.*
 Subj.Mark not go.1Sg there
 ‘So, I shan’t go there.’
- b. *Da ne im go davam.*
 Subj.Mark not 3Pl.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.1Sg
 ‘So, I shan’t give it to them.’

1.8.9 Negated bare subjunctive constructions with “be”perfect + *l*-participle forms express threats:⁶²

⁶² In this usage the evidential meaning of the “be” perfect forms is felt. Cf. 1.6 in the chapter “The Perfect and the Evidential”.

- (54) a. *Da* *ne* *si* *mu* *go*
 Subj.Mark not be.2Sg 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
dala!
 given.F.Sg.Perf.I-Part
 ‘Don’t you dare give it to him!’ (lit. ‘You shouldn’t give it to him.’)
- b. *Da* *ne* *si* *me* *doprel!*
 Subj.Mark not be.2Sg 1Sg.Acc.Cl touched.M.Sg.Perf.I-Part
 ‘Don’t you dare touch me!’ (lit. ‘You shouldn’t touch me.’)
- c. *Da* *ne* *si* *mrdnal* *od* *doma!*
 Subj.Mark not be.2Sg budged.M.Sg.Perf.I-Part from home
 ‘Don’t you dare leave home!’ (lit. ‘You shouldn’t budge from home.’)

1.8.10 In questions, negated or non-negated bare subjunctive constructions, in which the verb can be in any tense, though a past tense is most frequent, express doubt or wonderment.⁶³

- (55) a. *Da* *?(ne)* *e/beše* *Petre?!?*
 Subj.Mark not be.3Sg.Pres/Past Petre
 ‘Could it (not) be that it is/was Petre?’
- b. *Da* *?(ne)* *e* *dojden* *veke?!?*
 Subj.Mark not be.3Sg come.M.Sg.Perf.Pass.Part already
 ‘Could it be (not) that he has already come?!?’
- c. *Kade* *da* *e* *otiden?!?*
 where Subj.Mark be.3Sg gone.M.Sg.Perf.Pass.Part
 ‘Where could he have gone?!?’
- d. *Da* *?(ne)* *mu* *se* *rasipa*
 Subj.Mark not 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl go-bad.3Sg.Perf.Past
kolata?!?
 car+the.F.Sg
 ‘Could it (not) be that his car got broken?!?’
- e. *Ti* *da* *ne* *ogluve?!?*
 you Subj.Mark not deafen.2Sg.Perf.Past
 ‘You haven’t become deaf, have you?!?’
- f. *Da* *?(ne)* *go* *ima* *fateno* *strav?!?*
 Subj.Mark not 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl have.3Sg caught.Perf.Past.Part fear
 ‘He is not frightened, is he?!?’
- g. *Da* *?(ne)* *se* *veke* *dojdeni?!*
 Subj.Mark not be.3Pl already come.Pl.Perf.Pass.Part
 ‘Could it not be that they have already come?’
- h. *Kade* *da* *e* *učitelot?!*
 where Subj.Mark be.3Sg teacher+the.M.Sg
 ‘Where could the teacher be?’

1.8.11 Followed by embedded questions introduced by a “wh” word, bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense are used in vivid narration. Examples:

⁶³ Example (55e) is from Asenova (2002:190), with my glosses and translation.

- (56) a. *Da* *vidiš* *što* *se* *sluči!*
 Subj.Mark see.2Sg.Perf.Pres what Acc.Refl.Cl happen.3Sg.Perf.Past
 ‘You should see what happened!’
- b. *Da* *znaeš* *kolku* *golem* *e!*
 Subj.Mark know.2Sg how much big.M.Sg be.3Sg
 ‘You should see how big he is!’

1.8.12 In story-telling, a bare subjunctive construction with a verb in the present tense can take as a complement another bare subjunctive construction in the present tense, or else two or more subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense appear in a sequence:

- (57) a. *Da* *zeme* *da* *go*
 Subj.Mark take.3Sg.Perf.Pres Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
natepa!
 beat-up.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘(Lo and behold,) (s)he beat him up!’ (lit. ‘(S)he took to beat him up!’)
- b. *Da* *stane,* *da* *jade* *i*
 Subj.Mark get-up.3Sg.Perf.Pres Subj.Mark eat.3Sg.Perf.Pres and
da *izleze* *bez* *da*
 Subj.Mark get-out.3Sg.Perf.Pres without Subj.Mark
kaže *ništo!*
 say.3Sg.Perf.Pres nothing
 ‘(Just imagine!) To get up, eat and leave without saying anything!’

1.9 Subjunctive constructions as complements of modal clitics

Subjunctive constructions can occur as complements of the invariant expectative and conditional modal clitics *ke* ‘will’ and *bi* ‘would’, respectively.⁶⁴

1.9.1 Subjunctive constructions as complements of the expectative modal clitic *ke* ‘will’ can have verbs in the present or the past tense.

1.9.1.1 Clauses with the expectative modal clitic *ke* ‘will’ plus subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense express a guess, if the verb is in the present or the present perfect, and a inference if it has markers of evidentiality.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ While *ke* is a remnant of the third person singular form of the Old Church Slavonic verb *hotěti* ‘be willing/want’, *bi* is historically related to the “be” auxiliary. Note that *ke/bi* plus a subjunctive construction is mainly used in the Western Macedonian dialects, though it is sanctioned in the standard.

⁶⁵ Sentences of this type can be negated:

- (i) %*Ne* *ke* *da* *dojde.*
 not will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark come.2/3Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘You/(s)he doesn’t seem to have come.’

Negative sentences such as (i) should be distinguished from sentences such as (ii), in which the subjunctive construction is preceded by *ne(j)ke* ‘not+want’ – a lexical item which is historically formed from the negation marker *ne* and the third person singular form of the Old Church Slavonic verb *xotěti* ‘be willing/want’, but now functions as a negative verb (cf. Tomić 2001).

- (ii) *Ne(j)ke* *da* *se* *vрати.*
 not+want.3Sg Subj.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl come-back.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘(S)he doesn’t want to come back.’

That *ne(j)ke* is an independent lexical item is shown by the fact that it has complete present and past tense paradigms, whose forms are currently used:

- (58) a. *Ķe* *da* *ima* *deset* *godini* *od* *togaš.*
will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark have.Impers ten years from then
‘There must be ten years since then.’
- b. *Ķe* *da* *imaš* *dojdeno* *ovde* *porano.*
will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark have.2Sg come.Perf.Past.Part here earlier
‘(I guess) you have come here before.’
- (59) a. *Ķe* *da* *znaele* *što* *se*
will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark known.Pl./-Part what Acc.Refl.Cl
sluči.
happen.3Sg.Perf.Past
‘They seem to have known what happened.’
- b. *Ķe* *da* *imale* *dojdeno* *ovde* *porano.*
will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark had.Pl./-Part come.Perf.Past.Part here earlier
‘(As reported) they seem to have come here before.’

1.9.1.2 Clauses with the expectative modal clitic *ķe* ‘will’ plus a subjunctive construction in the past tense express a guess relative to a past moment. Examples:

- (60) a. *Ķe* *da* *imaše* *vrnato.*
will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark have.3Sg.Past rained.Past.Part
‘It had most probably rained.’
- b. *Ķe* *da* *sakaše* *da* *dojdeš.*
will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark want.2Sg.Past Subj.Mark come.2Sg.Perf.Pres
‘It appears that you wanted to come.’
- c. *Ķe* *da* *go* *skršivte* *šišet.*
will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl break.2Pl.Perf.Past bottle+the.N.Sg
‘You seem to have broken the bottle.’

1.9.2 Subjunctive constructions which occur as complements of the invariant conditional modal clitic *bi* ‘would’ express a wish, a desire. Their usage is, however, restricted to South-Western Macedonia.⁶⁶

Forms of <i>ne(j)ķe</i> ‘not+want’				
Present		Past		
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>ne(j)ķam</i>	<i>ne(j)ķeme</i>	<i>ne(j)ķev</i>	<i>ne(j)ķevme</i>
2 nd	<i>ne(j)ķeš</i>	<i>ne(j)ķete</i>	<i>ne(j)ķeše</i>	<i>ne(j)ķevte</i>
3 rd	<i>ne(j)ķe</i>	<i>ne(j)ķat</i>	“-”	<i>ne(j)ķea</i>

An example of the use of the present tense forms of *ne(j)ķe* is given in (ii). In (iii) we have an example of the use of the past tense forms of *ne(j)ķe*:

- (iii) *Ne(j)ķevme* *da* *dojdeme.*
not+want.1Pl.Imperf.Past Subj.Mark come.2Pl.Perf.Pres
‘We didn’t want to come.’

⁶⁶ *Bi* has preserved the meaning of the aorist form from which it originated. In some Western Macedonian dialects (e.g. in the Debar dialect), the *bi* +subjunctive constructions may be preceded by the conditional conjunction *ako* ‘if’. Example:

- (i) %*Ako* *bi* *da* *mu* *potrebvte* *pari...*
if would.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl need.3Pl money
‘If he happens to need money....’

- (61) a. %*Jas* *bi* *da* *dojdam.*
 I would.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark come.1Sg.Perf.Pres
 'I would like to come.'
- b. %*Ti* *bi* *da* *dojdeš,*
 you would.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark come.2Sg.Perf.Pres
neli?
 Disc.Particle
 'You would like to come, wouldn't you?'

1.10 Macedonian future tenses

The Macedonian future tenses have features of modality and tense. They employ all the verb forms from which subjunctive constructions are constructed and are actually *ke*⁶⁷ 'will' + subjunctive structures with the subjunctive marker deleted.⁶⁸

1.10.1 Constructions with *ke* + perfective or imperfective verb in the present tense represent the Macedonian future tense.

1.10.1.1 The basic function of the future tense is to express futurity relative to the present moment.⁶⁹

- (62) a. *Ke* *ti* *čitam* *utre.*
 will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl read.1Sg tomorrow
 'I will read to you tomorrow.'
- b. *Ke* *ti* *ja* *pročitam*⁷⁰
 will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl read.1Sg.Perf.Pres
knigava utre.
 book+the.Prox1.F.Sg tomorrow
 'I will read out this book to you tomorrow.'

⁶⁷ As pointed above, the expectative modal clitic *ke* is a reduced form of the Old Church Slavonic modal verb *xotěti* 'will'. It survives as a lexical verb in the forms of the negative modal verb *nejke* 'not+will' (cf. footnote 65), which is typically used as a preferred negative counterpart of the verb *saka* 'want'.

⁶⁸ In the future tenses used in the writings of Joakim Krčovski and Kiril Pejčinovič (first half of 19th century), the subjunctive marker was still present. In some Western Macedonian dialects, there are remnants of the subjunctive marker. Thus, in the dialect of the village of Galičnik, we have:

- (i) %*ka* *zemet*
 will.Mod.Cl+Subj.Mark take.3Pl
 'they will take (it)'
- (ii) %*ka* *vidime*
 will.Mod.Cl+Subj.Mark see.1Pl
 'we shall see'

⁶⁹ There are no sequence of tenses; in reported speech the tense remains unchanged.

- (i) *Rekov* *deka* *ke* *ti* *čitam* *utre.*
 say.1Sg.Perf.Past that will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl read.1Sg tomorrow
 'I said that I would read to you tomorrow.'

⁷⁰ As the unacceptability of (i) and (ii) shows, perfective verbs cannot be used in the present indicative tenses:

- (i) **Jas* *dojdam.*
 I come.1Sg.Perf.Pres
- (ii) **Jas* *da(da)m.*
 I give.1Sg.Perf.Pres

- c. *Ķe* *ti* *ja* *da(da)m*
 will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.1Sg.Perf.Pres
 knigava *utre.*
 book+the.Prox1.F.Sg tomorrow
 ‘I will give you the book tomorrow.’

1.10.1.2 The future tense can also express surprise.

- (63) a. *Takov* *budala ne* *ĳe* *se* *najde*
 such.M.Sg fool not will.Mod.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl find.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 vo *ovoj* *vek!*
 in this century
 ‘Such a fool can’t be found in this century!’
- b. *Koj* *ĳe* *e* *vaka* *docna?*
 who will.Mod.Cl be.3Sg this-way late
 ‘Who could it be (at the door) so late?’

1.10.1.3 With second or third person subjects, the future tense can express an order:

- (64) *Ķe* *otideš* *i* *ĳe* *mu* *se*
 will.Mod.Cl go.2Sg.Perf.Pres and will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl
 izviniš!
 apologise.2Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘You WILL go and WILL apologise to him!’

1.10.1.4 The future tense is used in *realis* conditional sentences (*cf.* 1.11.1).

1.10.2 Constructions with *ĳe* + perfective or imperfective verb in the present perfect represent the Macedonian future perfect tense, which expresses the result of an action relative to a future moment.

- (65) *Do* *utre* *na* *pladne* *ĳe* *go* *imame*
 by tomorrow at noon will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl have.1Pl
 završeno *proektot.*
 finished.Perf.Past.Part project+the.M.Sg
 ‘By tomorrow at noon, we shall have finished the project.’

1.10.3 Constructions in which *ĳe* is followed by past subjunctives represent the Macedonian future-in-the-past tense.⁷¹

1.10.3.1 With their chronologically primary function of referring to events that are supposed to have happened at a past point of time, the future-in-the-past tense is very sparingly used (*cf.* Topolinjska 1996:72). Here are some examples:

- (i) *%ĳeše* *da* *dojde*
 will.3Sg.Imperf.Past Subj.Mark come.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘would have come’

⁷¹ As pointed out by Koneski (1967:203), in the dialect of Veles, an older future-in-the-past form in which the modal auxiliary has a past tense marker and the lexical verb is preceded by a subjunctive marker, is preserved:

- (66) a. *Ķe dojdeše do pet satot.*
 will.Mod.Cl come.2/3Sg.Subj.Past till five hour+the.M.Sg
 ‘You/(s)he was (supposed) to come by five.’
- b. *Go fati za guša i ĳe*
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl catch.3Sg.Perf.Past for throat and will.Mod.Cl
go zadaveše.
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl choke.3Sg.Subj.Past
 ‘(S)he caught him by the throat and was going to choke him.’

1.10.3.2 Most frequently, the forms of the future-in-the-past tense are used to express events that might have happened, but were obstructed.⁷²

- (67) a. *Ķe zaminev včera/ denes/ utre, no*
 will.Mod.Cl depart.1Sg.Subj.Past yesterday today tomorrow but
se razbole majka mi.
 Acc.Refl.Cl fall-ill.3Sg.Perf.Past mother 1Sg.Dat.Cl
 ‘I was going to leave yesterday/today/tomorrow, but my mother fell ill.’
- b. *Ķe umreše od strav.*
 will.Mod.Cl die.2/3Sg.Subj.Past from fear
 ‘You/(s)he was going to die of fear.’

1.10.3.3 The future-in-the-past forms of the “be” and “have” auxiliaries are used to express presumption:

- (68) a. *Ķe imaše sto duši.*
 will.Mod.Cl have.3Sg.Past hundred souls
 ‘There must have been a hundred people.’
- b. *Blizu sedum ĳe beše koga dojde.*
 near seven will.Mod.Cl be.3Sg.Past when come.3Sg.Perf.Past
 ‘It must have been close to seven when (s)he came.’

1.10.3.4 Both future and future-in-the-past tense can express habitual actions, with indescribable difference in the meaning:

- (69) a. *Ķe dojde/dojdeše, ĳe*
 will.Mod.Cl come.3Sg.Perf.Pres/Subj.Past will.Mod.Cl
sedne/sedneše i ĳe
 seat-down.3Sg.Perf.Pres/Subj.Past and will.Mod.Cl
počne/počneše da raskažuva.
 begin.3Sg.Perf.Pres/Subj.Past Subj.Mark tell-stories.3Sg
 ‘(S)he would come, seat down and begin to tell stories.’
- b. *Seta ĳe se vneseše*
 whole.F.Sg.Adj will.Mod.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl involve.3Sg.Subj.Past
vo rabotata.
 in work+the.F.Sg
 ‘She would get involved in the work completely.’

1.10.4 Constructions in which *ĳe* is followed by verbs in the past perfect, represent the Macedonian future perfect-in-the-past tense, which is used in *irrealis* conditional sentences (cf. 1.11.3).

⁷² With this function, the Macedonian future-in-the-past tense is often used in *irrealis* conditional sentences (cf. 1.11).

1.10.5 Negated counterparts of the future and the future-in-the-past tense constructions can be constructed with the expectative modal clitic *ќе* ‘will’ plus tensed verbs, as well as with the impersonal form of the negative “have” auxiliary *nema* ‘not+have’ plus a subjunctive construction.

1.10.5.1 While the future tense with *nema* ‘not+have’ occurs without any restriction, the future tense with *ќе* occurs only when there is a presuppositional component in the interpretation of the sentence. Thus, (70a) and (70b), whose interpretations have or can have a presuppositional components, are well formed Macedonian sentences, whereas (70c), which is an assertive sentence, is unacceptable:⁷³

- (70) a. *Ne ќе te zemat so niv.*
not will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Acc.Cl take.3Pl with them.Acc
‘(I suppose,) they won’t take you with them.’
- b. *Ne ќе sum te zemela.*
not will.Mod.Cl am 2Sg.Acc.Cl taken.F.Sg.Subj./-Part
‘Reportedly, I would not take you (with me).’
- c. **Ne ќе te zemam.*
not will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Acc.Cl take.1Sg
purported reading: ‘I won’t take you (with me).’

1.10.5.2 Since the future-in-the-past tense is, as a rule, presuppositional, (positive) sentences with this tense can have negative counterparts with *ќе* plus past or past perfect forms of lexical verbs, as well as counterparts with *nema* ‘not+have’ plus a subjunctive construction, with no discernible difference in the meaning:⁷⁴

- (71) a₁ *Ne ќе dojdeše do pet.*
not will.Mod.Cl come.3Sg.Subj.Past till five
- a₂ *Nemaše da dojde do pet.*
not+have.Impers.Past Subj.Mark come.3Sg.Perf.Pres till five
- a₃ *Nema da dojdeše do pet.*
not+have.Impers Subj.Mark come.3Sg.Subj.Past till five
‘(S)he was not (supposed) to come till five.’
- b₁ *Da dojdeše, ne ќе go imavme završeno proektot.*
Subj.Mark come.2/3Sg.Subj.Past not will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl have.1Pl.Past finished.Perf.Past.Part project+the.M.Sg
- b₂ *Da dojdeše, nemaše da*
Subj.Mark come.2/3Sg.Subj.Past not+have.Impers.Past Subj.Mark

⁷³ Instead of (70c), we have (i):

- (i) *Nema da te zemam.*
not+have.Impers Subj.Mark 2Sg.Acc.Cl take.1Sg
‘I won’t take you (with me).’

Nema ‘not+have’ plus subjunctive construction structures are discussed in 5.2 above.

⁷⁴ Note that the past tense signals in the latter case can be attached either to *nema* or to the verb in the subjunctive construction (cf. 1.5.3).

	<i>go</i> 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl	<i>imame</i> have.1Pl	<i>završeno</i> finished.Perf.Past.Part	<i>proektot.</i> project+the.M.Sg
b ₃	<i>Da</i> Subj.Mark	<i>dojdeše,</i> come.2/3Sg.Subj.Past	<i>nema</i> not+have.Impers	<i>da</i> Subj.Mark
	<i>go</i> 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl	<i>imavme</i> have.1Pl.Past	<i>završeno</i> finished.Perf.Past.Part	<i>proektot.</i> project+the.M.Sg

‘Had you/(s)he come, we would not have finished the project.’

1.10.6 Verbs in both future and future-in-the-past tense can take subjunctive complements:⁷⁵

- (72) a. *Ķe* *nastojuvam* *da* *bidam*
will.Mod.Cl endeavour.1Sg Subj.Mark be.1Sg.Subj.Pres
točna.
punctual.F.Sg
‘I will make an effort to be punctual.’
- b. *Ķe* *nastojuvaše* *da* *bide*
will.Mod.Cl endeavour.3Sg.Imperf.Past Subj.Mark be.3Sg.Subj.Pres
točna.
punctual.F.Sg
‘(As far as I know) she was going to make an effort to be punctual.’
- (73) a. *Podobro* *ķe* *e* *da* *ne* *i*
Compar.Mark+good will.Mod.Cl be.3Sg Subj.Mark not 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl
gi *čita* *ovie* *knigi.*
3Pl.Acc.Cl read.3Sg these books
‘It will be better if (s)he does not read these books to her.’
- b. *Podobro* *ķe* *beše* *da* *ne*
Compar.mark+good will.Mod.Cl be.3Sg.Past Subj.Mark not
dojde/dojdeše.
come.3Sg.Perf.Pres/Past
‘It would have been better if (s)he hadn’t come.’
- (74) a. *Ķe* *e* *posreken* *da*
will.Mod.Cl be.3Sg Comp.Mark+happy.M.Sg Subj.Mark
e/bide *žensko.*
be.3Sg.Indic/Subj.Pres female
‘He will be happier if it (the baby) is female.’

⁷⁵ Note that, instead of the future-in-the-past tense, one can use a construction in which the modal clitic *bi* ‘would’ is followed by an *l*-participle:

- (i) *Podobro* *bi* *bito* *da* *ne* *i* *gi*
better would.Mod.Cl been.N.Sg.*l*-Part Subj.Mark not 3Sg.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl
čita *ovie* *knigi.*
read.3Sg.Imperf.Pres these books
‘It would be better if (s)he did not read these books to her.’

- b. *Ķe* *beše* *posreken* *da*
will.Mod.Cl be.3Sg.Past Comp.Mark+happy.M.Sg Subj.Mark
e/beše/bide/bideše *žensko.*
be.3Sg.Indic.Pres/Indic.Past/Subj.Pres/Subj.Past female
‘He would have been happier if it (the baby) were female.’

1.11 Conditional sentences

Future tenses are regularly used in conditional sentences.

1.11.1 In *realis* conditional sentences, which express a possibility for the events to be realized at some future point, a (perfective or imperfective) verb in the present tense occurs in the *protasis*, while a future tense construction occurs in the *apodosis*. The *protasis* is, as a rule, introduced by the conjunction *ako* ‘if’.⁷⁶ Examples:

- (75) a. *Ako* *dojdeš* *na* *vreme* *ĳe* *te*
if come.2Sg.Perf.Pres on time will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Acc.Cl
zememe *so* *nas.*
take.1Pl.Perf.Pres with us.Acc
‘If you come on time, we shall take you with us.’
- b. *Ako* *bideš* *dobar* *ĳe* *dobieš*
if be.2Sg.Subj.Pres good.M.Sg will.Mod.Cl get.2Sg.Perf.Pres
podarok.
present
‘If you are good, you will get a present.’

1.11.2 *Irrrealis* conditional sentences, i.e. conditional sentences that refer to events whose chance for realization is forfeited, have a subjunctive construction with a verb in the (subjunctive) past tense⁷⁷ or an *ako* (‘if’)-clause with a verb in the (subjunctive) past tense in the *protasis* and a future-

⁷⁶ The selection of the verb in the *ako*-clause is analogous to the selection of verbs in subjunctive constructions – which is not surprising, since, both *ako*-clauses and subjunctive constructions are modal. As a matter of fact, in the older stages of the language, subjunctive constructions introduced by the subjunctive marker *da* appeared to the immediate right of *ako*-conjunctions. Note that in Albanian, the conjunction *po* ‘if’ co-occurs with the subjunctive marker (cf. 7.10).

In journalistic or bureaucratic prose style, instead of *ako* ‘if’, one can also use the complex conjunction *dokolku* ‘inasmuch as’.

- (i) *Dokolku* *nadležnite* *ne* *go* *rešat*
inasmuch-as responsible.Pl+the.Pl not 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl solve.3Pl.Perf.Pres
problemot, *ĳe* *bideme* *poplaveni.*
problem+the.M.Sg will.Mod.Cl be.1Pl.Subj.Pres flooded.Pl.Perf.Pass.Part
‘If the authorities do not solve the problem, we shall be flooded.’

In informal style, instead of a conjunction, one can use the interrogative clitic *li*, which is placed immediately after the verb:

- (ii) *Ne* *dojdeš* *li* *na* *vreme,* *ne* *ĳe* *dobieš*
not come.2Sg.Perf.Pres Inter.Cl on time not will.Mod.Cl get.2Sg.Perf.Pres
karta.
ticket
‘If you do not come on time, you will not get a ticket.’

⁷⁷ In some cases, both the verb in the *protasis* and the one in the *apodosis* can be in the present tense. Such sentences are always *irrealis* from the point of view of the moment of speaking. For example:

- (i) *Da* *si* *umen,* *ne* *ĳe* *zboruvaš* *taka.*
Subj.Mark are.2Sg clever.M.Sg not will.Mod.Cl talk.2Sg so
‘If you were clever (which seems most unlikely), you wouldn’t talk like that.’

in-the-past tense in the *apodosi*s. As in many other Balkan languages, these sentences have two readings: (a) *irrealis* from the point of view of the moment of speaking and (b) *irrealis* from the point of view of a past moment.⁷⁸

- (76) a. *Da/ako imav pari, ke kupev*
 Subj.Mark/if have.1Sg.Past money will.Mod.Cl buy.1Sg.Subj.Past
kuka na more.
 house on sea
 1. 'If I had money, I would buy a house at the seaside.'
 2. 'If I had had money, I would have bought a house at the seaside.'
- b. *Da/ako me zamolea, ke im*
 Subj.Mark/if 1Sg.Acc.Cl ask.3Pl.Subj.Past will.Mod.Cl 3Pl.Dat.Cl
go dadev.
 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl give.1Sg.Subj.Past
 1. 'If they asked me, I would give it to them.'
 2. 'If they had asked me, I would have given it to them.'
- c. *Da/ako sakaše, ke dojdeše.*
 Subj.Mark/if want.2/3Sg.Imperf.Past will.Mod.Cl come.2/3Sg.Subj.Past
 1. 'If you/(s)he wanted, you/(s)he would come.'
 2. 'If you/(s)he had wanted, you/(s)he would have come.'
- d. *Da/ako dojdeše so nas, ne ke*
 Subj.Mark/if come.2/3Sg.Subj.Past with us not will.Mod.Cl
beše sama.
 be.2/3Sg.Past alone.F.Sg
 1. 'If you/(s)he had come with us, you/she wouldn't have been alone.'
 2. 'If you/(s)he came with us, you/she wouldn't be alone.'
- e. *Da/ako beše zdrav, ke*
 Subj.Mark/if be.2/3Sg.Imperf.Past healthy will.Mod.Cl
trčaše.
 run.1Sg.Imperf.Past
 1. 'If you/he were healthy, you/he would be running.'
 2. 'If you/he had been healthy, you/he would have been running.'

1.11.3 The use of the “have” or “be” perfect⁷⁹ in the *protasi*s excludes the *irrealis* from the point of view of the moment of speaking reading, and thus disambiguates the sentence.⁸⁰

- (ii) *Da skokne na kamen, ke si gi*
 Subj.Mark jump.3Sg.Perf.Pres on stone will.Mod.Cl Dat.Refl.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl
skrši nodzete.
 break.3Sg.Perf.Pres legs+the.Pl
 'If he jumped on a stone, he would break his legs.'

⁷⁸ The two readings transpire through the English translations.

⁷⁹ The “have” and “be” perfects are discussed in the section on Macedonian in the chapter “The Perfect and the Evidential”.

⁸⁰ The use of the perfect requires the use of the subjunctive marker. Note that the perfect can be used in both clauses, though its use in the *apodosi*s has an effect on the completion of the action (not on the type of conditionality).

- (77) a₁ *Da/*ako me imaa zamoleno,*
 Subj.Mark/if 1Sg.Acc.Cl have.3Pl.Past asked.Perf.Past.Part
ke im go dadev.
 will.Mod.Cl 3Pl.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl give.1Sg.Subj.Past
 ‘If they had asked me, I would have given it to them.’
- a₂ *Da me bea zamolile, ke*
 Subj.Mark 1Sg.Acc.Cl be.3Pl.Past asked.Pl./-Part will.Mod.Cl
im go dadev.
 3Pl.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl give.1Sg.Subj.Past
 ‘If they had asked me, I would have given it to them.’
- b₁ *Da/*ako nemaše insistirano, ne*
 Subj.Mark/if not+have.2/3Sg.Past insisted.Past.Part not
ke dojdevme.
 will.Mod.Cl com.1Pl.Subj.Past
 ‘If you/(s)he had not insisted, we would not have come.’
- b₂ *Da/*ako ne beše insistiral, ne ke*
 Subj.Mark/if not be.3Sg.Pasg insisted./-Part not will.Mod.Cl
dojdevme.
 come.1Pl.Subj.Past
 ‘If he had not insisted, we would not have come.’
- c₁ *Da/*ako beše dojdën, ke*
 Subj.Mark/if be.2/3Sg.Past come.M.Sg.Perf.Pass.Part will.Mod.Cl
te zemea.
 2Sg.Acc.Cl take.3Pl.Subj.Past
 ‘If you were here, they would have taken you.’
- c₂ *Da beše došol ke*
 Subj.Mark be.2Sg.Past come.M.Sg.Perf./-Part will.Mod.Cl
te zemea.
 2Sg.Acc.Cl take.3Pl.Subj.Past
 ‘If you had come, they would have taken you.’

1.11.4 In addition to the *realis* and *irrealis* conditional sentences, Macedonian has *potentialis* conditional sentences, which, like the *realis* conditional sentences, concern as yet unrealized events, but the speaker conveys some doubt as to their realization. The *potentialis* conditionality is typically expressed through *koga* (‘when’)-clauses with the conditional modal clitic *bi* ‘would’, followed by an *l*-participle, in the *protasis*, and the same modal clitic followed by an *l*-participle in the *apodosis*.⁸¹

- (i) *Da me imaa zamoleno ke*
 Subj.Mark 1Sg.Acc.Cl have.3Pl.Imperf.Past asked.Perf.Past.Part will.Mod.Cl
im go imav dadeno.
 3Pl.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl have.1Sg.Past given.Perf.Past.Part
 ‘If they had asked me, I would have already given it to them.’

⁸¹ *Koga* in these sentences loses its temporal flavour. The conjunction *ako* ‘if’ can be used instead of *koga* in such sentences:

- (i) %*Ako bi znael, bi došol.*
 if would.Mod.Cl known.M.Sg./-Part would.Mod.Cl come.M.Sg.Perf./-Part
 ‘If I/he knew I/he would come.’

- (78) a. *Koga bi imala pari, bi*
 when would.Mod.Cl had.F.Sg./-Part money would.Mod.Cl
kupila kuća na more.
 bought.F.Sg.Perf./-Part house on sea
 ‘If I/you/she had money, I/you/she would buy a house at the seaside.’
- b. *Koga bi go videla, bi*
 when would.Mod.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl seen.F.Sg.Subj./-Part would.Mod.Cl
se zaljubila vo nego.
 Acc.Refl.Cl fallen-in-love.F.Sg.Perf./-Part in him
 ‘If I/you/she saw him, I/you/she would fall in love with him.’
- c. *Koga ne bi znaele, ne bi*
 when not would.Mod.Cl known.Pl./-Part not would.Mod.Cl
se jadosuvala.
 Acc.Ref.Cl worried.Pl./-Part
 ‘If we/you/they didn’t know, we/you/they would not worry.’

1.11.5 In Macedonian, the general Slavic system of conditional sentences – *realis*, *potentialis* and *irrealis* with a single reading – and the Balkan system – *realis* and *irrealis* with two reading – actually intersect.

1.12 Sentences with temporal clauses

In sentences with temporal clauses, which are introduced by *koga* ‘when’, the expectative modal clitic *ќе* ‘will’ can be used in both the main and the *koga*-clause.⁸²

Jane Hacking conducted two surveys of the use of the Macedonian conditionals – in 1992 and 1997. The surveys showed that conditionals with *koga* plus *bi* plus *l*-participle in the *apodosis* and *bi* plus *l*-participle in the *protasis* are on the increase (cf. Hacking 1998). As pointed out by Hacking (2001:239), from where the following example is taken, the conditionals with *koga*, followed by *bi* and *l*-participles in the *protasis*, and *bi* and *l*-participles in the *apodosis*, can even be used in *irrealis* contexts:

- (ii) *Koga bi ja kažal vistinata, na*
 if would.Mod.Cl 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl told.M.Sg.Perf./-Part truth+the.F.Sg at
početokot, ne bi imalo problemi. No sega
 beginning+the.M.Sg not would.Mod.Cl had.N.Sg./-Part problems but now
ima... have.Impers
 ‘If he had told the truth at the beginning, there wouldn’t have been problems. But now there are...’

The construction used in the *protasis* can be used independently to impart a wish:

- (iii) *Koga bi sakal da dojde!*
 when would.Mod.Cl wanted.M.Sg./-Part Subj.Mark come.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘If only he would like to come!’

The construction *bi* + *l*-participle, used in the *apodosis*, can also be used independently:

- (iv) *Jas ne bi odel.*
 I not would.Mod.Cl gone.M.Sg./-Part
 ‘I wouldn’t go.’

In the South-Western dialects, the modal *bi*, followed by forms of the “be” auxiliary and *l*-participles, imparts unfulfilled desires:

- (v) *%Bi ste došle!*
 would.Mod.Cl be.2Pl come.Pl.Perf./-Part
 ‘You should have come (if you wanted to see him/get a present).’

⁸² In the Standard and Western dialects the occurrence of the modal clitic in both clauses is obligatory. In the Eastern Macedonian dialects, however, no modal clitic is used in “when”-clauses, while in the North-Western dialect of the capital, Skopje, there is a tendency to leave the modal clitic out.

Note that the Bulgarian expectative modal clitic *šte*, never occurs in a “when”-clause:

1.12.1 The future oriented temporal clauses typically have expectative clitics followed by verbs in the present tense, i.e. they have future tenses (*cf.* 79a-b), though in reported contexts the expectative clitic is followed by “be” perfects (*cf.* 79c-d):

- (79) a. *Koga će dojdeš, će go*
 when will.Mod.Cl come.2Sg.Perf.Pres will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
završime proektot.
 finish.1Pl.Perf.Pres project+the.M.Sg
 ‘When you come, we shall finish the project.’
- b. *Će zboruvame koga će dojdeš.*
 will.Mod.Cl speak.1Pl when will.Mod.Cl come.2Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘We shall talk when you come.’
- c. *Koga će sum dojdela će sum*
 when will.Mod.Cl be.1Sg come.F.Sg.Subj./-Part will.Mod.Cl be.1Sg
go videla.
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl seen.F.Sg./-Part
 ‘When I would come, I would allegedly see him.’
- d. *Koga će go videle će mu*
 when will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.Acc.Cl seen.Pl./-Part will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl
go dadele.
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl given.Pl.Subj./-Part
 ‘When they see him, they would allegedly give it to him.’

1.12.2 In temporal clauses expressing habitual actions, the verb can be in the present or in the imperfect, i.e. we can have future or future-in-the-past tense:

- (80) a. *Sekogaš koga će dojde, će*
 always when will.Mod.Cl come.3Sg.Perf.Pres will.Mod.Cl
sedne vo ona kōše i će
 sit-down.3Sg.Perf.Pres in that.N.Sg corner and will.Mod.Cl
počne da raskažuva.
 begin.3Sg.Perf.Pres Subj.Mark tell-a-story.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘Whenever (s)he would come (s)he would sit down in that corner and begin to tell stories.’
- b. *Koga će mu pobaraa nešto,*
 when will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.Dat.Cl demand.3Pl.Perf/Subj.Past something
će se vzbudeše i će
 will.Mod.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl upset.3Sg.Subj.Past and will.Mod.Cl
skokneše.
 jump.3Sg.Subj.Past
 ‘Whenever something would be demanded from him, he would get upset and fidgety.’ (lit. ‘Whenever they would demand something from him he would get upset and jump up.’)

-
- (i) *Kogato (ti) (*šte) dojdeš, (toj) veče šte* (Bulgarian)
 when+Anaph you will come.2Sg.Perf.Pres he already will.Mod.Cl
si e otišāl.
 Dat.Refl.Cl be.3Sg gone.M.Sg.Perf./-Part
 ‘When you come, he will already be gone.’

1.12.3 In temporal clauses with nominal predicates, both the subjunctive and the indicative forms of this auxiliary/copula are acceptable, though the latter forms are not used by all speakers. Those speakers that use both present indicative and present subjunctive sets of forms, make a distinction in the usage – the constructions with subjunctive “be” forms imply special involvement in the event. The difference in use can be illustrated through the acceptability judgements for the sentences in (81) and (82):

- (81) a. *?Koga ti ke dojdeš, toj veke*
 when you will.Mod.Cl come.2Sg.Perf.Pres he already
 ke bide otiden.
 will.Mod.Cl be.3Sg.Subj.Pres gone.M.Sg.Pass.Part
- b. *Koga ti ke dojdeš, toj veke*
 when you will.Mod.Cl come.2Sg.Perf.Pres he already
 ke e otiden.
 will.Mod.Cl be.3Sg gone.M.Sg.Pass.Part
 ‘When you come, he will already be gone.’
- (82) a. *Koga ke se razbudime, veke*
 when will.Mod.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl wake up.1Pl.Perf.Pres already
 ke bideme vo Skopje.
 will.Mod.Cl be.1Pl.Subj.Pres in Skopje.
- b. *?Koga ke se razbudime veke*
 when will.Mod.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl wake-up.1Pl.Perf.Pres already
 ke sme vo Skopje.
 will.Mod.Cl be.1Pl in Skopje
 ‘When we wake up, we shall already be in Skopje.’

2. Bulgarian

In Bulgarian, as in Macedonian, the functions of the infinitive are taken over by subjunctive constructions with tensed verbs. Bulgarian differs from Macedonian, though, in having some remnants of the Old Church Slavonic infinitive.

2.1 Remnants of the infinitive

Remnants of the infinitive are found to a very limited extent in standard Bulgarian and somewhat more frequently in the Eastern Bulgarian dialects, on which the standard is based.

2.1.1 In standard Bulgarian, a suffixes, or “short” infinitive occurs as a complement of a few items which do not form a natural class on either semantic or syntactic grounds.⁸³ Examples:

- (83) a. *Ne možeš go nameri.*
 not can.2Sg 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl find.Inf
 ‘You cannot find him.’
- b. *Nedej govori.*
 not+do.3Sg speak.Inf
 ‘Don’t speak!’

⁸³ Joseph (1983) lists the verbs *moga* ‘can’, *smeja* ‘dare’ and *nedej* ‘do not’ and the adverb *stiga* ‘enough’. In BAN (1982-1983 the adverb *zorlen* ‘with an effort’ is also listed. According to Krasimira Aleksova (personal communication) the infinitive is currently used only as a complement of *moga*, *nedej* and *stiga*. Note, however, that with all of these items, instead of the infinitive, one can use a subjunctive construction.

- c. *Stiga plaka.*
enough cry.Inf
'Enough of crying!'

2.1.2 Mladenov (1929) and Mirčev (1963) mention the occurrence of the infinitive in construction with abbreviated inflected forms of the "will" auxiliary, which descends from the Old Church Slavonic verb *xotěti* 'want'.⁸⁴ Mladenov (1929:261) gives the following example of a construction, referred to as "indefinite future tense", which is no longer used:

- (84) *Az šta ti da edno oko.*
I will.1Sg.Aux 2Sg.Dat.Cl give.Inf a/one eye.
'I will give you one eye!'

2.2 The subjunctive marker in contrast with indicative complementizers

2.2.1 As in the other Balkan Slavic languages, in Bulgarian, the subjunctive constructions are introduced by the subjunctive marker *da*.⁸⁵

- (85) a. *Iska, da dojde.*
wants Subj.Mark come.3Sg.Perf.Pres
'(S)he wants to come.'
- b. *Zapovjada, da dojdeš vednaga.*
order.3Sg.Aor Subj.Mark come.2Sg.Aor immediately
'He gave an order for you to come immediately.'

2.2.2 The subjunctive marker is morphologically distinct from the complementizers of indicative clauses *če* 'that' given in (86).⁸⁶

⁸⁴ The present tense paradigm of this auxiliary is (or rather was) as follows:

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>šta</i>	<i>štem</i>
2 nd	<i>šteš</i>	<i>šete</i>
3 rd	<i>šte</i>	<i>stat</i>

Note that in the dialects of the Balkan mountain (which are geographically close to the Southern Romanian dialects), a nominalized infinitive with the infinitive suffix *-ti* is still used. For example:

- (i) *%nešto za piti*
something for drink.Inf
'something to drink'
- (ii) *%Ne sâm za bršnati.*
not be.1Sg for drink.Inf
'I am not (yet) to shave.'

⁸⁵ In the dialects of Southern and South-Western Bulgaria, the subjunctive marker can be omitted (*cf.* Sobolev 2004a:75).

- (i) *%Ne možeš se razbereš sos nea.*
not can.2Sg Acc.Ref.Cl understand.2Sg with her
'You cannot come to an understanding with her.'
- (ii) *%Ne moga go kaža.*
not can.1Sg 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl say.1Sg
'I cannot say that.'
- (iii) *%...i gu nă mužaxmă fanăm.*
and 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl not could.3Pl catch.1Pl
'...and we couldn't catch him.'

⁸⁶ *Če* ‘that’ has developed from the Common Indo-European interrogative pronoun for neutral gender, from which the Macedonian interrogative pronoun *što* ‘what’ has developed (cf. footnote 18). As a matter of fact, it correlates both with the Macedonian complementizers *deka/oti* ‘that’ and with the Macedonian *relativum generale* *što* ‘what’. For example, in the Macedonian equivalents of (i), given in (i)’, *deka* or *oti* has to be used, while in the Macedonian equivalent of (ii), given in (ii)’, the use of *što* – the complementizer used with emotional and factive predicates – has no alternative. (Both (i) and (ii)’ are from Asenova 2002:153, with my glosses and translation.)

- (i) *Ili misliš ti, če opijanen e narodāt?* (Bulgarian)
or think.2Sg you that intoxicated.1Sg.Pass.Part be.3Sg people+the.M.Sg
‘Or, do you think that the people has been intoxicated?’

- (i)’ *Ili ti misliš deka/oti narodot e opijanen?* (Macedon)
or you think.2Sg that people+the.M.Sg be.3Sg intoxicated.M.Sg.Pass.Part
‘Or, do you think that the people has been intoxicated?’

- (ii) *Razbra kolko dobre beše napravil,* (Bulgarian)
understand.3Sg.Aor how-much well be.3Sg.Past made.M.Sg.Perf.I-Part
če beše došāl.
that be.3Sg.Past come.3Sg.Perf.I-Part

- (ii)’ *Razbra kolku ubavo stori što dojde.* (Macedon)
understand.3Sg.Aor how-much beautiful.Adv do.3Sg.Perf.Past what come.3Sg.Perf.Past
‘He saw how good it was that he had come.’ (lit. ‘He understood how good he had done that he had come.’)

Če is not used as a *relativum generale*, though it has a variety of uses. In addition to introducing indicative (declarative) complements, *če* can introduce an adverbial clause of reason, as in (i), or along with *taka* ‘so’, an adverbial clause of result, such as (iii-iv):

- (iii) *Trāgni sega, če šte stane kāsno!*
depart.2Sg.Imper now that will.Mod.Cl become.3Sg.Perf.Pres late
‘Go now, because it will be late (if you stay any longer).’

- (iv) *Kupixme ošte edin televizor, taka če sega imame tri.*
buy.1Pl.Aor more one.M.Sg TV so that now have.1Pl three
‘We bought another TV, so that now we have three.’

Noteworthy is also the occurrence of *če* to the right of the negation marker in clauses such as (v); its function as an adversative conjunction, as in (vi); or even as a cumulative conjunction, as in (vii) (from Topolinjska (1995:93), with my glosses and translation):

- (v) *Ne če sām dotam sueten....*
not that am that-far vane.M.Sg
‘Not that I am so vane...’

- (vi) *Če, kakvo gi dārži?!*
that what 3Pl.Acc.Cl hold.3Pl
‘But, what is keeping them?!’

- (vii) *...no mu natātruzixa ošte edin, če posle ošte edin...*
but 3Sg.Dt.Cl force.3Pl.Aor more one that after more one
‘...but they forced upon him one more, and after that one more...’

In exclamatory clauses, *če* appears to have a modifying function:

- (viii) *Ama, če lošo čoveče!*
Excl what-kind bad.N.Sg man.Dim.N.Sg
‘What a bad little man!’

Note also the use of *če* in composite conjunctions such as the following ones:

- (ix) *kato če li*
as that Inter.Cl
‘as if’

- (86) a. *Pravex se, če ništo ne me*
 pretend.1Sg.Aor Acc.Refl.Cl that nothing not 1Sg.Acc.Cl
boli.
 hurt.3Sg
 'I pretended that I had no pain.' (lit. 'I pretended that nothing was hurting me.')
- b. *Ne kazvam, če sām vljuben vāv neja.*
 not say.1Sg that be.1Sg in-love.M.Sg.Adj in her
 'I am not saying that I am in love with her.'

2.2.2.1 With verbs of believing, the *če*-complementizer is often interchangeable with the subjunctive marker – with undefinable difference in the meaning:

- (87) a. *Nadjavam se če/ da e došāl.*
 hope.1Sg Acc.Refl.Cl that/ Subj.Mark be.3Sg come.M.Sg.Perf./-Part
 'I hope that he has come.'
- b. *Vjarvaš li če/ da e bil*
 believe.2Sg Inter.Cl that/ Subj.Mark be.3Sg been.M.Sg./-Part
tam?
 there
 'Do you believe that he was/has been there.'

2.2.2.2 In clauses of purpose and concession, the indicative complementizer *če* may and often does co-occur with the subjunctive marker.⁸⁷

- (88) a. *Ne sām žena, če da plača.*
 not am woman that Subj.Mark cry.1Sg
 'I am not a woman to cry.'
- b. *I dano onzi čovek ne iznikne*
 and hopefully that.M man not crop-up.3Sg.Perf.Pres
otnjakade, če da mi gi
 from+somewhere that Subj.Mark 1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl
obrka smetkite.
 spoil.3Sg.Perf.Pres accounts+the.Pl
 'Let's hope that that man will not crop up from somewhere and spoil my plans.'

2.3 Forms of verbs in the subjunctive construction

The verb in the subjunctive construction can be in the present, the perfective imperfect or the past perfect.

2.3.1 While in indicative clauses, only present tense forms of imperfective verbs are used,⁸⁸ subjunctive constructions employ both imperfective and perfective present tense forms. Thus, we have the following acceptability contrast:

- (x) *makar če*
 even that
 'although'

⁸⁷ The examples are similar to examples given by Topolinjska (1995:92). Note that in the Balkan Romance languages and Albanian indicative complementizers co-occur with subjunctive markers in many environments (cf. 4.3; 5.2.2; 6.2.1; 7.5.7, 7.8). In Modern Greek, clauses of purpose have subjunctive markers preceded by the preposition *ja* (cf. 9.8.3), but the indicative complementizer *pu* occurs to the left of the subjunctive marker in relative subjunctives in complements of verbs of quest (cf. 9.8.2). In Macedonian, however, indicative complementizers, as a rule, do not co-occur with the subjunctive marker.

⁸⁸ Perfective present tense forms can occur in negative-interrogative sentences, however:

- (89) a. Četa/*pročeta (mu) pismoto.
read.1Sg.Imperf/Perf.Pres 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl letter+the.N.Sg
'I am reading the letter (to him).'
- b. Iskam da (mu) četa/pročeta
wish.1Sg.Imperf.Pres Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl read.1Sg.Imperf/Perf.Pres
pismoto.
letter+the.N.Sg
'I want to read the letter (to him).'

2.3.2 As in Macedonian, with a number of verbs, the Old Church Slavonic perfective/imperfective aspectual distinction through morfonological alternation has been preserved. Compare the present tense forms of perfective verbs in the a. examples, to the present tense forms of imperfective verbs in the b. examples in (91-92):

- (90) a. Trjabva nešto da ti dade.
should.1Sg something Subj.Mark 2Sg.Dat.Cl give.3Sg.Perf.Pres
'(S)he should give you something.'
- b. Vsičko ti dava.
everything 2Sg.Dat.Cl give.3Sg.Imperf.Pres
'(S)he is giving everything to you.'
- (91) a. Iska da go nameri.
wants Subj.Mark 3Sg./N.Acc.Cl find.3Sg.Perf.Pres
'(S)he wants to find him/it.'
- b. Tova pri nas ne se namira.
that at 1Pl.Cl not Acc.Ref.Cl find.3Sg.Imperf.Pres
'That is not to be found here.' (lit. "That is not to be found with us.')

2.3.3 Thus, some verbs have distinct paradigms that are used in subjunctive, or more generally in modal or intentional contexts. The verb *davam* 'give', would have the following parallel paradigms:⁸⁹

Table 3: Present, imperfect and aorist paradigms of the Bulgarian verb *davam* 'give'

	Imperfective Present (used in both indicative and modal contexts)		Perfective Present (used in modal contexts)	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>davam</i>	<i>davame</i>	<i>dam</i>	<i>dadem</i>
2 nd	<i>davaš</i>	<i>davate</i>	<i>dadeš</i>	<i>dadete</i>
3 rd	<i>dava</i>	<i>davat</i>	<i>dade</i>	<i>dadat</i>

(i) Zašto ne vzemeš ot sireneto?
why not take.2Sg.Perf from cheese+the.N.Sg
'Why don't you help yourself with the cheese?' (lit. 'Why don't you take from the cheese?')

⁸⁹ The citation forms of lexical verbs are the first person singular indicative forms.

	Imperfect (used in indicative contexts)		Aorist (used in indicative contexts)		Perfective Imperfect (used in modal contexts)	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>davax</i>	<i>davaxme</i>	<i>dadox</i>	<i>dadoxme</i>	<i>dadex</i>	<i>dadexme</i>
2 nd	<i>davaše</i>	<i>davaxte</i>	<i>dade</i>	<i>dadoxte</i>	<i>dadeše</i>	<i>dadexte</i>
3 rd	-"-	<i>davaxa</i>	-"-	<i>dadoxa</i>	-"-	<i>dadexa</i>

2.3.4 The forms of the perfective imperfect are used less often than the Macedonian imperfective past forms. In intentional contexts expressing unrealized possibility, in which in Macedonian the subjunctive past is used, in Bulgarian we have the future-in-the-past tense, formed by the (imperfective) past tense forms of the modal auxiliary *šte* + a subjunctive construction (cf 2.9.3).

2.3.5 There are perfective verbs that have *l*-participles used specifically in modal contexts. Compare the *l*-participles in the a. examples in (92) and (93) to their b. counterparts:⁹⁰

- (92)

a.

Tja
she

e
be.3Sg taken.F.Sg.Indic.*l*-Part

vzela
‘She got the money.’

parite.
money+the.Pl

b.

Ako
if

vzemela
taken.F.Sg.Mod.*l*-Part

parite
money+the.Pl

štjala
would.F.Sg.*l*-Part

da
Subj.Mark

dojde.
come.3Sg.Perf.Pres

‘If she got the money, she would, reportedly, come.’
- (93)

a.

Tja
she

polučila
received.F.Sg.Indic.*l*-Part

pokana.
invitation

‘She got an invitation.’

b.

Ako
if

polučela
received.F.Sg.Mod.*l*-Part

pokana
invitation

štjala
would.F.Sg.*l*-Part

da
Subj.Mark

dojde.
come.3Sg.Perf.Pres

‘If she got an invitation, she would, reportedly, come.’

2.3.6 There are “be” auxiliaries which occur in subjunctive or modal contexts.

2.3.6.1 Bulgarian grammars posit three sets of present and past tense “be” auxiliary/copula forms, referred to as *sám* forms, *báda* forms and *bivam* forms (cf. Bojadžiev, Kucarov and Penčev 1999):⁹¹

⁹⁰ As in Macedonian, while the indicative forms are formed from aorist bases, the subjunctive forms are constructed from present bases (cf. 1.3.4) However, not all Bulgarian verbs with distinct “subjunctive” past tense forms have corresponding “subjunctive”*l*-participles, as they do in Macedonian.

⁹¹ There are also two imperative “be” forms: *bādi* ‘2Sg.Imper’ and *bādete* ‘2Pl.Imper’ and a set of the following “be” conditional forms:

Conditional forms of the Bulgarian “be” auxiliary		
	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>bix</i>	<i>bixme</i>
2 nd	<i>bi</i>	<i>bixte</i>
3 rd	<i>bi</i>	<i>bixa</i>

No imperfect: aorists distinction is made with the “be” auxiliaries.

Table 4: Paradigms of the Bulgarian “be” auxiliaries/copulas

	<i>săm</i> ‘be’		<i>băda</i> ‘be ₂ ’		<i>bivam</i> ‘be ₃ ’	
	Present tense		Present tense		Present tense	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>săm</i>	<i>sme</i>	<i>băda</i>	<i>bădem</i>	<i>bivam</i>	<i>bivame</i>
2 nd	<i>si</i>	<i>ste</i>	<i>bădeš</i>	<i>bădete</i>	<i>bivaš</i>	<i>bivate</i>
3 rd	<i>e</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>băde</i>	<i>bădat</i>	<i>biva</i>	<i>bivat</i>
	Past tense		Past tense		Past tense	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>bjax</i>	<i>bjaxme</i>	<i>bădex</i>	<i>bădexme</i>	<i>bivax</i>	<i>bivaxme</i>
2 nd	<i>be(še)</i>	<i>bjaxte</i>	<i>bădeše</i>	<i>bădexte</i>	<i>bivaše</i>	<i>bivaxte</i>
3 rd	“-”	<i>bjaxa</i>	“-”	<i>bădexe</i>	“-”	<i>bivaxa</i>
<i>l</i> -Part	<i>bil</i>		<i>bădel</i>		<i>bival</i>	

2.3.6.2 The *săm* forms are said to associate with *l*-participles of lexical verbs, while the forms of *băda* and *bivam* are said to associate with passive participles. Yet, the passive constructions with the present tense forms of *băda* ‘be₂’ occur in subjunctive or modal contexts:⁹²

- (94) a. *Ne iskam da bădeš razništen.*
not want.1Sg Subj.Mark be₂.2Sg dismissed.M.Sg.Pass.Part
‘I don’t want you to be dismissed.’
- b. *Ako ne si točen šte bădeš*
if not be.2Sg punctual.M.Sg will.Mod.Cl be₂.Sg
razništen.
dismissed.M.Sg.Pass.Part
‘If you are not punctual, you will be dismissed.’

2.3.6.3 In subjunctive clauses with nominal predicates, both the present tense forms of *săm* ‘be’ and those of *băda* ‘be₂’ can be used, with slight difference in meaning – the *băda* forms imply personal involvement.⁹³

- (95) a. *Trjabva vinagi da si/bădeš*
should.Impers always Subj.Mark be/be₂.2Sg.Pres
točen.
punctual
‘You should always be punctual.’
- b. *Ne iskam da sâm/băda tvoj sluga.*
not want.1Sg Subj.Mark be/be₂.1Sg.Pres your servant
‘I do not want to be your servant.’

2.4 Typical uses of subjunctive constructions

The Bulgarian subjunctive constructions are typically used (a) as complements of the lexical modals *moga* ‘can/be able/may/be possible’, *smeja* ‘dare/may/be allowed’, *umeja* ‘can/be able’ and *trjabva* ‘must/should/ought/need/be necessary’;⁹⁴ (b) as complements of verbs such as *opitvam se* ‘try’,

⁹² The past tense forms of *băda* ‘be₂’ are never used in subjunctive clauses.

⁹³ According to Krasimira Aleksova (p.c.) the *săm* forms impart [indefiniteness], while the *băda* forms impart [definiteness].

⁹⁴ The Macedonian modal verb *mora* ‘must’ does not have a correspondent in Bulgarian; whereas the correspondent of the Macedonian modal verb *ima* ‘have’ is used only in some set expressions.

causatives such as *karam* ‘force’, volitional verbs such as *iskam* ‘want’, inchoatives such as *započvam* ‘begin’, and intentional verbs such as *planiram* ‘plan’, *gotvja se* ‘prepare’, *zapovjadvam* ‘order’, *preporočvam* ‘suggest’, all of which may go under the general name of “intentional verbs”,⁹⁵ and (c) as complements of verbs of perception.⁹⁶ As in Macedonian, there may (but need not) be agreement in person and number between the verb of the subjunctive constructions and the verb of the main clause. In the case of agreement, there is “equi” deletion and only one subject surfaces – in unmarked sentences, to the left of the main verb. When the subject of the subjunctive construction is different from the subject of the main clause, it surfaces to the left of the subjunctive marker or to the right of the verb of the subjunctive construction. Pronominal subjects are dropped, unless emphatic. The subjunctive marker always occurs to the immediate left of the verb.

2.4.1 The modal verb *trjabva* ‘should/need/be necessary’ takes subjunctive constructions only as an impersonal verb,⁹⁷ *smeja* ‘dare/may/be allowed’ and *umeja* ‘can/be able’ occur only as personal verbs, whereas *moga* ‘can/may/be able/be possible’ can be either personal or impersonal and in

⁹⁵ Verbs of knowledge, thinking, saying and asking, which in their epistemic sense usually take indicative complements, can express attitudes, in which case they take subjunctive complements. Compare the translations of the sentences with the verbs *znaja* ‘know’ and *mislja* ‘think’ in (i) and (ii) where they have indicative complements, to the translations of the sentences with the same verbs in (i)’ and (ii)’, where they have subjunctive complements. (Example (i)’ is from Asenova (2002:159), with my glosses and translations).

- (i) *Znam* *če* *njama* *da* *dojde.*
know.1Sg that not+have.Impers Subj.Mark come.3Sg.Perf.Pres
‘I know that (s)he will not come.’
- (i)’ *Znae* *da* *raboti,* *no* *ne* *znae* *da*
know.3Sg Subj.Mark work.3Sg but not know.3Sg Subj.Mark
živee.
live.3Sg
‘Knows (how) to work, but doesn’t know (how) to live.’
- (ii) *Mislja* *če* *tova* *zdanie* *stoi* *i* *sega.*
think.1Sg that/Subj.Mark that.N building stand.3Sg and now
‘I think that that building is there even now.’ (lit. ‘I think that that building stands there even now.’)
- (ii)’ *Mislja* *da* *dojda.*
think/intend.1Sg Subj.Mark come.1Sg
‘I intend to come.’

A variety of verbs that in their basic readings take indicative complements, can have inchoative intentional readings and take subjunctive complements. Such are the verbs *xvaštam* (with basic reading ‘catch’), *trāgvam* (with basic reading ‘set off’), *stavam* (with basic reading ‘get up’). In (iii) these verbs have the reading ‘start/begin’ and take a subjunctive complement:

- (iii) *Xvana/trāgna/stana* *da* *bega.*
start/begin.3Sg.Aor Subj.Mark run.3Sg
‘(S)he started running.’

⁹⁶ Asenova (2002), referring to Genadieva-Mutačeva (1970:38, 56), notes that, when the verbs of the main clause are *verba sentiendi*, the subjunctive marker *da* does not introduce modal complements.

⁹⁷ As a personal verb with the meaning of ‘need’, the verb *trjabva* occurs in constructions with Dat NP/DP complements:

- (i) *Trjabvam* *li* *ti?*
need.1Sg Inter.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl
‘Do you need me?’
- (ii) *Ne* *mi* *trjabvaš* *TI,* *Petko* *mi* *trjabva.*
not 1Sg.Dat.Cl need.2Sg you Petko 1Sg.Dat.Cl need.3Sg
‘I do not need YOU, I need Petko.’

either case can take subjunctive complements. The impersonal modal verbs can take subjunctive complements with any person/number features, whereas the personal ones have to have joint reference with the verb in their complement.

2.4.1.1 Examples of subjunctive constructions as complements of the impersonal verbs *trjabva* 'should/need/be necessary' and *moga* 'can/be possible/be allowed' are given in (96):

- (96) a. *Trjabva* *da* *dojda/dojdeš.*
must/should/ought/need.Impers Subj.Mark come.1/2Sg.Perf.Pres
'I/you must/should/need to come.'
- b₁ *Ne može da vlez/vljazat.*
not can/may.Impers Subj.Mark enter.3Sg/Pl.Perf.Pres
1. '(S)he/they cannot/may not enter.'
2. 'It is not possible for her/him/them to enter.'
- b₂ *Ne može da se vliza.*
not can/be-possible.1Sg Subj.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl enter.Impers
1. 'One cannot enter.'
2. 'It is not possible to enter.'

2.4.1.2 Examples of subjunctive constructions as complements of the personal verbs *moga* 'can/may/be able/be possible', *smeja* 'dare/may/be allowed' and *umeja* 'can/be able' are given in (97):

- (97) a. *Ne moga da i četa.*
not can/be-able.1Sg Subj.Mark 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl read.1Sg
'I cannot/am not able to read to her.'
- b. *Ne smee da te vidi.*
not dare/be allowed.3Sg Subj.Mark 2Sg.Dat.Cl see.3Sg.Perf.Pres
'(S)he doesn't dare/is not allowed to see you.'
- c. *Ne ume da čete.*
not can/be-able.3Sg Subj.Mark read.3Sg.Perf.Pres
'(S)he cannot read.'

2.4.2 As for intentional verbs, some of them have to have joint reference with their subjunctive complements, while others do not. As in Macedonian, with respect to agreement with the person/number features of their subjunctive complements, intentional verbs fall into three classes: (A) Verbs that have joint reference with their subjunctive complements (e.g. *vāznamerjavam/imam namerenie* 'intend', *izbjagvam* 'avoid', *opitvam se* 'try'). (B) Verbs that have disjoint reference with their subjunctive complements (e.g. *zapovjadvam* 'order', *preporučvam* 'recommend', *kanja/pokanvam* 'invite'). (C) Verbs that may have joint or disjoint reference with their subjunctive complements (e.g. *iskam* 'want', *planiram* 'plan').

2.4.2.1 The verbs of class (A) are control verbs and the subjects of subjunctive constructions in their complements are, as a rule, dropped.⁹⁸

⁹⁸ For emphatic purposes, a pronominal subject with same reference as the subject of the main clause can appear to the left of the subjunctive marker:

- (i) *Ima namerenie/smjata TOJ da dojde.*
intend.3Sg he Subj.Mark come.3Sg.Pef.Pres
'He intends to come himself.'

- (98) a. *Vāznamerjava/ima namerenie* *da* *pātuva/(*pātuvaš).*
 intend.3Sg Subj.Mark travel.3/2Sg
 ‘(S)he intends (*for you) to travel.’
- b. *Izbjagva* *da* *te* *vižda.*
 avoid.3Sg Subj.Mark 2Sg.Acc.Cl meet.3Sg
 ‘(S)he avoids seeing you.’
- c. *Opitva* *se* *da* *ja* *zabravi/(*zabravite).*
 try.3Sg Acc.Refl.Cl Subj.Mark 2Sg.Acc.Cl forget.3Sg/Pl.Perf.Pres
 ‘(S)he is trying (*for you) to forget her.’

2.4.2.2 The structures in which subjunctive constructions appear as complements of intentional verbs of class (B) can be of three subtypes. (a) The agent of the subjunctive construction surfaces as a subject of the subjunctive clause if lexical, while pronominal agents do so only if they are emphatic, non-emphatic pronominal subjects being dropped (*cf.* 99a-b). (b) The agent of the subjunctive construction surfaces in the position of indirect object of the main clause, and the intentional verb is described as “indirect object control” verb (*cf.* 99c-d). (c) The agent of the subjunctive construction surfaces in the position of direct object of the intentional verb, and the intentional verb is described as “direct object control” verb (*cf.* 99e).⁹⁹

- (99) a. *Zapovjadax* *da* *dojdeš* *vednaga.*
 order.1Sg.Aor Subj.Mark come.2Sg.Aor immediately
 ‘I gave an order that you should come immediately.’
- b. *Zapovjadax Marija* *da* *dojde* *vednaga.*
 order.1Sg.Aor Marija Subj.Mark come.3Sg.Perf.Pres immediately.
 ‘I gave an order for Marija to come immediately.’
- c. *Zapovjada mi* *da* *dojda* *vednaga.*
 order.3Sg.Aor 1Sg.Dat.Cl Subj.Mark come.1Sg.Perf.Pres immediately
 ‘He ordered me to come immediately.’
- d. *Zapovjada (i)* *na* *Marija* *da*
 order.3Sg.Aor 3Sg.Dat.Cl to Marija Subj.Mark
dojde *vednaga.*
 come.3Sg.Perf.Pres immediately
 ‘He ordered Marija to come immediately.’
- e. *Nakarax Marija* *da* *dojde* *vednaga.*
 force.1Sg.Aor Marija Subj.Mark come.3Sg.Perf.Pres immediately
 ‘I forced Marija to come immediately.’

2.4.2.3 The verbs of class (C) can have joint or disjoint reference with the verbs of the subjunctive constructions in their complements. In the former case, the subjects of the subjunctive constructions are dropped unless emphatic,¹⁰⁰ whereas in the latter case they can be dropped or

⁹⁹ Note that all the verbs that have (b) structures also have (a) structures. *Cf.* the discussion of analogous structures in Macedonian in 1.4.2.2.

¹⁰⁰ In emphatic environments, the subjects of subjunctive constructions are in this case expressed by a pronoun with same reference as the subject of the main clause.

expressed by lexical DPs/NPs or pronouns, which occur to the right of the verb or to the left of the subjunctive marker, otherwise.¹⁰¹

- (100) a. *Iska* (*TJA*) *da* *dojde*.
want.3Sg she Subj.Mark come.3Sg.Perf.Pres
'(S)he wants to come (herself).'
- b₁ *Iska* (*decata*) *da* *dojdat*
want.3Sg children+the.Pl Subj.Mark come.3Pl.Perf.Pres
(*decata*).
children+the.Pl
'(S)he wants the children to come.'
- b₂ *Iska* (*DECATA/* *TE*) *da* *dojdat*
want.3Sg children+the.Pl they Subj.Mark come.3Pl.Perf.Pres
(*DECATA/* *TE*).
children+the.Pl they
'It is the children/them that (s)he wants to come.'
- c₁ *Petar iska decata da mu*
Petar want.3Sg children+the.Pl they Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl
dadat podarāk.
give.3Sg.Perf.Pres present
'Petar wants the children to give him a present.'
- c₂ *Petar iska podarāka (DECATA/ TE)*
Petar want.3Sg present+the.M.Sg children+the.Pl they
da mu go dadat (DECATA/
Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.3Pl.Perf.Pres children+the.Pl
TE).
they
'As for the present, it is the children/them that Petar wants to give it to him.'
- (101) a. *Ana planira da otide v Amsterdam.*
Ana plan.3Sg Subj.Mark go.3Sg.Perf.Pres in Amsterdam
'Ana is planning to go to Amsterdam.'
- b. *Ana planira decata da zaminat*
Ana plan.3Sg children+the.N.Pl Subj.Mark leave.3Pl.Perf.Pres
ut্রে.
tomorrow
'Ana is planning for the children to leave tomorrow.'

2.4.3 The subjunctive constructions which occur as complements of verbs of perception can have joint or disjoint reference with the verbs in the upper clause, though cases with disjoint reference are more frequent:¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ While the pronouns are focused (non-focused pronouns are dropped), the lexical NPs/DPs can, but need not be focused.

¹⁰² Examples (102a, c, e) are from Asenova (2002:157), with my glosses and translation. All the verb of perception that take subjunctive complements, can also take indicative complements, which formally differ from the subjunctive complements only in having the indicative complementizer *če* instead of the subjunctive marker *da*, though there is a distinction in the reading – while in clauses with indicative complements the event is taken as a fact, clauses with subjunctive complements express direct perception. Compare the readings of the sentences in (102a), (102b), (102c), (102d), (102e) (102f) to those of their counterparts (i), (ii), (iii), (iv), (v), (vi), respectively:

- (102) a. *Ne čuvaš li da pee*
not hear.2Sg.Perf.Pres Inter.Cl Subj.Mark sing.3Sg
gorata?
forest+the.F.Sg
'Don't you hear the forest sing?'
- b. *Az ne sâm čul da ima*
I not be.1Sg heard.M.Sg.Perf./-Part Subj.Mark have.3Sg
vojna.
war.
'I haven't heard that there was a war.'
- c. *Toj ču samo da se zalostva*
he hear.3Sg.Aor only Subj.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl close.3Sg
vratata.
door+the.F.Sg
'He only heard the door close.'

- (i) *Ne čuvaš li že pee gorata?*
not hear.2Sg.Perf.Pres Inter.Cl that sing.3Sg forest+the.F.Sg
'Don't you hear that the forest is singing?'
- (ii) *Az ne sâm čul že ima vojna.*
I not am heard.M.Sg.Perf./-Part that have.3Sg war
'I haven't heard that there was a war.'
- (iii) *Cux že se zalostva vratata.*
hear.1Sg.Aor that Acc.Refl.Cl close.3Sg door+the.F.Sg
'I heard that the door was closing.'
- (iv) *Usetix Ivan že iska da dojde.*
feel.1Sg.Aor Ivan Subj.Mark want.3Sg Subj.Mark come.3Sg.Perf.Pres
'I felt that Ivan wanted to come.'
- (v) *Usetix v sebe si že stavam neočekivano smel.*
feel.1Sg.Aor in self Dat.Refl.Cl that become.1Sg unexpectedly brave.M.Sg
'I felt (in myself) that I was becoming unexpectedly brave.'
- (vi) *Vidjax Ivan že idva nasam.*
see.1Sg.Aor Ivan that come.3Sg this-way
'I saw that Ivan was coming this way.'

The site of the subjunctive marker differs from that of the indicative complementizer *že* 'that'. Thus, in the subjunctive clause (vii) the subjunctive marker is to the right of the subject, whereas in the "that"-clause (viii) it is to the left of the indicative complementizer:

- (vii) *Nadjavam se (Petăr) da e zaminat*
hope.1Sg Acc.Refl.Cl Petăr Subj.Mark be.3Sg left.M.Sg.Perf./-Part
(Petăr).
Petăr
'I hope Petăr to have left'.
- (viii) *Nadjavam se že (Petăr) e zaminat (Petăr).*
hope.1Sg Acc.Refl.Cl that Petăr be.3Sg left.M.Sg.Perf./-Part Petăr
'I hope that Petăr has left.'

Krapova and Karastaneva (2002) argue that the Bulgarian indicative complementizer *že* is derived in ForceP – the phrase that contains information about the type of complements, which is to the right of the topic phrase (TopP). But being a marker of subordination (as well as a force marker), *že* raises to the subordinator phrase (SubP) to the left of TopP.

- d. *Usetix Ivan da iska da*
 feel.1Sg.Aor Ivan Subj.Mark want.3Sg Subj.Mark
dojde.
 come.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘I felt Ivan wanting to come.’
- e. *Usetix v sebe si da*
 feel.1Sg.Aor in self Dat.Refl. Cl Subj.Mark
stavam neočekivano smel.
 become.1Sg unexpectedly brave.M.Sg
 ‘I felt becoming unexpectedly brave.’
- f. *Vdjax Ivan da idva nasam.*
 see.1Sg.Aor Ivan Subj.Mark come.3Sg this-way
 ‘I saw Ivan come this way.’

2.4.4 In reported speech, subjunctive constructions appear as complements of verbs of saying, which, as a rule, take indicative complements. Examples:

- (103) a. *Kazvam mu da mālči.*
 tell.1Sg 3Sg.Dat.Cl Subj.Mark be-silent.3Sg
 ‘I am telling him to be silent.’
- b. *Kazax mu da ne čete.*
 tell.1Sg.Aor 3Sg.Dat.Cl Subj.Mark not read.3Sg
 ‘I told him not to read.’

2.5 Subjunctive complements with “wh” words as arguments or adjuncts

Subjunctive complements can have “wh” words as subjects, objects or adjuncts – all of them appearing in clause-initial position.

2.5.1 As in Macedonian, most frequently, the clauses with “wh” words as subjects, objects or adjuncts are embedded questions. Examples:

- (104) a. *Rešixa koj da gi predstavjava.*
 decide.3Pl.Aor who Subj.Mark 3Pl.Acc.Cl represent.3Sg
 ‘They decided who should represent them.’
- b. *Ne znam kakvo da pravja.*
 not know.1Sg what Subj.Mark do.1Sg
 ‘I do not know what to do.’
- c. *Ne razbiram zašto da ti gi*
 not understand.1Sg why Subj.Mark 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl
dam sega.
 give.1Sg.Perf.Pres now
 ‘I do not understand why I should give them to you now.’
- d. *Uča se (kak)¹⁰³ da piša s*
 learn.1Sg Acc.Refl.Cl how Subj.Mark write.1Sg with
pisalka.
 fountain-pen
 ‘I am learning how to write with a fountain pen.’

¹⁰³ The modal “wh” word *kak* ‘how’ can be deleted with no impact to the meaning of the sentence.

2.5.2 Subjunctive clauses with “wh” arguments/adjuncts can also occur as complements of the existential verbs *ima* ‘have’ and *njama* ‘not+have’, which express assertion or denial of existence; or as complements of verbs that express coming into view or availability or causation of one of these (cf. Grosu 2004:406 and footnote 50).

2.5.2.1 Examples of subjunctive clauses with “wh” arguments/adjuncts as complements of the (personal or impersonal) verbs *ima* ‘have’ or *njama* ‘not+have’ are given in (105):¹⁰⁴

- (105) a. *Ima* *koj* *da* *mi* *pomogne.*
have.Impers who Subj.Mark 1Sg.Dat.Cl help.3Sg.Perf.Pres
‘There is someone who can help me.’
- b. *Imame* *na* *kogo* *da* *dadem*
have.1Pl to whom.Acc Subj.Mark give.1Pl.Perf.Pres
parite.
money+the.Pl
‘We have someone to whom we can give the money.’
- c. *Ima* *kakvo* *da* *kupiš* *v* *tozi* *magazin.*
have.Impers what Subj.Mark buy.2Sg in this shop
‘There are things you can buy in this shop.’
- d. *Njamat* *kām* *kogo* *da* *se*
not+have.3Pl towards whom.Acc Subj.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl
obārnat.
turn.3Pl.Perf.Pres
‘They have no one to turn to.’
- e. *Njamat* *za* *kakvo* *da* *se* *xvanat.*
not+have.3Pl for what Subj.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl catch.3Pl.Perf.Pres
‘They have nothing to hold onto.’
- f. *Njama* *kak* *da* *izpratiš*
not+have.Impers how Subj.Mark send.2Sg.Perf.Pres
koleta.
parcel+the.M.Sg
‘There is no way you can send the parcel.’

2.5.2.2 Examples of subjunctive clauses with “wh” arguments/adjuncts as complements of verbs denoting coming into view or availability, or causing something to be visible or available, are given in (106):

- (106) a. *Izbra* *koj* *da* *ja* *zamesti.*
chose.3Sg.Aor who Subj.Mark 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl replace.3Sg.Perf.Pres
‘She chose someone to take her place.’

¹⁰⁴ In complements of the personal verbs *ima* ‘have’ and its negative counterpart *njama* ‘not have’, analogous constructions can sometimes be constructed with indefinite pronouns (with a “wh” component). Examples:

- (i) *Ima* *nešto* *da* *ti* *kaže.*
have.3Sg something Subj.Mark 2Sg.Dat.Cl tell.3Sg.Perf.Pres
‘He has something to tell you.’
- (ii) *Njamam* *ništo* *da* *ti* *dam.*
not+have.1Sg nothing Subj.Mark 2Sg.Dat.Cl give.1Sg.Perf.Pres
‘I have nothing to give to you.’

- b. *Namerix* *s* *kakvo da* *se*
 find.1Sg.Aor with what Subj.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl
pokrija.
 cover.1Sg.Perf.Pres
 'I found something with which to cover myself.'

2.6 Subjunctive constructions as nominal modifiers or as adjuncts

Bulgarian subjunctive constructions can function as nominal modifiers or as adjuncts.

2.6.1 Clauses in which subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense are introduced by relativizers constructed by "wh" words plus anaphoric particles that are genetically related to the demonstrative pronouns *tv*, *ta*, *to* (*kojto* 'who/which.M.Sg+to.Anaph', *kojato* 'who/which.F.Sg+to.Anaph', *koeto* 'who/which.N.Sg+to.Anaph', *koito* 'who/which.Pl+to.Anaph') function as nominal modifiers relating to a variety of referents:¹⁰⁵ (a) to NPs/DPs in the complements of a number of verbs whose meanings are related to *tǎrsja* 'look-for/seek' or to its opposite *namiram* 'find' (which is the final stage of looking for/seeking), and can go under the name of "verbs of quest",¹⁰⁶ and verbs which in specific environments can be interpreted as verbs of quest;¹⁰⁷ (b) to complements of existential verbs; (c) to complements of imperative verbs; (d) to predicate nominals.

2.6.1.1 Examples of "relative" subjunctive constructions referring to complements of verbs of quest are given in (107):¹⁰⁸

- (107) a. *Tǎrsja* *student,* *kojto* *da*
 look-for.1Sg student which.M.Sg+to.Anaph Subj.Mark
znae *anglijski.*
 know.3Sg English
 'I am looking for a student who knows English.'
- b. *Tǎrsja* *žena,* *kojato* *da* *mi*
 look-for.1Sg woman who.F.Sg+to.Anaph Subj.Mark 1Sg.Dat.Cl
gleda *decata.*
 look.3Sg children+the.Pl
 'I am looking for a woman to look after my children.'
- c. *Tǎrsja* *šapka, kojato* *da* *me* *topli.*
 look-for.1Sg hat which.F.Sg+to.Anaph Subj.Mark 1Sg.Acc.Cl warm.3Sg
 'I am looking for a hat that would warm me up.'
- d. *Namerix* *roklja, kojato* *da* *mi*
 find.1Sg.Aor dress which.F.Sg+to.Anaph Subj.Mark 1Sg.Dat.Cl
xaresva.
 please.3Sg
 'I found a dress which I like.'
- e. *Toj* *tǎrsi* *takāva* *kniga, kojato* *da*
 he look-for.3Sg such.F.Sg book which.F.Sg+to.Anaph Subj.Mark

¹⁰⁵ In this respect, Bulgarian behaves like Modern Greek and the Balkan Romance languages and differs from Macedonian, which does not have subjunctive relatives introduced by "wh" words (cf. 1.7.2).

¹⁰⁶ The term is borrowed from Bužarovska (2004). Cf. footnote 53.

¹⁰⁷ Most often, the NPs/DPs referred to are indefinite, but reference to definite DPs is not excluded.

¹⁰⁸ The examples in this and the following subsection are analogous to examples from Modern Greek, Romanian, and Aromanian, given in Bužarovska (2004).

- mu* *haresva.*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl please.3Sg
'He is looking for (such) a book that he would like.'
- f. *Asen se nadjava da se oženi*
Asen Acc.Refl.Cl hope.3Sg Subj.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl marry.3Sg
za moma, kojato da go
for girl who.F.Sg+to.Anaph Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
razbira.
understand.3Sg
'Asen hopes to marry a girl who would understand him.'
- g. *Šte postroja fabrika, kojato da*
will build.1Sg factory which.F.Sg+to.Anaph Subj.Mark
proizvežda traktori.
produce.3Sg tractors
'I will build a factory which will produce tractors.'

2.6.1.2 Examples of "relative" subjunctive constructions referring to complements of existential verbs, to complements of imperatives and to predicate nominal are given in (108a), (108b) and (108c), respectively:

- (108) a. *Njama māže, koito da razbirat*
not+have.Impers men who.Pl+to.Anaph Subj.Mark understand.3Pl
ženite.
women+the.Pl
'There are no men who understand women.'
- b. *Kupete mi kniga, kojato da ima*
buy.2Pl.Imper 1Sg.Dat.Cl book which.F.Sg+to.Anaph Subj.Mark have.3Sg
mnogo kartinki!
many pictures
'Buy me a book which has many pictures!'
- c. *Tova e aparat, sās kojto da*
this be.3Sg device with which.M.Sg+to.Anaph Subj.Mark
se raboti vnimatelno.
Acc.Refl.Cl work.3Sg carefully
'This is a device with which one has to work carefully.'

2.6.2 As a complement of the preposition *za* 'for', together with that preposition, subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense function as adjuncts of purpose. Examples:¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹ When the subject of the subjunctive construction is not equivalent to the subject of the main clause and has to be expressed overtly, it occurs after the verb and not to the left of the preposition, or between the preposition and the subjunctive marker *da*, as it does in Macedonian (cf. footnote 56). Thus, (i) is well-formed, while both (ii) and (iii) are not:

- (i) *Pokanixa gi, za da vidi Jane Marija.*
invite.3Pl.Aor 3Pl.Acc.Cl for Subj.Mark see.3Sg.Perf.Pres Jane Marija
- (ii) **Pokanixa gi, Jane za da vidi Marija.*
invite.3Pl.Aor 3Pl.Acc.Cl Jane for Subj.Mark see.3Sg.Perf.Pres Marija
- (iii) **Pokanixa gi, za Jane da vidi Marija.*
invite.3Pl.Aor 3Pl.Acc.Cl for Jane Subj.Mark see.3Sg.Perf.Pres Marija
- 'They invited them so that Jane would see Marija.'

- (109) a. *Obaždame se, za da vidite će*
 call.1Pl Acc.Refl.Cl for Subj.Mark see.2Pl.Perf.Pres that
se grižim za vas.
 Refl.Cl care.1Pl for you.Acc
 'We are calling so that you may see that we care about you.'
- b. *Dojdoh (za),¹¹⁰ da vi saobšta će*
 come.1Sg.Aor for Subj.Mark 2Pl.Acc.Cl inform.1Sg.Perf.Pres that
si otivam.
 Dat.Refl.Cl leave.1Sg
 'I came to inform you that I am leaving.'
- c. *Za da pobedi, ne trjabva da*
 for Subj.Mark win.3Sg.Perf.Pres not should.Impers Subj.Mark
padne.
 fall.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 'In order to win, he should not fall.'

2.6.3 As a complement of the preposition *bez* 'without', together with that preposition, subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense function as adjuncts of concession. Examples:

- (110) a. *Napravi tova, bez da znae zašto/za kakvo.*
 do.3Sg.Aor that without Subj.Mark know.3Sg for what
 '(S)he did it without knowing why.'
- b. *Naskārbix ja, bez da iskam.*
 offend.1Sg.Aor 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl without Subj.Mark want.1Sg
 'I offended her without wanting (to do it).'

2.6.4 In colloquial Bulgarian, subjunctive constructions functioning as complements of the preposition *dokato* 'until', together with that preposition, function as adjuncts of time.¹¹¹

- (111) *%Dokato da go xvana i toj*
 until Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl catch.1Sg.Perf.Pres and he
izbjaga.
 flee.3Sg.Aor
 'While I was trying to catch him he fled.'

¹¹⁰ As in Macedonian, in some cases, the preposition *za* is optionally or preferably deleted.

¹¹¹ Note that in many cases subjunctive complements of prepositions are preceded by the expletives *tova* 'it' or *tam* 'there':

- (i) *Dokaral e do tam da go*
 driven.M.Sg.Perf./-Part be.3Sg to there.Expl Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
sāžaljavat vsički.
 feel-sorry.3Pl all
 'He is in such a deplorable situation, that everybody feels sorry for him.' (lit. 'He drove to that that everybody feels sorry for him.')
- (ii) *Njama ništo po-prijatno ot tova da bādeš*
 not+have.Impers nothing Compar.Mark+pleasant from it.Expl Subj.Mark be₂.2Sg
majka.
 mother
 'There is nothing more pleasant than being a mother.'

2.7 Bare subjunctive constructions

As the subjunctive structures in many other Balkan languages, the Bulgarian subjunctive construction can be bare, i.e. can occur by themselves and not as complements of main clauses.¹¹²

2.7.1 Bare subjunctive constructions with present tense verbs, second or third person, singular or plural, express a wish or a command:¹¹³

- (112) a. *Da sa blagosloveni!*
 Subj.Mark be.3Pl blessed.Pl.Pass.Part
 'May they be blessed!'
- b. *Goljam da porasneš!*
 big.M.Sg Subj.Mark grow.2Sg.Perf.Pres
 'May you grow big!'
- (113) a. *Da otideš!*
 Subj.Mark go.2Sg.Perf.Pres
 'You should go!'
- b. *Da gi posrešnete/posrešnat!*
 Subj.Mark 3Pl.Acc.Cl meet/welcome.2/3Pl.Perf.Pres
 'You/they should meet/welcome them!'

2.7.2 Bare subjunctive constructions with present tense verbs, first person singular or plural, can (with appropriate intonation) express resolution or agreement:

- (114) a. *Da se opitam/opitame.*
 Subj.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl try.1Sg/Pl.Perf.Pres
 1. 'Let me/us try (to do that).'
 2. 'So, I/we shall try (but I/we are not sure that I/we shall succeed).'
- b. *Da gi posreštnem.*
 Subj.Mark 3Pl.Acc.Cl meet/welcome.Pl.Perf.Pres
 'Let us meet/welcome them.'
- c. *Emi, da ti dam/dadem.*
 Disc Subj.Mark 2Sg.Dat.Cl give.1Sg/Pl.Perf.Pres
 'Well, let me/us give (it) to you.'

¹¹² In some environments the subjunctive marker can be preceded by the exhortative marker *neka* 'let':

- (i) *Neka da piša/piše/pišem/pišat.*
 let Subj.Mark write.1Sg/3Sg/1Pl/3Pl
 'Let me/him/us/ them write.'

The example is from Bojadžiev, Kucarov and Penčev (1999:408), with my glosses and translation.

¹¹³ For second person (singular and plural) there are distinct imperative forms.

- (i) *Otvori vrata!*
 open.2Sg.Imper door+the.F.Sg
 'Open the door!'
- (ii) *Otvorete vrata!*
 open.2Pl.Imper door+the.F.Sg
 'Open the door!'

2.7.3 Bare subjunctive constructions with present tense verbs, any person or number, can express astonishment:¹¹⁴

- (115) a. *Da imaš pari a da živeš kato*
 Subj.Mark have.2Sg money and Subj.Mark live.2Sg like
bednjak!
 poor-man
 'To have money and to live as a poor man!'
- b. *Da me sčita sposoben na*
 Subj.Mark 1Sg.Acc.Cl consider.3Sg able.M.Sg.Pass.Part of
takova nešto!
 such.N.Sg thing
 'To think that I would do such a thing!' ('To consider me able of such a thing!')
- c. *Da se oženi prvo naj-malkata!*
 Subj.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl marry.3Sg first Superl.Mark+small+the.F.Sg
 '(How come that) the youngest one should get married first!'
- d. *Da sam takav glupak!*
 Subj.Mark be.1Sg such.M.Sg fool
 'To be such a fool!' (lit. 'That I be such a fool!')

2.7.4 Bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the perfect express threats:¹¹⁵

- (116) a. *Da si rešil vsički zadači!*
 Subj.Mark be.2Sg solved.1-Part.M.Sg all tasks
 'You should do all the assignments (or else)!' (lit. 'You should solve all the tasks!')
- b. *Sled pet minuti da si legnal!*
 after five minutes Subj.Mark be.2Sg lain.F.Sg.Perf.1-Part
 'In five minutes you should be in bed!' (lit. 'After five minutes you should lie!')
- c. *Da ne si mu go*
 Subj.Mark not be.2Sg 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
dala!
 given.F.Sg.Perf.1-Part
 'Don't give it to him, or else!'

2.7.5 In exclamations expressing unfulfilled desires, the verbs of the bare subjunctives may occur in the perfect or the past perfect:¹¹⁶

- (117) a. *Ax, da možex az da bāda*
 Excl Subj.Mark can.1Sg.Imperf I Subj.Mark be₂.1Sg
na mjestoto na bulkata!
 on place+the.N.Sg of bride+the.F.Sg
 1. 'If only I could be in the place of the bride!'
 2. 'If only I could have been in the place of the bride!'
- b. *Samo da beše došla!*
 only Subj.Mark be.2/3Sg.Past come.F.Sg.Perf.1-Part
 'If only you/(s)he would have come!'
- c. *Da go bjax namerila tuk!*
 Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl be.1Sg.Past found.M.Sg.Perf.1-Part here
 'If only I would have found him here!'

¹¹⁴ Examples (115a-b) are from Asenova (2002:193); example (115c) from (Asenova:2002:192); all of them with my glosses and translation.

¹¹⁵ Example (116a) is from Asenova (2002:191), with my glosses and translation.

¹¹⁶ Example (117c) is from Asenova (2002:186), with my glosses and translation.

2.7.6 Negated bare subjunctive constructions with present tense verbs, second or third person, singular or plural, express prohibition.¹¹⁷

- (118) a. *Da ne xodiš tam!*
 Subj.Mark not go.2Sg there
 'Don't go there!'
- b. *Da ne mu go davaš!*
 Subj.Mark not 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.2Sg
 'Don't give it to him!'

2.7.7 Negated bare subjunctive constructions with present tense verbs, first person singular express agreement:

- (119) a. *Da ne xodja tam, togava.*
 Subj.Mark not go.1Sg there then
 'So, I shan't go there.'
- b. *Da ne im go davam, togava.*
 Subj.Mark not 3Pl.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.1Sg then
 'So, I shan't give it to them.'
- c. *Da ne xodim tam.*
 Subj.Mark not go.1Pl there
 1. 'So, we shan't go there.'
 2. 'Let us not go there.'
- d. *Da ne im go davame.*
 Subj.Mark not 3Pl.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.1Pl
 1. 'So, we shan't give it to them.'
 2. 'Let us not give it to them.'

2.7.8 Negated bare subjunctive constructions with present tense verbs, first person plural (with appropriate intonation) express agreement or resolution:

- (120) a. *Da ne xodim tam.*
 Subj.Mark not go.1Pl there
 1. 'So, we shan't go there.'
 2. 'Let us not go there.'
- b. *Da ne im go davame.*
 Subj.Mark not 3Pl.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.1Pl
 1. 'So, we shan't give it to them.'
 2. 'Let us not give it to them.'

2.7.9 In questions, negated or non-negated bare subjunctive constructions, with verbs preferably in a past tense, express doubt or wonderment.¹¹⁸

- (121) a. *Da (ne) go e xvanala nostalgija?!*
 Subj.Mark not 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl be.3Sg cought./-Part.F.Sg nostalgia
 'He hasn't become nostalgic, has he?!'
- b. *Kāde da e otišāl?!?*
 where Subj.Mark be.3Sg gone.M.Sg.Perf./-Part
 'Where could he have gone?!'

¹¹⁷ Such constructions have been referred to as "surrogate" or "suppletive" imperatives (Cf. Isac (1994), Motapanyane (1995), Rivero (1994), Isac and Jakab (2004).

¹¹⁸ Example (121a) is from Asenova (2002:189); example (121c) from Asenova (2002:190); in both cases with my glosses and translation.

- c. *Da ne zaspaxte tam?!
 Subj.Mark not fall-asleep.2Pl.Aor there
 ‘You haven’t fallen asleep over there, have you?!’*

2.7.10 Followed by embedded questions introduced by a “wh” word, bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense are used in vivid narration. Examples:

- (122) a. *Da vidiš kakvo se sluči.
 Subj.Mark see.2Sg.Perf.Pres what Acc.Refl.Cl happen.3Sg.Aor
 ‘You should have seen what happened!’ (lit. ‘You should see what happened!’)*
- b. *Da znaeš kolko e goljam!
 Subj.Mark know.2Sg how-much be.3Sg big.M.Sg
 ‘You can’t imagine how big he/it is!’ (lit. ‘You should know how big he is!’)*

2.7.11 In story-telling, a bare subjunctive construction with a verb in the present tense takes as a complement another bare subjunctive construction with a verb in the present tense, or else two or more subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense appear one after another:

- (123) a. *Da vzeme da zastrelja
 Subj take.3Sg.Perf.Pres Subj.Mark shoot.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 sina si!
 son+the.M.Sg Acc.Refl.Cl
 ‘(Just imagine!) To shoot his own son!’ (lit. ‘To take to shoot his son!’)*
- b. *Da stane, da jade i
 Subj.Mark get-up.3Sg.Perf.Pres Subj.Mark eat.3Sg and
 da izleze bez da
 Subj.Mark get-out.3Sg.Pef.Pres without Subj.Mark
 kaže ništo!
 say.3Sg.Perf.Pres nothing
 ‘(Just imagine!) To get up, eat and leave without saying anything!’*

2.8 Subjunctive constructions as complements of auxiliary modals

Subjunctive constructions can occur as complements of the invariant auxiliary modal clitics *šte* ‘will’.¹¹⁹ As noted by the translations, these constructions are inferential:

- (124) a. *Šte da ima poveče ot pedeset.
 will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark have.3Sg more from fifty
 1. ‘(S)he would be more than fifty (years old).’ (lit. ‘(S)he will have more than fifty.’)*
- b. *Šte da sa došli.
 will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark be.3Pl come.Pl.Perf.I-Part
 1. ‘I suppose they have come.’
 2. ‘They must have come.’*
- c. *Šte da si ščupila šišet.
 will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark be.2Sg broken.F.Sg.Perf.I-Part bottle+the.N.Sg
 ‘You seem to have broken the bottle.’*

2.9 Bulgarian future tenses

Bulgarian has six distinct future tense paradigms: future, future perfect, future-in-the-past and future perfect-in-the-past, and two “evidential” future tense paradigms. All of them are related to subjunctive constructions and some of them include a subjunctive construction.

¹¹⁹ The use illustrated here reflects the behaviour of the original Slavic full verb with the meaning of ‘will’.

2.9.1 The future tense is constructed by associating the invariant modal auxiliary *šte*, derived from the Old Church Slavonic verb *xotěti* ‘will/want’, with the present tense forms of (imperfective or perfective) verbs.

2.9.1.1 Basically, the future tense expresses futurity relative to the present moment.¹²⁰

- (125) a. *Šte ti četa utre.*
will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl read.1Sg tomorrow
‘I will read to you tomorrow.’
- b. *Šte ti pročeta knjiga.*
will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl read.1Sg.Perf.Pres book+the.F.Sg
‘I will read out this book to you.’
- c. *Šte ti go dam.*
will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl give.1Sg.Perf.Pres
‘I will give it to you.’

2.9.1.2 The future tense can also express habitual actions:

- (126) *Šte dojde, šte sedne i*
will.Mod.Cl come.3Sg.Perf.Pres will.Mod.Cl seat-down.3Sg.Perf.Pres and
šte počne da raskazva.
will.Mod.Cl begin.3Sg.Perf.Pres Subj.Mark tell-stories.3Sg
‘(S)he would come, seat down and begin to tell stories.’

2.9.1.3 With second or third person subjects, the future tense can express an order:

- (127) *Šte otideš i šte go*
will.Mod.Cl go.2Sg.Perf.Pres and will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
nameriš!
find.2Sg.Perf.Pres
‘You will go and find him!’

2.9.1.4 The future tense is also used in *realis* conditional sentences (cf. 2.10.1).

2.9.2 The future perfect is constructed by present forms of the “will” auxiliary, followed by “be” clitics and *l*-participles. It expresses the result of an action relative to a future moment.¹²¹

- (128) a. *A štom pristignem, djado Koljo šte*
and as-soon-as arrive.1Sg.Perf.Pres grandpa Koljo will.Mod.Cl
e natočil vinceto, narjazal
be.3Sg poured.M.Sg.Perf./-Part wine.Dimin+the.N.Sg cut.M.Sg.Perf./-Part
mezeto...
appetizer+the.N.Sg
‘And as soon as we arrive, grandpa Koljo will have poured the wine, cut the appetizer...’

¹²⁰ There are no sequence of tenses; in reported speech, the tense remains unchanged.

(i) *Kazax će šte ti četa utre.*
say.3Sg.Aor that will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl read.1Sg tomorrow
‘I said that I would read to you tomorrow.’

¹²¹ The definition of the use and the examples are from Bojadžiev, Kucarov and Penčev (1999:392), with my glosses and translation.

- b. *Negovite vojski šte sa otpočinali veče.*
his+the.Pl armies will.Mod.Cl be.3Pl rested.Pl./-Part already
‘His armies will have rested already.’

2.9.3 The future-in-the-past and the future-perfect-in-the-past are complex constructions in which subjunctive constructions introduced by the subjunctive marker *da* occur as complements of past (imperfect) tense forms of the “will” auxiliary¹²² and the future-in-the-past tense forms of the “be” auxiliary,¹²³ respectively.

2.9.3.1 The past tense (imperfect) forms of the “will” auxiliary are listed in Table 5:

Table 5: Past tense (imperfect) forms of the Bulgarian auxiliary *šte* ‘will’

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>štjax</i>	<i>štjaxme</i>
2 nd	<i>šteše</i>	<i>štjaxte</i>
3 rd	“-”	<i>štjaxe</i>

2.9.3.2 The future-in-the-past and future-perfect-in-the-past paradigms of the verb *četa* ‘read’ are given in Table 6:

Table 6: Future-in-the-past and future-perfect-in-the-past of the Bulgarian lexical verb *četa* ‘read’

	Future-in-the-past		Future-perfect-in-the-past	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>štjax da četa</i>	<i>štjaxme da četem</i>	<i>štjax da sâm/?băda čel</i>	<i>štjaxme da sme/?bădem čeli</i>
2 nd	<i>šteše da četeš</i>	<i>štjaxte da četete</i>	<i>šteše da si/?bădeš čel</i>	<i>štjaxte da ste/?bădete čeli</i>
3 rd	<i>šteše da čete</i>	<i>štjaxe da četax</i>	<i>šteše da e/?băde čel</i>	<i>štjaxe da sa/?bădat čeli</i>

2.9.3.3 The primary function of the future-in-the-past tense is to express an event that is supposed to have happened in the past, following another event:¹²⁴

- (129) a. *Tja šteše da umre i šteše*
she would.3Sg Subj.Mark die.3Sg.Perf.Pres and would.3Sg
da ostavi v bednost dobrata
Subj.Mark leave.3Sg.Perf.Pres in poverty good+the.F.Sg
si vnučka.
Dat.Refl.Cl grand-daughter
‘She was going to die and leave in poverty her good granddaughter.’
- b. *Sled godina-dve najkāsno, tova xubavo*
after year-two Superl.Mark+late.Adv this.N.Sg beautiful.N.Sg

¹²² While the present tense forms of the “will” auxiliary are clitics, the past tense forms are not.

¹²³ In the subjunctive constructions that take part in the construction of the future-in-the-past tense of the “be” auxiliary, either the indicative or the subjunctive present tense forms of the “be” auxiliary are employed.

Note that in BAN (1982-1983) a future-in-the-past tense constructed by *šte*, plus imperfect forms of lexical verbs is mentioned. But this future-in-the-past tense is not in use.

¹²⁴ The definition of the use and the examples are from Bojadžiev, Kucarov and Penčev (1999:397). The glosses and translations are mine.

<i>pole</i>	<i>šteše</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>slee</i>	<i>sās</i>
field	would.3Sg	Subj.Mark	Dat.Refl.Cl	blend.3Sg.Perf.Pres	with
<i>sivata</i>		<i>selska</i>		<i>mera.</i>	
grey+the.F.Sg		country.F.Sg.Adj		scenery	

‘After a year or to at the latest, that beautiful field would blend with the grey country scenery.’

2.9.3.4 The future-in-the-past tense is also used to express events that might have happened, but were obstructed. Examples:¹²⁵

- (130) a. *Sred nošt, taman štjax da legna,*
middle night just would.1Sg Subj.Mark lie-down.1Sg.Perf.Pres
eto ti go – xop – preskoči.
there 1Sg.Eth.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl hop.Excl jump-over.3Sg.Perf.Pres
‘In the middle of the night, just as I was going to go to bed, there he/it was – hop – he/it jumped over.’
- b. *Da ne beše došla Katja, az*
Subj.Mark not be.3Sg.Past come.F.Sg.Perf./-Part Katja I
štjax da te potārsja.
would.1Sg Subj.Mark 2Sg.Acc.Cl look-for.1Sg.Perf.Pres
‘If Katja had not come I would have looked for you.’
- c. *Dovečera štjaxme da xodim na kino,*
this-evening would.1Pl Subj.Mark go.1Pl to cinema
no se otkazaxme.
but Acc.Ref.Cl give-up.1Pl.Aor
‘This evening we were supposed to go to the cinema, but gave it up.’
- d. *Kakva glupost štjax da kaža!*
what-kind.F.Sg stupidity would.1Sg Subj.Mark say.1Sg.Perf.Pres
‘What a stupid thing was I going to say!’

2.9.3.5 The future-perfect-in-the-past expresses results of actions that have taken place or have been supposed to take place at a point of time located in the future, relative to a past point of time.¹²⁶

- (131) a. *Ako beše se prigotvil navreme,*
if be.2/3Sg.Past Acc.Refl.Cl got-ready.M.Sg./-Part on-time
dosega štjaxme da sme izlezli.
until+now would.1Pl Subj.Mark be.1Pl got-out.Pl. /-Part
‘If you had gotten ready on time we would have gotten out by now.’
- b. *Dosega štjaxa da sa prodali kaštata,*
unitl-now would.3Pl Subj.Mark be.3Pl sold.Pl./-Part house+the.F.Sg
ako cenite ne bjaxa padnali tolkoz
if prices+the.Pl not be.3Pl.Past fallen.M.Sg.Perf./-Part so
mnogo.
much
‘They would have sold the house by now, if the prices had not fallen so much.’

¹²⁵ Example (130a) is from the Bulgarian writer Elin-Pelin, quoted by Bojadžiev, Kucarov and Penčev (1999:397). The glosses and the translation are mine.

¹²⁶ The definition of the use is from Bojadžiev, Kucarov and Penčev (1999:398). Example (131a) is from BAN (1983:350). According to a reviewer, however, the construction *šte* + verb in the present perfect is an epistemic construction and not a morphological form; it expresses presumptions or logically deduced conclusions and in that respect it is similar to the inferential use of the present perfect.

2.9.4 In the two “evidential” future tense paradigms – the “evidential” future-in-the-past and the “evidential” future-perfect-in-the-past – the *l*-participle of the “will” auxiliary is followed by present tense forms of the “be” auxiliary clitic and a subjunctive construction introduced by the subjunctive marker *da* with a verb in the present or the perfect.¹²⁷

2.9.4.1 The “evidential” future-in-the-past and future-perfect-in-the-past paradigms of the verb *čete* ‘read’ are given in Table 7:

Table 7: “Evidential” future-in-the-past and future-perfect-in-the-past of the verb *čete* ‘read’

	Evidential future-in-the-past		Evidential future-perfect-in-the-past	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>štjal sām da četa</i>	<i>šteli sme da četem</i>	<i>štjal sām da sām čel</i>	<i>šteli sme da sme čeli</i>
2 nd	<i>štjal si da četeš</i>	<i>šteli ste da četete</i>	<i>štjal si da si čel</i>	<i>šteli ste da ste čeli</i>
3 rd	<i>štjal (e) da čete</i>	<i>šteli (sa) da četat</i>	<i>štjal (e) da e čel</i>	<i>šteli (sa) da sa čeli</i>

2.9.4.2 The “evidential” future-in-the-past expresses non-awareness of a future event in relation to an undetermined point of time:¹²⁸

- (132) a. *Vsički turski cigani bili zatvoreni i*
 sall Turkish.M.Sg gipsies been.Pl./-Part arrested.Pl.Pass.Part and
štjali da gi koljat.
 would.Pl./-Part Subj.Mark 3Pl.Acc.Cl butcher.3Pl
 ‘All the Turkish gipsies were arrested and, as reported, they were to butcher them.’
- b. *Kazva će sām štjal da bāda*
 say.3Sg that be.1Sg would.M.Sg./-Part Subj.Mark be₂.1Sg
predsedatel.
 president
 ‘(S)he says that I would become president.’
- c. *Te sa šteli da dojdāt.*
 they be.3Pl would.Pl./-Part Subj.Mark come.3Pl
 ‘Apparently, they would come.’

2.9.4.3 The “evidential” future-perfect-in-the-past expresses non-awareness of the result of a future event in relation to an undetermined point of time:¹²⁹

- (133) a. *Tvrdeše će ako ne sa gi*
 claim.3Sg.Imperf that if not be.3Pl 3Pl.Acc.Cl
budili njakolko pāti, otdavna štjal
 waken-up.Pl./-Part several times long-ago would.M.Sg./-Part

¹²⁷ While the forms of the perfect do not have formally distinct “evidential” counterparts, the future-in-the-past and future-perfect-in-the-past have such counterparts. Note, however, that these paradigms were formulated by codifiers and the “evidential” forms are predominately used in the literary (formal) style.

¹²⁸ The definition of the use of the construction is from Bojadžiev, Kucarov and Penčev (1999:420). Example (132a) is also from Bojadžiev, Kucarov and Penčev (1999:420), with my glosses and translation.

¹²⁹ The definition is from Bojadžiev, Kucarov and Penčev (1999:421-422), and so are examples (133), with my glosses and translation.

- da se e naspal.*
 Subj.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl be.3Sg slept.M.Sg.Perf./-Part
 ‘He claimed that, if they had not been waken up several times, he would have done sleeping long ago.’
- b. *Văopšte ne sâm sâglasen če ošte predi*
 at-all not be.1Sg agreeing.M.Sg.Pass.Part that even before
tova sme šteli da sme se
 that.N be.1Pl would.Pl./-Part Subj.Mark be.1Pl Acc.Refl.Cl
otrekli ot pârvojačalnite si pokazanija.
 disclaimed.Pl./-Part from original.Pl+the.Pl Dat.Refl.Cl claims
 ‘I do not at all agree that, even before that, we would have had disclaimed our original claims.’

2.9.5 The negative counterparts of the future, future-in-the-past and future-perfect-in-the-past tenses are associations of the negative impersonal modal verb *njama* ‘not have’ and subjunctive constructions.

2.9.5.1 The negative counterpart of the future tense employs the present tense form of *njama* ‘not + have’.¹³⁰

- (134) a. *Njama da dojdut.*
 not+have.Impers Subj.Mark come.3Pl.Perf.Pres
 ‘They won’t come.’
- b. *Njama da go vzemeš.*
 not+have.Impers Subj.Mark 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl take.2Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘You won’t take it.’

2.9.5.2 The negative counterparts of the future-in-the-past and future-perfect-in-the-past tenses employ the imperfect tense of *njama* ‘not + have’.¹³¹

- (135) *Njamaše da go vzemeš.*
 not+have.Impers.Past Subj.Mark 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl take.2Sg.Imperf
 ‘You wouldn’t have taken it.’

2.9.6 Verbs in both the future and the future-in-the-past tense can take subjunctive complements:¹³²

¹³⁰ *Njama* plus subjunctive construction can also express a prohibition:

- (i) *Njama da izlizaš poveče s neja!*
 not+have.Impers Subj.Mark go-out.2Sg more with her.Acc
 ‘You should not go out with her any more!’

Note that the positive verb *ima* ‘have’ plus subjunctive construction, is not used to express an obligation, as in Macedonian, though it can be used with a deontic meaning, often with adverbs such as *mnogo* ‘much/a lot’ or *malko* ‘little’:

- (ii) *Ima ošte mnogo da čakaš.*
 have.Impers still much Subj.Mark wait.2Sg
 ‘You still have to wait a lot.’

¹³¹ While in Macedonian the past tense signals can attach to either the negative modal verb *njama* ‘not + have’ or to the verb in the subjunctive structure, in Bulgarian they can attach only to the negative verb *njama*. Thus, (i) is ungrammatical:

- (136) a. *Šte* *nastojavam* *da* *dojda*
will.Mod.Cl insist.1Sg Subj.Mark come.1Sg.Perf.Pres
navreme.
on-time
'I will make an effort to be (there) on time.'
- b. *Šteše* *da* *nastojava* *da*
would.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark insist.3Sg Subj.Mark
dojde *navreme.*
come.3Sg.Perf.Pres on-time
'(As far as I know) she was going to make an effort to be (there) on time.'
- (137) a. *Po-dobre* *šte* *e* *da* *ne* *i*
Compar.Mark-good will.Mod.Cl be.3Sg Subj.Mark not 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl
čete *tezi* *knigi.*
read.3Sg.Imperf.Pres these books
'It will be better if (s)he does not read these books to her.'
- b. *Po-dobre* *šteše* *da* *e/(bāde)*
Compar.Mark-good would.3Sg Subj.Mark be/be₂.3Sg
da *ne* *beše* *hodil.*
Subj.Mark not be.2/3Sg.Past gone.M.Sg./l-Part
'It would have been better if you/(s)he didn't go/hadn't gone.'
- (138) *Šteše* *da* *bāde* *po-šťastliv* *da*
would.3Sg Subj.Mark be₂.3Sg Comp.Mark-happy.M.Sg Subj.Mark
beše/(bādeše) *žensko.*
be/be₂.3Sg female
'He would have been happier if it (the baby) were female.'
- (139) *Po-dobre* *štjalo* *da* *bāde*
Compar.Mark-good would.N.Sg./l-Part Subj.Mark be₂.3Sg
da *ne* *bil* *hodil.*
Subj.Mark not been.M.Sg gone.M.Sg./l-Part
'It would have, reportedly, been better if he hadn't gone there.'

2.10 Conditional sentences

The future tenses are regularly used in conditional sentences.

2.10.1 *Inrealis* conditional sentences, an *ako* ('if')-clause with a verb in the present tense (of both perfective and imperfective verbs) occurs in the *protasis*, while a future tense construction occurs in the *apodosis*:

- (140) a. *Ako* *si* *tuk,* *šte* *dojdeš* *sās* *nas.*
if be.2Sg here will.Mod.Cl come.2Sg.Perf.Pres with 1Pl.Acc.Cl
'If you are here, you will come with us.'

- (i) **Njama* *da* *go* *vzemeše.*
not+have.Impers Subj.Mark it.Acc.Cl take.2/3Sg.Perf.Imperf

¹³² Note that in the sentences with future-in-the-past we have two subjunctive constructions one after another.

- b. *Ako* *si* *umen* *šte*
 if be.2Sg clever/obedient.M.Sg will.Mod.Cl
 polučiš *podarāk.*
 get.2Sg.Perf.Pres present
 ‘If you are good, you will get a present.’

2.10.2 *Irrealis* conditional sentences are represented by a subjunctive construction with a verb in the imperfect or the perfect, or an “if”-clause with a verb in the imperfect or the perfect in the *protasis* and a future-in-the-past tense in the *apodosis*. As in Macedonian, the *irrealis* conditional sentences have two readings: (a) *irrealis* from the point of view of the moment of speaking and (b) *irrealis* from the point of view of a past moment:¹³³

- (141) a. *Da/ako* *imax* *pari,* *štjax* *da*
 Subj.Mark/if have.1Sg.Past money would.1Sg Subj.Mark
 kupa *kāšta* *na* *moreto.*
 buy.1Sg house on sea+the.N.Sg
 1. ‘If I had money, I would buy a house at the seaside.’
 2. ‘If I had had money, I would have bought a house at the seaside.’
- b. *Da/ako* *ne* *valeše,* *štjaxme* *da*
 Subj.Mark/if not rain.3Sg.Imperf would.1Pl Subj.Mark
 se *razxoždame.*
 Acc.Refl.Cl have-a-walk.1Pl
 1. ‘If it didn’t rain, we would go for a walk.’
 2. ‘If it hadn’t rained, we would have gone for a walk.’
- c. *Da/ako* *beše*¹³⁴ *zdrav,* *šteše* *da*
 Subj.Mark/if be.3Sg.Past healthy would.3Sg Subj.Mark
 bjaga.
 run.3Sg
 1. ‘If he were healthy, he would be running.’
 2. ‘If he had been healthy, he would have been running.’

2.10.3 The use of the past perfect in the *protasis* may exclude the “*irrealis* from the point of view of the present moment” reading, and thus disambiguate the sentence:¹³⁵

- (142) a. *Ako/* **da* *ne* *beše* *došla* *Katja,*
 if Subj.Mark not be.3Sg.Past come.F.Sg.Perf./l-Part Katja
 štjax *da* *te* *potārsja.*
 would.1Sg Subj.Mark 2Sg.Acc.Cl look-for.1Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘If Katja hadn’t come, I would have looked for you.’
- b. *Ako/* **da* *ne* *beše* *valjalo,* *štjaxme*
 if Subj.Mark not be.3Sg.Past rained.N.Sg./l-Part would.1Pl

¹³³ Bulgarian, however, does not have *potentialis* conditional sentences.

¹³⁴ In an “if”-clause, instead of the past tense forms of *sām* ‘be’, the past tense form of *bāda* ‘be₂’ can be used :

- (i) *Ako/*da* *bādeše* *zdrav,* *šteše* *da* *bjaga.*
 if/Subj.Mark be₂.3Sg.Imperf healthy would.3Sg Subj.Mark run.3Sg
 1. ‘If he were healthy, he would be running.’
 2. ‘If he had been healthy, he would have been running.’

Conditional clauses with *bāda* ‘be₂’ are however, judged “bookish”.

¹³⁵ The subjunctive marker cannot be used in the *protasis* of such sentences.

<i>da</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>razxoždame.</i>
Subj.Mark	Acc.Refl.Cl	walk.1Sg.Perf.Pres

‘If it hadn’t rained, I would have gone for a walk.’

3. Serbo-Croatian

In standard Serbian or Croatian, as well as in most of the Serbian and Croatian dialects, the infinitive coexists with subjunctive constructions. The subjunctive constructions have taken over all the functions of the infinitive only in the South-Eastern Serbian dialects.

3.1 The infinitive

The infinitive is extensively used in Serbo-Croatian. This is especially true for Croatian, where the use of the subjunctive is (institutionally) disfavoured. In the westernmost Croatian Kajkavian dialects, the subjunctive is very sparingly used. As one moves south-eastwards in the Serbo-Croatian speaking area, the use of subjunctive constructions increases. In the South-Eastern Serbian dialects the infinitive is almost non-existent.

3.1.1 The Serbo-Croatian infinitive is marked by the suffixes *-ti* or *-ći*. Examples:¹³⁶

- (143) a. *Ne želim te vid(j)eti.*
not want.1Sg you.2Sg.Acc.Cl see.Inf
‘I don’t want to see you.’
- b. *Obećao je doći.*
promised.M.Sg.Perf.I-Part be.3Sg come.Inf
‘He promised to come.’

3.1.2 Except in the South-Eastern Serbian dialects, the infinitive is used as a complement of a variety of verbs in a variety of intentional contexts.¹³⁷ Examples:

- (144) a. *Ne voli ići tamo.*
not like.3Sg go.Inf there
‘He doesn’t like to go there.’
- b. *Odlučio je odbiti ponudu.*
decided.M.Sg.Perf.I-Part be.3Sg refuse.Inf offer
‘He decided to refuse the offer.’
- c. *Ob(j)ećala sam prestat pušiti.*
promised.F.Sg.Perf.I-Part be.1Sg stop.Inf smoke.Inf
‘I promised to stop smoking.’
- d. *Nije lako postati bogat.*
not+be.3Sg easy become.Inf reach.M.Sg
‘It is not easy to get rich.’

¹³⁶ The bracketed letters represent phonemes used in Croatian.

¹³⁷ Generally speaking, the infinitive is in free variation with the subjunctive construction, but there are great differences in usage between the Serbian and Croatian standards and between individual dialects (cf. 3.5.2).

The infinitival complement of the copulas *biti* ‘be’ or *postati* ‘become’ is often topicalized. If the complement of (144d) is topicalized we get:

- (i) *Postati bogat nije lako.*
become.Inf rich.M.Sg not+be.3Sg easy
‘To get rich is not easy.’

In structures such as this one, the infinitive, along with its complement, fills the subject position.

3.1.3 The most typical use of the Serbo-Croatian infinitive is as a complement of the lexical modals *moći* ‘can/may,’ *um(j)eti* ‘can/be able to’ *sm(j)eti* ‘may/dare/be allowed’, *morati* ‘must’, *trebati* ‘should/need/be necessary’, *imati* ‘have’ and *ht(j)eti* ‘will/want’. Example:

- (145) a. *Mogu* *li* *to* *uraditi?*
 can/may.1Sg Inter.Cl it/that do.Inf
 ‘Can/may I do it?’
- b. *Um(ij)em* *se* *sam* *umiti.*
 can/be-able.1Sg Acc.Refl.Cl alone wash.Inf
 ‘I can/am able to wash myself (without anybody’s help).’
- c. *Ne* *sm(ij)em* *izaći.*
 not dare/be-allowed.1Sg get-out.Inf
 ‘I do not dare/am not allowed to get out.’
- d. *Moraš* *doći!*
 must.2Sg come.Inf
 ‘You must come!’
- e. *Treba* *otići* *tamo!*
 should.Impers go.Inf there
 ‘One should go there!’
- f. *To* *se* *ima* *uraditi!*
 that Acc.Refl.Cl have.Impers do.Inf
 ‘That has to be done.’
- g. *Neću* *te* *vid(j)eti* *više* *meseci.*
 not+will.1Sg 2Sg.Acc.Cl see.Inf more months
 ‘I won’t see you for months.’

3.2 Future tense with infinitives

The present tense (clitic) forms of the intentional verb *ht(j)eti*, in association with the infinitive, represent the Serbo-Croatian future tense.

3.2.1 The non-clitic and clitic present tense forms of the verb *ht(j)eti* ‘will/want’ are given in Table 8.

Table 8: Present tense forms of the Serbo-Croatian modal verb *ht(j)eti* ‘will/want’

	Non-clitic		Clitic	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>hoću</i>	<i>hoćemo</i>	<i>ću</i>	<i>ćete</i>
2 nd	<i>hoćeš</i>	<i>hoćete</i>	<i>ćeš</i>	<i>ćete</i>
3 rd	=== <i>hoće</i> ===		=== <i>će</i> ===	

3.2.2 The future tense formed by “will” modal clitics plus infinitives is illustrated on the example of the lexical verb *doći* ‘come’:

Table 9: Future tense of the Serbo-Croatian lexical verb *doći* ‘come’

	Singular		Plural	
1 st	<i>ću</i>	<i>doći</i>	<i>ćemo</i>	<i>doći</i>
2 nd	<i>ćeš</i>	-"-	<i>ćete</i>	-"-
3 rd	<i>će</i>	-"-	<i>će</i>	-"-

3.2.3 In clauses with expressed subjects or topicalized elements, the “will” modal clitics appear to the left of the verb – and to the left of pronominal clitics, if any:¹³⁸

- (146) a. *Petar će doći sutra.*
 Peter will.3Sg.Mod.Cl come.Inf tomorrow
 ‘Peter will come tomorrow.’
- b. *Moj brat će ti dati knjigu.*
 my brother will.3Sg.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl give.Inf book.Acc
 ‘My brother will give you the book.’
- c. *Baka će vam pročitati jednu l(ij)epu priču.*
 granny will.3Sg.Mod.Cl 2Pl.Dat.Cl read.Inf one.F.Sg.Acc
 nice.F.Sg.Acc story.Acc
 ‘Granny will read to you a nice story.’

3.2.4 When the subject is dropped or post-verbal and there are no topicalized elements, the modal clitics, which are second position clitics and need an element to their left to which they can encliticize,¹³⁹ appear to the immediate right of the infinitive. In some cases, the infinitive marker, or part of it, is kept;¹⁴⁰ in others, we have a suffixless or short infinitive (equivalent to the base of the verb). Examples:

- (147) a. *Stići će sutra.*
 arrive.Inf 3Sg.Mod.Cl tomorrow
 ‘(S)he will arrive tomorrow.’
- b. *Pisaće/ pisat će*
 write.Short.Inf+will.3Sg/Pl.Mod.Cl write.Inf Mod.3Sg/Pl.Cl
ti.
 2Sg.Dat.Cl
 ‘(S)he/they will write to you.’
- c. *Daće/ dat će ti*
 give.Short Inf+3Sg/Pl.Mod.Cl give.Inf 3Sg.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl
ga.
 3SgN.Acc.Cl
 ‘(S)he/they will give it to you.’

3.2.5 The typical use of the Serbo-Croatian future tense is to express futurity relative to the present moment.¹⁴¹ With second or third person subjects it can, however, also express an order:

¹³⁸ As argued in Tomić (1996b, 2004a), the Serbo-Croatian modal clitics are derived in AuxP, from where they raise to AgrSP to check their person/number features. In surface structure, along with other clausal clitics with which they cluster, they appear in second position in the clause. Cf. the section on Serbo-Croatian in the chapter “Clitic Clusters and Clitic-Doubling”.

¹³⁹ Cf. 3.1.3 in the chapter “Clitic Clusters and Clitic Doubling.”

¹⁴⁰ The *-t* ending (as in *pisat* ‘write’ and *dat* ‘give’ in (147b) and (147c), respectively) is actually the ending of the Old Church Slavonic supine. The forms with *-t* are used in Croatian.

¹⁴¹ There are no sequence of tenses. In reported speech the tense remains unchanged:

- (i) *On će ti čitati sutra.*
 he will.1Sg.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl read.Inf tomorrow
 ‘He will read to you tomorrow.’

- (148) *Otići* *ćeš* *i* *izvinićeš*
go.Perf.Inf will.2Sg.Mod.Cl and appologise.Inf+will.3Sg.Mod.Cl
mu *se!*
3Sg.M.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl
'You should go and appologise to him!'

3.2.6 The future tense is used in *realis* conditional sentences (cf. 3.11.1).

3.2.7 In negated clauses, the modal clitics are fused with the negation marker, forming negative auxiliaries, which, along with infinitives of lexical verbs constitute a negated future tense (*cf.* Tomić 2000b).¹⁴²

3.2.7.1 The forms of the Serbo-Croatian negative auxiliaries are given in Table 10:

Table 10: Forms of the Serbo-Croatian negative auxiliary

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>neću</i>	<i>nećemo</i>
2 nd	<i>nećeš</i>	<i>nećete</i>
3 rd	=====	=====

3.2.7.2 The negated Serbo-Croatian future tense of the lexical verb *doći* ‘come’ is given in Table 11:¹⁴³

Table 11: Forms of the negated future tense of the Serbo-Croatian verb *doći* ‘come’

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>neću doći</i>	<i>nećemo doći</i>
2 nd	<i>nećeš -"</i>	<i>nećete -"</i>
3 rd	<i>== == == neće doći</i>	<i>== == ==</i>

3.2.7.3 The use of the Serbo-Croatian negated future tense is illustrated in (149):¹⁴⁴

- (149) a. *On ti ga ne'ce dati.*
 he 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl not+3Sg.Mod.Cl give.Inf
 'He won't give it to you.'

- (ii) *Kazao* *je* *da* *će* *ti* *čitati* *sutra*.
 said.M.Sg./Part be.3Sg that will.3Sg.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl read.Inf tomorrow
 'He said that he would read to you tomorrow.'

¹⁴² As illustrated by the non-acceptability of (i), the negation marker never appears to the left of a verb to which the modal clitic is attached.

- (i) **Ne* *daće/* *dat* *će* *ti* *knjigu.*
not give.Short Inf+3Sg.Mod.Cl give.Inf 3Sg.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl book.Acc

¹⁴³ As illustrated in (i), constructions in which subjunctives appear as complements of the negative auxiliary + infinitive constructions are ambiguous:

- (i) *On neće doći.*
 he not-will.3Sg.Mod.Cl come.Inf
 1. 'He will not come.'
 2. 'He doesn't want to come'.

The ambiguity is due to the fact that the negation marker fuses with the lexical modal verb *hoće* 'will/want' as well as with the modal clitics, in both cases yielding negative auxiliary forms (cf. Ivić 1970, 1972, 1973).

¹⁴⁴ In clauses such as (149b), in which the subjects are dropped and there are no focused or topicalized elements, the pronominal clitics occur between the negative auxiliary and the infinitive and encliticize to the negative auxiliary.

- b. *Neću* *ti* *dati* *knjigu.*
 not+1Sg.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl give.Inf book.Acc
 ‘I won’t give you the book.’

3.3 The subjunctive marker

Alongside infinitival complements, Serbo-Croatian has subjunctive complements introduced by a complementizer that is morphologically identical to the indicative complementizer. Bibović (1971), Browne (1981/1986) and Vrzic (1996) speak of two different uses of the same complementizer, *da* ‘that’. For Ivić (1970), however, there are two homophonous complementizers – *da*₁, introducing indicative complements and *da*₂, introducing subjunctive constructions.¹⁴⁵ I shall refer to the latter as “subjunctive marker.”¹⁴⁶

3.3.1 The subjunctive marker *da* can be distinguished from the indicative complementizer *da* only through context. While the subjunctive marker is used in modal contexts, such as the one represented by (150a), the indicative complementizer is used when the events are given as facts, as in (150b):

- (150) a. *Želi* *da* *postaneš* *bogat.*
 wish.3Sg Subj.Mark become.2Sg.Perf.Pres rich.M.Sg
 ‘He wishes that you become rich.’
- b. *Kažu* *da* *je* *postao* *bogat.*
 say.3Pl that be.3Sg become.M.Sg.Perf.I-Part rich.M.Sg
 1. ‘People say that he has become rich.’
 2. ‘He is said to have become rich.’

3.3.2 In the dialects of Eastern Serbia, the subjunctive marker can be left out.¹⁴⁷

- (151) a. %*Može* *rekneš...*
 can.Impers say.2Sg
 ‘You can say...’
- b. %*Ne* *mogu* *se* *setim.*
 not can.1Sg Acc.Refl.Cl remember.1Sg
 ‘I cannot remember.’
- c. %*Oni* *ga* *neće* *slušaju.*
 they 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl not+will.3Pl listen.3Pl
 ‘They do not want to listen to him.’

3.3.3 *Da* is not the only complementizer introducing indicative complements.

3.3.3.1 Complement clauses of emotional and factive verbs are introduced by the invariant “wh” word *što* ‘what’ – the *relativum generale*.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ Gołąb (1964:28) argues that “it is highly possible that Old Church Slavonic *da* represents a homonym: *da* – a modal particle serving to derive an analytic subjunctive mood from the present indicative and *da* – a paratactic conjunction corresponding to the English *so, thus, also*.”

¹⁴⁶ According to Asenova (2002:151), the subjunctive markers in the languages of “the Balkan Sprachbund” are grammatical devices that modify the verb, whereas the Serbo-Croatian *da* is a lexical device for expressing sentential modality, which has kept its function as a conjunction. I am, however, separating the function of expressing sentential modality from the function of “mere” conjunction.

¹⁴⁷ The same phenomenon is encountered in the dialects of Southern and South-Western Bulgaria.

¹⁴⁸ *Da* is, however, also possible in clauses with emotional and factive verbs. Grickat (1975) points out that *da* has been gradually widening its functional domain at the expense of *što*.

- (152) a. *Radujem se što vas vidim.*
 rejoice.1Sg Acc.Refl.Cl whatt 2Pl.Acc.Cl see.1Sg
 ‘I am glad to see you.’
- b. *Naljutio se što su došle.*
 got-angry.M.Sg.Perf./-Part Acc.Refl.Cl what are.3Pl come.F.Pl./-Part
 ‘He got angry that they came.’

3.3.3.2 In the dialects of Hercegovina, the “wh” adverb *gdje* can also introduce complement clauses:

- (153) %*Dečko vide gdje mu plače majka.*
 child see.3Sg.Aor where 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl cry.3Sg mother
 ‘The child saw that his mother was crying.’

3.4 Forms of verbs in the subjunctive construction

The verbs in the subjunctive constructions are typically in the present, the perfect or the past perfect.

3.4.1 In indicative sentences, only present tense forms of imperfective verbs are used, whereas subjunctive constructions employ both imperfective and perfective present tense forms. Thus, we have the following acceptability contrast:

- (154) a. *Čitam/*pročitam (mu) pismo.*
 read.1Sg.Imperf/Perf.Pres 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl letter
 ‘I am reading a/the letter (to him).’
- b. *Hoću da (mu) čitaš/pročitaš pismo.*
 wish.1Sg Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl read.2Sg.Imperf/Perf letter
 ‘I want you to read the letter (to him).’

3.4.2 With a number of verbs, the Old Church Slavonic perfective/imperfective aspectual distinction through morfonological alternation has been preserved. Compare the present tense forms of perfective verbs in the a. examples, to their counterparts of imperfective verbs in the b. examples in (155-156):¹⁴⁹

- (155) a. *Očekuje nešto da joj daš.*
 expect.3Sg something Subj.Mark 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl give.2Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘(S)he expects you to give her something.’
- b. *Sve joj daješ.*
 everything 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl give.2Sg.Imperf.Pres
 ‘You are giving her everything.’
- (156) a. *Hoće da ga nađemo.*
 want.3Sg Subj.Mark 3Sg.M/N.Acc.Cl find.1Pl.Perf.Pres
 ‘(S)he wants us to find him/it.’
- b. *To se kod nas ne nalazi.*
 that Acc.Refl.Cl at 1Pl.Acc.Cl not find.3Sg.Imperf.Pres
 ‘That is not to be found here.’ (lit. “That is not to be found with us.”)

¹⁴⁹ Note that in many dialects, including Standard Serbian and Standard Croatian, the perfect is used instead of the aorist, which is qualified as “old-fashioned” or “dialectal”.

3.4.3 The auxiliary/copula *biti* ‘be’ has a set of present tense forms, derived from the Old Church Slavonic verb **byti*, which are used only in modal contexts. This set is morphologically distinct from two sets of present tense forms – one clitic and one non-clitic,¹⁵⁰ which are derived from the Old Church Slavonic verb **jesmb*¹⁵¹ and are used both in indicative and modal contexts. In Serbo-Croatian grammars, the forms which are derived from **jesmb* are referred to as “imperfective”, while the ones which are derived from **byti* are referred to as “perfective” (cf. Mrazović and Vukadinović 1990:99). For lack of better terms, we shall keep these labels, though the usage of the two sets does not warrant them.

3.4.3.1 The “imperfective” and “perfective” forms of *biti* ‘be’ are given in Table 12:

Table 12: Present tense paradigms of the auxiliary *biti* ‘be’

	Imperfective				Perfective	
	Singular		Plural		Singular	Plural
	clitic	non-clitic	clitic	non-clitic		
1 st	<i>sam</i>	<i>jesam</i>	<i>smo</i>	<i>jesmo</i>	<i>budem</i>	<i>budemo</i>
2 nd	<i>si</i>	<i>jesi</i>	<i>ste</i>	<i>jeste</i>	<i>budeš</i>	<i>budete</i>
3 rd	<i>je</i>	<i>jeste</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>jesu</i>	<i>bude</i>	<i>budu</i>

3.4.3.2 In subjunctive complements, the “perfective” forms of *biti* ‘be’ are almost interchangeable with the clitic “imperfective” forms:¹⁵²

- (157) a. *Traže da si/budeš tu u pet.*
 require.3Pl Subj.Mark be.2Sg.Imperf/Perf.Pres there in five
 ‘They require you to be there at five.’
- b. *Ne želim da si/budeš*
 not want.1Sg Subj.Mark be.2Sg.Imperf/Perf.Pres
njen sluga.
 her servant
 ‘I do not want you to be her servant.’

3.4.3.3 In association with *l*-participles, the “perfective” “be” forms form a periphrastic future tense, referred to as *futurum secundum*.

3.4.3.3.1 The paradigm of the *futurum secundum* of the verb *doći* ‘come’ with masculine *l*-participles is given in Table 13:

¹⁵⁰ The full forms actually consist of the root *je* and suffixes equivalent to the clitic forms (cf. Tomić 1996b).

¹⁵¹ Mrazović and Vukadinović (1990:98-102) actually speak of two verbs, one of which, *jesam*, is defective and has only present tense (clitic and full) forms, while the other, *biti*, has complete present, imperfect and aorist paradigms, as well as three imperative forms, four active participles (*l*-participles), a present participle and a perfect participle. The imperfect forms of *biti* are used in the formation of the Serbo-Croatian past perfect (cf. section 3.2 in the chapter “The Perfect and the Evidential”). The full aorist forms are out of use, but its clitic forms have evolved into modal clitics used in *potentialis* conditional sentences (cf. 3.10.2). The imperative has distinct forms for second person singular – *budi*, first person plural – *budimo* and second person plural – *budite*. The active participles are used in all perfect tenses (cf. sections 3.1 and 3.2 in the chapter “The Perfect and the Evidential”). The present participle *budući* is used in all kinds of conditional clauses, whereas the perfect participle *bivši* is used as an adjective with the meaning of ‘former’, and as such has all the forms that adjectives have.

¹⁵² As in Macedonian, the subjunctive forms imply personal involvement.

Table 13: *Futurum secundum* of the Serbo-Croatian verb *doći* ‘come’

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>budem došao</i>	<i>budemo došli</i>
2 nd	<i>budeš</i> -"-	<i>budete</i> -"-
3 rd	<i>bude</i> -"-	<i>budu</i> -"-

3.4.3.3.2 In standard Serbian/Croatian, the *futurum secundum* is used in subordinate “if” and “when” clauses (cf. 3.10). When it is constructed from perfective verbs, it denotes events that take place before other events in the future (cf. 158a-b), while when it is constructed from imperfective verbs, it denotes events that take place at the same time as other future events (cf. 159a-b):¹⁵³

- (158) a. *Ako budeš došao, dobićeš/*
 if be.2Sg.Perf.Pres come.M.Sg.Perf./-Part get.Short.Inf+will.2Sg.Mod.Cl
dobit ćeš poklon.
 get.Inf will.2Sg.Mod.Cl present
 ‘If you (happen to) come, you will get a present.’
- b. *Kad budeš došao, dobićeš/*
 when be.2Sg.Perf.Pres come.M.Sg.Perf./-Part get.Short.Inf+will.2Sg.Mod.Cl
dobit ćeš poklon.
 get.Inf will.2Sg.Mod.Cl present
 ‘When you come you will get a present.’
- (159) a. *Ako budeš učio, uspešno*
 if be.2Sg.Perf.Pres studied.M.Sg.Imperf./-Part successfully
ćeš položiti ispite.
 will.2Sg.Mod.Cl pass.Inf exams
 ‘If you study, you will pass the exams successfully.’
- b. *Vратићеš mi dug kad budeš*
 return.Short.Inf+2Sg.Mod.Cl 1Sg.Dat.Cl debt when be.2Sg.Perf.Pres
imala novac.
 had.F.Sg.Perf./-Part money
 ‘You will pay me back when you have money.’ (lit. ‘You will return the debt when you have money.’)

3.4.3.3.3 In the South-Eastern Serbian dialects, however, *futurum secundum* can be used either in the main or in the subordinate clause of complex sentences:

- (160) a. *%Ako/kad budeš došāl, će*
 if/when be.2Sg.Perf.Pres come.M.Sg.Perf./-Part will.Mod.Cl
dobiješ poklon.
 get.2Sg.Perf.Pres present
 ‘If/when you (happen to) come, you will get a present.’
- b. *%Kad ti dojdeš, on će¹⁵⁴ bude*
 when you come.2Sg.Perf.Pres he will.Mod.Cl+Refl.Cl be.3Sg.Perf.Pres

¹⁵³ In both cases, and especially in the case of perfective verbs, *futurum secundum* alternates with the (simple) present tense (cf. Mrazović and Vukadinović 1990:98–125). Thus, the information rendered by (158a) can also be rendered by (i):

(i) *Ako dođeš, dobićeš/ dobit ćeš poklon.*
 if come.2Sg.Perf.Pres get.Short.Inf+will.2Sg.Mod.Cl get.Inf will.2Sg.Mod.Cl present
 ‘If you (happen to) come, you will get a present.’

¹⁵⁴ *Ći* = *će* ‘will.Mod.Cl’ + *si* ‘Dat.Refl.Cl’

otišāl.

gone.M.Sg.Perf./-Part

‘When you come, he will be gone.’

3.5 Typical uses of the subjunctive construction

In Serbian, subjunctive constructions are typically used as complements of the lexical modals *trebati* ‘should/ought/need/be necessary’, *hteti* ‘will/want’, *moći* ‘can/be able/may/be possible’, *umeti* ‘can/be able/know (how)’, *smeti* ‘dare/may/be allowed’, *morati* ‘must’ and *imati* ‘have’, while both in Serbian and Croatian,¹⁵⁵ they are used as complements of control verbs such as *pokušavati* ‘try’, volitional verbs such as *žel(j)eti* ‘want’, inchoatives such as *(ot)početi* ‘begin’, and intentional verbs such as *nam(j)eravati* ‘intend’, *planirati* ‘plan’, *izb(j)egavati* ‘avoid’, *zapov(j)edati* ‘order’, *preporučiti* ‘suggest’, all of which may go under the general name of “intentional verbs”. In some cases, the verbs of the subjunctive constructions have to agree with the person/number features of the verb in the upper clause, whereas in other cases no such agreement is necessary or possible. When the verb of the subjunctive construction agrees with the verb of the upper clause, there is “equi” deletion and only one subject surfaces – in unmarked sentences, to the left of the main verb. When the subject of the subjunctive construction is different from the subject of the main clause, it surfaces in a variety of positions.¹⁵⁶ Pronominal subjects are dropped, unless emphatic.

3.5.1 The modal verb *imati* ‘have’ is always impersonal;¹⁵⁷ the modal verb *trebati* ‘should/ought/need/be necessary’ can be personal and impersonal, though it takes subjunctive complements predominately as an impersonal verb; the modal verb *hteti* ‘will/want’ is, as a rule personal and takes subjunctive constructions as a personal verb; the modal verbs *moći* ‘can/may/be able/be possible’ and *morati* ‘must’ can be personal or impersonal and in both cases can take subjunctive complements; the verb *umeti* ‘can/be able/know (how)’ is always personal; while the verb *smeti* ‘dare/be allowed’ is typically personal, though it can occur as an impersonal verb with restricted selection of subjunctive complements.¹⁵⁸ The modal impersonal verb *imati* ‘have’ is discussed in 3.6, along with its negated counterpart *nemati* ‘not+have’. The verb *hteti* ‘will’ is distinct from the other modal verbs, not only in being, as a rule, personal,¹⁵⁹ but also by allowing both joint and disjunct reference with its subjunctive complement. Its relationship to the subjunctive complements is actually analogous to that of the intentional verbs of class (C) and will be discussed along with them (cf. 3.5.2 and 3.5.2.1). The use of subjunctive constructions as complements of the Serbian

¹⁵⁵ In Croatian, subjunctive complements are used only when the main clause and the complement have disjunct reference (cf. footnote 162).

¹⁵⁶ The subjunctive markers in Serbo-Croatian are not preverbal clitics and, unlike the subjunctive markers in Macedonian and Bulgarian, they do not have to be to the immediate left of the verb.

¹⁵⁷ The modal impersonal verb *imati* ‘have’ should be distinguished from the non-modal verb *imati* ‘have/possess’, which can be personal or impersonal.

¹⁵⁸ Present tense impersonal forms are equivalent to third person singular present tense forms; their past tense correspondents are “be” perfects with *l*-participles equivalent to the neuter singular *l*-participles.

¹⁵⁹ *Hteti* ‘will/want’ can exceptionally be used as an impersonal verb if its subjunctive complement has an impersonal verb and includes the reflexive clitic *se*, as in the Serbian sentence (i), from Mrazović and Vukadinović (1990:145), with my glosses and translation:

(i)	<i>Time</i>	<i>hoće</i>	<i>samo</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>kaže</i>	<i>da</i>
	that.Instr	want.Impers	only	Subj.Mark	Acc.Refl.Cl	say.Impers	that
	<i>ti nisi</i>	<i>kriva.</i>					
	You.Sg	not+be.2Sg	guilty.F.Sg				

‘With that, one only wants to say that you are not guilty.’

As we see, in (i), the verb of the subjunctive construction itself takes a complement – an indicative one.

modal verbs *trebati* 'should/ought/need' *moći* 'can/be able/may/be possible,' *umeti* 'can/be able/know (how)' *smeti* 'dare/may/be allowed' and *morati* 'must' is illustrated below.

3.5.1.1 Examples of subjunctive constructions in the complement of the impersonal modal verb *trebati* 'should/ought/need/be necessary' are given in (161).¹⁶⁰

- (161) a. *Treba da dođu/dodeš.*
 should/ought.Impers Subj.Mark come.3Pl/2Sg.Perf.Pres
 'They/you should/need to come.'
- b. *Treba da ga je video.*
 should/ought.Impers Subj.Mark 3Sg.Acc.Cl be.3Sg seen.M.Sg.Perf.I-Part
 'He should/ought to have seen him.'
- c. *Trebalo je da dođem*
 should/ought/needed.N.Sg.I-Part be.3Sg Subj.Mark come.1Sg.Perf.Pres
kod vas.
 at you.Acc
 'I had to to come to your place.'

3.5.1.2 Examples of subjunctive constructions as complements of the personal verbs *moći* 'can/be able/may', *umeti* 'can/be able/know (how)', *morati* 'must', and *smeti* 'may/be allowed/dare' are given in (162):

- (162) a. *Mogu li da uđem?*
 can/may.1Sg Inter.Cl Subj.Mark enter.1Sg.Perf.Pres
 'Can/may I enter?'

¹⁶⁰ As a personal verb, with the reading 'need', in both Serbian and Croatian, *trebati* can occur in constructions with Dat NP/DP complements, as in Macedonian and Bulgarian (cf. footnotes 34 and 97), but it can also take Acc pronominal or nominal complements:

- (i) *Trebaš me.*
 need.2Sg 1Sg.Dat.Cl
 'You need me.'
- (i)' *Trebam te.*
 need.1Sg 2Sg.Acc.Cl
 'I need you.'
- (ii) *Trebaš Peri.*
 need.2Sg Pera.Dat
- (ii)' *Pera te treba.*
 Pera 2Sg.Acc.Cl need.3Sg
 'Pera needs you.'

The "be" perfect of *treba* can also be used as a personal verb, in which case it takes subjunctive complements with joint reference. For example:

- (iii) *%Trebao sam da ga tučem.*
 should/ought.M.Sg.I-Part be.1Sg Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl beat.1Sg.Perf.Pres
 'I should have beaten him up.'
- (iv) *%Trebala je da ga primi.*
 should/ought.F.Sg.I-Part be.1Sg Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl receive.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 'She should have received him.'

- b. *Ume* *da* *se* *sam*
 can/be-able/know-how.3Sg Subj.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl alone
umije.
 wash.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘He can/is able/knows how to wash himself (without anybody’s help).’
- c. *Moraš* *da* *dodeš!*
 must.2Sg Subj.Mark come.2Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘You must come!’
- d. *Ne smem* *da* *izađem.*
 not dare/be-allowed.1Sg Subj.Mark get-out.1Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘I do not dare/am not allowed to get out.’

3.5.1.3 Examples of subjunctive constructions as complements of the impersonal verbs *moći* ‘can/may/be possible’, *morati* ‘must’ and *smeti* ‘may/be allowed’ are given in (163).¹⁶¹

- (163) a₁ *Može* *da* *mu* *otvoriš/otvore.*
 can/may/be-possible.Impers Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl open.2Sg/3Pl.Perf.Pres
 1. ‘You/they can/may open (the door) for him.’
 2. ‘It is possible for you/them to open (the door) for him.’
- a₂ *Moglo* *je* *da* *mu*
 could/might/been-possible.N.Sg./-Part be.3Sg Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl
se *dozvoli* *da* *dode.*
 Acc.Refl.Cl allow.Impers Subj.Mark come.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 1. ‘One could/might have allowed him to come.’
 2. ‘It was possible to allow him to come.’
- b₁ *Mora* *da* *ga* *vide.*
 must.Impers Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.3Pl.Perf.Pres
 1. ‘They must see him.’
 2. ‘He/it must be visible to them.’
- b₂ *Moralo* *je* *da* *se* *vidi.*
 must.N.Sg./-Part be.3Sg Subj.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl see.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘One had to see that.’
- c. *Ne sme* *da* *se* *uđe.*
 not be-allowed.Impers Subj.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl enter.Impers.Perf.Pres
 ‘One is not allowed to enter.’

3.5.2 As for intentional verbs, some of them have to have joint reference with their subjunctive complements, while others do not. As in Bulgarian and Macedonian, with respect to agreement with the person/number features of their subjunctive complements, intentional verbs fall into three classes: (A) verbs such as *nam(j)eravati* ‘intend’, *izb(j)egavati* ‘avoid’ and *pokušavati* ‘try’, which (in their straightforward readings) have same reference as their subjunctive complements; (B) verbs such as *narediti* ‘order’, *preporučiti* ‘suggest’, *pozvati* ‘invite’, whose reference differs from the reference of their subjunctive complements (disjoint reference verbs); and (C) verbs such as *ht(j)eti* ‘will/want’, *žel(j)eti* ‘wish’, *tražiti* ‘demand’, *planirati* ‘plan’, which may agree or disagree with the person/number features of their subjunctive complements. While verbs of class (A) always take

¹⁶¹ Subjunctive constructions in the complement of the impersonal verb *smeti* ‘be allowed’ have to be impersonal.

subjunctive complements, verbs of class (B) and class (C) can take either subjunctive or infinitival complements.¹⁶²

3.5.2.1 The verbs of class (A) are control verbs and the subjects of the subjunctive constructions in their complements, which occur only in Serbian, are, as a rule, dropped.¹⁶³

- (164) a. *Namerava da putuje*/(**putuješ*).
 intend.3Sg Subj.Mark travel.3Sg/2Sg
 ‘(S)he intends (*for you) to travel.’
- b. *Izbegava da te sretne*.
 avoid.3Sg Subj.Mark 2Sg.Acc.Cl meet.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘(S)he avoids meeting you.’
- c. *Pokušava da je zaboravi*/(**zaborave*).
 try.3Sg Subj.Mark 2Sg.Acc.Cl forget.3Sg/3Pl.Perf.Pres
 ‘(S)he is trying (*for them) to forget her.’

3.5.2.2 The structures in which subjunctive constructions appear as complements of intentional verbs of class (B) can be of three different subtypes. (a) The agent of the subjunctive construction surfaces as a subject of the subjunctive clause if lexical, while pronominal agents do so only if they are emphatic, non-emphatic pronominal subjects being dropped (*cf.* 165a-b). (b) The agent of the subjunctive construction surfaces in the position of indirect object of the main clause, and the intentional verb is described as “indirect object control” verb (*cf.* 165c-d). (c) The agent of the subjunctive construction surfaces in the position of direct object of the intentional verb, and the intentional verb is described as “direct object control” verb (*cf.* 165e).¹⁶⁴

- (165) a. *Naredio je (TI) da (TI)*
 ordered.M.Sg.Perf./-Part be.3Sg you Subj.Mark you
dodeš (TI).
 come.2Sg.Perf.Pres you
 ‘He ordered that you (yourself) should come.’
- b. *Naredio sam (MARIJA) da (Marija)*
 ordered.M.Sg.Perf./-Part be.1Sg Marija Subj.Mark Marija
dode (MARIJA).
 come.3Sg.Perf.Pres Marija
 ‘I ordered that Marija should come.’

¹⁶² There is a difference in the usage of infinitives and subjunctives in Serbian and Croatian. In Serbian, subjunctives are strongly preferred with verbs of class (B), while with verbs of class (C) both subjunctives and infinitives are used with all types of subjects. In the Croatian standard and in many of its dialects, subjunctive complements are excluded with verbs of class (B), while with verbs of class (C), they are used only when they have lexically expressed subjects or pro subjects followed by verbs with inflexions that unambiguously show that their referents are distinct from those of the subject of the main clause. Accordingly, the obviation effect typical for Romance subjunctives, obtains in Croatian, while in Serbian it does not (*cf.* Tomić 2002-2003; Stojanović and Marelj 2004).

¹⁶³ For emphatic purposes, the occurrence of pronominal subject with same reference as the subject of the main clause is possible:

- (i) *Namerava (ON) da (ON) putuje*.
 intend.3Sg he Subj.Mark he travel.3Sg
 ‘He intends to travel himself.’

¹⁶⁴ Note that all the verbs that have (b) structures also have (a) structures. *Cf.* the discussion on analogous structures in Macedonian in 1.4.2.2.

- c. *Naredio* *mi* *je* *da*
 ordered.M.Sg.Perf.I-Part 1Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Sg Subj.Mark
dođem *odmah.*
 come.1Sg.Perf.Pres immediately
 ‘He ordered me to come immediately.’
- d. *Naredio* *sam* *Mariji* *da*
 ordered.M.Sg.Perf.I-Part be.1Sg Marija.Dat Subj.Mark
dođe *odmah.*
 come.1Sg.Perf.Pres immediately
 ‘I ordered Marija to come immediately.’
- e. *Ub(j)edio* *sam* *Mariju* *da*
 convinced.M.Sg.Perf.I-Part be.1Sg Marija.Acc Subj.Mark
dođe *odmah.*
 come.3Sg.Perf.Pres immediately
 ‘I convinced Marija to come immediately.’

3.5.2.3 The verbs of class (C) can have joint or disjoint reference with the verbs of the subjunctive constructions in their complements.¹⁶⁵ In the former case, the subjects of the subjunctive constructions are dropped unless emphatic,¹⁶⁶ whereas in the latter case they can be dropped or expressed by lexical DPs/NPs or pronouns, which occur in a variety of positions – to the right of the verb, to the left of the subjunctive marker, to the immediate left of the verb of the subjunctive construction or to the left of a preverbal object.¹⁶⁷

- (166) a. *Hoću* *(JA)* *da* *mu* *ga* *(JA)*
 want.1Sg I Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl I
dam *(JA).*
 give.1Sg.Perf.Pres I
 ‘I (myself) want to give it to him.’
- b₁ *Hoće* *(d(j)eca)* *da* *(d(j)eca)* *dođu*
 want.3Sg children Subj.Mark children come.3Pl.Perf.Pres
(d(j)eca).
 children
 ‘(S)he wants the children to come.’
- c₁ *Petar hoće* *(D(J)ECA/ ONI)* *da* *mu*
 Petar want.3Sg children they Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl
(D(J)ECA/ ONI) *daju* *poklon.*
 children they give.3Pl.Perf.Pres present
- c₂ *Petar hoće* *(D(J)ECA/ ONI)* *da* *mu*
 Petar want.3Sg children they Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl
(D(J)ECA/ ONI) *poklon* *(D(J)ECA/ ONI)* *daju*
 children they present children they give.3Pl.Perf.Pres
(D(J)ECA/ ONI).
 children they

¹⁶⁵ In Croatian, subjunctive constructions do not appear in cases of joint reference, infinitives being used instead (cf. footnote 162).

¹⁶⁶ In emphatic environments, the subjects of subjunctive constructions are in this case expressed by a pronoun with same reference as the subject of the main clause.

¹⁶⁷ Pronominal subjects, if used, are always focused, whereas lexical subjects can be focused or not.

- c₃ *Petar hoće* *(D(J)ECA/ ONI)* *poklon da* *mu*
 Petar want.3Sg children they present Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl
 daju.
 give.3Pl.Perf.Pres
 ‘It is the children that Petar wants to give him the present.’
- c₄ *Petar hoće* *poklon* *(D(J)ECA)* *da*
 Petar want.3Sg present children Subj.M.ark
 mu *(D(J)ECA)* *daju* *(D(J)ECA).*
 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl children give.3Pl.Perf.Pres children
 ‘As for the present, it is the children that Petar wants to give it to him.’
- (167) a. *Ana planira* *da* *ide* *u* *Amsterdam.*
 Ana plan.3Sg Subj.Mark go.3Sg in Amsterdam
 ‘Ana is planning to go to Amsterdam.’
- b₁ *Ana planira* *da* *(d(j)eca)* *pođu*
 Ana plan.3Sg Subj.Mark children set-off.3Perf.Pres
 sutra.
 tomorrow
 ‘Ana is planning for them/(the children) to set-off (on a journey) tomorrow.’
- b₂ *Ana planira* *(ONI/ D(J)ECA)* *da* *(ONI/ D(J)ECA)*
 Ana plan.3Sg they children Subj.Mark they children
 pođu *sutra.*
 set-off.3Pl.Perf.Pres tomorrow
 ‘It is for them/the children that Ana is planning to set-off (on a journey) tomorrow.’

3.5.3 Subjunctive constructions – typically not coreferential with the verb in the upper clause – also occur as complements of verbs of perception.¹⁶⁸ However, since verbs of perception also take indicative complements (whose complementizers are formally indistinct from the subjunctive markers), the distinction between the subjunctive and the indicative complements can be observed only through the aspect of the verb – while indicative complements take both perfective and imperfective verbs, subjunctive complements take only perfective verbs, though there is a slight difference in the meaning – the indicative complements present the event as a fact (*cf.* 168), the subjunctive ones express direct perception (*cf.* 169).¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸ The subjunctive complements most often have disjoint reference with the verb of perception in the main clause, though cases of joint reference also occur. In such cases, in Croatian, infinitival complements are the only choice.

¹⁶⁹ In (169b) and (169c) the verbs of subjunctive constructions take as complements subjunctive constructions.

Note that in all cases, the complement can alternatively be introduced by a “wh” conjunction:

- (i) *Gledam/vidim* *kako/%gd(j)e* *uči.*
 see.1Sg.Imperf/Perf.Pres how/where study.3Sg
 ‘I see that (s)he is studying.’
- (ii) *Hoću* *da* *vidim* *Ivana* *da/* *kako/*
 want.1Sg Subj.Mark see.1Sg.Perf.Pres Ivan.Acc Subj.Mark how
 %gd(j)e uči.
 where study.3Sg
 ‘I want to see Ivan studying.’

- (168) a. *Gledam/vidim*¹⁷⁰ *da* *učiš.*
 see.1Sg.Imperf/Perf.Pres that study.2Sg
 ‘I see that you study.’
- b. *Vidim* *da* *Petar uči.*
 see.1Sg.Perf.Pres that Petar study.2Sg
 ‘I see that you study.’
- (169) a. *Nisam* *te* *vid(j)ela* *da* *učiš.*
 not+be.1Sg 2Sg.Acc.Cl seen.F.Sg.Perf.I-Part Subj.Mark study.2Sg
 ‘I haven’t seen you studying.’
- b₁ *Hoću* *da* *vidim* *da* *Petar uči.*
 want.1Sg Subj.Mark see.1Sg.Perf.Pres Subj.Mark Petar study.3Sg
 ‘I want to see that Petar is studying.’
- b₂ *Hoću* *da* *vidim* *(PETAR)* *da*
 want.1Sg Subj.Mark see.1Sg.Perf.Pres Petar Subj.Mark
uči *(PETAR).*
 study.3Sg Petar
 ‘It is Petar I want to see studying.’
- c₁ *Hoću* *da* *Petra* *vidim* *da*
 want.1Sg Subj.Mark Petar.Acc see.1Sg.Perf.Pres Subj.Mark
uči.
 study.3Sg
 ‘I want to see Petar studying.’
- c₂ *Hoću* *(PETRA)* *da* *vidim* *PETRA*
 want.1Sg Petar.Acc Subj.Mark see.1Sg.Perf.Pres Peter.Acc
da *uči.*
 Subj.Mark studies
 ‘It is Petar I want to see Petar studying.’

3.5.4 In reported speech, subjunctive constructions appear as complements of verbs of saying, which, as a rule, take indicative complements. Examples:

- (170) a. *Kažem* *mu* *da* *zatvori* *usta.*
 tell.1Sg 3Sg.Dat.Cl Subj.Mark shut.3Sg mouth
 ‘I am telling him to shut up (his mouth).’
- b. *Rekao* *sam* *mu* *da* *ne* *čita.*
 said.M.Sg.Perf.I-Part be.1Sg 3Sg.Dat.Cl Subj.Mark not read.3Sg
 ‘I told him not to read.’

The “wh” conjunctions *kako* ‘how’ and *gd(j)e* ‘where’ should be distinguished from “wh” adverbs with the meaning ‘how’ and ‘where’, respectively, which are used only in indicative contexts with pejorative connotation. As it can be seen by comparing (i) to (iii), while the conjunction is unstressed and procliticizes to the verb, the adverb is a stressed independent word:

- (iii) *Gledam KAKO/ G(J)DE uči!*
 see.1Sg how where study.3Sg
 ‘I see HOW/WHERE he is studying!’ (i.e. ‘(S)he is not studying in an inappropriate manner/place’.)

¹⁷⁰ The verb *vid(j)eti* may also mean ‘be able to see’ i.e. ‘not be blind’, in which case it is imperfective.

3.6 Subjunctive constructions as complements of the modals *imati* and *nemati*

In Serbian (though not in Croatian) subjunctive constructions appear as complements of the impersonal modal verb *imati* 'have.Impers' and its negative counterpart *nemati* 'not+have.Impers', in both cases only in the present tense.

3.6.1 Subjunctive constructions that occur as complements of the impersonal modal verb *imati* 'have' express an order:

- (171) a. *Ima da dođeš!*
have.Impers Subj.Mark come.2Sg.Perf.Pres
'You have to come (or else)!'

b. *Ima da ga uzmeš!*
have.Impers Subj.Mark 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl take.2Sg.Perf.Pres
'You have to take it (or else)!'

3.6.2 In the South-Eastern Serbian dialects subjunctive constructions appear as complements of the negative counterpart of *imati*, *nemati* or rather *nema*,¹⁷¹ to express (a) prohibition¹⁷² or (b) negation in reference to the future.¹⁷³

- (172) a. *%Nema da dojdū(!)*
not+have.Impers Subj.Mark come.3Pl.Perf.Pres
1. 'They shouldn't come!'
2. 'They won't come.'

b. *%Nema (da)¹⁷⁴ ga uzneš(!)*
not+have.Impers Subj.Mark 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl take.2Sg.Perf.Pres
1. 'You shouldn't take it!'
2. 'You won't take it.'

3.7 Subjunctive constructions as complements of a frozen form of *biti*

The third person singular future tense form of the auxiliary *biti* 'be', *biće*, when followed by a complement with a verb in the perfect, appears as a frozen form denoting high probability:

- (173) a. *Biće da je (Petar) došao.*
be.3Sg+will.3Sg.Cl that be.3Sg Petar come.3Sg.M.I-Part
'He/(Peter) has most probably come.'

b. *Biće da je tu.*
be.3Sg+will.3Sg.Cl that be.3Sg here
'(S)he is most probably here.'

¹⁷¹ There are no infinitives in the South-Eastern Serbian dialects.

¹⁷² In all Serbian dialects, including Standard Serbian, prohibition can also be expressed by subjunctive complements of the frozen negative imperative verb forms *nemoj* 'don't.2Sg' and *nemojte* 'don't.2Pl', which diachronically derive from *moći* 'can':

- (i) *Nemoj da ga uzmeš!*
not+can.2Sg.Imper Subj.Mari 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl take.2Sg.Perf.Pres
'Don't take it!'

¹⁷³ *Nema* 'not+have'+subjunctive constructions are in these dialects, used as an alternative to the negated future tense, which is constructed with the modal clitics *ću/će* +subjunctive construction (cf. 3.12.3).

¹⁷⁴ In these dialects the subjunctive marker *can* be and preferably is dropped whenever it is followed by a pronominal or auxiliary clitic.

- c. *Biće* *da* *su* *ih* *ostavili.*
 be.3Sg+will.3Sg.Cl that be.3Pl 3Pl.Acc.Cl left.3Pl.I-Part
 ‘They have most probably left them.’

3.8 Subjunctive complements with “wh” words as arguments or adjuncts

There are subjunctive complements with “wh” words as subjects, objects or adjuncts – all of them appearing in clause-initial position.

3.8.1 As in Macedonian and Bulgarian, these constructions most frequently are embedded questions. Examples:¹⁷⁵

- (174) a. *Odlučili* *su* *(t)ko* *da* *ih* *predstavlja.*
 decided.M.Pl.I-Part be.3Pl who Subj.Mark 3Pl.Acc.Cl represent.3Sg
 ‘They decided who should represent them.’
- b. *Razmišlja* *kome* *da* *da* *poklon.*
 contemplate.3Sg whom.Dat Subj.Mark give.3Sg.Perf.Pres present
 ‘(S)he is contemplating to who to give the present.’
- c. *Ne* *znam* *šta* *da* *učinim.*
 not know.1Sg what Subj.Mark do.1Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘I do not know what to do.’
- d. *Ne* *razum(ij)em* *zašto* *da* *ti* *ih*
 not understand.1Sg why Subj.Mark 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Pl.Acc.Cl
da.
 give.3Sg.Perf.Pers
 ‘I do not understand why (s)he should give them to you.’
- e. *Učim* *(kako)* *da* *pišem* *penkalom.*
 learn.1Sg how Subj.Mark write.1Sg fountain-pen.Instr
 ‘I am learning how to write with a fountain pen.’

3.8.2 In Serbian, subjunctive constructions with “wh” arguments/adjuncts can also occur as complements of the existential verbs *ima* and *nema*, which express assertion or denial of existence, while in both Serbian and Croatian they can be used as complements of verbs that express coming into view or availability or causation of one of these (cf. Grosu 2004), though in Croatian this usage is restricted to complements whose verbs have disjoint reference with the verbs of the main clause.

3.8.2.1 Examples of subjunctive constructions as complements of the (personal or impersonal) verbs *ima* ‘have’ or *nema* ‘not+have’ are given in (175):¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁵ The subjects of the subjunctive constructions can be same as the subjects of the main clauses or different from them. In the former case, they have pair sentences with infinitives, which in Croatian are the only option. Thus, the subjunctive construction in (174b) has an infinitive counterpart, while the one in (174a) does not. This is illustrated by the well-formedness of (i) and the unacceptability of (ii):

- (i) *Razmišlja* *kome* *pov(j)erovati.*
 contemplate.3Sg whom.Dat trust.Inf
 ‘(S)he is contemplating whom to trust.’
- (ii) **Odlučili* *su* *(t)ko* *ih* *predstavljati.*
 decided.M.Pl.I-Part be.3Pl who 3Pl.Acc.Cl represent.Inf
 purported reading: ‘They decided who should represent them.’

¹⁷⁶ As in the case of embedded questions, when the subject of the subjunctive construction is equivalent to the subject of the main clause, infinitives can be, and in Croatian always are, used instead of subjunctives. Since impersonals are subjectless, there is no restriction to the use of infinitives as their complements. Accordingly, in Standard Croatian,

- (175) a. *Ima ko da mi pomogne.*
have.Impers who Subj.Mark 1Sg.Dat.Cl help.3Sg.Perf.Pres
'There is someone who can help me.'
- b. *Imate šta da kupite u ovom gradu.*
have.2Pl what Subj.Mark buy.2Pl in this.Acc town
'There are things that you can buy in this shop.'
- c. *Nema šta da se učini.*
not+have.Impers what Subj.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl do.3Sg
'There is nothing one can do.'
- d. *Nemaju kome da se obrate*
not+have.3Pl whom.Dat Subj.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl adress.3Pl.Perf.Pres
za pomoć.
for help
'They have no one to turn to for help.'
- e. *Nemamo za šta da se uhvatimo.*
not+have.1Pl for what Subj.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl catch.1Pl.Perf.Pres
'We have nothing to hold onto.'
- f. *Nemaš kako da pošalješ paket.*
not+have.2Sg how Subj.Mark send.2Pl.Perf.Pres parcel
'You have no way to send a/the parcel.'

sentences with *ima* 'have' and *nema* 'not+have' have infinitival complements. The sentences in (175) have the following counterparts with infinitival complements:

- (i) *Ima mi tko pomoći.*
have.Impers 1Sg.Dat.Cl who help.Inf
'There is someone to help me.'
- (ii) *Imate što kupiti u ovom gradu.*
have.2Pl what buy.Inf in this.Acc town
'There are things that you can buy in this shop.'
- (iii) *Nema se što činiti.*
not+have.Impers Acc.Refl.Cl what do.Inf
'There is nothing to do.'
- (iv) *Nemaju se kome obratiti za pomoć.*
not+have.3Pl Acc.Refl.Cl whom.Dat address.Inf for help
'They have no one to turn to for help.'
- (v) *Nemamo se za što uhvatiti.*
not+have.1Pl Acc.Refl.Cl for what catch.Inf
'We have nothing to hold onto.'
- (vi) *Nemaš kako poslati paket.*
not+have.2Sg how send.Inf parcel
'You have no way to send a/the parcel.'

Note that there is clitic climbing: the clitic pronominal arguments of the infinitive climb to second position in the main clause.

3.8.2.2 Coming into view or availability or causing something to be visible or available can be expressed by a variety of verbs, but not all of them take subjunctive complements with “wh” verbs as subjects, objects or adjuncts. Two examples are given in (176):¹⁷⁷

- (176) a. *Izabrala* *je* *(t)ko* *da* *je*
 chosen.F.Sg.Perf./-Part be.3Sg who Subj.Mark 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
zameni.
 replace.3Pl.Perf.Pres
 ‘She chose someone to take her place.’
- b. *Našla* *sam* *čime* *da* *se*
 found.F.Sg.Perf./-Part am what.Instr Subj.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl
pokrijem.
 cover.1Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘I found something with which to cover myself.’

3.9 Subjunctive constructions as nominal modifiers or as adjuncts

Serbo-Croatian subjunctive constructions can function as nominal modifiers or as adjuncts.

3.9.1 Subjunctive constructions appearing to the immediate right of indefinite complements of the lexical verb *ima* ‘have/possess’, in both Serbian and Croatian function as nominal modifiers which describe the use or activity of the indefinite complement:

- (177) a. *Imam* *braću* *da* *mi* *pomognu.*
 have.1Sg brothers.Acc Subj.Mark 1Sg.Dat.Cl help.3Pl.Perf.Pres
 ‘I have brothers to help me.’
- b. *Imaju* *psa* *da* *ih* *čuva.*
 have.3Pl dog.Acc Subj.Mark 3Pl.Acc.Cl protect.3Sg
 ‘They have a dog to protect them.’
- c. *Imamo* *peć* *da* *nas* *greje.*
 have.1Pl stove Subj.Mark 1Pl.Acc.Cl warm.3Sg
 ‘We have a stove to keep us warm.’

3.9.2 Subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense can function as adjuncts of purpose:¹⁷⁸

- (178) a. *Javljam* *se* *da* *vidite* *da*
 call.1Pl Acc.Refl.Cl Subj.Mark see.2Pl.Perf.Pres that
se *brinem* *o* *vama.*
 Refl.Cl care.1Pl for you.Acc
 ‘We are calling so that you may see that we care about you.’
- b. *Došla* *sam* *da* *vam* *kažem*
 come.F.Sg.Perf./-Part am Subj.Mark 2Pl.Acc.Cl tell.1Sg.Perf.Pres
da *odlazim.*
 that leave.1Sg
 ‘I came/have come to tell you that I am leaving.’

¹⁷⁷ In Croatian, the subjunctive construction appears only in (176a).

¹⁷⁸ Here also, the subjunctive construction appears in Croatian only when there is disjoint reference. Unlike their counterparts in Macedonian and Bulgarian, the Serbo-Croatian subjunctive clauses functioning as adjuncts cannot be preceded by the preposition *za* ‘for’.

- c. *Dođe vreme da pođe.*
 come.3Sg.Aor time Subj.Mark leave.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 'The time came (for him/her) to leave.'

3.9.3 As a complement of the preposition *bez* 'without', together with that preposition, subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense in Serbian function as adjuncts of concession.¹⁷⁹ Examples:

- (179) *Pozvala sam te bez da znam*
 called.F.Sg.Perf./-Part am 2Sg.Acc.Cl without Subj.Mark know.1Sg
zašto.
 for+what
 'I called you without knowing why.'

3.9.4 Noteworthy are sentences with subjunctive constructions to the immediate left of the preposition *kao* 'like/as':

- (180) *Izgleda kao da leti/ je poleteo/*
 appear.3Sg like Subj.Mark fly.3Sg be.3Sg flown.N.Sg.Perf./-Part
će poleteti.
 will.3Sg/Pl.Mod.Cl start-to-fly.Inf
 'It appears as if (s)he/they is/are flying/has flown/will fly.'

3.9.5 Note also the subjunctive construction in the complements of the adverb *skoro* 'almost':

- (181) *Skoro da odem/ sam otišao.*
 almost Subj.Mark leave.1Sg.Perf.Pres am.Cl left./-Part
 'I almost left.'

3.10 Bare subjunctive constructions

Bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense as well as in the past (perfect) tense, are common throughout the territory where Serbian or Croatian are spoken, though in Croatian they are not used whenever there is an alternative.

3.10.1 Bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense, second or third person, singular or plural, express a wish or a command:¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹ In both Serbian and Croatian, subjunctive constructions to the immediate right of prepositions are rare. More often, subjunctive complements of prepositions appear accompanied by the expletive *to* 'it'. Examples:

- (i) *Dot(j)erao do toga da ga sažaljevaju svi*
 driven.M.Sg.Perf./-Part to it.Acc Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl feel-sorry.3Pl all
 'He is in such a deplorable situation, that everybody feels sorry for him.' (lit. 'He drove to that that everybody feels sorry for him.')
- (ii) *Nema ništa priyatnije od toga da budeš*
 not+have.Impers nothing pleasant.Compar from it.Acc Subj.Mark be.2Sg.Perf.Pres
majka.
 mother
 'There is nothing more pleasant than being a mother.'

¹⁸⁰ The bare subjunctives that express wishes and commands have alternatives, which are the only choice in Croatian. Thus, wishes can be expressed by structures in which adjectives are followed by *l*-participles:

- (182) *Da živi kralj!*
 Subj.Mark live.3Sg king
 ‘Long live the king!’
- (183) a. *Da ideš!*
 Subj.Mark go.2Sg
 ‘You should go!’
- b. *Da ih srdačno dočekate!*
 Subj.Mark 3Pl.Acc.Cl heartily meet/welcome.2Pl.Perf.Pres
 ‘You should meet/welcome them heartily!’

- (i) *Živio kralj!*
 lived.M.Sg.I-Part king
 ‘Long live the king.’
- (ii) *Veliki porastao!*
 big.M.Sg.Def grown-up.M.Sg.Perf.I-Part
 ‘May you grow up big!’
- (iii) *Živa bila!*
 alive.F.Sg been.F.Sg.I-Part
 ‘May you live long!’ (lit. ‘May you be alive.’)

For commands to second person, verbs with imperative morphology are used:

- (iv) *Probaj!*
 try.2Sg.Imper
 ‘Try!’
- (v) *Probajte!*
 try.2Pl.Imper
 ‘(You) try!’

Commands to third persons can be expressed by exhortative clauses, introduced by the exhortative marker *neka* ‘let’:

- (vi) *Neka ide/idu!*
 let go.3Sg/Pl
 ‘Let him/them go!’
- (vii) *Neka im ga daju!*
 let 3Pl.Dat.Cl 3Sg.Acc.Cl give.3Pl
 ‘Let them give it to them!’

Note that commands with *neka* ‘let’ do not occur with verbs denoting deontic modality, and seldom, if ever, occur with volitional verbs. They usually occur with verbs of saying and with verbs expressing pleas, suggestions, permission. (Tololinjska (1999:24) notes that complements with *neka* ‘let’ are concessive.)

While in Macedonian and Bulgarian bare subjunctive constructions that express commands can have first, second or third person subjects without any restriction, in Serbian subjunctive constructions with third person subjects occur only in interrogative sentence. Thus, (iii) is ill-formed in Serbian, while (iv-v) are well-formed:

- (viii) **Da ide Petar!*
 Subj.Mark go.3Sg Petar
 purported reading: ‘Petar should go!’
- (ix) *Da li da Petar dođe sutra?*
 whether Subj.Mark Petar come.3Sg.Perf.Pres tomorrow
 ‘Should Petar come tomorrow?’
- (x) *Koju knjigu da Petar uzme?*
 which book Subj.Mark Petar take.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘Which book should Petar take?’

3.10.2 Bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense, first person singular or plural, can express agreement:¹⁸¹

- (184) a. *Pa, da probam/probamo.*
 Disc Subj.Mark try.1Sg/Pl
 ‘Well, I/we shall try.’
- b. *Pa, da mu ga dam/damo.*
 Disc Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.1Sg/Pl
 ‘Well, I/we shall give it to him.’

3.10.3 Bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense can also express astonishment:

- (185) a. *Da zna a da nam ne*
 Subj.Mark know.3Sg and Subj.Mark 1Pl.Dat.Cl not
kaže!
 say.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘To know and not to tell us!’
- b. *Da se uda za deset godina*
 Subj.Mark Acc.Ref.Cl marry.3Sg for ten years
mlađeg od sebe!
 younger from self
 ‘To marry somebody ten years younger than herself!’

3.10.4 Bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the “be” perfect express a threat:

- (186) a. *Da si odmah došao!*
 Subj.Mark be.2Sg at-once come.M.Sg.Perf./-Part
 ‘Come at once, or else!’ (lit. ‘You should come at once.’)
- b. *Da te više nisam vid(j)ela ovde!*
 Subj.Mark 2Sg.Acc.Cl more not+be.1Sg seen.F.Sg.Perf./-Part here
 ‘I don’t want to see you here any more!’ (lit. ‘Not to see you here any more!’)

3.10.5 Negated bare subjunctive constructions with present tense verbs, second person, singular or plural, express prohibition.¹⁸²

- (187) a. *Da ne ideš tamo!*
 Subj.Mark not go.2Sg there
 ‘Don’t go there!’
- b. *Da mu ga ne daš/date!*
 Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl not give.2Sg/Pl
 ‘Don’t give it to him!’

¹⁸¹ Resolution for first person plural is also expressed by forms with imperative morphology:

- (vii) *Probajmo!*
 try.1Pl.Imper
 ‘Let’s try (to do this)!’

¹⁸² With lexical third person subjects, negated subjunctive clauses cannot be used:

- (i) **Da mu ga Vesna ne da!*
 Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl Vesna not give.3Sg
 Purported reading: ‘Vesna shouldn’t give it to him!’

3.10.6 Negated bare subjunctive constructions with present tense verbs, first person plural, can (with appropriate intonation) express resolution or agreement.¹⁸³

- (188) a. *Da ne govorimo o tome.*
 Subj.Mark not speak.1Pl about that.Dat
 1. 'Let us not speak about this.'
 2. 'So, we shan't speak about that.'
- b. *Da im ga ne damo, onda.*
 Subj.Mark 3Pl.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl not give.1Pl then
 1. 'Let's, then, not give it to them.'
 2. 'So, we shan't give it to them.'

3.10.7 Negated bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the "be" perfect express threats:

- (189) a. *Da te nisam vid(j)eo!*
 Subj.Mark 2Sg.Acc.Cl not+be.1Sg seen.M.Sg.Perf./-Part
 'Get lost!' (lit. 'I should not see you!')
- b. *Da vas nismo čuli!*
 Subj.Mark 2Pl.Acc.Cl not+be.1Pl heard.Pl./-Part
 'Be quiet!' (lit. 'We shouldn't hear you.')

3.10.8 Negated interrogative bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the "be" perfect can express doubt or wonderment:

- (190) *Da ga nije zatvorila policija?!*
 Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl not+be.3Sg arrested.F.Sg.Perf./-Part police
 'He hasn't been arrested by the police, has he?!'

3.10.9 Followed by embedded questions introduced by a "wh" word, bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense are used in vivid narration:

- (191) a. *Da vidiš što/šta se (je) dogodilo!*
 Subj.Mark see.2Sg what Acc.Refl.Cl be.3Sg
 happened.N.Sg.Perf./-Part
 'You should see what happened!'
- b. *Da znaš koliko je visok!*
 Subj.Mark know.2Sg how much be.3Sg tall.M.Sg
 'You can't imagine how tall he is!' (lit. 'You should know how tall he is!')

¹⁸³ With first person singular, negated bare subjunctives are questionable or completely excluded not only in Croatian, but also in Serbian:

- (i) *??Da ne govorim o tome.*
 Subj.Mark not speak.1Pl about that.Dat
 purported reading 'I shouldn't speak about it.'
- (ii) **Da mu ga ne dam.*
 Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl not give.1Sg
 purported reading: 'I shouldn't give it to him.'

3.11 Conditional sentences

In Serbo-Croatian, we have *realis*, *potentialis* and *irrealis* conditional sentences, the latter with one single reading.

3.11.1 *Realis* conditionality, i.e. a possibility for the events to be realized at some future point, can be expressed by two types of conditional sentences.

3.11.1.1 In one type of *realis* conditional sentences, we have a (perfective or imperfective) verb in the present tense in the *protasis*, and a future tense with an infinitive in the *apodosis*:

- (192) a. *Ako dođeš na vreme uzećemo*
 if come.2Sg.Perf.Pres on time take.Short.Inf+will.1Pl.Mod.Cl
te.
 2Sg.Acc.Cl
 ‘If you come on time, we shall take you (with us).’
- b. *Ako pobediš dobićeš/ dobit ćeš*
 if win.2Sg get.Short.Inf+will.2Sg.Mod.Cl get.Inf will.2Sg.Mod.Cl
nagradu.
 prize
 ‘If you win, you will get a prize.’

3.10.1.2 Another type of *realis* conditional sentences has forms of *futurum secundum*¹⁸⁴ in the *protasis* and a future tense with infinitives in the *apodosis*:

- (193) *Ako budeš došao, dobićeš/*
 if be.2Sg.Subj come.M.Sg.Perf./-Part get.Short.Inf+will.2Sg.Mod.Cl
dobit ćeš poklon.
 get.Inf will.2Sg.Mod.Cl present
 ‘If you (happen to) come, you will get a present.’

3.11.2 *Potentialis* conditional sentences, i.e. conditional sentences that concern as yet unrealized events, but the speaker conveys some doubt as to their realization, have conditional modal clitic followed by an *l*-participle both in the *protasis* and the *apodosis* and the *protasis* is introduced by *kad* ‘when’ rather than by *ako* ‘if’.¹⁸⁵

3.11.2.1 The conditional clitics are actually the former aorist forms of the verb *biti* ‘be’ (cf. 3.4.3). The forms of these clitics are given in Table 14:

¹⁸⁴ As pointed out in 3.4, *futurum secundum* is constructed by subjunctive “be” forms plus *l*-participles of lexical or auxiliary verbs.

¹⁸⁵ In these clauses, the temporal meaning of *kad* ‘when’ is obliterated.

Note that (“true”) temporal clauses do not include any modal clitics. Example:

- (i) *Kad budeš došao, dobićeš/ dobit*
 when be.2Sg.Subj come.M.Sg.Perf./-Part get.Short.Inf+will.2Sg.Mod.Cl get.Inf
ćeš poklon.
 will.2Sg.Mod.Cl present
 ‘When you come you will get a present.’

Table 14: Serbo-Croatian conditional modal clitics¹⁸⁶

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>bih</i>	<i>bismo</i>
2 nd	<i>bi</i>	<i>biste</i>
3 rd	= = = <i>bi</i> = = =	

3.11.2.2 Examples of Serbo-Croatian *potentialis* conditional sentences are given in (194):

- (194)

a.

Kad

bi

when

would.2/3Sg.Mod.Cl

htela

wanted.F.Sg./-Part

došla

come.F.Sg.Perf./-Part

bi.

would.2/3Sg.Mod.Cl

‘If you/she wanted (it), you/she would come.’
- b.

Kad

bi

when

would.2/3Sg.Mod.Cl

došla

come.F.Sg./-Part

vid(j)ela

seen.F.Sg.Perf./-Part

bi.

would.2/3Sg.Mod.Cl

‘If you/she came, you/she would see (it).’

3.11.3 *Irrealis* conditional sentences, i.e. conditional sentences expressing unrealised or unrealizable events, have subjunctive constructions with verbs in the perfect or past perfect¹⁸⁷ in the *protasis*, and conditional modal clitics plus *l*-participles of lexical verbs in the *apodosis*.

- (195)

a.

Da

Subj.Mark

si

be.2Sg

(bila)

been.F.Sg./-Part

došla

come.F.Sg.Perf./-Part

sa

with

nama,

us.Instr

ne

not

bi

would.3Sg

bila

been.F.Sg./-Part

sama.

alone.F.Sg

‘If you had come with us, you would not be alone.’

b.

Da

Subj.Mark

sam

be.1Sg

(bio)

been.M.Sg./-Part

imao

had.M.Sg./-Part

novca,

money.Acc

kupio

bought.M.Sg.Perf./-Part

bih

would.1Sg

kuću

house.Acc

na

on

moru.

sea.Loc

‘If I had had money, I would have bought a house at the seaside.’

c.

Da

Subj.Mark

je

be.3Sg

bio

been.M.Sg./-Part

zdrav,

healthy

trčao

run.M.Sg./-Part

bi.

would.3Sg

‘If he had been healthy, he would have been running.’

3.12 *Future tenses with subjunctive constructions*

3.12.1 In all the Serbian dialects, including Standard Serbian, the future tense with an infinitive has a variant with a subjunctive construction, while in the South-Eastern Serbian dialect the future tense with a subjunctive construction is the only future tense.

¹⁸⁶

The forms for the first and second person plural conditional modal clitics actually represent combinations of the conditional modal clitic *bi* and forms of the “be” auxiliaries.

¹⁸⁷

While the perfect is constructed by present tense forms of the “be” auxiliary, followed by *l*-participles of lexical verbs, the past perfect is constructed by present tense forms of the “be” auxiliary, followed by *l*-participles of the “be” auxiliary and *l*-participles of lexical verbs (cf. 3.1 and 3.2 in the the chapter “The Perfect and the Evidential”).

- (196) a. *Ja ću da vam to*
I will.3Sg.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark 2Pl.Dat.Cl it
pokažem.
show.1Sg.Perf.Pres
'I will show it to you.'
- b. *Moj brat će da ti*
my brother will.3Sg.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark 2Sg.Dat.Cl
je da.
3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Perf.Pres
'My brother will give it to you.'
- c. *Vi ćete da odete tamo.*
you will.2Sg.ModCl Subj.Mark go.2Pl.Perf.Pres there
'You will go there.'

3.12.2 Negated *ću* 'will.1Sg', *ćeš* 'will.2Sg', *će* 'will.3Sg/Pl', *ćemo* 'will.1Pl', *ćete* 'will.2Pl plus subjunctive construction sequences have two interpretations: (a) negative counterparts of the future tenses and (b) negative counterparts of the lexical verb *hoću* 'be willing/want'+ subjunctive constructions:

- (197) a. *Neću da dođem.*
not+will.3Sg.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark come.1Sg.Perf.Pres
1. 'I won't come.'
2. 'I don't want to come.'
- b. *Neću da vam to pokažem.*
not+will.3Sg.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark 2Pl.Dat.Cl it show.1Sg.Perf.Pres
1. 'I won't show it to you.'
2. 'I don't want to show it to you.'

3.12.3 In the South-Eastern Serbian dialects, there are only two modal clitic forms – *će* and *ću*; the former being used for all person/number associations, the latter for first person singular in contexts in which the will of the speaker is strongly expressed. The subjunctive marker to the left of the modal clitics is often left out.¹⁸⁸

- (198) a₁ *%Ću/(*će) li dobijem tu*
will.Mod.Cl/1Sg.Mod.Cl Inter.Cl get.1Sg.Perf.Pres that.Acc
knjigu?
book.Acc
'Shall I get that book?'
- a₂ *%Će/ću ti pošaljem knjigu.*
will.1Sg.Mod.Cl/1Sg.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl send.1Sg.Perf.Pres book.Acc
'I will send you the book.'
- a₃ *%Će/ću ti čitam jutre.*
will.1Sg.Mod.Cl/1Sg.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl read.1Sg.Pres tomorrow
'I will read to you tomorrow.'
- b. *%Tvoj prijatelj će (da) stigne*
your friend will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark arrives.Perf.Pres

¹⁸⁸ Usually, when the modal clitic occurs in a cluster with other clitics.

- jutre.*
tomorrow
'Your friend will arrive tomorrow.'
- c. %Do *jutre* *na* *pladne mi* *će* (*da*)
till tomorrow on noon we will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark
završimo *projekat.*
finish.1Pl.Perf.Pres project
'Till tomorrow at noon we will have finished the project.'
- d. %Ti *će* *mu* *dadeš* *knjigu.*
you will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl give.2Sg.Perf.Pres book.Acc
'You will give him the book.'
- e. %Mi *će* *vi* *ga* *damo.*
we will.Mod.Cl 2Pl.Dat.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl give.1Pl.Perf.Pres
'We shall give it to you.'
- f. %Bolje *će* *bude* *da* *gu*
better will.Mod.Cl be.1Pl.Perf.Pres Subj.Mark 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
ne *čitaš.*
not read.2Sg
'You had better not read it.'
- g. %Nadam *se* *da* *će* *budemo*
hope.1Sg Refl.Cl that will.Mod.Cl be.1Pl.Pref.Pres
prijatelji.
friends
'I hope that we shall be friends.'

3.12.4 In some South-Eastern Serbian dialects, there are modal past tense clitic forms that participate in the construction of the future-in-the-past tense and *l*-participles related to the present tense modal clitics which participate in the construction of a set of forms to which we may refer as “evidential future-in-the-past” forms.¹⁸⁹

3.12.4.1 The past tense forms of the South-Eastern Serbian modal clitics are given in Table 15:

Table 15: South-Eastern Serbian past tense modal clitics

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>ća</i>	<i>ćasmo</i>
2 nd	<i>-"</i>	<i>ćaste</i>
3 rd	<i>-"</i>	<i>ćaše</i>

3.12.4.2 The South-Eastern Serbian future-in-the-past is constructed by past tense forms of the modal clitics, followed by subjunctive constructions, while the South-Eastern Serbian “evidential future-in-the-past” is constructed by conditional *l*-participles, followed by “be” auxiliary clitics and subjunctive constructions. They are illustrated on the example of the verb *nosi* ‘carry’:

¹⁸⁹ These constructions are analogous to the Bulgarian future-in-the-past and evidential future-in-the-past (cf. 2.9.3; 2.9.4).

Table 16: South-Eastern Serbian future-in-the-past and “evidential” future-in-the-past of the verb *nosi* ‘carry’

	Future-in-the-past		“Evidential” future-in-the-past	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>ća da nosim</i>	<i>ćasmo da nosimo</i>	<i>ćal sam da nosim</i>	<i>ćali smo da nosimo</i>
2 nd	<i>ća da nosiš</i>	<i>ćaste da nosite</i>	<i>ćal si da nosiš</i>	<i>ćali ste da nosite</i>
3 rd	<i>ća da nosi</i>	<i>ćaše da nose</i>	<i>ćal e da nosi</i>	<i>ćali su da nose</i>

3.12.4.3 The South-Eastern Serbian future-in-the-past forms are predominately used to narrate past events. Examples:

- (199) a. %Ća da ga nosi.
would.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl carry.3Sg
‘(S)he wanted to carry him.’
- b. %Ća (da) se vrnem,
would.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark Refl.Cl come-back.1Sg.Perf.Pres
al(i) ne mogō.
but not could.1Sg.Imperf
‘I wanted to come back but I couldn’t.’
- c. %Ćaše da stroše šiše(to).
would.3Pl.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark break.3Pl.Perf.Pres bottle+the.N.Sg
‘They fell short of breaking the bottle.’ (lit. ‘They wanted to break the bottle.’)

3.12.4.4 The “evidential” future-in-the-past is used to narrate unwitnessed or reported events:

- (200) a. %Ćal sam (da) ga bijem.
would.M.Sg./-Part be.1Sg Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl beat.1Sg
‘(Reportedly,) I wanted to beat him (but I didn’t).’
- b. %Ćal (e) da stroši šiše(to).
would.M.Sg./-Part be.3Sg Subj.Mark break.3Sg.Perf.Pres bottle+the.N.Sg
‘(S)he fell short of breaking the bottle.’
- c. %Pobolje (e) ćalo da bude
Compar.Mark+better be.3Sg would.N.Sg./-Part Subj.Mark be.3Sg.Perf.Pres
da ne doodil.
Subj.Mark not come.M.Sg.Perf./-Part
‘It would have been better if he didn’t come.’

4. Romanian

In Romanian, the infinitive is still in wide use, but it is predominately a feature of the literary language, stimulated since the 19th century Enlightenment. In many environments the infinitive co-exists with tensed subjunctive constructions.¹⁹⁰

4.1 “Short” and “long” infinitives

Romanian grammars usually distinguish between long and short infinitives. The former infinitive has the suffix *-re*, while the latter has lost that suffix and is very often introduced by the infinitive marker *a* ‘to’.¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰ The “replacement” of the infinitive by subjunctive constructions is almost complete in the Southern Romanian dialects, while in the northernmost dialects of Maramureş and Crişana the infinitive is in full use.

¹⁹¹ The generalization of *a* as an infinitive marker diachronically relates to the loss of the suffix *-re* (cf. Alboiu and Motapanyane 2000:38)

4.1.1 The long or *re*-infinitive nowadays appears only as a nominalized infinitive, and as such it can be modified and can host the definite article:¹⁹²

- (201) a. *O să facem o plimbare.*
 will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark make.1Pl a.F.Sg walk.re-Inf
 ‘We shall go for a walk.’ (lit. We shall make a walk.)

¹⁹² Example (202c) is from Alboiu and Motapanyane (2000:38); example (202d) from Mallinson (1986:47). Sanfeld and Olsen (1936) give examples in which the infinitive is introduced by the preposition *de* ‘of’, such as:

- (i) *Au isprăvit de mânca.*
 have.3Pl finished.Past.Part of eat.re-Inf
 ‘They have finished (with) eating.’

In contemporary Romanian, however, the preposition *de* does not introduce infinitives, but rather gerunds, referred to as “supines”, which most frequently occur as complements in “tough”-constructions with nouns, participles and adjectives such as *greu* ‘difficult’, *ușor* ‘easy’, *lesne* ‘easy’, *plăcut* ‘pleasant’, *dornic* ‘eager’, *gata* ‘ready’ (always as an alternative to subjunctive constructions):

- (ii) *Poate-i nevoie de făcut ceva iute.*
 may-be.3Sg need of doing.Sup something fast
 ‘There may be a need to do something fast.’
- (iii) *Au isprăvit de mâncat.*
 have.3Pl finished.Past.Part of eat.Sup
 ‘They have finished (with) eating.’
- (iv) *Nu e greu de făcut.*
 not be.3Sg difficult of doing.Sup
 ‘It is not difficult to do.’

As noted by Rivero (1995), Romanian grammatical tradition relates the supines to the Latin and Old Church Slavonic supines, but the Latin supine was much more limited in its syntax than the Romanian supine.

As shown in (v) and (vi), from Hill (2004:346) and Hill (2004:351), respectively, *de* ‘of’ also introduces a “have” perfect construction which occurs as a complement of causative verbs and, in spite of its inflections, actually behaves as a non-finite verb:

- (v) *Ne a făcut de am curățat*
 1Pl.Acc.Cl have.3Sg made.Past.Part of have.1Pl cleaned.Past.Part
grădina.
 garden+the.F.Sg
 ‘(S)he made us clean the garden.’
- (vi) *Ne a făcut de vrând-nevrând ne-am*
 1Pl.Acc.Cl have.3Sg made.Past.Part of willy-nilly Acc.Refl.Cl-have.1Pl
apucat de spălat.
 started.Past.Part of washed.Past.Part
 ‘(S)he made us start washing, whether we liked it or not.’

As pointed out by Hill (2004:346) the verb forms following *de* have anaphoric properties and no subject is allowed between them and the verb:

- (vii) *Ne a făcut de (*Ion) a curățat*
 1Pl.Acc.Cl have.3Sg made.Past.Part of Ion have.3Sg cleaned.Past.Part
grădina.
 garden+the.F.Sg
 purported reading: ‘(S)he made Ion clean the garden.’

- b. *Plimbarea mi-a plăcut.*
walk.re-Inf+the.F.Sg 1Sg.Dat.Cl-have.3Sg pleased.Past.Part
'The walking pleased me.'
- c. *Amintirea războiului îi urmărește*
remind.re-Inf+the.F.Sg war+the.M.Sg.Dat 3Pl.Acc.Cl follow.3Sg
fără încetare.
without stop.re-Inf
'The memory of the war follows them without stopping.'
- d. *Plecarea lui surprinzătoare de la*
leave.re-Inf+the.F.Sg 3Sg.M.Dat.Pron surprising from at
conferință.
conference
'His surprising departure from the conference....'

4.1.2 The "short" (suffixless) infinitive, introduced by the infinitive marker *a* 'to', occurs in what are typically NP positions – in the position of subject (cf. 202a), object (cf. 202b) or prepositional complement (cf. 202c-d):

- (202) a. *A se plimba e o bucurie.*
to Acc.Refl.Cl walk.Short.Inf be.3Sg a.F.Sg pleasure
'It is a pleasure to walk.'
- b. *Îmi-place a mă plimba.*
1Sg.Dat.Cl-like.1Sg to 1Sg.Acc.Cl walk.Short.Inf
'I like to walk.'
- c. *Am plecat fără a-l*
have.1Sg left.Past.Part without to-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
revedea.
see-again.Short.Inf
'I left without seeing him again.'
- d. *Mă înspăimânta gândul de a iubi*
1Sg.Acc.Cl scare.3Sg thought+the.M.Sg of to love.Short.Inf
un monstru.
a.M.Sg monster
'The thought of loving a monster scares me.'

4.1.3 In free variation with subjunctive constructions with second person verbs, positive or negated short infinitives with infinitive markers are used in instructions:¹⁹³

- (203) a. *A se manevra cu grijă!*
to Acc.Refl.Cl handle.Short.Inf with care
'To be handled with care!'
- b. *A se scutura bine înainte de*
to Acc.Refl.Cl shake.Short.Inf well before of
întrebuințare!
use.re-Inf
'To be shaken well before usage!'

¹⁹³ The infinitives used in instructions are often impersonal. Example (203b) is from Asan *et al.* (1966/2:32); example (204a) is from Asan *et al.* (1966/1:217); example (204b) from Asan *et al.* (1966/2:232).

- (204) a. *A nu se pleca în afară.*
to not Acc.Refl.Cl lean.Short.Inf in outside
'Don't lean out (of the window)! (lit. 'To not lean out'.)
- b. *A nu se coborâ din mers.*
to not Acc.Refl.Cl get-off.Short.Inf from movement
'Don't get off (the train) while it is moving!' (lit. 'To not get off from movement.')
- c. *A nu călca pe iarbă!*
to not step.Short.Inf on grass
'Don't step on the grass!'

4.1.4 In free alternation with subjunctive constructions, the "short" infinitive, introduced by the infinitive marker, occurs as a complement of some intentional verbs:¹⁹⁴

- (205) a. *Am început a citi.*
have.1Sg start.Past.Part to read.Short.Inf
'I have started reading.'
- b. *Am început a nu mai crede în el.*
have.1Sg started.Past.Part to not more believe.Short.Inf in
he
'I have begun to no longer believe in him.'
- c. *Speram a-l întâlni pe Ion.*
hope.1Sg.Imperf to-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl meet.Short.Inf Acc.Mark
Ion
'I was hoping to meet Ion.'

4.1.5 Short infinitives with infinitive markers can marginally occur after some verbs which in the literature have been known as "raising" verbs:¹⁹⁵

- (206) *%?Copiii s-au nimerit a fi acolo.*
children+the.M.Sg Acc.Refl.Cl-have.3Pl happened.Past.Part to be.Short.Inf
here
'The children happened to be here.'

4.1.6 In free alternation with subjunctive complements, short infinitives, unaccompanied by the infinitive marker *a*, appear as complements of modal verbs:¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁴ Example (205a) is from Alboiu and Motapanyane (2000:39); example (205b) from Mallinson (1987:45); example (205c) from Hill (2004:348). Infinitives are richer in internal structure than supines. As compared to the subjunctives, however, they are more restricted. As pointed out by Hill (2004:348), in spoken Romanian, sentences with short infinitives as complements are control structures that do not license post-verbal subjects. Thus, while (205b) is well-formed, (i) is not:

- (i) **Speram a-l întâlni Maria pe Ion.*
hope.1Sg.Imperf to-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl meet.Short.Inf Maria Acc.Mark Ion
purported reading 'I was hoping that Maria would meet Ion.'

¹⁹⁵ The example is from Alboiu and Motapanyane (2000:39). These occurrences are not widely accepted. Many speakers qualify them as "obsolete" or "bookish". They might have been introduced during the period of Enlightenment (in the 19th century), when endeavours were made to make Romanian as similar to French as possible.

¹⁹⁶ Example (207a) is from Alboiu and Motapanyane (2000:19). Note that clitics cannot occur between the modal verb and the infinitive:

- (207) a. *Ion* *le* *poate* *primi* *chiar* *acum.*
 Ion 3Pl.Acc.Cl can.3Sg receive.Short.Inf right now
 ‘Ion can see them right now.’
- b. *Mă* *pot* *plimba.*
 1Sg.Acc.Cl can.1Sg walk.Short.Inf
 ‘I can walk.’

4.1.7 In free alternation with subjunctive complements, short infinitives, unaccompanied by the infinitive marker *a*, also appear as complements of verbs expressing (a) assertion or denial of existence or (b) coming into view or availability or causation of one of these (cf. Grosu 2004).¹⁹⁷

- (208) a. *Nu* *am* *cu* *cine* *vorbi.*
 not have.1Sg with whom talk.Short.Inf
 ‘I have nobody with whom I can talk.’
- b. *Știm* *cui* *trimite* *marfă.*
 know.1Sg who/which.3Sg.M.Dat send.Short.Inf merchandise
 ‘We know to whom to send the merchandise.’

4.2 *Romanian future tense with infinitives and present conditional tense*
Modal clitics that encode futurity and conditionality, combined with *a*-less suffix-less infinitives yield the paradigms of the future tense and the present conditional tense.¹⁹⁸

4.2.1 The future tense is constructed with a set of expectative modal clitics, which are historically related to the lexical modal verb *vrea* ‘want’.

4.2.1.1 The expectative (“will”) modal clitics are given in Table 17:¹⁹⁹

Table 17: Romanian expectative modal clitics

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>voi</i>	<i>vom</i>
2 nd	<i>veți</i>	<i>veți</i>
3 rd	<i>va</i>	<i>vor</i>

- (i) *Ion* **(le)* *poate* **(le)* *primi* *chiar* *acum.*
 Ion 3Pl.Acc.Cl can.3Sg 3Pl.Acc.Cl receive.Short.Inf right now
 ‘Ion can see them right now.’

¹⁹⁷ The examples are from Grosu (2004:407) In this case, the infinitives themselves have “wh” words as complements or adjuncts. Cf. the discussion on subjunctive constructions as complements of verbs expressing (a) assertion or denial of existence or (b) coming into view or availability or causation of one of these in 4.8.2

¹⁹⁸ Future-in-the-past and past conditional tenses are constructed when corresponding modal auxiliaries are combined with the invariant perfect “be” form *fi* and the past participle of the lexical verb. (cf. 4.2.3 in the chapter entitled “The Perfect and the Evidential”).

¹⁹⁹ In colloquial Romanian the initial consonant is left out and we have:

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>oi dormi</i>	<i>om dormi</i>
2 nd	<i>ăi -"-</i>	<i>eți -"-</i>
3 rd	<i>o -"-</i>	<i>or -"-</i>

4.2.1.2 The paradigm of the future tense of the Romanian verb *dormi* ‘sleep’ is given in Table 18:

Table 18: Future tense of the Romanian verb *dormi* ‘sleep’

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>voi dormi</i>	<i>vom dormi</i>
2 nd	<i>vei</i> -"-	<i>veți</i> -"-
3 rd	<i>va</i> -"-	<i>vor</i> -"-

4.2.1.3 The future tense is typically used for the expression of futurity relative to the present moment²⁰⁰ and for the expression of realizable conditionality. Examples:

- (209) a. *Ion va pleca mâine.*
Ion will.3Sg.Mod.Cl leave.Short.Inf tomorrow
‘Ion will leave tomorrow.’
- b. *Paul era sigur că se va*
Paul be.3Sg.Past sure.M.Sg that Acc.Refl.Cl will.3Sg.Mod.Cl
întoarce peste două zile.
come-back.Short.Inf after two days
‘Paul was sure that he would come back in two days.’

4.2.1.4 The future tense is also used in *realis* conditional sentences, both in the *protasis* and in the *apodosis* (cf. 4.11.1).

4.2.2 The present conditional tense is constructed with conditional modal clitics, which are historically related to the auxiliary *avea* ‘have’.

4.2.2.1 The conditional modal clitics are given in Table 19:

Table 19: Romanian conditional modal clitics

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>aș</i>	<i>am</i>
2 nd	<i>ai</i>	<i>ați</i>
3 rd	= = = <i>ar</i> = = =	

4.2.2.2 The paradigm of the present conditional tense of the verb *dormi* ‘sleep’ is given in Table 20:

Table 20: Present conditional tense paradigm of the Romanian verb *dormi* ‘sleep’

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>aș dormi</i>	<i>am dormi</i>
2 nd	<i>ai</i> -"-	<i>ați</i> -"-
3 rd	= = = <i>ar dormi</i> = = =	

²⁰⁰ There are no sequence of tenses rules and in reported speech the tense remains the same:

- (i) *Paul se va întoarce*
Paul Acc.Refl.Cl will.3Sg.Mod.Cl come-back.Short.Inf
‘Paul will come back in two days.’
- (ii) *Paul era sigur că se va*
Paul be.3Sg.Imperf sure.M.Sg that Acc.Refl.Cl will.3Sg.Mod.Cl *întoarce*
peste două zile.
after two days
‘Paul was sure that he would come back in two days.’

4.2.2.3 The present conditional tense is almost exclusively used in *irrealis* conditional sentences, in which it may appear both in the *protasis* and in the *apodosis* (cf. 4.11.3).

4.3 The subjunctive marker

The Romanian subjunctive construction is marked by the subjunctive marker *să*, which in many environments may be accompanied by the subjunctive complementizer *ca*.²⁰¹

4.3.1 In adjunct contexts the sequence *ca să* may occur freely:²⁰²

- (210) *Au intrat încet (ca) să nu*
have.3Pl entered.Past.Part slowly that.Subj Subj.Mark not
ne trezească.
1Sg.Acc.Cl wake-up.3Sg.Subj.Pres
‘They came in slowly not to wake us up.’

4.3.2 When the subjunctive construction functions as a complement, *ca* occurs only if there are focused subjects or other focused constituents to the left of *să*, which actually separate the subjunctive complementizer from the subjunctive marker:²⁰³

- (211) a. *Aranjasem ca cineva numaidecât*
arrange.1Sg.Pluperf that.Subj someone immediately
să-i ia locul.
Subj.Mark-3Sg.F.Cl take.3Sg.Subj.Pres place+the.M.Sg
‘I had made arrangements for someone to take her place immediately.’
- b. *A spus ca florile Ioana*
have.3Sg said.Past.Part that.Subj flowers+the.F.Pl Ioana
să le trimită la birou.
Subj.Mark 3Pl.Acc.Cl send.3Sg.Subj.Pres in/to office
‘(S)he said that, the flowers, Ioana should send them to the office.’

²⁰¹ While *să* is base-generated in the mood head, *ca*, which is unambiguously a complementizer, is base generated in C (cf. Terzi 1992; Rivero 1994, 1995; Cornilescu 2000).

²⁰² The example is from Alboiu and Motapanyane (2000:34).

²⁰³ Example (211a) is from Hill (2004:347); example (211b) from Alboiu and Motapanyane (2000:34). As shown in (i) and (ii), sentences with focused constituents are unacceptable without the subjunctive complementizer *ca*:

- (i) *Aranjasem *(ca) cineva numaidecât să-i*
arrange.1Sg.Pluperf that.Subj someone immediately Subj.Mark-3Sg.F.Cl
ia locul.
take.3Sg.Subj.Pres place+the.M.Sg
‘I had made arrangements for someone to take her place immediately.’
- (ii) *A spus *(ca) florile Ioana să*
have.3Sg said.Past.Part that.Subj flowers+the.F.Pl Ioana Subj.Mark
le trimită la birou.
3Pl.F.Acc.Cl send.3Sg.Subj.Pres to office
‘(S)he said that, the flowers, Ioana should send them to the office.’

On the other hand, sentences with no focused constituents and post-verbal subjects, do not allow the subjunctive complementizer. The following example is from Rivero (1995: section 4.1.2):

- (iii) *Maria vrea (*ca) să citească Petru*
Maria want.3Sg that.Subj Subj.Mark read.3Sg.Subj.Pres Petru
cartea.
book+the.FSg
‘Maria wants Petru to read a book.’

4.3.3 In certain contexts, the subjunctive complementizer *ca* cannot occur. Such are: (a) relative subjunctives (cf. example 212a and subsection 4.9.1); (b) complements of verbs expressing assertion or denial of existence or coming into view or availability or causation of one of these (cf. example 212b and subsection 4.8.2); (c) constructions with raising verbs (cf. example 212c and subsection 4.7); (d) subject control structures (cf. example 212d and subsection 4.5.3.2); and (e) object control structures (cf. example 212e and subsection 4.5.3.2).²⁰⁴

- (212) a. *Caut o fată (care) (*ca) să*
 look-for.1Sg a.F girl which that.Subj Subj.Mark
știe englezește.
 know.3Sg.Subj.Pres English
 'I am looking for a girl that knows English.'
- b. *Știu cum (*ca) să scriu cu*
 know.1Sg how that.Subj Subj.Mark write.1Sg with
stiloul.
 fountain-pen+the.M.Sg
 'I know how to write with a fountain pen.'
- c. *Toți băieții s-au nimerit*
 all boys+the.M.Sg Acc.Refl.Cl-have.3Sg happened.Past.Part
*(*ca) să fie bolnavi.*
 that.Subj Subj.Mark be.3Pl.Imperf sick.M.Pl
 'All the boys happened to be sick.'
- d. *Mioara a început (*ca) să*
 Mioara have.3Sg begun.Past.Part that.Subj Subj.Mark
se pregătească de plecare.
 Acc.Refl.Cl prepare.3Sg.Subj.Pres of departure.re-Inf
 'Mioara started to prepare her departure.'
- e. *Maria a convins pe Ion*
 Maria have.3Sg persuaded.Past.Part Acc.Mark Ion
*(*ca) să cumpere el televizorul.*
 that.Subj Subj.Mark buy.3Sg.Subj.Pres he TV-set+the.M.Sg
 'Maria persuaded Ion that he should buy the TV set.'

4.3.4 Both the subjunctive marker *să* and the subjunctive complementizer *ca* are morphologically distinct from the indicative complementizer *că*, which is typically used to introduce facts.²⁰⁵

- (213) a. *Nu știam că Mircea i-a*
 not know.1Sg.Imperf that Mircea 3Sg.Dat.Cl-have.3Sg
dat un inel.
 given.Past.Part a.M.Sg ring
 'I did not know that Mircea gave/has given her/him a ring.'
- b. *Spunea că (Ion) udă (Ion) grădina.*
 say.3Sg.Imperf that Ion water.3Sg Ion garden+the.F.Sg
 'She said that Ion is watering the garden.'

²⁰⁴ All the examples are from Alboiu and Motapanyane (2000:34).

²⁰⁵ Example (214b) is from Hill (2004:345); example (214c) from Rivero (1995: section 5.1).

- c. *E clar că Ion a citit cartea.*
 be.3Sg clear that Ion have.3Sg read.Past.Part book+the.F.Sg
 ‘it is clear that Ion has read the book.’

4.3.5 In complements of verbs of believing, constructions with *că*-complementizers and verbs in the composite perfect (i.e. present perfect) are interchangeable with constructions with subjunctive markers and verbs in the past perfect,²⁰⁶ with some subtle difference in the meaning:

- (214) a₁ *Sper c-a venit.*
 hope.1Sg that-have.3Sg come.Past.Part
 a₂ *Sper să fi venit.*
 hope.1Sg Subj.Mark be.Inf come.Past.Part
 ‘I hope that (s)he has come.’
 b₁ *Crezi că Ion a fost aici?*
 believe.2Sg that Ion have.3Sg been.Past.Part here
 b₂ *Crezi tu să fi fost Ion aici?*
 believe.2Sg you Subj.Mark be.Inf been.Past.Part Ion here
 ‘Do you believe that Ion was here?’
 c₁ *Nu credeam c-a adus cartea.*
 not believe.1Sg.Imperf that-have.3Sg brought.Past.Part book+the.F.Sg
 c₂ *Nu credeam să fi adus cartea.*
 not believe.1Sg.Imperf Subj.Mark be.Inf brought.Past.Part book+the.F.Sg
 ‘I didn’t believe that (s)he had brought the book.’

4.4 Forms of verbs in the subjunctive construction

With lexical verbs, as well as with the “have” auxiliary, the present tense verb forms of the subjunctive constructions are distinct from the present tense indicative forms only in the third person, singular or plural. The “be” auxiliary, whose citation form is *fi*,²⁰⁷ however, has a distinct subjunctive present tense paradigm.

4.4.1 The present tense forms of lexical verbs are illustrated on the example of the verbs *dormi* ‘sleep’ and *merge* ‘go’:

Table 21: Present tense forms of the Romanian verbs *dormi* ‘sleep’ and *merge* ‘go’

	<i>dormi</i>		<i>merge</i>	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>dorm</i>	<i>dormim</i>	<i>merg</i>	<i>mergem</i>
2 nd	<i>dormi</i>	<i>dormiți</i>	<i>mergi</i>	<i>mergeți</i>
3 rd Indic	<i>doarme</i>	<i>dorm</i>	<i>merge</i>	<i>merg</i>
3 rd Subj	= = = <i>doarmă</i> = = =		= = = <i>meargă</i> = = =	

²⁰⁶ Cf. 4.1 and 4.2 in the chapter “The Perfect and the Evidential”.

²⁰⁷ *Fi* was originally the third person singular perfect form of the “be” auxiliary. Nowadays, it is an invariant perfect “be” form, which is also used as a citation form, i.e. as an infinitive.

4.4.2 The present tense forms of the auxiliary verb *avea* ‘have’ are as follows:

Table 22: Present tense forms of the Romanian auxiliary *avea* ‘have’

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>am</i>	<i>avem</i>
2 nd	<i>ai</i>	<i>aveți</i>
3 rd Indic	<i>are</i>	<i>au</i>
3 rd Subj	===== <i>aibă</i> =====	

4.4.3 The present tense forms of the “be” auxiliary are given in Table 23:

Table 23: Indicative and subjunctive present tense forms of the Romanian “be” auxiliary

	Indicative		Subjunctive	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>sunt</i>	<i>suntem</i>	<i>fiu</i>	<i>fim</i>
2 nd	<i>ești</i>	<i>sunteți</i>	<i>fii</i>	<i>fiți</i>
3 rd	<i>este</i>	<i>sunt</i>	===== <i>fie</i> =====	

4.4.4 The use of the “be” auxiliary subjunctive forms is illustrated in (216):

- (215) a. *Mihai vrea ca Ion să fie*
Mihai want.3Sg that Ion Subj.Mark be.3Sg.Subj.Pres
președinte.
president
‘Mihai wants Ion to be president.’
- b. *Noi suntem datori să*
we be.1Pl indebted.M.Pl.Pass.Part Subj.Mark
fim gata a le da bani.
be.1Pl.Subj.Pres ready to 3Pl.Dat.Cl give.Short.Inf money
‘We are obliged to be ready to give them money.’

4.4.5 The verb in the main clause can be in any tense. With the verb in the subjunctive construction the situation is different: the subjunctive marker can appear only to the left of a present tense verb or to the left of a perfect infinitive, itself constructed by the “be” infinitive *fi* and a participle.²⁰⁸ An example of a subjunctive construction with a perfect infinitive is given in (218):

- (216) *Mihai ar fi vrut ca Ion*
Mihai would.3Sg.Mod.Cl be.Inf wanted.Past.Part that.Subj Ion
să fi citit aceste cărți.
Subj.Mark be.Inf read.Past.Part these books
‘Mihai would have wanted Ion to have read these books.’

²⁰⁸ The perfect infinitive is also used in future-in-the-past (cf. 4.6.3) and past conditional constructions (Cf. 4.11.3). Examples:

- (i) *Va fi ajuns.*
will.3Sg.Mod.Cl be.Inf arrived.Past.Part
‘(S)he would have arrived.’
- (ii) *Aș fi citit aceste cărți...*
.would.1Sg.Mod.Cl be.Inf read.Past.Part these books
‘I would have read these books....’

4.5 Typical uses of subjunctive constructions

The Romanian subjunctive constructions are typically used as complements of the lexical modals *trebuie* ‘must/should/need/ought’ and *putea* ‘can/may’²⁰⁹ (though often in free variation with *a*-less infinitives) and as complements of control verbs such as *intenționa* ‘intend’, *evita* ‘avoid’, *incerca* ‘try’, volitional verbs such as *vrea* ‘want’, inchoative verbs such as *începea* ‘start’, or intentional verbs such as *comanda/ordona* ‘order’, *sugera* ‘suggest’, *invita* ‘invite’, all of which may go under the general name of “intentional verbs”.²¹⁰ In some cases the verbs of the subjunctive constructions have to agree with the person/number features of the verb in the upper clause, whereas in other cases no such agreement is necessary or possible. When the verb of the subjunctive construction agrees with the verb of the upper clause, there is “equi” deletion and only one subject surfaces – in unmarked sentences, to the left of the main verb. When the subject of the subjunctive construction is different from the subject of the main clause, it surfaces to the left of the subjunctive marker or to the right of the verb of the subjunctive construction.²¹¹ Pronominal subjects are dropped, unless emphatic.

4.5.1 The modal verb *trebuie* ‘must/should/need/ought’ is impersonal – though, in the syncretic past tenses there is number distinction.²¹² Examples with the present tense form of *trebuie* are given in (217), whereas examples with the past tense (imperfect) forms are given in (218):²¹³

²⁰⁹ Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) argues that Romanian modals, unlike Romanian auxiliaries raise to Infl, because they combine with Tense features, precede adverbial clitics and host clitic pronouns. In her framework, *putea* ‘can’ is defined as a raising verb. As pointed out by Alboiu and Motapanyane (2000:36), however, Dobrovie-Sorin’s view has been challenged by a number of authors who argue for an exclusive inflectional status for *să*, while still accounting for the C-like properties of the subjunctive complementizer.

²¹⁰ Verbs of knowledge, thinking, saying and asking, which in their epistemic sense usually take indicative complements, can express an attitude and take subjunctive complements. Compare (i) to (ii), both from Asenova (2002:160), with my glosses and translation:

(i)	<i>Știu</i> know.1Sg	<i>că</i> that	<i>sînt</i> be.3Pl	<i>cam</i> little	<i>supărați</i> angry.M.Pl.Pass.Part	<i>pe</i> Acc.Mark	<i>tine.</i> you.Acc
	‘I know that they are a little angry with you.’						
(ii)	<i>Știu</i> know.1Pl	<i>să</i> Subj.Mark	<i>scrie</i> write.3Sg.Subj.Pres	<i>și</i> and	<i>să</i> Subj.Mark	<i>citească.</i> read.3Sg.Sibj.Pres	
	‘I know to write and read.’						

²¹¹ Although in many cases the subjunctive constructions alternate with infinitives, the obviation effect typical for the Romance languages does not obtain in Romanian, i.e. subjunctive constructions are used not only in environments of disjoint reference, but also in environments of joint reference (as in Standard Serbian; cf. 3.5.2 and footnote 162). As pointed out in the introduction to this chapter and in footnote 162, in Croatian, the obviation effect does obtain.

²¹² The syncretic past tense forms of *trebuie* are as follows:

tense	3sg	3pl
imperfect	<i>trebuia</i>	<i>trebuiau</i>
simple perfect (aorist)	<i>trebui</i>	<i>trebui ră</i>
past perfect	<i>trebuise</i>	<i>trebuiseră</i>

As noted by Hill (p.c.), the present tense forms are highly grammaticalized and can sometimes be used with an adverbial value. For example:

(i)	<i>Trebuie</i>	<i>că</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>plecat.</i>
	must/should/ought.Impers	that	to	left.Past.Part
	‘(S)he has probably left.’ (lit. ‘She must/should/ought to have left.’)			

Trebuie can also take an indicative complement.

(ii)	<i>Trebuie</i>	<i>că</i>	<i>pleacă.</i>
	must/shoud/ought.Impers	that	leave.3Sg.Indic
	‘(S)he must/should/ought to be leaving.’		

4.5.2 The modal *putea* ‘can/may’ is as a rule personal and has joint reference with its subjunctive constructions. The occurrence of the subjunctive complementizer *ca* with this verb is excluded.²¹⁴

- (219) a₁ *Copiii* *pot* *să* *plece.*
 boys+the.M.Pl can/may.3Pl Subj.Mark leave.3Pl.Subj.Pres
- a₂ *Pot* *să* *plece* *copiii.*
 can/may.3Pl Subj.Mark leave.3Pl.Subj.Pres boys+the.M.Pl
- a₃ **Pot* *ca* *copiii* *să* *plece.*
 can/may.3Pl that.Subj boys+the.M.Pl Subj.Mark leave.3Pl.Subj.Pres
 ‘The boys can/may leave.’
- b₁ (*Voi*) *puteți* *să* *vă* *plimbați.*
 you can/may.2Pl Subj.Mark 2Pl.Acc.Cl walk.2Pl.Subj.Pres
- b₂ *Puteți* *să* *vă* *plimbați* *voi.*
 can/may.2Pl Subj.Mark 2Pl.Acc.Cl walk.2Pl you
- b₃ **Puteți* *ca* *voi* *să* *vă* *plimbați.*
 may.2Pl that.Subj you Subj.Mark 2Pl.Acc.Cl walk.2Pl
 ‘You may go for a walk.’
- c₁ *Putea* *să* *iasă* *și*
 can/may.3Sg.Imperf Subj.Mark come-out.3Sg.Subj.Pres and
 bine *asta.*
 well that.Pron
- c₂ **Putea* *ca* *asta* *să*
 can.may.3Sg.Imperf that.Subj that.Pron Subj.Mark
 iasă *și* *bine.*
 come-out.3Sg.Subj.Pres and well
 ‘It could/might turn out to be good.’

4.5.3 Intentional verbs fall in three classes with respect to agreement with the person/number features of their subjunctive constructions: (A) verbs that (according to their straightforward reading) have joint reference with their subjunctive complements (e.g. *intenționa* ‘intend’, *evita* ‘avoid’, *incerca* ‘try’); (B) verbs that have disjoint reference with their subjunctive complements (e.g. *comanda/ordona* ‘order’, *sugera* ‘suggest’, *invita* ‘invite’); and (C) verbs that may have joint or disjoint reference with their subjunctive complements (e.g. *vrea* ‘want’ and *spera* ‘hope’).

²¹⁴ Example (219c₁) is from the Romanian translation of the sample text of Hemingway’s novel “The Old Man and the Sea”, given in Appendix Two.

Note that *putea* can be used impersonally if accompanied by the reflexive clitic *se*, in which case the subject of the subjunctive construction can even be preceded by the subjunctive complementiser *ca*:

- (i) *Se* *poate* *să* *plece* *copiii.*
 Acc.Refl.Cl can.Impers Subj.Mark leave.3Sg children
- (ii) *Se* *poate* *ca* *copiii* *să* *plece.*
 Acc.Refl.Cl can.Impers that.Subj children Subj.Mark leave.3Sg
 ‘It is possible that the children leave.’

4.5.3.1 The verbs of class (A) are control verbs and the subjects of subjunctive constructions as complements of verbs of this class are, as a rule, dropped.²¹⁵ There is no subjunctive complementizer.²¹⁶

- (220) a. *Intenționează să meargă la Paris.*
 intend.3Sg Subj.Mark go.3Sg.Subj.Pres to Paris
 ‘(S)he intends to go to Paris.’
- b. *Evită să te vadă.*
 avoid.3Sg Subj.Mark 2Sg.Dat.Cl see.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘(S)he avoids seeing you’.
- c. *Incearcă s-o uite.*
 try.3Sg Subj.Mark-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl forget.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘(S)he tries to forget her.’
- d. *Mioara a început să se pregătească de plecare.*
 Mioara have.3Sg started.Past.Part Subj.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl
 prepare.3Sg.Subj.Pres of depart.re-Inf
 ‘Mioara started to prepare for departure.’

4.5.3.2 The structures in which subjunctive constructions appear as complements of intentional verbs of class (B) can be of three different subtypes. (a) The agent of the subjunctive construction surfaces as a subject of the subjunctive clause if lexical, while pronominal agents do so only if they are emphatic, non-emphatic pronominal subjects being dropped (cf. 221a-b). (b) The agent of the subjunctive construction surfaces in the position of indirect object of the main clause, and the intentional verb is described as “indirect object control” verb (cf. 221c-d). (c) The agent of the subjunctive construction surfaces in the position of direct object of the intentional verb, and the intentional verb is described as “direct object control” verb (cf. 221e).²¹⁷ While in the case of subtype (a), the intentional verb is followed by a complementizer, in the case of subtypes (b) and (c) that is not the case. In current generative analyses it is argued that the deletion or non-existence of the complementizer makes it possible for the subject of the subjunctive construction to be governed by the verb of the upper clause.²¹⁸

- (221) a. *Am ordonat ca Maria să*
 have.1Sg ordered.Past.Part Subj.Mark Maria Subj.Mark

²¹⁵ For emphatic purposes, a pronominal subject with same reference as the subject of the main clause can appear to the left of the subjunctive marker:

- (i) *Intenționează ca numai EL să meargă la Paris.*
 intend.3Sg that.Subj only he Subj.Mark go.3Sg.Subj.Pres to Paris
 ‘He intends only himself to go to Paris.’

²¹⁶ Example (221d) is from Alboiu and Motapanyane (2000:34).

²¹⁷ All the verbs that have (b) structures also have (a) structures. In earlier generative analyses, structures such as those in clauses of subtype (b) were derived from structures like those of subtype (a) through “subject to object raising”. In current generative analyses, not only the structures of subtype (c), but also those of subtype (b) are treated independently from the structures of subtype (a). They are referred to as ECM (exceptional case marking) structures.

²¹⁸ In Megleno-Romanian, Aromanian and Albanian, however, a complementizer can optionally appear in all three subtypes of structures (cf. 5.4.3.2; 6.4.3.2; 7.5.3.2) – to the immediate left of the subjunctive marker or to the left of the subject or a focused element of the subjunctive construction.

- vină* *numaidecât.*
come.3Sg.Subj.Pres immediately
'I gave an order that Maria should come immediately.'
- b. *Am* *ordonat* *ca* *TU* *să* *vii*
have.1Sg ordered.Past.Part that.Subj you Subj.Mark come.2Sg
numaidecât.
immediately.
'I gave an order for YOU to come immediately.'
- c. *I-am* *ordonat* *Mariei* *să*
3Sg.F.Dat.Cl-have.1Sg ordered.Past.Part Maria.Dat Subj.Mark
vină *numaidecât.*
come.3Sg.Subj.Pres immediately
'I ordered Maria to come immediately.'
- d. *Mi-a* *ordonat* *să* *vin*
1Sg.Dat.Cl-have.3Sg ordered.Past.Part Subj.Mark come.1Sg
numaidecât.
immediately
'(S)he ordered me to come immediately.'
- e. *Maria* *I-a* *convins* *pe* *Ion*
Maria 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-have.3Sg persuaded.Past.Part Acc.Mark Ion
să *cumpere* *(tocmai el)* *televizorul.*
Subj.Mark buy.3Sg.Subj.Pres precisely he TV-set+the.M.Sg
'Maria persuaded Ion that (precisely) he should buy a TVset.'

4.5.3.3 As pointed out above, the verbs of class (C) can have joint or disjoint reference with the verbs of the subjunctive constructions in their complements. In the former case, the subjects of the subjunctive constructions are usually dropped,²¹⁹ whereas in the latter case they can be dropped or expressed by lexical DPs/NPs or emphatic pronouns, which occur to the right of the verb or to the left of the subjunctive marker.²²⁰

- (222) a. *Mihai vrea* *ca* *mîine* *să*
Mihai want.3Sg that.Subj tomorrow Subj.Mark
plece *la* *București.*
leave.3Sg.Subj.Pres in/to Bucharest
'Mihai wants to leave for Bucharest tomorrow.'
- b. *Vrea* *(ca* *numai* *tu)* *să* *pleci*
want.3Sg that.Subj only you Subj.Mark leave.2Sg
la *București* *(numai* *tu).*
to Bucharest only you
'(S)he wants (only) you to leave for Bucharest.'
- c. *Sper* *ca* *mîine* *(Maria)* *să*
hope.1Sg that.Subj tomorrow Maria Subj.Mark

²¹⁹ In emphatic environments, the subjects of the subjunctive constructions can in this case be expressed by a pronoun with same reference as the subject of the main clause.

²²⁰ Non-emphatic pronouns are dropped. Post-verbal subjects are preferred when there are no other elements in post-verbal position.

plece *la* *Londra* *(Maria).*
 leave.3Sg.Subj.Pres to London Maria
 ‘I hope (s)he/(Maria) will leave for London tomorrow.’

4.5.4 Romanian differs from the other Balkan language in not allowing subjunctive constructions as complements of verbs of perception in its standard dialect.²²¹

4.5.5 In reported speech, subjunctive constructions occur as complements of verbs of saying. When the subject of the subjunctive construction is coreferential with the verb of the main clause and, consequently, does not appear in surface structure, the subjunctive construction may appear to the immediate right of the indicative complementizer *că* (cf. 223a); when the subject of the subjunctive construction appears to the left of the subjunctive marker it is preceded either by the indicative complementizer *că* or by the subjunctive complementizer *ca* (cf. 223b).²²²

²²¹ In standard Romanian, the complements of verbs of perception are not subjunctival, but rather gerundial:

- (i) *A* *auzit* *ușa* *încizându-se.*
 have.3Sg heard.Past.Part door+the.F.Sg closing.Ger-Acc.Refl.Cl
 ‘(S)he has heard the door closing.’
- (ii) *Nu* *auzi* *codrul* *cântând?*
 not hear.2Sg forest+the.M.Sg singing.Ger
 ‘Don’t you hear the forest singing.’
- (ii) *Nu* *te-am* *auzit* *cântând.*
 not 2Sg.Dat.Cl-have.1Sg heard.Past.Part singing
 ‘I haven’t heard you sing.’
- (iv) *M-am* *simțit* *devenind* *neșteptat* *de* *curajos.*
 1Sg.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg felt.Past.Part becoming.Ger unexpected.M.Sg.Pass.Part of brave
 ‘I felt becoming unexpectedly brave.’
- (v) *L-am* *văzut* *pe* *Ion* *venind* *încă.*
 3Sg.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg seen.Past.Part Acc.Mark Ion coming.Ger this-way
 ‘I saw Ion coming this way.’
- (vi) *Vreau* *să-l* *văd* *pe* *Ion* *studiind.*
 want.1Sg Subj.Mark-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.1Sg Acc.Mark Ion studying.Ger
 ‘I want to see Ion study.’

(Example (ii) and (iv) are translations of two Bulgarian sentences with verbs of perception with subjunctive complements – (102a) and (102e), respectively).

As in the other Balkan languages, verbs of perception can take indicative complements:

- (vii) *L-am* *văzut* *pe* *Ion* *că* *vine*
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg seen.Past.Part Acc.Mark Ion that come.3Sg
cu *Irina.*
 with Irina
 ‘I saw that Ion came with Irina.’
- (viii) *Am* *simțit* *că* *Ion* *vroia* *să* *vină.*
 have.1Sg felt.Past.Part that Ion want.3Sg.Imperf Subj.Mark come.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘I felt that Ion wanted to come.’

Example (vii) is from Asenova (2002:157), with my glosses and translation. According to Hill (p.c.) it is a marked sentence; the default sentence would have the conjunction *cum* ‘how’ instead of the complementizer *că* ‘that’.

²²² As a matter of fact, subjunctive constructions in complements of verbs of saying are introduced by the indicative complementizer *că*, while the subjunctive complementizer *ca* occurs to the left of all subjects that occur to the left of the subjunctive marker. For economy reasons, one of the two subjunctive complementizers is deleted – preferably the subjunctive one.

- (223) a. *A spus (că) să nu-i*
have.3Sg said.Past.Part that.Indic Subj.Mark not-3Sg.Dat.Cl
sune.
ring.3Sg.Pres
‘(S)he said that (s)he shouldn’t ring him/her up.’
- b. *A spus că/?ca florile Ioana*
have.3Sg said.Past.Part that/that.Subj flowers+the.F.Pl Ioana
să le trimită la birou.
Subj.Mark 3Pl.Acc.Cl send.3Sg.Subj.Pres to office
‘(S)he said that, the flowers, Ioana should send them to the office.’

4.6 Romanian future tenses with subjunctive constructions

In addition to the future tense constructed with forms of *voi* plus infinitives, there are three future tenses constructed with subjunctive constructions: (a) a formal future tense, in which the subjunctive construction is preceded by forms of *voi* ‘will’; (b) a colloquial future tense, in which the subjunctive construction is preceded by the invariant modal clitic *o*, which is a reduced form of either *voi* ‘will’ or *avea* ‘have’;²²³ and (c) an intentional future tense, in which the subjunctive construction is preceded by forms of *avea* ‘have’.²²⁴

4.6.1 The formal future tense is construed with a subjunctive construction only in the third person singular form. Example:

- (224) *El va să facă pâine.*
he will.3Sg.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark make.3Sg.Subj.Pres bread
‘He will make bread.’

4.6.2 The colloquial and intentional future tenses are currently used.

4.6.2.1 The paradigms of the colloquial and intentional future tenses of the verb *dormi* ‘sleep’ are as follows:

Table 24: Colloquial and intentional future tenses of the Romanian verb *dormi* ‘sleep’

	Colloquial		Intentional	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>o să dorm</i>	<i>o să dormim</i>	<i>am să dorm</i>	<i>avem să dormim</i>
2 nd	<i>o să dormi</i>	<i>o să dormiți</i>	<i>ai să dormi</i>	<i>aveți să dormiți</i>
3 rd	<i>o să doarmă</i>	<i>o să doarmă</i>	<i>are să doarmă</i>	<i>au să doarmă</i>

4.6.2.2 The use of these “forms is illustrated in (225):²²⁵

- (225) a. *Ion o să-i ceară*
Ion will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark-3Sg.Dat.Cl ask.3Sg.Subj.Pres
mașina.
car+the.F.Sg

²²³ There is no consensus on the origin of *o*.

²²⁴ In addition, there is a future tense constructed by forms of *avea*, plus the supine form of the lexical verb, preceded by *de*. As example (i) shows, this tense expresses obligation:

- (i) *Am de făcut aceasta.*
have.1Sg of do.Sup that
‘I have to do that.’

²²⁵ These examples and the ones in (226) are from Albou and Motapanyane (2000:17). The basic meanings of the paired sentences are the same; they are, however, used in different environments.

- b. *Ion are să-i ceară*
 Ion have.3Sg Subj.Mark-3Sg.Dat.Cl ask.3Sg.Subj.Pres
mașina.
 car+the.F.Sg
 ‘Ion will ask him for the car.’

4.6.3 The Romanian future perfect does not include a subjunctive construction; in it the non-inflecting modal clitic *o* or forms or the inflecting “will” modal clitic are followed by the “be” infinitive *fi* and participles of lexical verbs:

4.6.3.1 The paradigms of the Romanian future perfect of the verb *dormi* ‘sleep’ is as follows:

Table 25: Future perfect of the Romanian verb *dormi* ‘sleep’

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>o/voi fi dormit</i>	<i>o/vom fi dormit</i>
2 nd	<i>o/vei fi -"-</i>	<i>o/veți fi -"-</i>
3 rd	<i>o/va fi -"-</i>	<i>o/vor fi -"-</i>

4.6.3.2 The use of the future perfect is illustrated in (226):

- (226) a. *S-o fi plimbat Ion.*
 Acc.Refl.Cl-will.Mod.Cl be.Inf walked.Past.Part Ion
 b. *Se va fi plimbat Ion.*
 Acc.Refl.Cl will.3Sg.Mod.Cl be.Inf walked.Past.Part Ion
 ‘Ion will have walked.’

4.6.4 In the *protasis* of conditional clauses, however, as an equivalent to the future-in-the-past of many Balkan languages, Aromanian included (cf. 6.9.3), in Romanian we have a subjunctive construction with a perfect infinitive – itself constructed by the “be” infinitive *fi* and a participle (cf. 4.1.1):²²⁶

- (227) *Să fi știut atunci aș fi*
 Subj.Mark be.Inf known.Past.Part then have.1Sg.Mod.Cl be.Perf
citit cartea.
 read.Past.Part book+the.F.Sg
 ‘Had I known (it) then, I would have read the book.’

4.7 Subjunctive constructions as complements of raising verbs

As pointed out by Alboiu and Motapanyane (2000:37), Grosu and Horvath (1984) argue that raising verbs induce NP-movement from subjunctive complements if *că/ca* is deleted (cf. 4.1.1):²²⁶

- (228) a. *Se pare ca toți băieții*
 Acc.Refl.Cl seem.3Sg that.Subj all.M.Pl boys+the.M.Sg
sunt bolnavi.
 be.3Pl.Indic.Pres sick.M.Pl
 ‘it seems that all the boys are sick.’
 b. *Băieții par (*ca) să fie*
 boys+the.M.Sg seem.3Pl that.Subj Subj.Mark were.3Pl

²²⁶ Examples (228a-b) are from Alboiu and Motapanyane (2000:37); example (229b) from Rivero (1995: section 4.2.3).

toți bolnavi.
all sick.M.Pl
'All the boys seem to be sick.'

- (229) a. *S-a nimerit ca copiii erau acolo.*
Acc.Refl.Cl-have.3Sg happened.Past.Part that.Subj children+the.M.Sg be.3Pl.Imperf there
'It happened that the children were there.'
- b. *Copiii s-au nimerit (*ca) să fie acolo.*
children+the.M.Sg Acc.ReflCl-have.3Pl happened.Past.Part that.Subj Subj.Mark be.3Pl.Subj.Pres there
'The children happened to be there.'

4.8 Subjunctive complements with "wh" words as arguments or adjuncts

Subjunctive constructions can have "wh" words as subjects, objects or adjuncts – all of them appearing in clause-initial position.

4.8.1 Most frequently, the constructions with "wh" words as subjects, objects or adjuncts originate as embedded questions:²²⁷

- (230) a. *Știu cine să ne trimeată aceste cărți.*
know.1.Pl who Subj.Mark 1Pl.Pron.Cl send.3Sg.Subj.Pres these books
'I know who can send us these books.'
- b. *Nu știm cui să trimitem marfă.*
not know.1Pl who.Dat Subj.Mark send.1Pl merchandise
'We do not know to whom to send the merchandise.'
- c. *Nu știu cu cine să vorbesc.*
not know.1.Sg with who Subj.Mark talk.1Sg
'I do not know to whom to talk.'

²²⁷ Example (230b) is from Grosu (2004:421). The subjects of the subjunctive constructions can be same as the subjects of the main clauses or different from them. In the former case, the subjunctive constructions are in free variation with suffixless infinitives without the infinitive marker *a*. The infinitive counterpart of the subjunctive construction in (230b) is represented in (i):

- (i) *Nu știm cui trimite marfă.*
not know.1Pl who.Dat send.Short.Inf merchandise
'We do not know to whom to send the merchandise.'

For (230a), there is no counterpart with an infinitive, and (ii) is unacceptable, though, since the infinitive form is equivalent to the 3Sg form, the same sentence with *trimite* glossed as 3Sg, (iii), would be well-formed:

- (ii) **Știu cine ne trimite aceste cărți.*
know.1Pl who 1Pl.Dat.Cl send.Short.Inf these books
purported reading: '*I know who to send us these books.'
- (iii) *Știu cine ne trimite aceste cărți.*
know.1Pl who 1Pl.Dat.Cl send.3Sg these books
'I know who is sending us these books.'

- d. *Știu ce să fac.*
 know.1Sg what Subj.Mark do.1Sg
 ‘I know what to do.’
- e. *Știu cum să scriu cu stiloul.*
 know.1Sg how Subj.Mark write.1Sg with fountain-pen+the.M.Sg
 ‘I know how to write with a fountain pen.’

4.8.2 Subjunctive constructions with “wh” arguments/adjuncts can also occur as complements of the existential verb *avea* ‘have’, which expresses assertion of existence; or as complements of verbs that express coming into view or availability or causation of one of these (cf. Grosu 2004:406 and footnote 50).

4.8.2.1 Examples of subjunctive complements of the existential verb *avea* ‘have’ are given in (231):²²⁸

- (231) a. *(Nu) avem cine să ne trimeată marfa.*
 not have.1Pl who Subj.Mark 1Pl.Pron.Cl send.1Pl
 merchandise+the.F.Sg
 ‘We have someone/(no-one) who can send us the merchandise.’
- b. *(Nu) avem cui să trimitem marfa.*
 not have.1Pl whom.Dat Subj.Mark send.1Pl
 merchandise+the.F.Sg
 ‘We have someone/(no-one) to whom we can send the merchandise.’
- c. *Are ce să cumpere în această prăvălie.*
 have.Impers what Subj.Mark buy.3Pl in this.F shop
 ‘There are things they can buy in this shop.’
- d. *Nu am cu cine să vin.*
 not have.1Sg with who Subj.Mark come.1Sg
 ‘I have nobody with whom I can come.’
- e. *Despre ce (nu) ai cu cine să vorbești?*
 about what not have.2Sg with who Subj.Mark talk.2Sg
 ‘What is such that you have nobody with whom to discuss it?’
- f. *N-are cine să ți fi furat cheia.*
 not-have.Impers who Subj.Mark 2Sg.Dat.Cl be.Inf stolen.Past.Part
 key+the.F.Sg
 ‘There is nobody who might have stolen your key.’

4.8.2.2 The selection of verbs expressing coming into view or availability or causing something to be visible or available, in whose complements subjunctive constructions can occur, is in Romanian somewhat wider than in the other Balkan languages. Thus, in addition to a number of verbs whose meanings are related to “look-for/seek” or to its opposite “find”, and can go under the name of

²²⁸ Examples (231a-b) and (231e) are from Grosu (2004:407). As in the case of embedded questions, when the subject of the subjunctive construction is equivalent to the subject of the main clause, the subjunctives can be replaced by suffix-less infinitives without the infinitive marker *a*.

“verbs of quest” (cf. Bužarovska 2004), it includes verbs with the meaning of ‘buy’, ‘send’ or ‘wrangle’:²²⁹

- (232) a. *A ales cine s-o*
have.3Sg chosen.Past.Part who Subj.Mark-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
înlocuiscă.
replace.3Sg.Subj.Pres
‘She chose someone to take her place.’
- b. *Am găsit cu ce să mă*
have.1Sg found.Past.Part with what Subj.Mark 1Sg.Acc.Cl
acopăr.
cover.1Sg
‘I found something with which to cover myself.’
- c. *Îți voi trimite cu ce să speli*
2Sg.Dat.Cl will.1Sg send.Inf with what Subj.Mark wash.2Sg
rufe.
clothes+the.Pl
‘I will send you something with which to wash clothes.’
- d. *Mi-am cumpărat cu ce să*
1Sg.Dat.Cl-have.1Sg bought.Past.Part with what Subj.Mark
scot ochii la toate țafele din cartier.
put-out.1Sg eyes to all fishwives+the.F.Pl from neighbourhood
‘I bought myself something with which to make all the fishwives in the neighbourhood burst with envy.’ (lit. ‘I bought myself something which would put out the eyes of all the fishwives in the neighbourhood.’)

4.9 Subjunctive constructions as nominal modifiers or as adjuncts

Romanian subjunctive constructions can function as nominal modifiers or as adjuncts.

4.9.1 Clauses in which subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense are introduced by the relativizer *care* ‘which’, function as relative clauses relating to a variety of referents: (a) to indefinite DPs that occur as complements of “verbs of quest” (cf. Bužarovska (2004) and footnote 53); (b) to complements of existential verbs; (c) to complements of imperative verbs; (d) to predicate nominals; (e) to animate definite subjects. The occurrence of the subjunctive complementizer *ca* to the left of the subjunctive marker is excluded in all of these cases.

4.9.1.1 Examples of “relative” subjunctive constructions referring to complements of verbs of quest are given in (233):²³⁰

²²⁹ Examples (233c) is from Grosu (2004:434); example (233d) from Grosu (2004:427).

²³⁰ Example (234c) is from Bužarovska (2004:389); examples (234d-e) from Bužarovska (2004:386). In all of these sentences the speaker makes a future commitment to a possible event with unrealized property, and all of them have pairs with future tense with an infinitive instead of future tense with a subjunctive construction. The pair of (233e) is (i):

- (i) *Voi construi o fabrică care va produce tractoare.*
will build.1Sg a.F factory which will.3Sg.Mod.Cl produce.Short.Inf tractors
‘I will build a factory which will produce factors.’

As pointed out by Bužarovska (2004), while the sentences with subjunctive constructions express commitment to a possible event with unrealized property, the sentences with future tenses express a mere commitment.

In (233d) the verb *întâlni*, which governs the referent of the subjunctive construction, is itself part of a subjunctive construction in complement position of the verb *spera*. According to Bužarovska (2004:386), in Romanian “the

- (233) a. *Caut o fată (care) să știe*
look-for.1Sg a.F girl which Subj.Mark know.3Sg.Subj.Pres
englezește.
English
'I am looking for a girl that knows English.'
- b. *Căut o pălărie care să mă apere*
look-for.1Sg a.F hat which Subj.Mark 1Sg.Acc.Cl protect.3Sg
de soare.
from sun
'I am looking for a hat that would protect me from the sun.'
- c. *Am găsit în sfârșit o rochie care*
have.1Sg found.Past.Part in end a.F dress which
să-mi placă.
Subj.Mark-1Sg.Dat.Cl please.3Sg.Subj.Pres
'I finally found a dress which would please me.'
- d. *Petru spera să întâlnească o fată care*
Petru hope.3Sg Subj.Mark meet.3Sg.Subj.Pres a.F girl who
să-l înțeleagă.
Subj.Mark-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl understand.3Sg.Subj.Pres
'Petru hopes to meet a girl who would understand him.'
- e. *Voi construi o fabrică care să*
will.Mod.Cl build.1Sg a.F factory which Subj.Mark
producă tractoare.
produce.3Sg.Subj.Pres tractors
'I will build a factory which would produce tractors.'

4.9.1.2 Examples of "relative" subjunctive constructions referring to (a) complements of existential verbs, (b) complements of imperatives, (c) predicate nominal and (d) animate definite subjects are given in (234a), (234b), (234c) and (234d), respectively.²³¹

- (234) a. *Nu există bărbați care să înțeleagă*
not exist.3Sg men who Subj.Mark understand.3Sg.Subj.Pres
femeile.
women+the.F.Pl
'There are no men who understand women.'
- b. *Cumpără-mi o carte care să aibă*
buy.Imper-1Sg.Dat.Cl a.F book which Subj.Mark have.3Sg.Subj.Pres
multe poze.
many pictures
'Buy me a book which has many pictures!'
- c. *Acesta e un aparat pe care să-l*
this be.3Sg a.M machine Acc.Mark which Subj.Mark-3Sg.M.Cl
manevrezi cu grijă.
handle.2Sg with care
'This is a machine which you should handle with care.'

acquisition/quest notion" can be reinforced by a modal volitional verb or by verbs such as *sperare* 'hope' (which in (233d) governs the verb *întâlneare* 'meet').

²³¹ Example (234a) is from Bužarovska (2004:398); example (234b) from Bužarovska (2004:392); example (234d) from Bužarovska (2004:399). Bužarovska (2004) notes that most of her Romanian examples are from Farkas (1992).

- d. *Persoana pe care s-o*
 person+the.F.Sg Acc.Mark who Subj.Mark-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
întrebi este Ion.
 ask.2Sg.Subj.Pres be.3Sg Ion
 'The person you are asking for is Ion.'

4.9.2 Subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense can function as adjuncts of purpose. In this case, they can be immediately preceded by the subjunctive complementizer *ca* or by the preposition *pentru* 'for' and the subjunctive complementizer *ca*.²³²

- (235) a. *A venit vremea (ca)*
 has come.Past.Part time+the.F.Sg that.Subj
să-mi dai ceea ce
 Subj.Mark+1Sg.Dat.Cl give.2Sg that.F.Sg what
mi-ai fagăduit.
 1Sg.Dat.Cl-have.2Sg promised.Past.Part
 'The time has come for you to give me what you promised.'
- b. *Au intrat încet (ca) să nu*
 have.3Pl entered.Past.Part slowly that.Subj Subj.Mark not
ne trezească.
 1Sg.Acc.Cl wake.3Pl.Subj.Pres
 'They came in slowly not to wake us up.'
- c. *Am cumpărat un fierăstrău (ca)*
 have.1Sg bought.Past.Part a.M saw that.Subj
să tai lemne.
 Subj.Mark cut.1Sg wood
 'I bought a saw to cut wood.'
- d. *Ion e prea periculos pentru ca să-l*
 Ion be.3Sg too dangerous for that.Subj Subj.Mark+3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
angajăm.
 hire.1Pl
 'Ion is too dangerous for us to hire him.'

4.9.3 Subjunctive constructions preceded by the preposition *fară* 'without', along with that preposition, function as adjuncts of concession.²³³ Examples:

- (236) a. *Mama lui a dat bomboane copilului*
 mother+the 3Sg.Dat.Pron have.3Sg given sweets child+the.Dat.Sg
fară să știe de ce.
 without Subj.Mark knows.3Sg.Subj.Pres for what
 'His mother gave sweets to the child without knowing why.'

²³² Prepositions, as a rule, take infinitival complements (cf. 4.1.2). Prepositions such as *pentru* 'for' and *fară* 'without' are an exception.

²³³ These subjunctive constructions are never accompanied by the modal complementizer *ca*. Note that in example (236b) we have a parasitic gap, which is licensed by the focusing of the noun *ciocolată* (As argued by Engdahl (1983), parasitic gaps are licensed by a variable. The operator of the focus phrase into which *ciocolată* is moved is such a variable).

- b. *Ciocolată a mîncat fără să desfacă.*
 chocolate have.3Sg eaten without Subj.Mark open.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘(S)he ate the chocolate without opening it.’

4.9.4 Subjunctive constructions preceded by the preposition *pînă* ‘until’, along with that preposition, function as adjuncts of time.

- (237) *Trebuiră s-aștepte mult pînă să*
 need.3Pl.Aor Subj.Mark-wait.3Pl.Subj much until Subj.Mark
poată trece strada.
 can.3Pl.Subj.Pres cross.3Pl street+the.F.Sg
 ‘They had to wait a lot before they could cross the street.’

4.10 Bare subjunctive constructions

The subjunctive constructions can be bare, i.e. they can occur by themselves and not as complements of other verbs.

4.10.1 Bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense, second or third person, singular or plural, can be used to express a wish or a command.²³⁴

²³⁴ Example (238a) is from Asenova (2002:185); example (238b) from Asenova (2002:188); in both cases with my glosses and translation. Isac (1994), Motapanyane (1995), Rivero (1994), Isac and Jakab (2004) refer to the bare subjunctive constructions as “surrogate” or “suppletive” imperatives. But, as we see below, the bare subjunctive constructions have many other uses.

For second person singular, there are distinct imperative forms, but the constructions with subjunctives are still used on a par with these forms. We actually find second person singular imperatives conjoined to second person singular subjunctive constructions:

- (i) *Dă mi un pahar, și să iei și*
 give.2Sg.Imper 1Sg.Dat.Cl a.M.Sg glass and Subj.Mark take.2Sg and
tu unul!
 you one+the.M.Sg
 ‘Give me a glass and take one yourself!’

Note that command can also be expressed (a) by so-called “inverted constructions”, in which a reflexive clitic follows a verb in the subjunctive mood (*cf.* ii); or (b) by infinitives without the infinitive marker *a* (*cf.* ii-iv):

- (ii) *Ducă-se!*
 go.3Sg.Subj.Pres-Acc.Refl.Cl
 ‘Let him/her go!’

- (iii) *Cântă-î!*
 sing.Short.Inf+2Sg.Dat.Cl
 ‘Sing to him/her!’

- (iv) *Nu te spăla cu apă rece!*
 not 2Sg.Accl.Cl wash.Short.Inf with water cold
 ‘Don’t wash yourself with cold water!’

As noted, in commands expressed by subjunctives or infinitives, the clitics encliticize to the verb. The infinitive can, however, take a plural marker and in this case, in colloquial Romanian, pronominal clitics can occur between the verb and the number marker. Thus, alongside (v), in colloquial Romanian we may have (vi):

- (v) *Duceți-vă!*
 go.Short.Inf.2Pl+2Pl.Dat.Cl

- (vi) *Duce-vi-ți!*
 go.Short.Inf+2Pl.Dat.Cl+2Pl.Marker
 ‘(You all) go!’

- (238) a. *Să ne vedem sănătoși!*
 Subj.Mark 1Pl.Acc.Cl see.1Pl healthy
 'May we see each other healthy!'
- b. *Să fii sănătos!*
 Subj.Mark be.2Sg.Subj.Pres healthy.M.Sg
 'May you be healthy!'
- (239) a. *Să mănânci tot!*
 Subj.Mark eat.2Sg everything
 '(You should) eat up everything!'
- b. *Să te duci!*
 Subj.Mark 2Sg.Acc.Cl go.2Sg
 '(You should) go!'
- c. *Să se ducă!*
 Subj.Mark Acc.Refl.Cl go.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 '(S)he should go!'
- d. *Maria să vină, nu Petru!*
 Maria Subj.Mark come.3Sg.Subj.Pres not Petru
 'Maria should come, not Petru!'

4.10.2 Bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense, first person singular or plural, can (with appropriate intonation) express resolution or agreement:

- (240) *Să mă/ne duc/ducem.*
 Subj.Mark 1Sg/Pl.Acc.Cl go.1Sg/Pl
 1. 'Let me/us go.'
 2. 'So, I/we shall go.'

4.10.3 Bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense (in any person or number) can express astonishment:²³⁵

- (241) a. *Să mă creadă el capabil de așa faptă?!
 Subj.Mark 1Sg.Acc.Cl believe.3Sg.Subj.Pres he able.M.Sg of
 such thing
 'To believe me able to do such a thing!'*
- b. *Să aibă bani și să moară de foame?!
 Subj.Mark have.3Sg.Subj.Pres money and Subj.Mark die.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 from hunger
 'To have money and die of hunger!'*

4.10.4 Bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the past tense express a missed opportunity:²³⁶

²³⁵ The examples are from Asenova (2002:192), with my glosses and translation.

²³⁶ Example from Asenova (2002:187), with my glosses and translation. Missed opportunity is, however, much more frequently expressed by *dacă* 'if' plus the past conditional tense:

- (i) *Dacă aș fi putut pleca!*
 if would.1Sg.Mod.Cl be.Inf could.Past.Part leave.Short.Inf
 'If only I could leave!'

- (242) *Să fi rămas fecior la plug.*
 Subj.Mark be.Inf remained.Past.Part boy to plough
 ‘If only I had remained a farmer boy!’ (lit. ‘I should have remained a boy at the plough!’)

4.10.5 In questions, bare subjunctive constructions with verbs preferably in a past tense, can also express doubt or wonderment.²³⁷

- (243) a. *Lupul să fi fost la o sută*
 wolf+the.M.Sg Subj.Mark be.Inf been.Past.Part to a.F.Sg hundred
de pași?!
 from feet
 ‘Could the wolf have been (only) a hundred feet away?!’
- b. *Să-l fi pierdut oare venind*
 Subj.Mark-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl be.Inf lost.Past.Part Inter.Mark coming
spre baltă?
 to swamp
 ‘Could he have lost it coming to the swamp?’
- c. *Să fi adunat el antăția bani?*
 Subj.Mark be.Inf gather.Past.Part he that-much money
 ‘Could he have amassed so much money?’
- d. *Să fi avut treizeci de ani?*
 Subj.Mark be.Inf have.Past.Part thirty of years
 ‘Could (s)he have been thirty years old?’

4.10.6 Negated bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense, second or third person, singular or plural, express prohibition.²³⁸

²³⁷ The examples are from Asenova (2002:189), with my glosses and translation.

²³⁸ Negated bare subjunctive constructions are negative counterparts to verbs with imperative morphology, which in Standard Romanian cannot be negated in many cases. As a matter of fact, only second person singular imperatives that are separated from the negation marker by pronominal clitics, can be negated. Thus, we have the following acceptability judgements:

- (i) *Vino!*
 come.2Sg.Imper
 ‘Come!’
- (ii) **Nu vino!*
 not come.2Sg.Imper
 purported reading: ‘Don’t come!’
- (iii) *Du-te!*
 carry.2Sg.Imper-2Sg.Acc.Cl
 ‘Go away!’ (lit. ‘Carry yourself away.’)
- (iv) **Te du!*
 2Sg.Acc.Cl carry.2Sg.Imper
- (v) **Nu du-te!*
 not carry.2Sg.Imper-Sg.Acc.Cl
- (vi) *Nu te du!*
 not 2Sg.Acc.Cl carry.2Sg.Imper
 ‘Don’t go!’ (lit. ‘Don’t carry yourself away.’)

As shown by the well-formedness of (vi) and the ill-formedness of (iv) and (v), preverbal occurrence of pronominal clitics is required by negated imperatives, and is not acceptable in positive imperatives. In colloquial Romanian,

- (244) a. *Să nu pleci!*
 Subj.Mark not leave.2Sg
 'Don't leave!'
- b. *Să nu plece copiii!*
 Subj.Mark not leave.3Pl.Subj.Pres children+the.M.Pl
 'The children shouldn't leave!'
- c. *Să nu-i suni!*
 Subj.Mark not-3Sg.Dat.Cl ring.2Sg
 'Don't call him/her.'
- d. *Să nu se ducă!*
 Subj.Mark not Acc.Refl.Cl go.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 '(S)he shouldn't go!'

4.10.7 Negated bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense, first person singular, express agreement:

- (245) *Să nu mă duc.*
 Subj.Mark not 1Sg.Acc.Cl go.1Sg
 'So, I shan't go.'

4.10.8 Negated bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense, first person plural, can (with appropriate intonation) express agreement or resolution:

- (246) *Să nu ne ducem.*
 Subj.Mark not 1Pl.Acc.Cl go.1Pl
 1. 'So, we shan't go.'
 2. 'Let us not go.'

4.11 Conditional sentences

As in Serbo-Croatian, in Romanian we have *realis* conditional sentences, *potentialis* conditional sentences and *irrealis* conditional sentences with one single reading.

however, very frequently used transitive verbs with imperative morphology (such as *zice* 'say', *duce* 'carry' *aduce* 'bring', *face* 'make') can be negated even when no pronominal clitics occur to the left of the negation operator:

- (vii) *%Du!* : *%Nu du!*
 carry.2Sg.Imper not carry.2Sg.Imper
 'Carry (it) away!' 'Don't carry (it) away!'
- (viii) *%Adu!* : *%Nu adu!*
 bring.2Sg.Imper not bring.2Sg.Imper
 'Bring (it)!' 'Don't bring (it)!'
- (ix) *%Fă!* : *%Nu fă!*
 do.2Sg.Imper not do.2Sg.Imper
 'Do (it)!' 'Don't do (it)!'

Note that prohibition can also be expressed by negated infinitives (*cf.* the examples in 204) and by second person indicatives (as in. (x), from Alboiu and Motapanyane 2000:30):

- (x) *Nu vă mai certați (voi)!*
 not 2Pl.Acc.Cl more argue.2Pl.Indic you
 'You two stop arguing!' (lit. 'You will not argue any more.')

4.11.1 In *realis* conditional sentences, i.e. in conditional sentences expressing a possibility that can be realized in the future, we have “if”-clauses with verbs in the present tense in the *protasis* and main clauses with verbs in the future tense in the *apodosis*:²³⁹

- (247) a. *Dacă nu i se citesc aceste cărți,*
if not 3Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl read.3Sg these books
nu o să învețe nimic nou/
not will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark learn.3Sg.Subj nothing new.M.Sg
nu va învăța nimic nou.
not will.3Sg.Mod.Cl learn.Inf nothing new.M.Sg
‘If these books are not read to her/him, (s)he will not learn anything new.’
- b. *Dacă vrea, noi o să mergem/*
if want.3Sg we will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark go.1Pl
va merge acolo.
will.3Sg.Mod.Cl go.Short.Inf there
‘If (s)he wants, we shall go there.’
- c. *Dacă ea este cuminte, o să*
if she be.3Sg good.F.Sg will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark
primească/ va primi un cadou.
get.3Sg.Subj will.3Sg.Mod.Cl get.Short.Inf a.M present
‘If she is good, she will get a present.’

4.11.2 In *potentialis* conditional sentences, i.e. in conditional sentences that are realizable but the speaker conveys some doubt as to their realization, we have “if”-clauses with verbs in the present conditional tense in the *protasis*, and main clauses with verbs in the same tense in the *apodosis*:²⁴⁰

- (248) a. *Dacă/de aş avea bani, aş*
if would.1Sg.Mod.Cl have.Short.Inf money would.1Sg.Mod.Cl
cumpăra o casă la munte.
buy.Short.Inf a.F.Sg house in mountain
‘If I had money, I would buy a house in the mountain.’
- b. *Dacă ar fi sănătos, ar*
if would.3Sg.Mod.Cl be.Inf healthy.M.Sg would.3Sg.Mod.Cl
alerga.
run.Short.Inf
‘If he were healthy, he would run/be running.’
- c. *De ar fi sănătos, ce*
if would.3Sg.Mod.Cl be.Inf healthy.M.Sg what
m-aş bucura.
1Sg.Acc.Cl-would.1Sg.Mod.Cl rejoice.Short.Inf
‘How happy would I be if (s)he were healthy!’ (lit. ‘If (s)he were healthy how would I rejoice!’)

²³⁹ The third person verbs (singular or plural) appear in the subjunctive form. Thus, the forms of the verbs in the “if” clause correspond to the forms in subjunctive constructions.

²⁴⁰ The “if”-clause is most frequently introduced by the conjunction *dacă*. When appropriate, however, it can also be introduced by the speaker oriented pragmatic conjunction *de*, which imparts the speaker’s point of view (wishful thinking).

- d. *Dacă ai veni,*
if would.2Sg.Mod.Cl come.Short.Inf
l-ai vedea.
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-would.2Sg.Mod.Cl see.Short.Inf
'If you came you would see him.'
- e. *Dacă l-ai vedea, Petru mi*
if 3Sg.Acc.Cl-would.2Sg.Mod.Cl see.Short.Inf Petru 1Sg.Dat.Cl
ar spune.
would.3Sg.Mod.Cl say/tell.Short.Inf
'If you saw him, Petru would tell me.'

4.11.3 In *irrealis* conditional sentences, i.e. in conditional sentences which are unrealised or unrealisable we have (a) "if" clauses with verbs in the imperfect in the *protasis* and main clauses with verbs in the imperfect in the *apodosis*, or (b) "if" clauses with verbs in the perfect conditional in the *protasis*, and main clauses with verbs in the perfect conditional in the *apodosis*:²⁴¹

- (249) a₁ *Dacă/de aveam bani, cumpăram*
if have.1Sg.Imperf money buy.1Sg.Imperf
o casa la munte.
a.F.Sg house in mountain
- a₂ *Dacă/de aş fi avut bani,*
if would.1Sg.Mod.Cl be.Inf have.Past.Part money
aş fi cumparat o casă la munte.
would.1Sg.Mod.Cl be.Inf buy.Past.Part a.F.Sg house in mountain
'If I had had money, I would have bought a house in the mountain.'
- b. *Dacă era sănătos, alerga.*
if be.3Sg.Imperf healthy.M.Sg run.3Sg.Imperf
'If he had been healthy, he would have run/be running.'
- c. *Dacă veneai, îl vedeai.*
if come.2Sg.Imperf 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Imperf
'If you had come, you would have seen him.'
- d. *Dacă n-ai fi venit,*
if not-would.2Sg.Mod.Cl be.Inf come.Past.Part

²⁴¹ The perfect conditional is constructed by the "be" infinitive *fi* and a participle (cf. 4.4.2).

Note that in speaker-oriented emotionally charged conditional sentences, the subjunctive marker, followed by the perfect infinitive can be used in the *protasis*:

- (i) %*Să fi avut bani, i-aş fi construit*
Subj.Mark be.Inf have.Past.Part money 3Sg.Acc.Cl-would.1Sg.Mod.Cl be.Inf taken
o casă.
a house
'Have I had money, I would have built him/her a house.'
- (ii) %*Să fi fost aici, te-ar fi luat.*
Subj.Mark be.Inf be.Past.Part here 2Sg.Acc.Cl-would.3Pl.Mod.Cl be.Inf taken
'If you had been here, (in my opinion) they would have taken you (with them).'

Nevertheless, most speakers characterize conditional clauses with subjunctive markers as "outdated" or "formal and poetic".

- aş* *fi* *citit.*
would.1Sg.Mod.Cl be.Inf read.Past.Part
'It you hadn't come, I would have read/been reading.'
- e₁ *Dacă nu venea,* *proiectul* *ar*
if not come.3Sg.Imperf project+the.M.Sg would.1Sg.Mod.Cl
fi fost terminat.
be.Inf be.Past.Part finished.Past.Part
- e₂ *Dacă nu fi venit,* *proiectul*
if not be.Inf come.Past.Part project+the.M.Sg
ar fi fost terminat.
would.1Sg.Mod.Cl be.Inf be.Past.Part finished.Past.Part
'If he hadn't come, the project would have been finished.'
- f. *Dacă fi fost aici, te-ar fi*
if be.Inf be.Past.Part here 2Sg.Acc.Cl-would.3Pl.Mod.Cl be.Inf
luat.
taken.Past.Part
'If you had been here, they would have taken you (with them).'

5. Megleno-Romanian

In Megleno-Romanian, the suffixed infinitive²⁴² is still present, though the subjunctive has taken over most of its former functions.

5.1 Use of the Megleno-Romanian infinitive

5.1.1 In its "proper" infinitival function, the Megleno-Romanian infinitive is used only as a complement of the modal verbs *puteari* 'can/may' and *trăbui* 'need to/should'. Examples:

- (250) a. *Pot viniri.*
can.1Sg come.Inf
'I can come.'
- b. *Teari duşiri.*
want.3Sg go.Inf
'(S)he wants to go.'

5.1.2 Much more widespread is the use of the infinitive as a verbal noun. As such, it can be accompanied by the postpositive definite suffixal article or preceded by an indefinite article or a preposition. Examples:

- (251) a. *Si darom una şătăiri.*
Subj.Mark make.1Pl a.F walk.Inf
'Let's go for a walk.'
- b. *Şătăirea mi arisi.*
walk.Inf+the.F.Sg 1Sg.Acc.Cl please.3Sg
'The walk pleases me.'
- c. *Cu ăntrarea căţom s-na*
with enter.Inf+the.F.Sg began.1Pl Subj.Mark-1Pl.Acc.Cl

²⁴² The infinitival suffix is *-ri*.

ăntertom.
quarrel.1Pl
'On entering we began quarrelling.'

5.2 The subjunctive marker

The Megleno-Romanian subjunctive constructions are introduced by the subjunctive marker *si*.

5.2.1 The subjunctive marker is morphonologically distinct from the complementizer in indicative clauses *ca* 'that'.²⁴³ Compare (252a) to (252b):

- (252) a. *Poati si iasă și la bun.*
can.3Sg Subj.Mark come-out.3Sg.Subj.Pres and to good
'It could also turn out to be good.'
- b. *Con ficiorlu vizu ca plondzi*
when child+the.M.Sg see.3Sg.Aor that cry.3Sg
mumă-sa...
mother-his.F.Sg.Cl
'When the child saw that his mother was crying...'

5.2.2 While the Romanian subjunctive marker can be preceded by a complementizer different from the complementizer which introduces indicative complements, the Megleno-Romanian subjunctive marker can be preceded by the same complementizer which introduces indicative complements, *ca*. The Megleno-Romanian subjunctive marker is most often preceded by a complementizer when expressing intentions, as in (253a-b), or in adverbial clauses, as in (253c-d):

- (253) a. *Zic ca s-mi duc.*
say.1Sg that Subj.Mark-1Sg.Acc.Cl leave.1Sg
'I am thinking of leaving.'
- b. *Antrară cătilin ca s-nu na scurtească.*
enter.3Pl.Aor slowly that Subj.Mark-not 1Pl.Acc.Cl wake-up.3Sg.Subj.Pres
'They came in slowly not to wake us up.'

5.2.3 In complements of verbs of believing, subjunctive complements (which may be preceded by the indicative complementizer *ca*) alternate with indicative complements introduced by the indicative complementizer.²⁴⁴

- (254) a. *Tărcios (ca) si iă vinit.*
hope.1Sg that Subj.Mark be.3Sg.Subj.Pres come.Past.Part
- b. *Tărcios ca iă vinit.*
hope.1Sg that be.3Sg.Subj.Pres come.Past.Part
'I hope that (s)he has come.'
- (255) a. *Verueș (ca) Iani si ra ua?*
believe.2Sg that Iani Subj.Mark be.3Sg.Imperf here

²⁴³ Indicative complements can also be introduced by the "wh" pronoun *iu(ndi)* 'where'.

(i) *Vizui un ficiorlu iundi u batea muma-sa.*
see.1Sg.Past a child+the.M.Sg where 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl beat.3Sg.Imperf mother-his.Cl
'I saw a child (that was) being beaten by his mother.'

²⁴⁴ There is a slight difference in the meaning – the subjunctive forms imply personal involvement.

- b. *Verueş ca Iani ra ua?*
believe.1Sg that Iani be.3Sg.Imperf here
‘Do you believe that Iani was here?’

5.3 *Form of verbs in the subjunctive construction*

The verb in the subjunctive construction can be in the present, the imperfect or any of the perfect tenses.²⁴⁵

5.3.1 There is only one subjunctive verb form distinct from the forms of the indicative – the common singular and plural form for the third person of the present tense. With lexical verbs, this form is characterised by the suffix *-ă*; with the auxiliary *veari* ‘have’, we have the form *aibă*; with the auxiliary *iri* ‘be’ – *ibă*.

5.3.2 For the verb *viniri* ‘come’ we have the following present tense forms:

Table 26: Present tense forms of the Megleno-Romanian verb *viniri* ‘come’

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>vin</i>	<i>vinim</i>
2 nd	<i>vinj</i>	<i>vinîţ</i>
3 rd Indic	= = = = <i>vini</i> = = =	
3 rd Subj	= = = = <i>vină</i> = = =	

5.3.3 The present tense forms of the auxiliaries *veari* ‘have’ and *iri* ‘be’ are given in Table 27:

Table 27: Present tense forms of the Megleno-Romanian auxiliaries *veari* ‘have’ and *iri* ‘be’

	<i>veari</i> ‘have’		<i>iri</i> ‘be’	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>am</i>	<i>vem</i>	<i>sam</i>	<i>im</i>
2 nd	<i>ai</i>	<i>veţ</i>	<i>ieş</i>	<i>iţ</i>
3 rd Indic	<i>ari/a</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>ăi</i>	<i>sa</i>
3 rd Subj	= = = = <i>aibă</i> = =		= = = <i>iă</i> = = =	

5.4 *Typical uses of subjunctive constructions*

Typically, subjunctive constructions are used as complements of the lexical modal verbs²⁴⁶ *puteari* ‘can/may/be able’, *trăbui*, ‘must/should/ought/need/be necessary’, *ari*²⁴⁷ ‘have’ and as complements of a list of verbs that may go under the name of “intentional verbs”. The subjunctive constructions can (and in some cases have to) agree in number and person with the verbs of the main clause. Whenever such agreement occurs there is “equi” deletion and in unmarked sentences the one and only subject surfaces to the left of the verb of the main clause.²⁴⁸ Pronominal subjects are dropped unless emphatic. When the subject of the subjunctive construction is different from the subject of the main clause, it surfaces to the left of the subjunctive construction, if unmarked, and to the right of its verb, if marked. The indicative complementizer *ca* appears to the left of overtly

²⁴⁵ As in Macedonian, the past tense form of the subjunctive construction indicates conditionality. Examples are given below.

²⁴⁶ Subjunctive constructions in complements of lexical modals are in free variation with infinitives.

²⁴⁷ The form of the impersonal modal verb *ari* ‘have’ is equivalent to the third person singular present tense form of the personal “have” auxiliary. Its use is illustrated in 5.5.

²⁴⁸ In marked sentences, pronominal subjects are overtly represented in the subjunctive complement.

represented subjects or focused constituents, while in clauses in which the subject is dropped and there are no focused constituents it can be adjacent to the subjunctive marker.²⁴⁹

5.4.1 The modal verb *puteiri* ‘can/may/be able’ can be impersonal or personal.

5.4.1.1 The occurrence of a subjunctive construction in the complement of the impersonal verb *puteiri* ‘can/be able’ is illustrated in (256):²⁵⁰

- (256) a. *Poati* (ca) *si* *iasă* *și* *la*
can/may.Impers that Subj.Mark come-out.3Sg.Subj.Pres and to
bun.
good
‘It can/may also turn out to be good.’
- b. *Țela* *ra* *peaști* *cu* *cari* *uom* *putea*
that.M.Sg be.3Sg.Imperf fish with which man can/may.Impers.Imperf
(ca) *si* *ghiască* *toată* *veară.*
that Subj.Mark live.3Sg.Subj.Pres whole.F.Sg summer
‘That was a fish from which one could/might live a whole summer.’

5.4.1.2 The occurrence of a subjunctive construction in the complement of the personal verb *puteiri* ‘can/may’ is illustrated in (257). As shown by the ungrammaticality of (257b), there has to be agreement in person and number between the modal verb and the verb in the subjunctive construction:

- (257) a. *Poț* *s-ti* *duț.*
can/may.2Sg Subj.Mark-2Sg.Acc.Cl go.2Sg
‘You can/may go.’
- b. **Poț* *si-l* *ducă.*
can/may.2Sg Subj.Mark-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl go.3Sg.Subj.Pres

5.4.2 The modal verb *trăburi* ‘must/should/need/be necessary’ can be personal or impersonal, but it takes subjunctive complements only as an impersonal verb.²⁵¹

²⁴⁹ Thus, the conditions for the adjacency of the complementizer and the subjunctive marker are much less restrictive than in Romanian, which does not mean that it is used more often.

²⁵⁰ The examples are from the Megleno-Romanian translation of the sample text of Hemingway’s novel “The Old Man and the Sea”, given in Appendix Two. In this example, *si* is a reduced version of the sequence *si* ‘Subj.Mark’ + *si* ‘Acc.Refl.Cl’.

²⁵¹ Example (258b) is from the Megleno-Romanian translation of the sample text of Hemingway’s novel “The Old Man and the Sea”, given in Appendix Two. Note that, in the imperfect, the impersonal verb *trăbuiri* inflects for number.

As a personal verb with the reading ‘need’, *trăbuiri* occurs in constructions with Dat NP/DP complements, as it does in Macedonian (cf. footnote 34):

- (i) *Ăț* *trăbuim* *noi.*
2Sg.Dat.Cl need.1Pl we
‘You need us.’
- (ii) *Ănj* *trăbuieș* *ca* *si-nj* *juț.*
1Sg.Dat.Cl need.2Sg that Subj.Mark-1Sg.Dat.Cl help.2Sg
‘I need you to help me.’

(Note that the subjunctive construction in (iii) is an adjunct.)

- (258) a. *Feată* *trăbuiași* (ca) *si*
 girl+the.F.Sg must/should/need/ought.Impers that Subj.Mark
ducă.
 go.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘The girl must/should/need/ought to go.’
- b. *Nu* *trăbuia* (ca) *s-mi*
 not should/ought.Impers.Sg.Imperf that Subj.Mark-1Sg.Acc.Cl
duc cota diparti.
 go.1Sg that-much far
 ‘I shouldn’t/oughtn’t have gone so far.’

5.4.3 Intentional verbs fall in three classes with respect to agreement with the person/number features of their subjunctive constructions: (A) Verbs such as *veari năiet* ‘intend’, whose subjects (with their straightforward reading) have joint reference with their subjunctive complements. (B) Verbs such as *nărănciori* ‘order’ or *pokaniri* ‘invite’, that have disjoint reference with their subjunctive complements. (C) Verbs such as *vreari* ‘want’ or *tărciori* ‘hope’, that have joint or disjoint reference with their subjunctive complements.²⁵²

5.4.3.1 The verbs of class (A) are subject control verbs and the subjects of subjunctive constructions that occur in their complements are, as a rule, dropped.²⁵³

- (259) a. *Ari* *năiet* (ca) *si* *amănă.*
 have.3Sg intention that Subj.Mark travel.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘(S)he intends to travel.’
- b. *Probi* (ca) *s-u* *gărășască.*
 try.3Sg.that Subj.Mark-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl forget.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘(S)he is trying to forget her.’
- c. *Petru zacăto* (ca) *si* *azărdăsească* *si*
 Petru begin.3Sg.Aor that Subj.Mark prepare.3Sg.Subj.Pres Acc.Refl.Cl
fugă.
 depart.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘Petru started to prepare for departure.’

5.4.3.2 The structures in which subjunctive constructions appear as complements of intentional verbs of class (B) can be of three different subtypes. (a) The agent of the subjunctive construction surfaces as a subject of the subjunctive clause if lexical, while pronominal agents do so only if they are emphatic, non-emphatic pronominal subjects being dropped (cf. 260a-b).²⁵⁴ (b) The agent of the

²⁵² There are verbs which in their basic readings are not intentional but can be used in intentional contexts, in which case they take subjunctive complements. An example of such a verb is given in (i):

(i) *Nu* *dădea* *si-i* *jută.*
 not give.3Sg.Imperf Subj.Mark-3Sg.Dat.Cl help.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘(S)he didn’t allow to be helped.’

²⁵³ For emphatic purposes, a pronominal subject with same reference as the subject of the main clause can appear to the left of the subjunctive marker.

²⁵⁴ In analogous structures in Romanian, a complementizer appears obligatorily to the left of the subject of the subjunctive constructions (cf. 4.5.3.2). Since the occurrence of this complementizer is precluded in Romanian structures of subtypes (b) and (c), the distinct properties of those structures have been ascribed to the non-existence or deletion of the complementizer. In Megleno-Romanian, as well as in Aromanian (cf. 6.4.3.2) and Albanian (cf. 7.5.3.2), a complementizer can, however, optionally appear in all three subtypes of structures – either to the immediate left of the subjunctive marker or to the left of the subject or a focused constituent of the subjunctive construction.

subjunctive construction surfaces in the position of indirect object in the main clause and the intentional verb is described as “indirect object control” verb (*cf.* 260c-d). (c) The agent of the subjunctive construction surfaces in the position of direct object of the main clause, and the intentional verb is described as “direct object control” verb.²⁵⁵

- (260) a. *Narāncio (ca) Maria (ca) si vină ună shi* .
 order.3Sg.Aor that Maria that Subj.Mark come.3Sg one and
ună.
 one
 ‘(S)he gave an order for Marija to come immediately.’
- b. *Narāncio (ca) si vinj ună shi ună.*
 order.3Sg.Aor that Subj.Mark come.2Sg one and one
 ‘(S)he gave an order for you to come immediately.’
- c. *Ăi narāncio la Maria (ca) si*
 3Sg.Dat.Cl ordered.3Sg.Aor to Marija that Subj.Mark
vină ună shi ună.
 come.3Sg.Subj.Pres one and one
 ‘He ordered Marija to come immediately.’
- d. *Ănj narāncio (ca) si vin ună shi*
 1Sg.Dat.Cl order.3Sg.Aor that Subj.Mark come.1Sg one and
ună.
 one
 ‘(S)he ordered me to come immediately.’

5.4.3.3 The verbs of class (C) can have joint or disjoint reference with the verbs of the subjunctive constructions in their complements. In the former case, the subjects of the subjunctive constructions are as a rule dropped,²⁵⁶ whereas in the latter case they can be dropped or expressed by lexical DPs/NPs or pronouns, which occur to the right of the verb or to the left of the subjunctive marker.

- (261) a. *Nu vrea/țirea si slăgăiască.*
 not want.3Sg.Imperf Subj.Mark think.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘(S)he didn’t want/wish to think.’
- b. *Voi/țer (ca) s-na duțim priună.*
 want/wish.1Sg that Subj.Mark-1Pl.Acc.Cl go.1Pl together
 ‘I want/wish us to go together.’
- c. *Voi/țer (ca) (Jani) si ducă*
 want/wish.1Sg that Jani Subj.Mark+Acc.Refl.Cl go.3Sg.Subj.Pres
cola (Jani).
 there Jani
 ‘I want/wish Jani to go there.’

²⁵⁵ All the verbs that have (b) structures also have (a) structures. In earlier generative analyses, structures such as those of subtype (b) were derived from structures like those of subtype (a) through “subject to object raising”. In current generative analyses, the structures of subtype (b) are treated independently from the structures of subtype (a). Along with structures of subtype (c), they are referred to as ECM (exceptional case marking) structures.

²⁵⁶ In emphatic environments, the subjects of subjunctive constructions are expressed by a pronoun with same reference as the subject of the main clause.

- (262) a. *Maria cǎndăsi* *si* *cumpără*
 Maria persuade/convince/agree.3Sg.Aor Subj.Mark buy.3Sg.Subj.Pres
televizor.
 TV-set
 ‘Maria agreed to buy a TV-set.’
- b. *Maria la cǎndăsi Petru si*
 Maria 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl persuade/convince.3Sg.Aor Petru Subj.Mark
cumpără televizor.
 buy.3Sg.Subj.Pres TV-set
 ‘Maria persuaded Petru to buy a TV-set.’
- (263) a. *Na ăntielasim si-i la*
 1Pl.Acc.Cl agree.1Pl.Aor Subj.Mark-3Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
leam locu lui.
 take.1Pl place+the.M.Sg his/her
 ‘We agreed to take her/his place.’
- b. *Na ăntielasim vrin si-i*
 1Pl.Acc.Cl agree.1Pl.Aor someone Subj.Mark-3Sg.Dat.Cl
la lea locu lui.
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl take.3Sg.Subj.Pres place+the.M.Sg his/her
 ‘We agreed for someone to take her/his place.’

5.4.4 As in Macedonian, verbs of perception take subjunctive complements only in specific environments²⁵⁷ – when negated, as in (264) or when they themselves are subjunctive complements, as in (265):²⁵⁸

- (264) a. *Nu ti vizui si conț.*
 not 2Sg.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Aor Subj.Mark sing/read/study.2Sg
 ‘I didn’t see/haven’t seen you study.’
- b. *Nu ti uzoï si conț.*
 not 2Sg.Acc.Cl hear.1Sg.Aor Subj.Mark sing.2Sg
 ‘I didn’t hear/haven’t heard you sing.’
- (265) a. *Voi s-ti ved si plivieș.*
 want.1Sg Subj.Mark-2Sg.Acc.Cl see.1Sg Subj swim.2Sg
 ‘I want to see you swim.’
- b. *Voi s-la ved si*
 want.1Sg Subj.Mark-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.1Sg Subj
pliviască.
 swim.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘I want to see him swim.’

²⁵⁷ As a rule, verbs of perception take indicative “that”- or “wh” complements:

- (i) *La ved Petru ca vini ua.*
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.1Sg Petru that come.3Sg here
 ‘I see that Petru is coming here.’
- (ii) *La ved iundi pliviaști.*
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.1Sg where swim.3Sg
 ‘I see that he is swimming.’

²⁵⁸ Typically, the subjunctive complements of verbs of perception have disjoint reference with the main clause.

5.4.5 In reported speech, subjunctive constructions may appear as complements of verbs of saying.²⁵⁹

- (266) a. *ĂȚ* *zic* *si* *taȚ!*
 2Sg.Dat.Cl tell.1Sg Subj.Mark be-silent.2Sg
 'I am telling you to be silent.'
- b. *ĂȚ* *ziș* *s-nu* *conȚ!*
 2Sg.Dat.Cl say.1Sg.Aor Subj.Mark-not sing/read.2Sg
 'I told you not to sing/read.'
- c. *Zisi* *(ca)* *florile* *(ca)* *s-li*
 say.3Sg.Aor that flowers+the.F.Pl that Subj.Mark-3Pl.Acc.Cl
ducă *Ioana* *în* *cancelaria.*
 send.3Sg.Subj.Pres Ioana in office
 '(S)he said that, the flowers, Ioana should send them to the office.'

5.5 Subjunctive constructions as complements of the modal *ari*

5.5.1 Clauses in which subjunctive constructions occur as complements of the non-negated impersonal modal verb *ari* 'have' express strong determination (when the verb in the subjunctive construction is in the first person) or order (when the verb in the subjunctive construction is in the second or third person):

- (267) a. *Ari* *si* *vin!*
 have.Impers Subj.Mark come.1Sg
 'I have to come!'
- b. *Ari* *s-la* *lei!*
 have.Impers Subj.Mark-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl come.2Sg
 'You have to take it!'
- c. *Ari* *s-iu* *dai* *Țeastă*
 have.Impers Subj.Mark-3Sg.Dat.Cl+3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.3Sg this.F
cartea!
 book+the.F.Sg
 '(S)he has to give him/her this book!'

5.5.2 Clauses in which subjunctive constructions occur as complements of the negated impersonal modal verb *ari* 'have' express defiance (when the verb in the subjunctive construction is in the first person) or prohibition (when the verb in the subjunctive construction is in the second or third person):

- (268) a. *Nu* *ari* *si* *vin!*
 not have.Impers Subj.Mark come.1Sg
 'I am not coming!'
- b. *Nu* *ari* *s-la* *leai!*
 not have.Impers Subj.Mark-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl take.2Sg
 'I forbid you to take it!' (lit. 'You are not to take it!')

5.5.3 Forms of the negated modal verb *ari* 'have' + subjunctive constructions also represent the Megleno-Romanian negated future tense:

²⁵⁹ In (266c) we have a topicalized object which occurs to the left of the subjunctive marker *si* and to the right of the complementizer *ca*. Note that verbs of saying more often take indicative complements.

- (269) a. *Nu* *ari* *si* *vin.*
 not have.Impers Subj.Mark come.1Sg
 ‘I will not come.’
- b. *Nu* *ari* *s-la* *leai.*
 not have.Impers Subj.Mark-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl take.2Sg
 ‘You will not take it.’

5.6 Subjunctive complements with “wh” words as arguments or adjuncts

Subjunctive constructions can have “wh” words as subjects, objects or adjuncts – all of them appearing in clause-initial position.²⁶⁰

5.6.1 Most frequently the subjunctive constructions with “wh” words as subjects, objects or adjuncts are embedded questions. Examples:

- (270) a. *Știu* *cari* *si-nj* *li* *trimeată*
 know.1.Sg who Subj.Mark-1Pl.Dat.Cl 3Pl.F.Acc.Cl send.3Sg.Subj.Pres
țeaști *corț.*
 these.F.Pl letters
 ‘I know who can send us these letters.’
- b. *Nu* *știu* *la* *cari* *s-iu*
 not know.1.Pl to who Subj.Mark-3Sg.Dat.Cl+3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
trimet *prămăția.*
 send.1Pl merchandise+the.F.Sg
 ‘We do not know to whom to send the merchandise.’
- c. *Nu* *știu* *cu* *cari* *și* *zăzburos.*
 not know.1.Sg with who Subj.Mark talk.1Sg
 ‘I do not know whom to talk to.’
- d. *Știu* *ți* *si* *fac.*
 know.1Sg what Subj.Mark do.1Sg
 ‘I know what to do.’
- e. *Știu* *cum* *si* *pisui* *cu* *pencalo.*
 know.1Sg how Subj.Mark write.1Sg with fountain-pen
 ‘I know how to write with a fountain pen.’

5.6.2 Subjunctive constructions with “wh” arguments/adjuncts can also occur as complements of the existential verb *ari* ‘have’; or as complements of verbs that express coming into view or availability or causation of one of these (cf. Grosu 2004:406).

5.6.2.1 Examples of subjunctive constructions with “wh” arguments/adjuncts as complements of the (personal or impersonal) existential verb *ari* ‘have’ are given in (271):

- (271) a. *Nu* *ari* *cari* *s-nau*
 not have.Impers who Subj.Mark-1Pl.Dat.Cl+3Sg.F.Acc.Cl

²⁶⁰ In sentences with the personal lexical verb *veari* ‘have’ and its negative counterpart *nari* ‘not have’, analogous constructions can have indefinite pronouns. Example:

- (i) *Am* *țiva* *si-ț* *spun.*
 have.1Sg something Subj.Mark-2Sg.Dat.Cl tell.1Pl
 ‘I have something to tell you.’

- trimeată* *prămătia.*
send.3Sg.Subj.Pres merchandise+the.F.Sg
'There is no-one who can send us the merchandise.'
- b. *Vem* *cari* *s-nau* *trimeată*
have.1Pl who Subj.Mark-1Pl.Dat.Cl+3Sg.F.Acc.Cl send.3Sg.Subj.Pres
prămătia.
merchandise+the.F.Sg
'We have someone who can send us the merchandise.'
- c. *Nu* *ari* *la* *cari* *s-iu*
not have.Impers to who Subj.Mark-3Sg.Dat.Cl+3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
trimeată *prămătia.*
send.3Sg/Pl.Subj.Pres merchandise+the.F.Sg
'There is nobody to who (s)he/they can send the merchandise.'
- d. *Ari* *ți* *si* *cumpără* *dila*
have.Impers what Subj.Mark buy.3Sg/Pl.Subj.Pres from+in
fișta *duchian.*
this.M.Sg shop
'There are things (s)he/they can buy in this shop.'
- e. *Nu* *ari* *ți* *si* *facă.*
not have.Impers what Subj.Mark do.3Sg/Pl.Subj.Pres
'There is nothing (s)he/they can do.'
- f. *Nu* *ari* *cu* *cari* *si* *vin.*
not have.1Sg with who Subj.Mark come.1Sg
'I have nobody with whom I can come.'
- g. *Nu* *ari* *di* *ți* *si* *cață.*
not have.Impers from what Subj.Mark catch.3Sg/Pl.Subj.Pres
'There is nothing (s)he/they can hold onto.'
- h. *Nu* *ari* *cum* *s-la* *trimeț*
not have.Impers how Subj.Mark-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl send.2Pl
pachetu.
parcel+the.M.Sg
'There is no way you can send the parcel.'

5.6.2.2 Examples of subjunctive constructions with “wh” arguments/adjuncts as complements of verbs that express coming into view or availability or causation of one of these are given in (272):

- (272) a. *Ai* *vini* *an* *criel* *cari* *s-u*
3Sg.F.Dat.Cl come.3Sg.Aor on mind who Subj.Mark-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
nămistească.
replace.3Pl
'She thought of someone who could take her place.' (lit. 'It came to her mind who can replace her.')
- b. *Flai* *cu* *ți* *si-s* *cupiră.*
find.1Sg.Aor with what Subj.Mark-Acc.Refl.Cl cover.3Sg/Pl.Subj.Pres
'I found something with which (s)he/they can cover themselves.'

5.7 Subjunctive constructions as nominal modifiers or as adjuncts

There are subjunctive constructions functioning as nominal modifiers or as adjuncts.

5.7.1 Introduced by the relativizer *cari* ‘who/which’, subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense function as relative clauses relating to a variety of referents: (a) to indefinite DPs instantiating complements of a number of verbs with the meaning of “look-for/seek” or its opposite “find”, which can go under the name of “verbs of quest”,²⁶¹ and verbs which in specific environments can be interpreted as verbs of quest; (b) to complements of existential verbs; (c) to complements of imperative verbs; (d) to predicate nominals; (e) to animate definite subjects.

5.7.1.1 Examples of “relative subjunctive clauses” introduced by *cari*, which relate to indefinite DP complements of verbs of quest are given in (273):

- (273) a. *Ubides capelă cari s-mi veagljă*
 look-for.1Sg hat which Subj.Mark-1Sg.Acc.Cl protect.3Sg.Subj.Pres
di soare.
 from sun
 ‘I am looking for a hat that would protect me from the sun.’
- b. *Mai denapoi flai fustan cari s-mi*
 more late find.1Sg.Aor dress which Subj.Mark-1Sg.Acc.Cl
arisăească.
 please.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘I finally found a dress which should please me.’
- c. *Petru ari umut si află feată*
 Petru have.3Sg intention Subj.Mark find.3Sg.Subj.Pres girl
cari s-la ăntileagă.
 who Subj.Mark-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl understand.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘Petru has intention to find a girl who would understand him.’
- d. *Țer si dar fabrică cari si*
 want/will.1Sg Subj.Mark make.1Sg factory which Subj.Mark
dară tractori.
 make.3Sg.Subj.Pres tractors
 ‘I will build a factory which would produce tractors.’

5.7.1.2 Examples of “relative subjunctive clauses” introduced by *cari*, which refer to indefinite complements of existential verbs, imperative verbs and predicate nominals are given in (274):

- (274) a. *Nu ari bărbaț cari s-li*
 not have.Impers men who Subj.Mark-3Pl.F.Acc.Cl
ăntileagă muierli.
 understand.3Pl.Subj.Pres women+the.F.Pl
 ‘There are no men who understand the women.’
- b. *Cumpară-ŋj carti cari si*
 buy.Imper-1Sg.Dat.Cl book which Subj.Mark
aibă multi codrur.
 have.3Sg.Subj.Pres many pictures
 ‘Buy me a book which has many pictures!’
- c. *Țeasta ăi machină cu cari si sirbeaști cu*
 this.F be.3Sg machine with which Subj.Mark deal.2Sg with

²⁶¹ The term is borrowed from Bužarovska (2004), where the syntactic environments that favor the realization of an iso-functional syntactic pattern, which occurs in the mixed domain of purpose and modification in Macedonian, Aromanian, Albanian and Modern Greek are examined.

mari dicat.
much attention
‘This is a machine which you should handle with care.’

5.7.2 Subjunctive constructions, appearing to the immediate right of indefinite complements of the verb *veari* ‘have/possess’, can function as modifiers of these complements (describing their use or activity):

- (275) a. *Am fraț s-mi jută.*
have.1Sg brothers Subj.Mark-1Sg.Dat.Cl help.3Pl.Subj.Pres
‘I have brothers that would help me.’
- b. *Ai ficior s-ti bukur.*
have.2Sg children Subj.Mark-2Sg.Dat.Cl rejoice.2Sg
‘You have children that would give you joy.’
- c. *Au coini s-ia veagljă.*
have.3Pl dog Subj.Mark-3Pl.Acc.Cl protect.3Sg.Subj.Pres
‘They have a dog that would protect them.’
- d. *Vem sobă s-na ancălzască.*
have.1Pl stove Subj.Mark-1Pl.Acc.Cl warm.3Sg.Subj.Pres
‘We have a stove that would keep us warm.’

5.7.3 Indefinite DPs occurring as complements of verbs of quest can also be modified by subjunctive clauses appearing to the immediate right of the complements:

- (276) a. *Ubides muljari si veagljă*
look-for.1Sg woman Subj.Mark take care.3Sg.Subj.Pres
ficiori.
children
‘I am looking for a woman that would take care of children.’
- b. *Flai student si prădă*
find.1Sg.Aor student Subj.Mark teach.3Sg.Subj.Pres
angilizeaști.
English
‘I found a student that speaks English.’

5.7.4 Subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense, accompanied, as a rule, by the complementizer *ca*, can function as adjuncts of purpose:²⁶²

- (277) a. *Ubides muljari ca s-ănj ia*
look-for.1Sg woman that Subj.Mark-1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Pl.M.Acc.Cl
veagljă
take-care.3Sg.Subj.Pres children+the.M.Pl
‘I am looking for a woman (in order) to take care of my children.’
- b. *Flai un student ca s-na*
find.1Sg.Aor a.M student that Subj.Mark-1Pl.Acc.Cl

²⁶² Note that in three Balkan languages that do not have subjunctive complementizers – Macedonian, Bulgarian and Modern Greek – subjunctive constructions functioning as modifiers of purpose occur as complements of a preposition with the meaning ‘for’ (*za* in Macedonian and Bulgarian and *ja* in Modern Greek).

- ânveață* *angilizeaști.*
 teach.3Pl.Subj.Pres English
 ‘I found a student (in order) to teach us English.’
- c. *Darom* *pauză* *ca* *s-li* *scultom*
 give.1Pl pause that Subj.Mark-3Pl.Acc.Cl hear.1Pl
vestili.
 news+the.M.Pl
 ‘We pause in order to hear the news.’
- d. *Na* *iăvim* *ca* *si* *videț* *ca*
 1Pl.Acc.Cl call.1Pl that Subj.Mark see.2Pl that
slăgăim *di* *voi.*
 care.1Pl for you
 ‘We are calling so that you may see that we care about you.’
- e. *Vinii* *ca* *s-va* *spun*
 come.1Sg.Aor that Subj.Mark-2Pl.Acc.Cl tell.1Sg
ca *si* *fug.*
 that Dat.Refl.Cl leave.1Sg
 ‘I came (in order) to inform you that I am leaving.’
- f. *Antrară* *cătilin* *ca* *s-nu* *na* *scurnească.*
 enter.3Pl.Aor slowly that Subj.Mark-not 1Pl.Acc.Cl wake-up.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘They came in slowly so as not to wake us up.’
- g. *Cumparai* *trăonj* *ca* *si* *tai* *leamni.*
 buy.1Sg.Aor saw that Subj.Mark cut.1Sg wood.Pl
 ‘I bought a saw to cut wood.’
- h. *Vini* *văcotu* *(ca)* *si-nj*
 come.3Sg.Aor time+the.M.Sg that Subj.Mark-1Sg.Dat.Cl
dai *cea* *fi* *ănj* *vei* *tăksit.*
 give.2Sg that what 1Sg.Dat.Cl have.2Sg.Aor promised.Past.Part
 ‘The time came for you to give me what you had promised.’
- i. *Iane* *ăi* *mult* *loș* *ca* *s-la*
 Iane be.3Sg much sick.M.Sg that Subj.Mark+3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
lom *cu* *noi.*
 take.1Pl with us
 ‘Iane is too sick for us to take him.’
- j. *Ca* *si* *ănvingă* *trăbuiăști* *s-nu*
 that Subj.Mark win.3Sg.Subj.Pres should.Impers Subj.Mark-not
cadă.
 fall.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘In order to win (s)he should not fall.’

5.7.5 Subjunctive complements of the preposition *fără* ‘without’, along with that preposition, function as adjuncts of concession:

- (278) a. *Vinii* *fără* *si* *știu* *coți.*
 come.1Sg.Aor without Subj.Mark know.1Sg.Pres why
 I came without knowing why.’

- b. *Au* *anvirnai* *fără* *si* *voi.*
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl make-angry.1Sg.Aor without Subj.Mark want.1Sg
 'I made her angry without wanting (to do it).'

5.7.6 Subjunctive complements of the preposition *pana* 'until', along with that preposition, function as adjuncts of time:

- (279) *Si* *ieș* *ua* *pana* *si* *vină*
 Subj.Mark be.2Sg here until Subj.Mark come.3Sg.Subj.Pres
muma-ta!
 mother-your.F.Sg.Cl
 'Be here until your mother comes!'

5.7.7 Noteworthy is the occurrence of subjunctive constructions (with verbs in any tense) to the immediate right of the preposition *cocon* 'like/as' in sentences such as (280):

- (280) *Cacon si* *păriască* *ân* *norur!*
 as Subj.Mark fly.3Sg.Subj.Pres in clouds
 '(It looks) as if (s)he is flying in the clouds!'

5.8 Bare subjunctive constructions

Subjunctive constructions can be bare, i.e. they can occur by themselves, without being introduced by an intentional verb or another "main-clause" verb.

5.8.1 Bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense represent the Megleno-Romanian future tense:²⁶³

- (281) a. *Si* *vină.*
 Subj.Mark come.3Sg/Pl.Subj.Pres
 '(S)he/they will come.'
- b. *S-iu* *dom* *țeastă* *cartea.*
 Subj.Mark-3Sg.Dat.Cl+3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.3Pl this.F book+the.F.Sg
 'We shall give him/her this book.'

5.8.2 Bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense, second or third person, singular or plural, may express a wish or a command.²⁶⁴ Examples:

- (282) *S-iă* *blagoslovi!*
 Subj.Mark-be.3Sg.Subj.Pres blessed.M.Sg.Pass.Part
 'May (s)he be blessed!'
- (283) a. *S-ti* *du!*
 Subj.Mark-2Sg.Acc.Cl go.2Sg
 'You should go!'
- b. *Si-ia* *prăștitom!*
 Subj.Mark-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl meet/welcome.1Pl
 'Let us meet/welcome them!'

²⁶³ Unlike most Balkan languages (and many other European language), Megleno-Romanian does not employ forms of the verb denoting 'wish' as markers of the "future tense".

²⁶⁴ When referring to third persons, the bare subjunctive constructions expressing a command are in free variation with exhortative clauses, introduced by the exhortative marker *la* 'let':

- (i) *La* *si* *ducă.*
 let Acc.Refl.Cl go.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 'Let him/her go!'

- c. *La ficioru,* *si-i* *trimeṭ* *pari!*
to boy+the.M.Sg Subj.Mark-3Sg.Dat.Cl send.2Sg money
'To the boy, you should send money!'

5.8.3 Bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense, first person singular or plural, can (with appropriate intonation) express resolution or agreement:

- (284) a. *S-mi/* *s-na* *duc/duṭim.*
Subj.Mark-1Sg.Acc.Cl Subj.Mark-1Pl.Acc.Cl go.1Sg/Pl
1. 'Let me/us go.'
2. 'So, we shall go.'
- b. *Si-ia* *prăṣtitom.*
Subj.Mark-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl meet/welcome.1Pl
1. 'Let us meet/welcome them!'
2. 'So, we shall meet/welcome them.'
- c. *Si-ṭ* *dau.*
Subj.Mark-2Sg.Dat.Cl give.1Sg
1. 'Let me give it to you.'
2. 'So, I shall give it to you.'

5.8.4 Bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense, any person or number, can express astonishment:

- (285) a. *Si* *aibă* *pari* *și* *si* *umară*
Subj.Mark have.3Sg.Subj.Pres money and Subj.Mark die.3Sg.Subj.Pres
di flumundață!
from hunger
'To have money and to die of hunger!'
- b. *Si* *știă* *a* *s-nu* *na*
Subj.Mark know.3Sg.Subj.Pres and Subj.Mark-not 1Pl.Dat.Cl
spună!
say.3Sg.Subj.Pres
'To know and not to tell us!'
- c. *Si* *veriască* *ca* *pot* *s-la*
Subj.Mark believe.3Sg.Subj.Pres that can.1Sg Subj.Mark-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
fac țista lucru!
do.1Sg such thing
'To believe that I can do such a thing!'
- d. *Si* *mărită* *cota* *tinără!*
Subj.Mark marry.3Sg.Subj.Pres so young.F.Sg
'To get married so young!'

5.8.5 Bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the imperfect express (a) unrealised probability, (b) unrealized wish,²⁶⁵ or (b) a guess:

²⁶⁵ Bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the imperfect might be treated as future-in-the-past constructions. They are typically used in *irrealis* conditional sentences (cf. 5.9.2).

- (286) *Si vineau ier.*
 Subj.Mark come.3Pl.Imperf yesterday
 ‘(As far as I know) they were to come yesterday.’
- (287) a. *Si vrea si vinj!*
 Subj.Mark want.2Sg.Imperf Subj.Mark come.2Sg
 ‘If only you would have liked to come!’
- b. *S-ti veam langa mini!*
 Subj.Mark-2Sg.Acc.Cl have.1Sg.Imperf near me
 ‘If only I had you near me!’
- c. *Si rai cola s-u ves*
 Subj.Mark be.2Sg.Imperf there Subj.Mark-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl see.2Sg.Imperf
bucuria lor!
 joy+the.F.Sg their
 ‘I wish you were there to see their joy!’
- (288) *S-vea douzoŭ di ani.*
 Subj.Mark-have.3Sg.Imperf twenty from years
 ‘(S)he may have been twenty years old.’

5.8.6 Negated bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense, second or third person, singular or plural, express prohibition:²⁶⁶

Note that many of the sentences that have subjunctive constructions expressing unrealized wish have two subjunctive constructions in a row.

²⁶⁶ Prohibition is also expressed by negated verbs with imperative morphology:

- (i) *Nu mancă!*
 not eat.2Sg.Imper
 ‘Don’t eat!’
- (ii) *Nu u mancă meara!*
 not 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl eat.2Sg.Imper apple+the.F.Sg
 ‘Don’t eat the apple!’
- (iii) *Nu i la do!*
 not 3Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.2Sg.Imper
 ‘Don’t give it to him/her!’

As it may be noticed, the pronominal clitics occur between the negation marker and the verb. In positive imperatives, however, they occur to the right of the verb:

- (iv) *Mancă u meara!*
 eat.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl apple+the.F.Sg
 ‘Eat the apple!’
- (v) *(Tu) do i la!*
 you give.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.Acc.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
 ‘(You) give it to him/her!’

Note that the imperative forms of the verb *viniri* ‘come’ has lexically distinct imperative forms – a borrowing from Greek. Compare the verb in the subjunctive construction in (vi) to the imperative verb in (vii):

- (vi) *Si vinim!*
 Subj.Mark come.1Pl
 ‘Let us come!’
- (vii) *Elate!*
 come.2Pl.Imper
 ‘Come!’

- (289) a. *S-nu* *man!*
 Subj.Mark-not eat.2Sg
 ‘Don’t eat!’
- b. *S-nu* *fuz!*
 Subj.Mark-not leave.2Sg
 ‘Don’t leave!’
- c. *S-nu* *fugă* *ficiori!*
 Subj.Mark-not leave.3Pl.Subj.Pres children+the.M.Pl
 ‘Don’t let the children leave!’
- d. *S-nu* *la* *vichieș!*
 Subj.Mark-not 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl ring.2Sg
 ‘Don’t call him!’
- e. *S-nu* *la* *dai!*
 Subj.Mark-not 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.2Sg
 ‘Don’t give it to him!’
- f. *S-nu* *si* *ducă!*
 Subj.Mark-not Acc.Refl.Cl go.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘Let him/her not go!’

5.8.7 Negated bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense, first person singular express agreement, while negated bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense, first person plural, can (with appropriate intonation) express agreement or resolution:

- (290) a. *S-nu* *mi* *duc!*
 Subj.Mark-not 1Sg.Acc.Cl go.1Sg
 ‘So, I shan’t go.’
- b. *S-nu* *na* *ducim!*
 Subj.Mark-not 1Pl.Acc.Cl go.1Pl
 1. ‘So, we shan’t go.’
 2. ‘Let us not go.’

5.8.8 In questions, negated or non-negated bare subjunctive constructions, with verbs in any tense, though a past tense occurs most often, express doubt or wonderment:

- (291) a. *Si* *iă* *veni?*
 Subj.Mark be.3Sg.Subj.Pres come.M.Sg.Pass.Part
 ‘Could he have already come?’
- b. *Iundi* *s-iă* *șefu?*
 where Subj.Mark-be.Subj.3Sg boss+the.M.Sg
 ‘Where could the boss be?’
- c. *Iundi* *si* *iă* *dus?!*
 where Subj.Mark be.3Sg.Subj.Pres gone.M.Sg.Pass.Part
 ‘Where could he have gone?!’

The imperative form *elate*, with the same meaning, is also used in Macedonian and Bulgarian.

- (292) a. *S-nu ra Petru?!
Subj.Mark-not be.3Sg.Imperf Petru
'Could it not be that it was Petru?'*
- b. *S-nu iă viniț vichim?!
Subj.Mark-not be.3Sg.Subj.Pres come.M.Sg.Pass.Part already
'Could it not be that (s)he has already come?!'*
- c. *S-nu i si sparsi
Subj.Mark-not 3Sg.Dat.Cl Acc.Refl.Cl go-bad.3Sg.Aor
avtokina?!
car+the.F.Sg
'Could it (not) be that his/her car got broken?!'*
- d. *Tu s-nu ănsurgioș?!
you Subj.Mark-not deafen.3Sg.Aor
'You haven't become deaf, have you?!'*

5.8.9 Followed by embedded questions introduced by a “wh” word, bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense are used in vivid narration. Examples:

- (293) a. *Si știj ți si feaci!
Subj.Mark know.2Sg what Acc.Refl.Cl happen.3Sg.Aor
'You have to know what happened!'*
- b. *Si vez cot ăi mari!
Subj.Mark see.2Sg how much be.3Sg big.M.Sg
'You should see how big he is!'*

5.8.10 In story-telling, a bare subjunctive construction with a verb in the present tense can take as a complement another bare subjunctive construction in the present tense, or else two or more subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense appear in a sequence:

- (294) a. *S-la lea s-la
Subj.Mark-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl take.3Sg.Subj.Pres Subj.Mark-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
bată!
beat-up.3Sg.Subj.Pres
'Lo and behold, (s)he beat him up!' (lit. '(S)he took and beat him up!')*
- b. *Si scoală, si mănă și
Subj.Mark get-up.3Sg.Subj.Pres Subj.Mark eat.3Sg.Subj.Pres and
si iasă!
Subj.Mark get out.3Sg.Subj.Pres
'(Just imagine!) To get up, eat and leave!'*

5.9 Conditional sentences

Subjunctive constructions occur in the *apodosis* or both in the *protasis* and the *apodosis* of conditional sentences.

5.9.1 In *realis* conditional sentences, which express a possibility for the events to be realized at some future point, we have an “if” clause with a verb in the present tense in the *protasis* and a subjunctive construction with a verb in the present tense (which actually represents the Megleno-Romanian future tense) in the *apodosis*:

- (295) a. *Aku ver, si vinim.
if want.2Sg Subj.Mark come.1Pl
'If you want, we shall come.'*

- b. *Aku proiectu* *ăi sfârșot,* *si*
 if project+the.M.Sg be.3Sg finished.M.Sg.Pass.Part Subj.Mark
vinim.
 come.1Pl
 ‘If the project is finished, we shall come.’

5.9.2 *Irrealis* conditional sentences are represented by a subjunctive clause with a verb in the imperfect, or an “if”-clause with a verb in the imperfect, in the *protasis*, and the invariant modal clitic *văr/vri* ‘would’, followed by a subjunctive construction with a verb in the present tense (which actually represents the Megleno-Romanian conditional tense) in the *apodosis*. These sentences have two readings: (a) *irrealis* from the point of view of the moment of speaking and (b) *irrealis* from the point of view of a past moment.²⁶⁷

- (296) a. *Si vineai cu noi, nu văr/vri*
 Subj.Mark come.2Sg.Imperf with we not would.Mod.Cl
si ieș singură.
 Subj.Mark be.2Sg alone.F.Sg
 1. ‘If you came with us, you would not be alone.’
 2. ‘If you had come with us, you would not have been alone.’
- b. *Aku nu vinea el, proiectu văr/vri*
 if not come.3Sg.Imperf he project+the.M.Sg would.Mod.Cl
s-iă sfârșot.
 Subj.Mark-be.3Sg.Subj.Pres finished.M.Sg.Pass.Part
 1. ‘If he didn’t come, the project would be finished.’
 2. ‘If he hadn’t come, the project would have been finished.’

5.9.3 The use of the past perfect disambiguates the *irrealis* conditional sentences – when the verb in the *protasis* is in the past perfect, the sentence has an *irrealis* reading from the point of view of a past moment only:²⁶⁸

- (297) *Si vea vinit, văr/vri*
 Subj.Mark have.2Sg.Imperf come.Past.Part would.Mod.Cl
s-ti lea.
 Subj.Mark-2Sg.Acc.Cl take.3Pl
 ‘If you had come, they would have taken you.’

6. Aromanian

In Aromanian, the infinitive forms are still present. Their functions have, however, for the most part been taken over by the subjunctive.

6.1 Use of the infinitive forms

6.1.1 The forms of the former infinitive are currently used as verbal nouns. As such, they can be definitized by the postpositive definite suffixal article, or preceded by indefinite articles or prepositions. Examples:

²⁶⁷ Thus, Megleno-Romanian uses the modal “would”-clitic, like Romanian and Serbo-Croatian, but only in the *apodosis*, while in the *protasis* the verb is in the imperfect, as in Bulgarian or Albanian. The interpretation is “Balkan”, i.e. there are two readings – (a) *irrealis* from the point of view of the moment of speaking and (b) *irrealis* from the point of view of a past moment.

²⁶⁸ The verb in the *apodosis* can have any tense.

- (298) a. *Primnarea mi ariseashce.*
walk.Infin+the.F.Sg 1Sg.Acc.Cl like.3Sg.Aor
'I liked the walk.'
- b. *S-neadzim la primnare.*
Subj.Mark-go.1Pl on walk.Infin
'Let's go for a walk.'
- c. *Cu intrarea anchisiră să zburască.*
with enter.Infin+the.F.Sg begin.3Sg.Aor Subj.Mark speak.3Sg
'On entering (s)he began to talk.'

6.1.2 In some set expressions, many of them proverbial, the infinitive appears in the complement of the modal clitics *va* 'will' and *vrea* 'would'. Examples:

- (299) a. *Caplu di yumar nu va lare.*
head+the.M.Sg of donkey not will.Mod.Cl wash.Inf
'The head of a donkey doesn't need washing.' (lit. 'The head of the donkey will not wash.')
- b. *S-minduia cum vrea andridzeare.*
Acc.Refl.Cl-contemplated.3Sg.Imperf how would.Mod.Cl
position.Inf
'(S)he was contemplating what position to take.' (lit. '(S)he was contemplating how (s)he would position (himself/herself)').

6.2 The subjunctive marker

The Aromanian subjunctive constructions are introduced by the subjunctive marker *să/si* (fused *s*).

6.2.1 In many environments, the subjunctive marker can be (and in some environments has to be) preceded by the subjunctive complementizer *tă*.

- (300) a. *Adrăm pauză tă s-lji ascultăm*
make.1Pl.Imperf pause that.Subj Subj.Mark-3Pl.Acc.Cl hear.1Pl
vestili.
news+the.M.Pl
'We paused in order to hear the news.'
- b. *Poate (tă) s-easă la bun.*
can.3Sg that.Subj Subj.Mark-come out.3Sg.Subj.Pres to good
'It could also turn out to be good.'

6.2.2 Both the subjunctive marker and the subjunctive complementizer that may precede it, are morphologically distinct from the complementizer in indicative sentences *că* 'that', which in some environments can alternate with the interrogative pronoun *iu(ndi)* 'where'. Examples:

- (301) a. *Căn(du) vidzu că plândzi feriorlu...*
when see.3Sg.Aor that cry.3Sg child+the.M.Sg
'When (s)he saw that the child was crying....'
- b. *Vidzui un ferior că/iu lu bătea*
see.1Sg.Aor a child that/where 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl beat.3Sg.Imperf
mă-sa.
mother-his.F.Sg.Cl
'I saw a child (that was) being beaten by his mother.'

5.2.3 In complements of verbs of believing, the *că*-complementizer is interchangeable with the subjunctive marker:

- (302) a. *Pistipseshci Petri s-ira aoa?*
believe.2Sg Petri Subj.Mark-3Sg.Past here
'Do you believe that Petri was here?'
- b. *Pistipseshci că Petri ira aoa?*
believe.2Sg that Petri be.3Sg.Imperf here
'Do you believe that Petri was here?'

6.3 *Form of verbs in the subjunctive construction*

The verb in the subjunctive construction can be in the present, the imperfect or any of the perfect tenses.²⁶⁹

6.3.1 There is only one subjunctive verb form distinct from the forms of the indicative – the common singular and plural form for the third person of the present tense. With lexical verbs, this form is characterised by the suffix *-ă*; with the auxiliary *am* 'have', we have the form *aibă*; with the auxiliary *escu* 'be' – *hibă*.

6.3.2 The indicative and subjunctive paradigms of the verb *yin*²⁷⁰ 'come' are as follows:

Table 28: Present tense forms of the Aromanian verb *yin* 'come'

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>yin</i>	<i>yinim</i>
2 nd	<i>yinj</i>	<i>yinits</i>
3 rd Indic	===== <i>yini</i> =====	
3 rd Subj	===== <i>yină</i> =====	

6.3.3 The present tense forms of the auxiliary verbs *am* 'have' and *escu* 'be' are given in Table 29:

Table 29: Present tense forms of the auxiliaries *am* 'have' and *escu* 'be'

	<i>am</i>		<i>escu</i>	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>am</i>	<i>avem</i>	<i>escu</i>	<i>him</i>
2 nd	<i>ai</i>	<i>avets</i>	<i>eshti</i>	<i>hits</i>
3 rd Indic	<i>ari/are</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>easte</i>	<i>săntu</i>
3 rd Subj	===== <i>aibă</i> =====		===== <i>hibă</i> =====	

6.4 *Typical uses of subjunctive constructions*

Typically, subjunctive constructions are used as complements of the lexical modal verbs *pot* 'can/may/be able', *lipseascu* 'must/should/ought/need/be necessary', and *are*,²⁷¹ 'have/ought' and as complements of a list of verbs that may go under the name of "intentional verbs". The subjunctive constructions can (or have to) agree in number and person (but not in tense) with the verbs of the main clause. When such an agreement occurs, there is "equi" deletion and the one and only subject surfaces (a) to the left of the verb of the main clause, if unmarked; and (b) to the left of the subjunctive marker *să* or to the right of the verb of the subjunctive construction, if marked. The subjunctive complementizer *tă* appears to the left of overtly represented subjects or focused

²⁶⁹ Examples will be given below.

²⁷⁰ The verbs are represented by their 1st person singular present tense forms. At the international conference on Aromanian, held in Freiburg in 1997, this form was chosen as a citation form for the verbs.

²⁷¹ *Are* 'have' is an impersonal verb, whose form is equivalent to the third person singular present tense form of the personal "have" auxiliary. Its use is illustrated in 6.5.

constituents, while in clauses in which the subject is dropped and there are no focused constituents it is adjacent to the subjunctive marker. When the subject of the subordinate clause is distinct from the subject of the main clause, it occurs to the left of the subjunctive marker²⁷² or to the right of the verb of the subjunctive construction. Pronominal subjects are dropped, unless emphasized.

6.4.1 The modal verb *pot* ‘can/may’ can be personal or impersonal.

6.4.1.1 The occurrence of a subjunctive construction in the complement of the impersonal modal verb *pot* is illustrated in (303):²⁷³

- (303) a. *Poate* (tă) *s-easă* *la*
can/may.Impers that.Subj Subj.Mark-come-out.3Sg.Subj.Pres to
bun.
good
‘It can/may also turn out to be good.’
- b. *Atsea ira pescu di care omlu*
that.M.Sg be.3Sg.Imperf fish from which man+the.M.Sg
putea s-băneadză tută
can/may.Impers.Imperf Acc.Refl.Cl-live.3Sg.Subj.Pres whole.F.Sg
veara.
summer
‘That was a fish from which one could/might live a whole summer.’

6.4.1.2 The occurrence of a subjunctive construction in the complement of the personal verb *pot* ‘can/may/be able’ is illustrated in (304). As shown by the ungrammaticality of (304b), there has to be agreement in person and number between the modal verb and the verb in the subjunctive construction:

- (304) a. *Pots* (tă) *s-ti* *duts.*
may.2Sg that.Subj Subj.Mark-2Sg.Acc.Cl go.2Sg
‘You may go.’
- b. **Pots* (tă) *s-ilj* *ducă.*
may.2Sg that.Subj Subj.Mark-3Pl.Acc.Cl go.3Sg.Subj.Pres

6.4.2 The modal verb *lipseascu* ‘must/should/ought/need/be necessary’ can be personal and impersonal, but it takes subjunctive complements only as an impersonal verb:²⁷⁴

- (305) a. *Feata lipseaschce* (tă)
girl+the.F.Sg must/should/need/ought.Impers that.Subj

²⁷² When the subjunctive marker is preceded by the subjunctive complementizer *tă*, lexical subjects, as a rule, occur between this complementizer and the subjunctive marker.

²⁷³ The examples are from the Aromanian translation of the sample text of Hemingway’s novel ‘The Old Man and the Sea’, given in Appendix Two.

²⁷⁴ As a personal verb with the reading ‘need’, *lipseascu* occurs in constructions with Dat NP/DP complements, as it does in Macedonian (cf. footnote 34):

- (i) *Tsă lipseascu* (tă) *s-ts-agiut.*
2Sg.Dat.Cl need.1Sg that.Subj Subj.Mark-2Sg.Dat.Cl-help.1Sg
‘You need me to help you.’
- (ii) *Tine ănj lipseaschi* (tă) *s-ănj* *agiuts.*
you.Sg 1Sg.Dat.Cl need.2Sg that.Subj Subj.Mark-1Sg.Dat.Cl help.2Sg
‘I need you to help me.’

(Note that in these sentences the subjunctive construction is an adjunct.)

s-neagă.

Subj.Mark-go.3Sg.Subj.Pres

‘The girl must/should/needs/ought to go.’

- b. *Nu lipsea (tă) s-netz ahăt*
 not should/ought.Impers.Imperf that.Subj Subj.Mark-go.2Pl so
diparte.
 far
 ‘We shouldn’t have gone so far.’

6.4.3 Intentional verbs fall in three classes with respect to agreement with the person/number features of their subjunctive constructions: (A) Verbs such as *probui* ‘try’ and *am niete* ‘have intention/intend’, whose subjects (with their straightforward reading) have joint reference with their subjunctive complements. (B) Verbs such as *dau naredba* ‘order’ or *strigu* ‘invite’, that have disjoint reference with their subjunctive complements. (C) Verbs such as *voi* ‘want’ or *kaftu* ‘demand’, that have joint or disjoint reference with their subjunctive complements.²⁷⁵

6.4.3.1 The verbs of class (A) are subject control verbs and the subjects of subjunctive constructions that occur in their complements are, as a rule, dropped.²⁷⁶

- (306) c. *Probui (tă) s-u agărshască.*
 try.3Sg that.Subj Subj.Mark-2Sg.F.Acc.Cl forget.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘(S)he is trying to forget her.’
- b. *Are niete (tă) s-fugă.*
 have.3Sg intention thatMod Subj.Mark-leave.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘(S)he intends to leave.’
- c. *Petri ăncchisi s-ăndreagă (tă)*
 Petri began.3Sg.Aor Subj.Mark-prepare.3Sg.Subj.Pres that.Subj
s-fugă.
 Subj.Mark-depart.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘Petri started to prepare for departure.’

²⁷⁵ There are verbs which in their basic readings are not intentional but can be used in intentional contexts, in which case they take subjunctive complements. Examples:

- (i) *Dzāk (tă) s-neg.*
 say.1Sg that.Subj Subj.Mark-go.1Sg
 ‘I am thinking of going.’ (lit. I am saying (to myself) that I should go.)
- (ii) *Nu dedea (tă) s-ălj agiută.*
 not give.3Sg.Imperf that.Subj Subj.Mark-3Sg.Dat.Cl help.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘(S)he didn’t allow to be helped.’ (lit. ‘(S)he didn’t give to be helped.’)
- (iii) *Fudze tă s-nu ti află.*
 run.3Sg that.Subj Subj.Mark-not 2Sg.Acc.Cl find.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘(S)he avoids meeting you.’ (lit. ‘Runs so that (s)he does not find you.’)

All of these verbs can also take “that”-complements and have non-intentional readings. An example is given in (iv):

- (iv) *Dzāk ca va s-neg.*
 say.1Sg that will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark-go.1Sg
 ‘I say that I will go.’

²⁷⁶ For emphatic purposes, a pronominal subject with same reference as the subject of the main clause can appear to the left of the subjunctive marker.

6.4.3.2 The structures in which subjunctive constructions appear as complements of intentional verbs of class (B) can be of three different subtypes. (a) The agent of the subjunctive construction surfaces as a subject of the subjunctive clause if lexical, while pronominal subjects do so only if they are emphatic, non-emphatic pronominal subjects being dropped (cf. 307a).²⁷⁷ (b) The agent of the subjunctive construction surfaces in the position of indirect object of the main clause and the intentional verb is described as “indirect object control” verb (cf. 307b-c). (c) The agent of the subjunctive construction surfaces in the position of direct object of the intentional verb, and the intentional verb is described as “direct object control” verb (cf. 307d).²⁷⁸

- (307) a. *Deade naredba (tă) Maria (tă)*
 give.3Sg.Aor order that.Subj Maria that.Subj
s-yină tunoară.
 Subj.Mark-come.3Sg.Subj.Pres immediately
 ‘He ordered that Maria should come immediately.’
- b. *Lji deade naredba ali Maria (tă)*
 3Sg.Dat.Cl give.3Sg.Aor order to+the.F Maria that.Subj
s-yină tunoară.
 Subj.Mark-come.3Sg.Subj.Pres immediately
 ‘He ordered Marija to come immediately.’
- c. *Inj deade naredba (tă) s-yin*
 1Sg.Dat.Cl give.3Sg.Aor order that.Subj Subj.Mark-come.1Sg
tunoară.
 immediately
 ‘He ordered me to come immediately.’
- d. *Maria lu băgă pi minte Iani (tă)*
 Maria 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl put.3Sg.Aor on mind Iani that.Subj
s-acumpră televizor.
 Subj.Mark-buy.3Sg.Subj.Pres TV-set
 ‘Maria persuaded Iani to buy a TV-set.’ (lit. ‘Maria put in Iane’s mind that he should buy a TV-set.’)

6.4.3.3 The verbs of class (C) can have joint or disjoint reference with the verbs of the subjunctive constructions in their complements. In the former case, the subjects of the subjunctive constructions are as a rule dropped,²⁷⁹ whereas in the latter case they can be dropped or expressed by lexical DPs/NPs or pronouns, which occur to the right of the verb or to the left of the subjunctive marker.

²⁷⁷ In analogous structures in Romanian, a complementizer appears obligatorily to the left of the subject of the subjunctive constructions (cf. 4.5.3.2). Since in Romanian structures of subtypes (b) and (c) the occurrence of this complementizer is precluded, the distinct properties of those structures have been ascribed to the non-existence or deletion of the complementizer. In Aromanian, as well as in Megleno-Romanian (cf. 5.4.3.2) and Albanian (cf. 7.5.3.2), a complementizer can, however, optionally appear in all three subtypes of structures – to the immediate left of the subjunctive marker or to the left of the subject or a focused element of the subjunctive construction.

²⁷⁸ All the verbs that have (b) structures also have (a) structures. In earlier generative analyses, structures such as those of subtype (b) were derived from structures like those of subtype (a), through “subject to object raising”. In current generative analyses, structures of subtype (b) are treated independently from structures of subtype (a). Along with structures of subtype (c), they are referred to as ECM (exceptional case marking) structures.

²⁷⁹ In emphatic environments, the subjects of subjunctive constructions are expressed by pronouns with same reference as the subject of the main clause.

- (308) a. *Voi* (tă) *s-neg* *aclo.*
want.1Sg that.Subj Subj.Mark-go.1Sg there
'I want to go there.'
- b. *Nu vrea* (tă) *s-minduiască.*
not want.3Sg.Imperf that.Subj Subj.Mark-think.3Sg.Subj.Pres
'(S)he didn't want to think.'
- c. *Voi* (tă) *s-neadzim* *deadun.*
want.1Sg that.Subj Subj.Mark-go.1Pl together
'I want us to go together.'
- d. *Voi* (tă) *s-lj-u* *dai.*
want.1Sg that.Subj Subj.Mark-3Sg.Dat.Cl-3Sg.Acc.Cl give.2Sg
'I want that you give it to him.'
- e. *Petri va* *pishkese* (NOI)
Petri want.3Sg.Mod.Cl present+the.M.Sg we
(tă) *s-lj-u* *dăm* (NOI).
that.Subj Subj.Mark-3Sg.Dat.Cl-3Sg.Acc.Cl give.1Pl we
'Petri wants us/(US) to give him the present.'
- (309) a. *N-ăchicăsim* (tă) *s-neadzim.*
1Pl.Acc.Cl-agree.1Pl.Imperf that.Subj Subj.Mark-go.1Pl
'We agreed to go.'
- b. *N-ăchicăsim* (tă) *s-neagă.*
1Pl.Acc.Cl-agree.1Pl.Imperf that.Subj Subj.Mark-go.3Sg.Subj.Pres
'We agreed for him/her to go.'
- (310) a. *Pistipsescu* (măne) (tă) *s-neg*
believe.1Sg tomorrow that.Subj Subj.Mark-go.1Sg
(măne).
tomorrow
'I believe that I will go tomorrow.'
- b. *Pistipsescu* (măne) (tă) *s-neagă*
believe.1Sg tomorrow that.Subj Subj.Mark-go.3Sg/Pl.Subj.Pres
(măne).
tomorrow
'I believe that (s)he/they will go tomorrow.'

6.4.4 Verbs of perception take subjunctive complements only in specific environments²⁸⁰ – when negated, as in (311), or when they themselves are subjunctive complements, as in (312).²⁸¹

²⁸⁰ More often, verbs of perception take indicative “that”- or “wh” complements:

- (i) *Lu ved c-ămveatsă.*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.1Sg that-learn.3Sg
'I see that he is studying.'
- (ii) *Lu ved cum/îu mveatsă.*
3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.1Sg how/where learn.3Sg
'I see him studying.'

²⁸¹ Typically, there is no agreement between the person/number features of the main clause and those of the subjunctive construction.

- (311) a. *Nu t-am vidzută (tă) s-ămvets.*
not 2Sg.Acc.Cl+have.1Sg seen.Past.Part that.Subj Subj.Mark-study.2Sg
'I haven't seen you study.'
- b. *Nu l-am ăvdzătă (tă)*
not 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl-have.1Sg heard.Past.Part that.Subj
s-căntsă.
Subj.Mark-sing.3Sg.Subj.Pres
'I haven't heard him sing.'
- (312) a. *Voi s-ti ved s-anots.*
want.1Sg Subj.Mark-2Sg.Acc.Cl see.1Sg Subj.Mark-swim.2Sg
'I want to see you swim.'
- b. *Voi (Iani) s-ul/lu ved (Iani)*
want.1Sg Iani Subj.Mark-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.1Sg Iani
s-anotă (Iani).
Subj.Mark-swim.3Sg.Subj.Pres Iani
'I want to see Iani swim.'
- c. *Voi (Iani) s-ul/lu avdu (Iani)*
want.1Sg Iani Subj.Mark-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl hear.1Sg Iani
s-cântă (Iani).
Subj.Mark-sing.3Sg.Subj.Pres Iani
'I want to hear Iani sing.'

6.4.5 In reported speech, subjunctive constructions appear as complements of verbs of saying, which, as a rule, take indicative complements. Examples:

- (313) a. *Tsă dzăk s-tats!*
2Sg.Dat.Cl tell.1Sg Subj.Mark-be silent.2Sg
'I am telling you to be silent.'
- b. *Tsă dzăsh s-nu yuvuseshci!*
2Sg.Dat.Cl say.1Sg.Aor Subj.Mark-not read.2Sg
'I told you not to read.'
- c. *Dzăse (Ioana) lilicile (tă)*
say.3Sg.Aor Ioana flowers+the.F.Pl that.Subj
s-li ducă (Ioana) la
Subj.Mark-3Pl.Acc.Cl take.3Sg.Subj.Pres Ioana to
căntăria.
office+the.F.Sg
'(S)he said that, the flowers, Ioana should take them to the office.'

6.5 Subjunctive constructions as complements of the modal are

6.5.1 Clauses in which subjunctive constructions occur as complements of the non-negated impersonal modal verb *are* 'have' express strong determination (when the verb of the subjunctive construction is in the first person) or order (when the verb of the subjunctive construction is in the second and third person). Examples:

- (314) a. *Are (tă) s-yinj!*
have.Impers that.Subj Subj.Mark-come.1Sg
'I have to come!'

- b. *Are* (tă) *s-lu* *ljai!*
 have.Impers that.Subj Subj.Mark-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl take.2Sg
 ‘You have to take it!’
- c. *Are* (tă) *s-lju* *dai*
 have.Impers that.Subj Subj.Mark-3Sg.Dat.Cl+3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.2Sg
aestă carte!
 this.F book
 ‘You have to give him/her this book!’
- d. *A ficiorlui* (tă) *are* *s-lji*
 to boy+the.M.Sg that.Subj have.Impers Subj.Mark-3Sg.Dat.Cl
pitrecim părădz!
 send.1Pl money
 ‘To the boy, we have to send money!’

6.5.2 When negated, the impersonal modal verb *are* becomes a distinct lexical unit, *nore* ‘not have’.

6.5.2.1 Clauses in which subjunctive constructions (with present tense verb forms) occur as complements of the negative impersonal modal verb *nore* ‘not have’ represent an alternative negative counterpart to the future tense:

- (315) a. *Nore* (tă) *s-yină.*
 not+have.Impers that.Subj Subj.Mark-come.3Sg/Pl.Subj.Pres
 ‘(S)he/they won’t/are not going to come.’
- b. *Nore* (tă) *s-lu* *ljai.*
 not+have.Impers that.Subj Subj.Mark-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl take.2Sg
 ‘You won’t/ are not going to take it.’

6.5.2.2 Clauses in which subjunctive constructions (with present tense verb forms) occur as complements of the negative impersonal modal verb *nore* ‘not have’ also denote strong determination (if the verb is in the first person) or prohibition (if the verb is in the second or third person):

- (316) a. *Nore* (tă) *s-yin!*
 not+have.Impers that.Subj Subj.Mark-come.1Sg
 ‘I am not coming!’
- b. *Nore* (tă) *s-yină!*
 not+have.Impers that.Subj Subj.Mark-come.3Sg/Pl.Subj.Pres
 ‘I forbid her/him/them to come!’ (lit. ‘(S)he/they aren’t to come!’)
- c. *Nore* (tă) *s-lu* *ljai!*
 not+have.Impers that.Subj Subj.Mark-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl take.2Sg
 ‘I forbid you to take it!’ (lit. ‘You aren’t to take it!’)

6.6 Subjunctive complements with “wh” words as arguments or adjuncts

Subjunctive constructions can have “wh” words as subjects, objects or adjuncts – all of them appearing in clause-initial position.

6.6.1 Most frequently, subjunctive constructions with “wh” words as subjects, objects or adjuncts are embedded questions. Examples:

- (317) a. *Shciu* *cai* (tă) *s-nălji*
 know.1.Pl who that.Subj Subj.Mark-1Pl.Dat.Cl+3Pl.Acc.Cl

- pitrecă* *aiste* *cărtsă*.
 send.3Sg.Subj.Pres these letters
 ‘I know who can send us these letters.’
- b. *Nu* *shciu* *a* *cui* *(tă)* *s-ălj*
 not know.1Pl to who.Dat that.Subj Subj.Mark-3Sg.Dat.Cl
lji *pitrec* *aiste* *cărtsă*.
 3Pl.Acc.Cl send.1Sg these letters
 ‘I do not know to whom to send these letters.’
- c. *Nu* *shciu* *cu* *cai* *(tă)* *să* *zburăscu*.
 not know.1.Sg with who that.Subj Subj.Mark talk.1Sg
 ‘I do not know to whom to talk.’
- d. *Shciu* *tsi* *s-fac*.
 know.1Sg what Subj.Mark+do.1Sg
 ‘I know what to do.’
- e. *Shciu* *cum* *(tă)* *să* *scriu* *cu*
 know.1Sg how that.Subj Subj.Mark write.1Sg with
stilo.
 fountain pen
 ‘I know how to write with a fountain pen.’

6.6.2 Subjunctive constructions with “wh” arguments or adjuncts can also occur as complements of the existential verb *am* ‘have’, or as complements of verbs that express coming into view or availability or causation of one of these (cf. Grosu 2004:406 and footnote 50).

6.6.2.1 Examples of subjunctive constructions with “wh” arguments or adjuncts in complements of the (personal or impersonal) existential verb *am* ‘have’ and its negative counterpart are given in (318):²⁸²

- (318) a. *Novem* *cai* *(tă)* *s-nă*
 not+have.1Pl who that.Subj Subj.Mark+1Pl.Dat.Cl
pitrecă *cărtsăle*
 send.3Sg.Subj.Pres letters+the.F.Pl
 ‘We have no-one who can send us the letters.’
- b. *Novem* *a* *cui* *(tă)*
 not+have.1Pl to whom.Dat that.Subj
s-lju *pitrecim* *părmătia*.
 Subj.Mark+3Sg.Dat.Cl+3Sg.F.Acc.Cl send.1Pl merchandise+the.F.Sg
 ‘We have no-one to whom we can send the merchandise.’
- c. *Are* *tsi* *(tă)* *s-ăcumpr* *tu* *aistă*
 have.Impers what that.Subj Subj.Mark-buy.2Sg in this.F
duchiane.
 shop
 ‘There are things you can buy in this shop.’ (lit. There is what to buy in this shop.)

²⁸² Analogous constructions can sometimes be constructed with indefinite pronouns. Example:

- (i) *Are* *civa* *(tă)* *s-tsă* *spun*.
 have.3Sg something that.Subj Subj.Mark-2Sg.Dat.Cl tell.1Sg
 ‘There is something that I want to tell you.’

- d. *Nore* *tsi* *s-faci*.
not+have.Impers what Subj.Mark+do.2Sg
'There is nothing you can do.'
- e. *Am* *cu* *cai* *(tă)* *s-yin*.
have.1Sg with whom that.Subj Subj.Mark-come.1Sg
'I have somebody with whom I can come.'
- f. *Nore* *ti* *tsi* *(tă)* *s-ti*
not+have.Impers for what Subj.Mark Subj.Mark-2Sg.Acc.Cl
ăcats.
catch.2Sg.Subj.Pres
'There is nothing you can hold onto.'
- g. *Nore* *cum* *(tă)* *s-u* *pitrets*
not-have.Impers how that.Subj Subj.Mark+3Sg.F.Acc.Cl send.2Sg
pacheta.
parcel+the.F.Sg
'There is no way you can send the parcel.'

6.6.2.2 Examples of subjunctive constructions as complements of verbs that express coming into view or availability or causation of one of these are given in (319):

- (319) a. *Inj* *tihni* *cai* *(tă)*
1Sg.Dat.Cl come to mind.3Sg.Aor who that.Subj
s-u *alăcsească*.
Subj.Mark+3Sg.F.Acc.Cl replace.3Sg.Subj.Pres
'It came to my mind who can take her place.'
- b. *Aflai* *cu* *tsi* *(tă)* *să*
found.1Sg.Aor with what that.Subj Subj.Mark
m-ămvălescu.
1Sg.Acc.Cl-cover.1Sg
'I found something with which to cover myself.'

6.7 Subjunctive constructions as nominal modifiers or as adjuncts

Aromanian subjunctive constructions can also function as nominal modifiers or as adjuncts.

6.7.1 Subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense function as relative clauses relating to a variety of referents: (a) to indefinite DPs instantiating complements of a number of verbs with the meaning of "look-for/seek" or its opposite "find", which can go under the name of "verbs of quest"²⁸³ and verbs which in specific environments can be interpreted as verbs of quest; (b) to complements of existential verbs; (c) to complements of imperative verbs; (d) to predicate nominals.

6.7.1.1 Examples of "relative subjunctive clauses" which refer to indefinite DPs as complements of verbs of quest are given in (320):

- (320) a. *Caftu* *una* *feată* *tsi/cai* *să* *zburască*
look-for.1Sg a.F girl what/who Subj.Mark1 speak.3Sg.Subj.Pres

²⁸³ The term is borrowed from Bužarovska (2004), where the syntactic environments that favor the realization of an iso-functional syntactic pattern, which occurs in the mixed domain of purpose and modification in Macedonian, Aromanian, Albanian and Modern Greek are examined. Example (320a) is from Bužarovska (2004:391).

anglicheashce.

English

‘I am looking for a girl that would speak English.’

- b. *Ănj lipseashce ună muljare tsi/cai să*
me.Dat.Sg.Cl need.3Sg a.F.Sg woman what/who Subj.Mark
shcibă s-aveglje fciior.
know.3Sg.Subj.Pres Subj.Mark-take-care.3Sg.Subj.Pres children
‘I need a woman who knows (how) to take care of children.’
- c. *Caftu pălărie cai/tsi s-mi*
look-for.1Sg hat which/what Subj.Mark-1Sg.Acc.Cl
aveaglje di soare.
protect.3Sg.Subj.Pres from sun
‘I am looking for a hat that would protect me from the sun.’
- d. *Aflai tu sone ună fustane cai/tsi*
find.1Sg.Aor at end a.F dress which/what
s-mi arisească.
Subj.Mark-1Sg.Acc.Cl please.3Sg.Subj.Pres
‘I finally found a dress which should please me.’
- e. *Petri are niete (tă) s-află*
Petri have.3Sg intention that.Subj Subj.Mark-find.3Sg.Subj.Pres
ună feată cai/tsi s-lu
a.F girl who/what Subj.Mark-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
achicăsească.
understand.3Sg.Subj.Pres
‘Petri has intention to find a girl who would understand him.’
- f. *Voi s-ădar fabrică cai/tsi (tă)*
will.1Sg Subj.Mark-make.1Sg factory which/what that.Subj
s-ădară tractor.
Subj.Mark-make.3Sg.Subj.Pres tractors
‘I will build a factory which would produce tractors.’

6.7.1.2 Examples of “relative subjunctive clauses” which refer to indefinite complements of existential verbs, imperative verbs and predicate nominals are given in (321):

- (321) a. *Nore bărbats cai/tsi s-*
not+have.Impers men who/what Subj.Mark-
achicăsească muljer.
understand.3Sg.Subj.Pres women
‘There are no men who understand women.’
- b. *Acumpră-nj ună carte cai/tsi*
buy.2Sg.Imper-1Sg.Dat.Cl a.F book which/what
s-aibă multsă cadur.
Subj.Mark-have.3Sg.Subj.Pres many pictures
‘Buy me a book which has many pictures!’
- c. *Aista iaste machină cu cai s-lucreadză îngatan.*
this.F be.3Sg machine with which Subj.Mark-work.3Sg.Subj.Pres carefully
‘This is a machine which one should handle carefully.’

6.7.2 Subjunctive constructions, appearing to the immediate right of indefinite complements of the verb *am* ‘have/possess’ function as modifiers of these complements (describing their use or activity).²⁸⁴

- (322) a. *Am frats să-nj ajută.*
 have.1Sg brothers Subj.Mark-1Sg.Dat.Cl help.3Pl.Subj.Pres
 ‘I have brothers that would help me.’
- b. *Ai fumelj s-ti hăriseashci.*
 have.2Sg children Subj.Mark-2Sg.Acc.Cl rejoice.2Sg
 ‘You have children that would give you joy.’
- c. *Ao căne s-lji aveaglje.*
 have.3Pl dog Subj.Mark-3Pl.Acc.Cl protect.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘They have a dog that would protect them.’
- d. *Avem sobă să n-ângăldzască.*
 have.1Pl stove Subj.Mark 1Pl.Acc.Cl-warm.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘We have a stove that would keep us warm.’

6.7.3 Indefinite DPs occurring as complements of verbs of quest can also be modified by subjunctive clauses:

- (323) a. *Caftu muljare s-aveaglje fumelj.*
 look-for.1Sg woman Subj.Mark-take-care.3Sg.Subj.Pres children
 ‘I am looking for a woman that would take care of children.’
- b. *Aflai student să zburască*
 find.1Sg.Aor student Subj.Mark speak.3Sg.Subj.Pres
anglicheashce.
 English
 ‘I found a student that speaks English.’

6.7.4 Subjunctive constructions, optionally or obligatorily preceded by the subjunctive complementizer *tă*, can function as adjuncts of purpose.²⁸⁵

- (324) a. *Feacim pauză (tă) s-lji ascultăm*
 do.1Pl.Imperf pause that.Subj Subj.Mark-3Pl.Acc.Cl hear.1Pl
nalile.
 news+the.M.Pl
 ‘We paused in order to hear the news.’

²⁸⁴ Example (322a) is from Bužarovska (2004:396).

²⁸⁵ Example (324g) is from Bužarovska (2004:395); example (324h) from Bužarovska (2004:378). In subjunctive constructions in sentences with verbs of quest in the main clause, such as these, the deletion of the subjunctive complementizer *tă* may lead to ambiguity. Thus, without *tă*, sentences (324g), (324h) and (324i) may be ambiguous and have the given readings, as well as the readings (i), (ii) and (iii), respectively:

- (i) ‘I found a student that translates from/into English.’
 (ii) ‘I am looking for a woman that takes care of children.’
 (iii) ‘I am looking for a hat such that it can protect me from the sun.’

Note that in three Balkan languages that do not have subjunctive complementizers – Macedonian, Bulgarian and Modern Greek – subjunctive constructions functioning as modifiers of purpose are preceded by prepositions with the meaning ‘for’ (*za* in Macedonian and Bulgarian and *ja* in Modern Greek).

- b. *Vă strigăm (tă) s-videts că minduim*
 2Pl.Acc.Cl call.1Pl that.Subj Subj.Mark-see.2Pl that think.1Pl
pi voi.
 on you.Acc
 ‘We are calling so that you may see that we think of you.’
- c. *Vinți (tă) s-vă spun că*
 come.1Sg.Aor that.Subj Subj.Mark-2Pl.Acc.Cl inform.1Sg that
va s-fug.
 will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark-leave.1Sg
 ‘I came (in order) to inform you that I am leaving.’
- d. *Vine chirolu (tă) s-nji*
 come.3Sg.Aor time+the.M.Sg that.Subj Subj.Mark-1Sg.Acc.Cl
dai atsea tsi nj-ai bordje.
 give.2Sg that.M.Sg what 1Sg.Dat.Cl-have.2Sg debt
 ‘The time has come for you to give me what you owe me.’
- e. *Intrara pregale (tă) s-nu nă*
 come.3Pl.Aor slowly that.Subj Subj.Mark-not 1Pl.Acc.Cl
dishciaptă.
 wake up.3Sg/Pl.Subj.Pres
 ‘They came in slowly so as not to wake us up.’
- f. *Iani easte multu periculos (tă)*
 Iani be.3Sg much dangerous.M.Sg that.Subj
s-lu băgăm pi lucru.
 Subj.Mark-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl put.3Pl on work
 ‘Iani is too dangerous for us to employ him.’ (lit. Iane is too dangerous for us to put him to work.)
- g. *Akumprai pilă (tă) să talj lemne.*
 buy.1Sg saw that.Subj Subj.Mark cut.1Sg wood
 ‘I bought a saw (in order) to cut wood.’
- h. *Aflai un student tă să*
 found.1Sg.Aor a.M student that.Subj Subj.Mark
traducă anglicheashce.
 translate.3Sg.Subj.Pres English
 ‘I found a student to translate from/into English.’
- i. *Caftu ună muljare tă*
 look-for.1Sg a.F woman that.Subj
s-aveglje ficior.
 Subj.Mark-take care.3Sg.Subj.Pres children
 ‘I am looking for a woman to take care of children.’
- j. *Caftu ună capelă tă să*
 look-for.1Sg a.F hat that.Subj Subj.Mark
m-aveglje di soare.
 1Sg.Acc.Cl-take care.3Sg.Subj.Pres from sun
 ‘I am looking for a hat (in order) to protect me from the sun.’

- k. *Tă* *s-amintă* *lipsească*
 that.Subj Subj.Mark-win.3Sg.Subj.Pres should.Impers
s-ămveatsă.
 Subj.Mark-learn.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘In order to win, one should study.’
- l. *Tă* *s-amintă* *lipsească*
 that.Subj Subj.Mark-win.3Sg.Subj.Pres should.Impers
s-nu cadă.
 Subj.Mark-not fall.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘In order to win, one should not fall.’

6.7.5 As a complement of the preposition *fără* ‘without’, along with that preposition, subjunctive constructions can function as adjuncts of concession:²⁸⁶

- (325) a. *U* *feace* *acea* *fără* *să*
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl do.3Sg.Aor that.F without Subj.Mark
șcibă cătse.
 know.3Sg.Subj.Pres why
 ‘(S)he did it without knowing why.’
- b. *Îl* *deade* *bombone* *fără* *să*
 3Sg.Dat.Cl give.3Sg.Aor sweets without Subj.Mark
șcibă ti tsi.
 know.3Sg.Subj.Pres for what
 ‘(S)he gave him/her sweets without knowing why.’
- c. *U* *măca* *bombona* *fără*
 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl eat.3Sg.Aor sweet+the.F.Sg without
s-u disfacă.
 Subj.Mark-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl open.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘(S)he ate the sweets without opening them.’

6.7.6 As a complement of the prepositions *până* ‘up to/until’ or *până* ‘until’, along with that preposition, subjunctive constructions function as adjuncts of time:

- (326) a. *Va* *s-escu* *atsia* *până* *s-yină*
 will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark-be.1Sg here until Subj.Mark-come.3Sg.Subj.Pres
dadă-ta.
 mother-your.F.Sg.Cl
 ‘I will be here until your mother comes.’

²⁸⁶ The prepositions introducing subjunctive constructions are in many cases preceded by demonstrative pronouns:

- (i) *Vine* *păn* *aclo* *s-lu* *jilească* *tuts.*
 come.3Sg.Aor up-to it Subj.Mark-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl feel sorry.3Sg.Subj.Pres all
 ‘He is in such a deplorable situation, that everybody feels sorry for him.’ (lit. ‘He came up to it that everybody feels sorry for him.’)
- (ii) *Nore* *tsiva* *ma* *bună* *di* *căt* *(tă)* *s-eshci*
 not+have.Impers something more good from it that.Subj Subj.Mark-be.2Sg
dadă.
 mother
 ‘There is nothing more pleasant than being a mother.’

- b. *Lipseashce s-ashciaptă multu tăsh*
 should.Impers Subj.Mark-wait.3Sg.Subj.Pres much until
s-u treacă calea.
 Subj.Mark-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl cross.3Sg.Subj.Pres street+the.F.Sg
 ‘On should wait a lot before crossing the street.’

6.7.7 Noteworthy is the occurrence of subjunctive constructions to the immediate right of the preposition *cum* ‘like/as’, as in (326):

- (327) *Cum s-ira di amalamă!*
 as Subj.Mark-be.3Sg.Imperf from gold
 ‘(It looks) as if it were (made) of gold.’

6.8 Bare subjunctive constructions

As in the other Balkan languages, in Aromanian the subjunctive constructions can be bare.

6.8.1 Bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense, second or third person, singular or plural, express a wish or a command:

- (328) *S-hibă avluyisits!*
 Subj.Mark-be.3Sg.Subj.Pres blessed.M.Sg.Pass.Part
 ‘May he be blessed!’
- (329) a. *S-ti duts!*
 Subj.Mark-2Sg.Acc.Cl go.2Sg
 ‘You should go!’
- b. *S-ălj ashciptăm!*
 Subj.Mark-3Pl.M.Acc.Cl meet/welcome.1Pl
 ‘Let us meet/welcome them!’
- c. *S’lju dăm cartea!*
 Subj.Mark+3Sg.Dat.Cl+3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.1Pl book+the.F.Sg
 ‘Let us give him/her the book!’

6.8.2 Bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense, first person, singular or plural, can (with appropriate intonation) express resolution or agreement:

- (330) *S-me/nă duc/ducim.*
 Subj.Mark-1Sg/Pl.Acc.Cl go.1Sg/Pl
 1. ‘Let me/us go.’
 2. ‘So, I/we shall go.’

6.8.3 Bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense, any person or number, can express astonishment:

- (331) a. *S-ai pradz shi s-bănets cum orfăn.*
 Subj.Mark-have.2Sg money and Subj.Mark-live.2Sg as poor man
 ‘To have money and to live as a poor man!’
- b. *Să shcibă a s-nu nă*
 Subj.Mark know.3Sg.Subj.Pres and Subj.Mark-not 1Pl.Dat.Cl
spună!
 say.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘To know and not to tell us!’

- c. *S-mărită* *ashi tiniră!*
 Subj.Mark-marry.3Sg.Subj.Pres so young.F.Sg
 'To get married so young!'

6.8.4 Clauses in which the verb of the bare subjunctive construction is in the imperfect, express (a) unrealised probability, (b) unrealized wish or (c) a guess. Examples:²⁸⁷

- (332) a. *S-vineai s-anutai!*
 Subj.Mark-come.2Sg.Imperf Subj.Mark-swim.2Sg.Imperf
 'You should have come and swam!'
- b. *S-ănj dzătsei cama agonja!*
 Subj.Mark-1Sg.Dat.Cl tell.2Sg.Imperf more early
 'You should have told me before.'
- c. *S-videi tsi s-feace!*
 Subj.Mark-see.2Sg.Imperf what Acc.Refl.Cl-do.3Sg.Aor
 'You should have seen what happened!'
- (333) a. *Si vrei s-yinji!*
 Subj.Mark want.2Sg.Imperf Subj.Mark-come.2Sg
 'If only you wanted to come!'
- b. *S-ti aveam ningă mine!*
 Subj.Mark-2Sg.Acc.Cl have.1Sg.Imperf near me
 'If only I had you near me!'
- c. *S-irai aclo s-u*
 Subj.Mark-be.2Sg.Imperf there Subj.Mark-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
videai haria a ljei!
 see.2Sg.Imperf joy+the.F.Sg of her
 'I wish you were there to see her joy!'
- (334) *S-avea vărănă yinghits anj.*
 Subj.Mark-have.3Sg.Imperf about twenty years
 '(S)he may have been twenty years old.'

6.8.5 Negated bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense, second or third person, singular or plural, express prohibition.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁷ Many of the sentences that express unrealized wish have two subjunctive constructions in a row.

²⁸⁸ Prohibitions are also expressed by negated imperative verbs, whether the construction includes pronominal clitics or not. In (i) we have non-negated imperative verbs expressing an order, in (ii) negated imperative verbs expressing prohibition.

- (i) *Acumpră cartea!*
 buy.2Sg.Imper book+the.F.Sg
 'Buy the book!'
- (i') *Dă-nj lu!*
 give.2Sg.Imper-1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
 'Give it to me!'
- (ii) *Nu acumpră cartea!*
 not buy.2Sg.Imper book+the.F.Sg
 'Don't buy the book!'

- (335) a. *S-nu* *s-ducă* *ficiorli!*
 Subj.Mark-not Acc.Refl.Cl-go.3Pl.Subj.Pres children+the.M.Pl
 ‘Don’t let the children go!’
- b. *S-nu* *lu* *stridz!*
 Subj.Marknot 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl ring.2Sg
 ‘Don’t call him!’
- c. *S-nu* *s-ducă* *aclo!*
 Subj.Mark-not Acc.Refl.Cl-go.3Sg/Pl.Subj.Pres there
 ‘Let him/her/them not go there!’
- d. *S-nu* *lj-ul* *dai!*
 Subj.Mark-not 3S.Dat.Cl-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.2Sg
 ‘Don’t give it to him!’

6.8.6 Negated bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense, first person singular express resolution, while negated bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense, first person plural, can (with appropriate intonation) express agreement or resolution:

- (336) a. *S-nu* *me* *duc.*
 Subj.Mark-not 1Sg.Acc.Cl go.1Sg
 ‘So, I shan’t go.’
- b. *S-nu* *nă* *ducim.*
 Subj.Mark-not 1Pl.Acc.Cl go.1Pl
 1. ‘So, we shan’t go.’
 2. ‘Let’s not go.’

6.8.7 In questions, negated or non-negated bare subjunctive constructions, with verbs in any tense, though a past tense occurs most often, express doubt or wonderment:

- (337) a. *S-nu* *ira* *Petri?!?*
 Subj.Mark-not be.3Sg.Imperf Petri
 ‘Could it not be that it was Petri!?’
- b. *S-nu* *hibă* *vinit?!?*
 Subj.Mark-not be.3Sg.Subj.Pres come.M.Sg.Pass.Part
 ‘Could it not be that he has come?!?’
- c. *Iu* *s-hibă* *dus?!?*
 where Subj.Mark-be.3Sg.Subj.Pres gone.M.Sg.Pass.Part
 ‘Where could he have gone?!?’
- d. *S-nu-lj* *hibă* *aspărtu*
 Subj.Mark-not-3Sg.Dat.Cl have.3Sg.Subj.Pres go-bad.M.Sg.Pass.Part

-
- (ii') *Nu-nj* *lu* *dă!*
 not- 1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.2Sg.Imper
 ‘Don’t give it to me!’

As we conclude by the well-formedness of (ii') and the ill-formedness of (iii), if the negated imperative clause includes clitics, they have to come between the negation marker and the verb:

- (iii) **Nu* *dă-nj* *lu!*
 not give.2Sg.Imper-1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl

avtokinitlu?!

car+the.F.Sg

‘Could it not be that his/her car got broken?!’

- e. *(Tine) s-nu surdăsh?!*
 you Subj.Mark-not deafen.2Sg.Aor
 ‘You haven’t become deaf, have you?!’
- f. *S-hibă vinitș?*
 Subj.Mark-be.3Sg.Subj.Pres come.M.Sg.Pass.Part
 ‘Could he have already come?’
- g. *Iu s-hibă găzdălu?*
 where Subj.Mark-be.3Sg.Subj.Pres boss+the.M.Sg
 ‘Where could the boss be?’

6.8.8 Followed by embedded questions introduced by a “wh” word, bare subjunctive constructions are used in vivid narration. Examples:

- (338) a. *S-vets tsi s-featșe!*
 Subj.Mark-see.2Sg what Acc.Refl.Cl-make.3Sg.Aor
 ‘You should see what happened!’
- b. *Să șci cătu e mare!*
 Subj.Mark know.2Sg how-much be.3Sg big.F.Sg
 ‘You should see how big she is!’ (lit. ‘You should know how big she is!’)

6.8.9 In story-telling, a bare subjunctive construction with a verb in the present tense can take as a complement another bare subjunctive construction in the present tense, or else two or more subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense appear in a sequence:

- (339) a. *S-lu lja s-lu*
 Subj.Mark-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl take.3Sg.Aor Subj.Mark-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
bată!
 beat up.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘(Lo and behold,) (s)he beat him up!’ (lit. ‘(S)he took to beat him up!’)
- b. *Să scolă s-măcă și*
 Subj.Mark get-up.3Sg.Subj.Pres Subj.Mark-eat.3Sg.Subj.Pres and
s-easă fără să
 Subj.Mark-get-out.3Sg.Subj.Pres without Subj.Mark
spună civa.
 say.3Sg.Subj.Pres something
 ‘(Just imagine!) To get up, eat and leave without saying anything!’

6.9 Aromanian Future Tenses

The Aromanian future tenses are constructed by the invariant expectative modal clitic *va* ‘will’ + a subjunctive construction.

6.9.1 The sequence *va* ‘will’ + subjunctive construction with a verb in the present tense represents the Aromanian future tense.

6.9.1.1 As a rule, the future tense expresses futurity relative to the moment of speaking.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁹ In clauses with pronominal clitics the subjunctive marker is usually left out.

- (340) a. *Va* *s-yin* *s-ti*
will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark-come.1Sg.Pres Subj.Mark-2Sg.Acc.Cl
ved *măne.*
see.1Sg.Pres tomorrow.
'I will come to see you tomorrow.'
- b. *Va* *tsă* *iuvusescu* *serle.*
will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl read.1Sg evenings+the.Pl
'I will be reading to you in the evenings.'
- c. *Biserica* *va* *(s-)ălj*
church+the.F.Sg will.Mod.Cl SubjMark-3Pl.Acc.Cl
agiută *a* *orfănjlor.*
help.3Sg.Subj.Pres to poor.M.Pl.Dat
'The church will help the poor.'
- d. *Măcai* *un* *pescu* *care* *va* *tsă*
eat.1Sg.Aor a.M fish which will.Mod.Cl you.2Sg.Dat.Cl
si *arisească.*
Acc.Refl.Cl like.3Sg.Subj.Pres
'I ate a fish which you will/would like.'

6.9.1.2 When the verbs in the subjunctive construction have second or third person forms, the future tense can express an order:

- (341) *Va* *(s-)ălj* *agiuts* *a* *orfănjlor.*
will.Mod.Cl SubjMark-3Pl.M.Acc.Cl help.2Sg to poor.M.Pl.Dat
'You should help the poor!'

6.9.1.3 The future tense can also be used to express habitual actions:

- (342) a. *Va* *s-yin,* *va*
will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark-come.3Sg.Subj.Pres will.Mod.Cl
s-shadă, *shi* *va* *ănciescă*
Subj.Mark-sit-down.3Sg.Subj.Pres and will.Mod.Cl begin.3Sg.Subj.Pres
să *zburască.*
Subj.Mark talk.3Sg.Subj.Pres
'(S)he would come, sit down and begin to talk.'
- b. *Va* *să* *scolă* *shi* *va*
will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark get-up.3Sg.Subj.Pres and will.Mod.Cl
s-u *da* *casă* *di* *pade.*
Subj.Mark-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.3Sg.Subj.Pres house from floor
'(S)he would get up and turn the house upside down.' (lit. '(S)he would get up and give the house from the floor.')

6.9.2 *Va* 'will' + subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present perfect is the Aromanian future perfect tense, which expresses the result of an action relative to a future moment:

- (343) *Tăsh* *măne* *ti* *prăndzu* *va* *s-am*
by tomorrow at lunch will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark-have.1Sg
bitisită *cu* *proiectul.*
finished.Past.Part with project+the.M.Sg
'By tomorrow at noon, I shall have finished the project.'

6.9.3 *Va* ‘will’ + subjunctive constructions with verbs in the imperfect represent the Aromanian future-in-the-past tense, which expresses actions/events that are supposed to have happened but were obstructed:

- (344) a. *Nu va (s-)lipsea*
 not will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark-should.Impers.Impperf
s-yinǎ.
 Subj.Mark-come.3Sg/Pl.Subj.Pres
 ‘(S)he/they shouldn’t have come!’
- b. *Nu va (s-)lipsea s-u*
 not will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark-should.Impperf Subj.Mark.-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
ljai.
 take.2Sg
 ‘You shouldn’t have taken it!’

6.9.4 Constructions in which the modal clitic *va* ‘will’ combines with past perfect forms represent the Aromanian future-perfect-in-the-past, which is used in *irrealis* conditional sentences.

6.10 Conditional sentences

6.10.1 In *realis* conditional sentences, a future tense appears both in the “if”-clause in the *protasis* and the main clause in the *apodosis*, though the expectative modal clitic or the subjunctive marker can be and often are deleted:

- (345) a. *Ma (va) s-yinj va*
 if will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark-come.2Sg will.Mod.Cl
(s)-tsǎ dau unǎ carte.
 Subj.Mark-2Sg.Acc.Cl give.1Sg a.F book
 ‘If you come, I will give you a book.’
- b. *Cara (va) s-lji ved*
 if will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark-3Pl.Acc.Cl see.1Sg
va (s-)lji strig.
 will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark-3.Pl.Acc.Cl invite.1Sg
 ‘If I see them, I will invite them.’

6.10.2 *Irrrealis* conditional sentences are marked by imperfect morphology: they have a subjunctive clause with a verb in the imperfect or an “if”-clause with a verb in the future-in-the-past in the *protasis* and a main clause with a future-in-the-past tense in the *apodosis*.²⁹⁰ These sentences have two readings: (a) *irrealis* from the point of view the moment of speaking and (b) *irrealis* from the point of view of a past moment.

- (346) a. *S-nu yinea va s-lu*
 Subj.Mark-not come.3Sg.Impperf will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark-3Sg.M.Acc

²⁹⁰ In some cases, instead of the “if”-clause one may use a “when”-clause (also with a verb in the future-in-the-past):

- (i) *Cǎndu nu va s-yinea, nu va*
 when not will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark-come.3Sg.Impperf not will.Mod.Cl
lu aveam bitisitǎ proectul.
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl have.1Pl.Impperf finished.Part project+the.M.Sg
 ‘When (s)he would not have come we would not have finished the project.’

Note that in this sentence the perfect of the main clause imposes an *irrealis* reading.

- bitiseam* *proectul*.
 finish.1Pl.Imperf project+the.M.Sg
 1. 'If (s)he didn't come, we would finish the project.'
 2. 'If (s)he hadn't come we would have finished the project.'
- b. *S-yinei*, *va-l* *videi*.
 Subj.Mark-come.2Sg.Imperf will.Mod.Cl-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.2Sg.Imperf
 1. 'If you came, you would see him.'
 2. 'If you had come, you would have seen him.'
- c. *Cara* (*va*) *s-yinea*, *va-l*
 if will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mrk-come.3Sg.Imperf will.Mod.Cl-3Sg.Acc.Cl
ashciptam.
 accept.1Pl.Imperf
 1. 'If (s)he came, we would accept him.'
 2. 'If (s)he had come we would have accepted him.'

6.10.3 The use of the past perfect in the *protasis* (or both in the *protasis* and the *apodosis*) eliminates the “*irrealis* from the point of view of the present moment” reading, and thus disambiguates the sentence:

- (347) a. *S-avei* *vinită*, *va-l*
 Subj.Mark-had.2Sg come.Past.Part will.Mod.Cl-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
videi.
 see.2Sg.Imperf
 'If you had come, you would have seen him.'
- b. *S-nu* *avea* *vinită* *va*
 Subj.Mark-not had.3Sg.Imperf come.Past.Part will.Mod.Cl
s-lu *aveam* *bitisită*
 Subj.Mark-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl had.1Pl.Imperf finished.Past.Part
proectul.
 project+the.M.Sg
 'If (s)he had not come we would have finished the project.'
- c. *Cara* (*va*) *s-o* *avea*
 if will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark+3Sg.F.Acc.Cl have.3Sg.Imperf
vidzută *va-nj* *avea* *spusă*.
 seen.Past.Part will.Mod.Cl-1Sg.Dat.Acc have.3Sg.Imperf said.Part
 'If (s)he had seen it, he would have told me so.'

6.10.4 In the Aromanian dialects spoken in South-Eastern Macedonia, a conditional modal clitic *vrea* ‘would’, whose form is equivalent to the third person singular imperfect form of the verb *voi* ‘want’, is used in *irrealis* conditional sentences.²⁹¹ Thus we have:

²⁹¹ Ianachieschi (1993) labels the *vrea* + subjunctive construction sequences “Perfect conditional” tense and makes a distinction between the perfect conditional and an analytic present conditional tense. For the verb *yin* ‘come’ he lists the following “present conditional” paradigm:

	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>yinirim</i>	<i>yinirim</i>
2 nd	<i>yinirish</i>	<i>yinirit</i>
3 rd	===== <i>yiniri</i> =====	

I have not, however, come across a native speaker who would use these forms.

- (348) a. %*Vrea* *s-yineam* *s-ti* *ved....*
 would.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark-come.1Sg.Imperf Subj.Mark-2Sg.Acc.Cl see.1Sg
 1. 'I would come to see you (if...)'
 2. 'I would have come to see you (if...)'
- b. %*S-nu* *yinea,* *noi* *vrea*
 Subj.Mark+not come.3Sg.Imperf we would.Mod.Cl
s-căntam.
 Subj.Mark-read.1Pl.Past
 1. 'If he hadn't come, we would read.'
 2. 'If he didn't come, we would have read.'
- (349) a. %*S-nu* *are* *yinit,* *noi* *vrea*
 Subj.Mark+not have.3Sg come.Past.Part we would.Mod.Cl
s-căntam.
 Subj.Mark-read.1Pl.Past
 'If he hadn't come, we would have read.'
- b. %*S-nu* *are* *yinit,* *proectul*
 Subj.Mark+not have.3Sg come.3Sg.Imperf project+the.M.Sg
vrea *s-hibă* *bitisit.*
 would.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark+be.3Sg.Subj.Pres finished.M.Sg.Part
 'If he hadn't come, the project would have been finished.'

6.11 Sentences with temporal clauses

In sentences with temporal clauses, the expectative modal clitic can be used in both the main and the "when"-clause.

6.11.1 The future oriented temporal clauses typically have expectative clitics followed by verbs in the present tense, i.e. they have future tenses.

- (350) a. *Va* *lj-u* *dao* *căndu*
 will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl-3Sg.F.Acc.Cl give.1Sg when
va-l *vedu.*
 will.Mod.Cl-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.1Sg
 'I will give it to him when I see him.' (lit. 'I will give her to it when I see him.')
- b. *Căndu va* *s-yinj* *va-l*
 when will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark-come.2Sg will.Mod.Cl-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
bitisim *proectul.*
 finish.1Sg project+the.M.Sg
 'When you come, we shall finish the project.'
- c. *Cănd(u)* *(va)* *s-yin* *va*
 when will.Mod.Cl come.2Sg.Pres will.Mod.Cl
(s)-tsă *dau* *ună* *carte.*
 Subj.Mark-2Sg.Acc.Cl give.1Sg a.F book
 'When you come, I will give you a book.'
- d. *Căndu va-lj* *vedz,* *s-lji*
 when will.Mod.Cl-3Pl.Acc.Cl see.2Sg Subj.Mrk-3Pl.M.Acc.Cl
stridz.
 invite.2Sg
 'When you see them, invite them.'

- e. *Cāndu (va)* *s-lu* *vedz,* *nu*
 when will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mrk-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.2Sg not
lu *zbura!*
 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl speak.2Sg.Imper
 ‘When you see him, don’t speak to him!’
- f. *Cāndu proectul* *va-l* *bitisim*
 when project+the.M.Sg will.Mod.Cl-3g.M.Acc.Cl finish.1Pl
va *tsā* *lu* *pitrecim.*
 will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Dat.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl send.1Pl
 ‘When we finish the project, we shall send it to you.’

6.11.2 Temporal clauses with *va* ‘will’ + perfective verbs in the present or past tense can express habitual actions:

- (351) *Cāndu va* *s-yinea* *nāsh*
 when will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark-come.3Sg.Imperf they.M
va-l *ashciptan* *cu* *parao.*
 will.Mod.Cl-3Sg.M.Acc.Cl welcome.3Pl.Imperf with joy
 ‘When(ever) he would come they would meet him with joy.’

7. Albanian²⁹²

In Standard and Tosk Albanian no infinitive is operative. Some of the functions of the Indo-European infinitive are performed by a general non-finite form, to which I will refer as “participle”; most of those functions have, however, been taken over by subjunctive constructions.

7.1 Formation of the (Tosk) Albanian participle

The Standard and Tosk Albanian participle is constructed by the addition of the suffixes *-rë*,²⁹³ *-lë*, *-në* or *-ur*. The suffixes are added to aorist bases, which with regular verbs is the same as the base from which the present tense is formed (cf. Newmark, Hubbard and Prifti 1982:62).

7.1.1 Examples of participles of lexical verbs are given in (351):

- (352) a. *larë* ‘washed.Part’; *tharë* ‘dry.Part’
 b. *vjelë* ‘harvested.Part’; *dalë* ‘emerge.Part’
 c. *vënë* ‘put.Part’; *rënë*²⁹⁴ ‘fall.Part’
 d. *punuar* ‘worked.Part’; *shitur* ‘sell.Part’; *matur* ‘measured.Part’

7.1.2 The participles of the auxiliaries *jam* ‘be’ and *kam* ‘have’ are given in (352):²⁹⁵

- (353) a. *qenë* ‘been.Part’ (1Sg *jam*)
 b. *pasur* ‘had.Part’ (1Sg *kam*)

²⁹² Standard Albanian is predominately based on the Tosk dialects. Since with respect to infinitives and subjunctives Geg Albanian, Northern Geg Albanian specifically, behaves distinctly from Standard or Tosk Albanian, it will be considered in a separate sections of this chapter.

²⁹³ If the vowel preceding the suffix is unstressed, the final *ë* is dropped and the suffix is *-r*.

²⁹⁴ This verb is irregular. Its present base is *bi*; 1Sg *bie*.

²⁹⁵ *Jam* and *kam* are the first person singular forms of the “be” and “have” auxiliaries, respectively. The first person singular forms are the citation forms of the verbs in (Tosk) Albanian.

7.2 “Infinitival” usage of the Standard and Tosk Albanian participle

The (Tosk) Albanian participle occurs in a variety of environments.²⁹⁶ Relevant for our discussion is its occurrence to the right of the conjunction *të*, which typically introduces subjunctive constructions and will here be referred to as “subjunctive marker”.

7.2.1 Most frequently, the *të* + participle construction appears as a complement of the preposition *për* ‘for’.

7.2.1.1 The construction *për* + *të* + Part has been analyzed as composed of the preposition *për* and the neuter form of the substantivized participle, *të* being treated as a particle that regularly accompanies adjectives and participles used substantively.²⁹⁷ But, as pointed out by Joseph (1983:89), “such an analysis, even if historically correct – a possibility which is still open to questions – may not be synchronically valid”. Synchronically, the construction *për* + *të* + Part is an infinitive-like construction.

7.2.1.2 Typically, the *për* + *të* + participle construction functions as an adjunct for purpose.²⁹⁸

- (354) a. *Erdha për t'u larë.*²⁹⁹
 come.1Sg.Aor for Subj.Mark+Refl.Cl washed.Part
 ‘I came in order to wash myself.’
- b. *E ndërpreme bisedën për*
 3Sg.Acc.Cl interrupt.1Pl.Aor conversation.F.Sg.Acc for
të dëgjuar lajmet.
 Subj.Mark heard.Part news+the.M.Pl
 ‘We interrupted the conversation in order to hear the news.’
- c. *Është vështirë për të thënë.*
 be.3Sg difficult for Subj.Mark said.Part
 ‘It is difficult to say.’
- d. *I dhashë laps për të shkruar.*
 3Sg.Dat.Cl give.1Sg.Aor pencil for Subj.Mark written.Part
 ‘I gave her/him a pencil (in order) to write.’
- e. *Bleva ngjyrë për t'i ngjyrosur*
 buy.1Sg.Aor dye for Subj.Mark-3Pl.Acc.Cl dyed.Part

²⁹⁶ Newmark, Hubbard and Prifti (1982) use distinct labels – “gerundive”, “privative”, “infinitive” and “absolute” – for the occurrence of the participle in distinct environments.

²⁹⁷ Cf. section 8.2.7 in the chapter “Cases and Articles.”

²⁹⁸ In most of the other Balkan languages, we find tensed verbs in this environment. Compare the (Tosk) Albanian sentence (353b) with the Macedonian sentence (40a), for convenience repeated in (i):

- (i) *Napравivme pauza za da gi çueme*
 made.1Pl.Past.Perf pause for Subj.Mark 3Pl.Acc.Cl hear.1Pl.Pres.Perf
vestite.
 news+the.Pl
 ‘We made a pause in order to hear the news.’

Note that adjuncts of purpose can in Albanian also be expressed by subjunctive constructions preceded by the complementizer *që* ‘that’ (cf. 7.8.2). They are actually more frequently expressed by subjunctive constructions.

²⁹⁹ Since *u* can also be used as a passive marker (cf. section 8.3.8 in the chapter “Cases and Articles”), this sentence could also have the reading:

- (i) ‘I came in order to be washed.’

- flokët.*
hairs+the.M.Pl
'I bought dye (in order) to dye my hair.'
- f. *Bleva sharrë për të prerë dru.*
buy.1Sg.Aor saw for Subj.Mark cut.Part wood
'I bought a saw (in order) to cut wood.'
- g. *E mora studentin për të ligjëruar anglisht.*
3Sg.Acc.Cl hire.1Sg.Aor student+the.M.Sg.Acc for Subj.Mark
spoken-publicly.Part English
'I hired the student to translate into English.'
- h. *Kërkoj grua për të ruajtur fëmijë.*
look-for.1Sg woman for Subj.Mark looked-after.Part children
'I am looking for a woman (in order) to look after children.'
- i. *Kërkoj kapelë për të më mbrojtur nga dielli.*
look-for.1Sg hat for Subj.Mark 1Sg.Acc.Cl protected.Part
from sun+the.M.Sg
'I am looking for a hat (in order) to protect me from the sun.'
- j. *Kërkoj dikë për të më ndihmuar.*
look-for.1Sg someone for Subj.Mark 1Sg.Acc.Cl helped.Part
'I am looking for someone to help me.'
- k. *Gjeta dikë për të ma punuar vreshtë.*
found.1Sg.Aor someone for Subj.Mark 1Sg.Dat.Cl+3Sg.Acc.Cl
hoed.Part vineyard+the.F.Sg.Acc
'I found someone (in order) to hoe my vineyard.'
- l. *Gjeta dikë për të më ndihuar.*
found.1Sg.Aor someone.Acc for Subj.Mark 1Sg.Dat.Cl helped.Part
'I found someone to help me.'
- m. *Për të fituar, duhet të mos bjesh.*
for Subj.Mark won.Part should/ought/be-necessary.Impers.M-P.Pres
Subj.Mark not.Mod fall.2Sg.Subj.Pres
'In order to win, it is necessary that you should not fall.'

7.2.1.3 In combination with forms of the auxiliary *jam* 'be', *për* + *të* + Part expresses modal necessity. Example:

- (355) *Je për të larë.*
be.2Sg for Subj.Mark washed.Part
'You should be washed.'

7.2.1.4 As a complement of present tense forms of the auxiliary *kam* 'have', *për* + *të* + Part refers to an event or an action that the speaker is certain to happen in the future.³⁰⁰

³⁰⁰ The construction is often accompanied with the expressions *vërtet* 'truly', *me siguri* 'with certainty.'

- (356) a. *Me siguri, kam për të larë.*
 with certainty have.1Sg for Subj.Mark washed.Part
 ‘I will certainly do some washing.’ (lit. ‘With certainty, I have to do washing.’)
- b. *Ajo ka për të dalë vertët një vepër mjaft interesante.*
 that.F have.2Sg for Subj.Mark come-out.Part truly a deed considerably interesting
 ‘It will certainly (come out to) be a considerably interesting piece of work.’
- c. *Me siguri, ai s’ka për të bërë gjë.*
 with certainty he not-have.3Sg for Subj.Mark done.Part something
 ‘To be sure, he won’t do anything.’ (lit. ‘With certainty, he is not to do something.’)

7.2.1.5 When the *për* + *të* + Part construction is used as a complement of imperfect forms of *kam*, the speaker emphasises the truth of what he is saying.³⁰¹

- (357) a. *Kisha për të larë.*
 have.1Sg.Imperf for Subj.Mark washed.Part
 ‘I did have to do some washing.’
- b. *Pushime më të mira se atë vit s’kishim për të kaluar ndonjëherë.*
 holidays Compar.Mark Agr.Mark good.Pl than that.Acc year not-have.1Pl.Imperf for Subj.Mark passed.Part never
 ‘We have have never had better holidays than that year!’ (lit. ‘Better holidays than that year we did not have to spend ever.’)
- c. *Po të kisha para, kisha për të shkuar çdo javë në Ohër.*
 if Subj.Mark have.1Sg.Imperf money have.1Sg.Imperf for Subj.Mark gone.Part each week in Ohrid
 ‘If I had money, I would go every week to Ohrid.’

7.2.2 *Të* + participle constructions also occur as complements of the prepositions *deri sa* ‘until’ and *me* ‘with’. *Deri sa* + *të* + Part constructions function as temporal adjuncts,³⁰² while *me* + *të* + Part constructions function as some kind of associative adjunct.³⁰³

³⁰¹ The constructions are usually used in sentences with first person subjects.

³⁰² The preposition *deri sa* ‘until’ can also take subjunctive complements (cf. 7.7.3).

³⁰³ In the latter case, the participle has a gerundial function.

Note that there are prepositions that subcategorize for the participle without *të*. A case in point is the preposition *pa* ‘without’:

- (i) *Ranë të flenë pa ngrenë, pa pirë.*
 go.3Pl.Aor Subj.Mark sleep.3Pl.Subj.Pres without eating.Part without drinking.Part
 ‘They went to bed without eating, without drinking.’
- (ii) *E bëre atë pa ditur pse.*
 3Sg.Acc.Cl do.3Sg.Aor that.M without saying.Part why
 ‘(S)he did it without knowing why.’
- (iii) *E ofendova pa ditur.*
 3Sg.Acc.Cl offend.1Sg.Aor without saying.Part
 ‘I offended him/her without saying (anything).’

- (358) a. *Rrëkëllehet* *poçja* *deri sa* *të* *gjejë*
 roll.3Sg.M-P.Pres pot+the.F.Sg untill Subj.Mark found.Part
mbulesën.
 lead+the.F.Sg.Acc
 ‘Everybody finds his/her match.’ (lit. ‘The pot is rolling until it finds a lid.’)
- b. *Me* *të* *ndejtur* *erdhi* *koha*
 with Subj.Mark stayed.Part come.3Sg.Aor time+the.F.Sg
e bukës.
 F.Sg.Agr.Cl dinner+the.F.Sg.Dat
 ‘As we stayed, dinner time came.’

7.3 Subjunctive constructions in contrast with indicative complements

The (Tosk) Albanian subjunctive construction is introduced by the subjunctive marker *të*:

- (359) a. *Duhet* *të*
 must/should/ought/need/be-necessary.Impers.M-P.Pres Subj.Mark
vijë.
 come.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 1. ‘(S)he should come.’
 2. ‘It is necessary that (s)he comes.’
- b. *Mund* *t’ia*
 can/be-possible.Pres.Impers Subj.Mark-3Sg.Dat.Cl+3Sg.Acc.Cl
japin.
 give.3Pl.Subj.Pres
 1. ‘They can give it to him/her.’
 2. ‘It is possible for them to give it to him/her.’

7.3.1 The subjunctive marker is distinct from the complementizers which introduce indicative clauses: *se* ‘that’ or *që* – a “wh” word, which back in time meant ‘where’, but is currently used only as a complementizer or relativizer:³⁰⁴

7.3.1.1 In factual statements *se* and *që* alternate freely:

- (360) a. *Tha* *se/që* *do* *të* *vijë.*
 say.3Sg.Aor that will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark come.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘(S)he said that (s)he would come.’
- b. *T’u* *thuash* *se/që* *jemi* *mirë.*
 Subj.Mark+3Pl.Dat.Cl tell.2Sg.Subj.Pres that be.1Pl well
 ‘You should tell them that we are well.’
- c. *Fëmija* *pa* *se/që* *i* *qan*
 child+the.F.Sg see.3Sg.Aor that 3Sg.Dat.Cl cry.3Sg
nëna.
 mother+the.F.Sg
 ‘The child saw that his mother was crying.’

7.3.1.2 The complementizer *që* is, however, also used in environments in which doubt and disagreement is expressed, in which case it does not alternate with the complementizer *se*:³⁰⁵

³⁰⁴ *Që* is actually the Albanian *relativum generale* (general relativizer/complementizer) on a par with the Macedonian *što* and the Modern Greek *pu*.

³⁰⁵ The example is from Asenova (2002:153) with my glosses and translation.

- (361) *Po nuk e ke marrë vesh ti*
 whether not 3Sg.Acc.Cl have.3Sg got.Part ear you
*more i uruar, që/*se ne jemi bërë kooperativë?*
 Excl Agr.Cl wretched.Part that we be.3Pl made.Part cooperative
 ‘Haven’t you heard, you scoundrel, that we have a cooperative?’ (lit. ‘Whether you haven’t gotten an ear, you scoundrel, that we have made a cooperative?’)

7.3.1.3 In complement clauses of emotional and factive verbs, *se* is not used, while *që* alternates with *pse*, the basic meaning of which is ‘why/that’:

- (362) a. *Gëzohem që/pse/*se ju shoh.*
 rejoice.1Sg.M-P.Pres that 2Pl.Pron.Cl see.1Sg
 ‘I am glad to see you.’ (lit. ‘I rejoice that I see you.’)
 b. *I shau që/pse/*se erdhën.*
 3Pl.Acc.Cl scold.3Sg.Aor that come.3Pl.Aor
 ‘He scolded them for having come.’

7.3.1.4 With verbs of believing, indicative complements with the complementizer *që* alternate with subjunctive complements:

- (363) a. *Besoj që ka ardhur.*
 believe.1Sg that have.3Sg come.Part
 b. *Besoj të ketë ardhur.*
 believe.1Sg Subj.Mark have.3Sg.Subj.Pres come.Part
 ‘I believe that he has come.’

7.3.2 The complementizer *që* optionally co-occurs with the subjunctive marker in a number of environments, while subjunctive relative clauses are obligatorily preceded by it (cf. 7.8.1).

7.3.3 Subjunctive constructions are negated by the modal negation marker *mos*,³⁰⁶ distinct from the indicative negation markers *nuk* and *s*.³⁰⁷

- (364) a. *Duhet të mos bjerë.*
 must/should.Impers.M-P.Pres Subj.Mark not.Mod
 fall.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 1. ‘(S)he should not fall.’
 2. ‘It is necessary that (s)he does not fall.’
 b. *Studentët nuk mund të vijnë.*
 students+the.M.Pl not can/be-possible.Pres.Impers Subj.Mark
 come.3Pl.Subj.Pres
 1. ‘The students cannot come.’
 2. ‘It is not possible for the students to come.’
 c. *A s’e dëgjon pyllin*
 whether not-3Sg.Acc.Cl hear.2Sg forest+the.M.Sg.Acc

³⁰⁶ The modal negation marker is also used in optative and imperative clauses.

³⁰⁷ *Nuk* and *s* appear in analogous environments.

(që) të këndojë?
that Subj.Mark sing.3Sg.Subj.Pres
'Don't you hear the forest sing?'

7.4 Forms of verbs in the subjunctive construction

Both lexical and auxiliary verbs have subjunctive active present tense paradigms, with at least some forms distinct from the indicative ones.³⁰⁸

7.4.1 The indicative and subjunctive present tense paradigms of the lexical verb *laj* 'wash' are given in Table 30.³⁰⁹

Table 30: Present tense paradigms of the Standard and Tosk Albanian lexical verb *laj* 'wash'

	Indicative		Subjunctive	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>laj</i>	<i>lajmë</i>	<i>laj</i>	<i>lajmë</i>
2 nd	<i>lan</i>	<i>lani</i>	<i>lash</i>	<i>lani</i>
3 rd	<i>lan</i>	<i>lajnë</i>	<i>lajë</i>	<i>lajnë</i>

7.4.2 The indicative and subjunctive present tense paradigms of these auxiliaries are given in Table 31:

Table 31: Present tense paradigms of the Standard and Tosk Albanian auxiliaries *kam* 'have' and *jam* 'be'

	<i>kam</i>				<i>jam</i>			
	Indicative		Subjunctive		Indicative		Subjunctive	
	Sing	Plural	Sing	Plural	Sing	Plural	Sing	Plural
1 st	<i>kam</i>	<i>kemi</i>	<i>kem</i>	<i>kemi</i>	<i>jam</i>	<i>jemi</i>	<i>jem</i>	<i>jemi</i>
2 nd	<i>ke</i>	<i>keni</i>	<i>kesh</i>	<i>keni</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>është</i>	<i>jesh</i>	<i>jeni</i>
3 rd	<i>ka</i>	<i>kanë</i>	<i>ketë</i>	<i>kenë</i>	<i>është</i>	<i>janë</i>	<i>jetë</i>	<i>jenë</i>

7.4.3 There are active subjunctive present perfect sets of forms constructed by the present subjunctive forms of the auxiliary *kam* 'have' plus participles of lexical verbs and medio-passive present perfect sets of forms constructed by the present subjunctive forms of the auxiliary *jam* 'be' plus participles of lexical verbs.

Table 32: Subjunctive present perfects of the standard/Tosk Albanian lexical verb *laj* 'wash'

	Active		Medio-Passive	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>kem larë</i>	<i>kemi larë</i>	<i>jem larë</i>	<i>jemi larë</i>
2 nd	<i>kesh</i> -"	<i>keni</i> -"	<i>jesh</i> -"	<i>jeni</i> -"
3 rd	<i>ketë</i> -"	<i>kenë</i> -"	<i>jetë</i> -"	<i>jenë</i> -"

7.4.4 Subjunctive constructions also employ the forms of the active and medio-passive past perfect tense, which are used in indicative environments.

7.5 Typical uses of subjunctive constructions

Typically, the subjunctive constructions are used as complements of the lexical modal verbs *mund* 'can/may/be possible', *duhet* 'must/should/need/ought/be necessary' and *kam* 'have',³¹⁰ as complements

³⁰⁸ The imperfect and aorist forms of the verbs in the subjunctive constructions are actually the forms of the indicative, *të* being the only marker of the subjunctive mood.

³⁰⁹ With lexical verbs, the first person active present tense form of the verb (which also is its citation form) is identical to the present tense base of the verb), while the other forms are derived by adding person/number suffixes to this base.

of several classes of verbs that may go under the general name of “intentional verbs”;³¹¹ and as complements of verbs of perception. The subjunctive constructions can (and in some case have to) agree in number and person with the verbs of the main clause. Whenever such an agreement occurs, there is “equi” deletion and the one and only subject surfaces (a) to the left of the verb of the main clause; (b) to the left of the subjunctive marker; or (c) to the right of the verb of the subjunctive construction. The subjunctive marker can be separated from the verb only by pronominal clitics. Pronominal subjects are dropped unless emphatic. When the subject of the subordinate clause is distinct from the subject of the main clause, it can occur to the left of the subjunctive marker or to the right of the verb of the subjunctive construction. The “wh” complementizer *që*, if it occurs, does so to the immediate left of the subjunctive marker or to the left of a focused constituent. Note that this complementizer never occurs with the lexical modals *mund* ‘can/may/be possible’ and *duhet* ‘must/should/need/ought/be necessary’.

7.5.1 The modal verb *duhet* ‘must/should/ought/need/be necessary’ is, as a rule, impersonal:³¹²

- (365) a. *Duhet* *të*
 must/should/need/ought/be necessary.Impers.M-P.Pres Subj.Mark
vij/vish.
 come.1/2Sg.Subj.Pres
 1. ‘I/you must/should/need/ought to come.’
 2. ‘It is necessary that I/you come.’
- b. (*Projekti*) *duhet*
 project+the.M.Sg must/should/need/ought.be-necessary.Impers.M-P.Pres
 (*projekti*) *të* *jetë* *kryer*
 project+the.M.Sg Subj.Mark be.3Sg.Subj.Pres finished.Part
 (*projekti*).
 project+the.M.Sg
 1. ‘The project must/should/need/ought to be finished.’
 2. ‘It is necessary for the project to be finished.’
- c. *Duhet* *t’i*
 must/should/ought.be-necessary.Impers.M-P.Pres Subj.Mark-3Sg.Dat.Cl
shkruash ndonjë fjalë.
 write.2Sg.Subj.Pres some word
 1. ‘You must/should/need/ought to drop him/her a word or two.’
 2. ‘It is necessary for you to drop him/her a word or two.’

³¹⁰ The modal verb *kam* ‘have’ should be distinguished from the non-modal auxiliary *kam* and from the non-modal lexical verb *kam* ‘have/possess’. The modal verb *kam* is discussed in 7.6.

³¹¹ Some basically non-intentional verbs can have intentional readings and in this case take subjunctive complements. For example:

- (i) *Di* (*që*) *të* *këndojë* *mirë.*
 know.3Sg that Subj.Mark sing.3Sg well
 ‘(S)he knows to sing well.’

³¹² *Duhet* is cited in its impersonal form, which is equivalent to the third person singular M-P form. As a personal verb, it can only occur in cases such as (i), where it takes a participle as a complement:

- (i) *Janë të rinj dhe duhen ndihmuar.*
 be.3Pl Pl.Agr.Cl young and should.3Pl.M-P.Pres helped.Part
 ‘They are young and should be helped.’

- d. *Du het* must/should/need.ought.Impers.M-P.Pres *të* Subj.Mark *të* 2Sg.Dat/Acc.Cl
tregojmë diçka.
 tell.1Pl something
 ‘We must/should/need/ought to tell you something.’
- e. *Du het* must/should/need/ought.Impers.M-P.Pres *të* Subj.Mark *arrijnë* come.3Pl.Subj.Pres
sot.
 today
 ‘They must/should/need/ought to arrive today.’

7.5.2 *Mund* ‘can/be possible’ is actually typically used as an impersonal present tense form.

7.5.2.1 The typical use of subjunctive constructions as complements of *mund* is illustrated in (365):

- (366) a. *Mund* can/be-possible.Pres.Impers *të* Subj.Mark *vini/vinë.* come.2Sg/3Pl.Subj.Pres
 ‘It is possible for you/them to come.’
- b. (*Agimi*) *mund* (*Agimi*)
 Agim+the.M.Sg can/be-possible.Pres.Impers Agim+the.M.Sg
të vijë (Agimi).
 Subj.Mark come.3Sg.Subj.Pres Agim+the.M.Sg
 ‘It is possible that Agim comes.’
- c. *Mund* can/be-possible.Pres.Impers *t’ia* Subj.Mark-3Sg.Dat.Cl+3Sg.Acc.Cl *japësh.* give.2Sg
 ‘It is possible for them to give it to him/her.’

7.5.2.2 As a personal verb, *mund* ‘can/may’ appears only in a past tense,³¹³ and in this case has to agree in person/number with the subjunctive construction in its complement:

- (367) *Dy prej tyre mundën të shpëtonin.*
 two from them.Dat can.3Pl.M-P.Aor Subj.Mark save.3Pl.M-P.Pres
 ‘Two of them could be saved.’

7.5.3 Subjunctive constructions in complements of intentional verbs fall in three classes with respect to agreement with the person/number features of the verb of the upper clause: (A) verbs that (with their straightforward reading) have joint reference with their subjunctive complements (e.g. *provoj/tentoj* ‘try’ or *përgatit* ‘prepare’); (B) verbs that have disjoint reference with their subjunctive complements (e.g. *urdhëroj* ‘order’, *sugjeroj* ‘suggest’, *ftoj* ‘invite’); and (C) verbs that may have joint or disjoint reference with their subjunctive complements (e.g. *dua* ‘want’, *planifikoj* ‘plan’, *shpresoj* ‘hope’).

7.5.3.1 The verbs of class (A) are control verbs and the subjects of their subjunctive complements are, as a rule, dropped.

³¹³ In the Tosk Albanian in Southern Macedonia, most probably under the influence of Macedonian, *mund* can be used as a personal verb even with present tense morphology. Examples:

- (i) %*Mundeni* *t’i* *shihni.*
 can.2Pl Subj.Mark+3Pl.Acc.Cl see.2Pl
 ‘You can see them.’
- (ii) %*Studentët nuk mundin të vijnë çdo ditë.*
 students+the.M.Pl not can.3Pl Subj.Mark come.3Pl.Subj.Pres here daily
 ‘The students couldn’t come here every day.’

- (368) a. *Tentoi* (që) *të* *vijë*/(**vij*).
try.3Sg.Aor that Subj.Mark come.3/1Sg.Subj.Pres
'(S)he tried (**for me*) to come.'
- b. *Ka* *qëllim* (që) *të* *vijë*/(**vij*).
have.3Sg intention that Subj.Mark come.3/1Sg.Subj.Pres
'(S)he has intention (**for me*) to come.'
- c. *Ka* *ndërmend* (që) *të* *udhëtojë*/(**udhëtosh*).
has put-in-mind.Part that Subj.Mark travel.3/2Sg.Subj.Pres
'(S)he intends (**for you*) to travel.'
- d. *Provoj* (që) *t'a* *harroj*/(**harrosh*).
try.1Sg that Subj.Mark-3Sg.Acc.Cl forget.1/2Sg.Subj.Pres
'I am trying (**for you*) to forget her/him.'
- e. *Përpiqet* (që) *të* *kërcejë*/(**kërcesh*) *dy* *metra*.
attempt.3Sg.M-P.Pres that Subj.Mark jump.3/2Sg.Subj.Pres two meters
'(S)he is attempting (**for you*) to jump two meters.'
- f. *Përgatitet* (që) *të* *niset*/(**nishesh*) *për* *rrugë*.
prepare.3Sg.M-P.Pres that Subj.Mark go.3/2Sg.Subj.Pres for way
'(S)he is preparing (**for you*) to go on a journey.'

7.5.3.2 The structures in which subjunctive constructions appear as complements of intentional verbs of class (B) can be of three different subtypes. (a) The agent of the subjunctive construction surfaces as a subject of the subjunctive clause if lexical, while pronominal subjects do so only if they are emphatic, non-emphatic pronominal subjects being dropped (cf. 369a-b).³¹⁴ (b) The underlying subject of the subjunctive construction surfaces in the position of indirect object of the main clause, and the intentional verb is described as "indirect object control" verb (cf. 369c-d).³¹⁵ (c) The underlying subject of the subjunctive construction surfaces in the position of direct object of the intentional verb, and the intentional verb is described as "direct object control" verb.

- (369) a. *Urdhëroi* (që) *Drita* *të* *vijë*
order.3Sg.Aor that Drita+the.F.Sg Subj.Mark come.3Sg.Subj.Pres
menjëherë.
immediately
'He gave an order for Drita to come immediately.'
- b. *Urdhëroi* (që) *të* *vish* *menjëherë*.
order.3Sg.Aor that Subj.Mark come.2Sg.Subj.Pres immediately
'He gave an order for you to come immediately.'
- c. *I* *urdhëroi* (që) *Drites* *të*
3Sg.Dat.Cl order.3Sg.Aor that Drita+the.F.Sg.Dat Subj.Mark

³¹⁴ In analogous structures in Romanian, a complementizer appears obligatorily to the left of the subject of the subjunctive constructions (cf. 4.5.3.2). Since in Romanian structures of subtypes (b) and (c) the occurrence of this complementizer is precluded, the distinct properties of those structures have been ascribed to the non-existence or deletion of the complementizer. In Albanian, as well as in Megleno-Romanian (cf. 5.4.3.2) and Aromanian (cf. 6.4.3.2), a complementizer can, however, optionally appear in all three subtypes of structures – to the immediate left of the subjunctive marker or to the left of the subject or a focused element of the subjunctive construction.

³¹⁵ All the verbs that have (b) structures also have (a) structures. In earlier generative analyses, structures such as those of subtype (b) were derived from structures like those of subtype (a) through "subject to object raising". In current generative analyses, not only the structures of subtype (c), but also those of subtype (b) are treated independently from the structures of subtype (a). They are referred to as ECM (exceptional case marking) structures.

vijë *menjëherë*.
 come.3Sg.Subj.Pres immediately
 ‘He ordered Drita to come immediately.’

- d. *Më* *urdhëroi* (*që*) *të* *vi* *menjëherë*.
 1Sg.Dat.Cl order.3Sg.Aor that Subj.Mark come.1Sg immediately
 ‘He ordered me to come immediately.’

7.5.3.3 The verbs of class (C) can have joint or disjoint reference with the verbs of the subjunctive constructions in their complements. In the former case, the subjects of the subjunctive constructions are as a rule dropped,³¹⁶ whereas in the latter case they can be dropped or expressed by lexical DPs/NPs or emphatic pronouns, which can occur to the right of the verb of the subjunctive construction or to the left of the subjunctive marker.

- (370) a. *Duan* (*që*) *t’ia* *japin*.
 want.3Pl that Subj.Mark-3Sg.Dat.Cl+3Sg.Acc.Cl give.3Pl.Subj.Pres
 ‘They want to give it to him/her.’

- b. *Do* (*që*) *t’a* *blejë*
 want.3Sg that Subj.Mark-3Sg.Acc.Cl buy.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 fustanin.
 dress+the.M.Sg.Acc
 ‘(S)he wants to buy the dress.’

- c. *Agimi* *do* (*që*) (*ATA*)
 Agim+the.M.Sg want.3Sg that they
 t’ia *japin* *dhuratat*.
 Subj.Mark-3Sg.Dat.Cl+3Pl.Acc.Cl give.3Pl.Subj.Pres present+the.F.Pl
 ‘Agim wants them to give him/her the presents (themselves).’

- (371) a. *Planifikon* (*që*) *të* *shkojë* *në* *Amsterdam*.
 plan.3Sg that Subj.Mark go.3Sg.Subj.Pres to Amsterdam
 ‘(S)he is planning to go to Amsterdam.’

- b. *Planifikon* (*që*) (*TI*) *të* *shkosh* *në*
 plan.3Sg that you Subj.Mark go.2Sg.Subj.Pres in
 Amsterdam.
 Amsterdam
 ‘(S)he is planning for you to go to Amsterdam (yourself).’

- c. *Drita* *planifikon* (*që*) *studentët* *të*
 Drita+the.F.Sg plan.3Sg that students+the.M.Pl Subj.Mark
 vinë *nesër*.
 come.3Pl.Subj.Pres tomorrow
 ‘Drita is planning for the students to come tomorrow.’

- (372) a. *Shpresoj* (*që*) *të* *vij*.
 hope.1Sg that Subj.Mark come.1Sg
 ‘I hope to come.’

- b. *Shpresoj* (*që*) *Petriti* *të* *kishte*
 hope.1Sg that Petrit+the.M.Sg Subj.Mark have.3Sg.Imperf

³¹⁶ In emphatic environments, the subjects of subjunctive constructions are expressed by a pronoun with same reference as the subject of the main clause.

qëne *këtu*.
 been.Part here
 ‘I hope that Petrit had been here.’

7.5.4 The subjunctive constructions in complements of verbs of perception can have joint or disjoint reference with the verbs in the upper clause, though cases with disjoint reference are more frequent:³¹⁷

- (373) a. *Ai* *dëgjoj* (*që*) *vetëm* *dera* *të*
 he hear.3Sg.Aor that only door+the.F.Sg Subj.Mark
mbyllet *me* *shul*.
 close.3Sg.M-P.Pres with rod
 ‘He heard only the door being closed with a rod.’ (lit. ‘He heard only the door close with a rod.’)
- b. *A* *s’e* *dëgjon* *pyllin*
 whether not-3Sg.Acc.Cl hear.2Sg forest+the.M.Sg.Acc
 (*që*) *të* *këndojë?*
 that Subj.Mark sing.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘Don’t you hear the forest sing?’
- c. *Ndjej* (*që*) *të* *bëhem* *papritmas*
 feel.1Sg that Subj.Mark become.1Sg.M-P.Pres unexpectedly
trim.
 brave
 ‘I feel that I am becoming unexpectedly brave.’
- d. *E* *pashë* *Petritin* (*që*) *të*
 3Sg.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Aor Petrit+the.M.Sg.Acc that Subj.Mark
vijë *këtu*.
 come.3Sg.Subj.Pres here
 ‘I saw Petrit come here.’
- e. *Dua* (*që*) (*Agimin*) *t’a* *shoh*
 want.1Sg that Agim+the.M.Sg.Acc Subj.Mark+3Sg.Acc.Cl see.1Sg
 (*Agimin*) (*që*) *të* *mësojë*
 Agim+the.M.Sg.Acc that Subj.Mark study.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 (*Agimin*).
 Agim+the.M.Sg.Acc
 ‘I want to see Agim studying.’

³¹⁷ As in many other Balkan languages, verbs of perception can also take indicative complements:

- (i) *Ai* *dëgjoj* *vetëm* *dëra* *që* *u* *mbill*.
 he heard.3Sg.Aor only door+the.F.Sg that Refl.Cl close.3Sg.Aor
 ‘He heard only that the door closed.’
- (ii) *Ndjeva* (*që*) *Petriti* *kishte* *dashur* *të*
 feel.1Sg.Aor that Petrit+the.M.Sg have.3Sg.Aor wanted.Part Subj.Mark
vijë.
 come.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘I felt that Petrit had wanted to come.’

Sentence (i) is actually a pair sentences of (373a), both sentences being taken from Asenova (2002:157), with my glosses and translation. While in the clauses with indicative complements the event is taken as a fact, clauses with subjunctive complements express direct perception.

- f. *Dua* (*që*) *të* *të* *shoh* *të*
 want.1Sg that Subj.Mark 2Sg.Acc.Cl see.1Sg Subj.Mark
mësosh.
 study.2Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘I want to see you study.’

7.5.5 In reported speech, subjunctive constructions appear as complements of verbs of saying, which, as a rule, take indicative complements. Examples:

- (374) a. *Të* *thashë* *të* *heshtësh!*
 2Sg.Dat/Acc.Cl tell.1Sg Subj.Mark keep-silent.2Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘I am telling you to shut up!’
- b. *Të* *thashë* *të* *mos* *lexosh!*
 Subj.Mark tell.1Sg.Aor Subj.Mark not.Mod read.2Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘I told you not to read!’

7.6 Subjunctive complements with “wh” words as arguments or adjuncts

The subjunctive constructions can have “wh” words as subjects, objects or adjuncts – all of them raised to clause-initial position. The “wh” complementizer *që*, when present, appears to the left of “wh” pronouns.

7.6.1 Most frequently, subjunctive constructions with “wh” words as subjects, objects or adjuncts are embedded questions. Examples:

- (375) a. *Nuk di* (*që*) *kujt* *t’ia*
 not know.1Pl that who.Dat Subj.Mark-3Sg.Dat +3Sg.Acc.Cl
dërgojmë mallin.
 send.1Pl merchandise+the.Acc
 ‘We do not know to whom to send the merchandise.’
- b. *Nuk di* (*që*) *me* *kë* *të* *bisedoj.*
 not know.1Sg that with who.Acc Subj.Mark talk.1Sg
 ‘I do not know to whom to talk to.’
- c. *Di* (*që*) *ç’të* *bëj.*
 know.1Sg that what-Subj.Mark do.1Sg
 ‘I know what to do.’
- d. *Di* (*që*) *si* *të* *shkruaj* *me* *penë.*
 know.1Sg that how Subj.Mark write.1Sg with fountain-pen
 ‘I know how to write with a fountain pen.’

7.6.2 Subjunctive constructions with “wh” complements/adjuncts can also occur as complements/adjuncts of the existential verbs *kam* ‘have’ and *s’kam* ‘not have’; or as complements/adjuncts of verbs that express coming into view or availability or causation of one of these (cf. Grosu 2004:406 and footnote 50). The indicative complementizer *që* does not appear to the left of the subjunctive constructions in these cases.

7.6.2.1 Examples of subjunctive constructions with “wh” arguments/adjuncts as complements of the (personal or impersonal) verbs *kam* ‘have’ and *s’kam* ‘not have’ are given in (376).³¹⁸

³¹⁸ Example (376a) is from Grosu (2004:409). In complement positions of the verb *kam* ‘have’ and its negative counterpart *s’kam* ‘not have’, analogous constructions can sometimes be constructed with indefinite pronouns. Examples:

- (i) *Kam diçka* (*që*) *të* *të* *them.*
 have.1Sg something that Subj.Mark 2Sg.Dat.Cl tell.1Sg
 ‘I have something to tell you.’

- (376) a. *S'ka/* *nuk* *ka* *kush* *të* *na*
 not-have.Impers not have.Impers who Subj.Mark 1Pl.Pron.Cl
dërgojë *mall.*
 send.1Pl.Subj.Pres merchandise
 'There is no-one who can send us the merchandise.'
- b. *S'ka/* *nuk* *ka* *kujt* *t'i*
 not-have.Impers not have.Impers who.Dat Subj.Mark-3Sg.Dat.Cl
dërgojë *mall.*
 send.3Sg.Subj.Pres merchandise
 'There is no-one to whom we can send the merchandise.'
- c. *Ka* *ç'të* *blesh* *në* *këtë*
 have.Impers what-Subj.Mark buy.2Pl.Subj.Pres in this.M.Sg
shitore.
 shop
 'There are things you can buy in this shop.'
- d. *S'ka/* *nuk* *ka* *ç-të*
 not-have.Impers not have.Impers what-Subj.Mark
bëhet.
 do.Impers.M-P.Pres
 'There is nothing one can do.'
- e. *S'kam/* *nuk* *kam* *me* *kë* *të*
 not+have.1Sg not have.1Sg with who.Acc Subj.Mark
vij.
 come.1Sg
 'I have nobody with whom I can come.'
- f. *S'ka/* *nuk* *ka* *në* *çka* *të*
 not-have.Impers not have.Impers for what Subj.Mark
kapet.
 catch.Impers.M-P.Pres
 'There is nothing one can hold onto.' (lit. There is nothing one can catch onto.)
- g. *S'ka/* *nuk ka* *si* *t'a*
 not+have.Impers not have.Impers how Subj.Mark-3Sg.Acc.Cl
dërgosh *pakon.*
 send.2Pl.Subj.Pres parcel+the.M.Sg.Acc
 'There is no way you can send the parcel.'

7.6.2.2 Examples of subjunctive constructions as complements of verbs that express coming into view or availability or causation of one of these are given in (377):³¹⁹

-
- (ii) *S'kam* *asgjë* (*që*) *ç'të* *të* *jap.*
 not-have.1Sg nothing that what-Subj.Mark 2Sg.Dat.Cl give.1Sg
 'I do not have anything to give you.'

³¹⁹ Example (376a) is from Grosu (2004:409).

- (377) a. *Zgjodhi* (që) *kush* *t'a*
 choose.3Sg.Aor that who Subj.Mark-3Sg.Acc.Cl
zëvendësojë.
 replace.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ' (S)he chose someone to take her/his place.'
- b. *Gjeta* (që) *me* *çka* *të* *mbulohe*.
 find.1Sg.Aor that with what Subj.Mark cover.1Sg.M-P.Pres
 'I found something with which to cover myself.'

7.7 Subjunctive constructions as nominal modifiers or as adjuncts

Subjunctive constructions can function as nominal modifiers or as adjuncts.

7.7.1 Subjunctive constructions preceded by the “wh” complementizer *që* function as relative subjunctive clauses.

7.7.1.1 Most often, these relative subjunctive clauses refer to indefinite complements of verbs of quest:³²⁰

- (378) a. *Kërkoj* *grua* *që* *të* *ruajë*
 look-for.1Sg woman that Subj.Mark look-after.3Sg.Subj.Pres
fëmijë.
 children+the.M.Pl
 'I am looking for a woman that takes care of children.'
- b. *Kërkoj* (një) *kapelë* *që* *të* *më*
 look-for.1Sg a hat that Subj.Mark 1Sg.Acc.Cl
mbrojë *nga* *dielli.*
 protect.3Sg.Subj.Pres from sun+the.M.Sg
 'I am looking for a hat that would protect me from the sun.'
- c. *Kërkoj* *dikë* *që* *të* *më*
 look-for.1Sg someone that Subj.Mark 1Sg.Acc.Cl
ndihmojë.
 help.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 'I am looking for someone that would help me.'
- d. *Gjeta* *një* *njeri* *që* *të* *punojë*
 find.1Sg.Aor a man that Subj.Mark hoe.3Sg.Subj.Pres
vreshtë.
 vineyard+the.SgAcc
 'I found a man that hoes vineyards.'
- e. *Gjeta* *dikë* *që* *të* *më*
 find.1Sg.Aor someone that Subj.Mark 1Sg.Dat.Cl
ndihmojë.
 help.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 'I found someone that would help me.'

³²⁰ The term is borrowed from Bužarovska (2004), where the syntactic environments that favor the realization of an iso-functional syntactic pattern, which occurs in the mixed domain of purpose and modification in Macedonian, Aromanian, Albanian and Modern Greek are examined. Example (378a) is from Bužarovska (2004:387); example (378b) from Bužarovska (2004:395); example (378c) from Bužarovska (2004:391); example (378d) from Bužarovska (2004:390); example (378e) from Bužarovska (2004:392). A comparison of the relative subjunctives in (378a-e) to the adjuncts of purpose in (380a-c) shows that, when the complementizer *që* is not deleted, the sentences may be ambiguous.

7.7.1.2 In some cases – when they denote a property of their referent – relative subjunctives can refer to indefinite complements of verbs other than verbs of quest:³²¹

- (379) *Bleva (një) sharrë që të presë dru mirë.*
 buy.1Sg.Aor a saw that Subj.Mark cut.3Sg.Subj.Pres wood well
 ‘I bought a saw that cuts wood well.’

7.7.1.3 Relative subjunctives can also refer to indefinite complements of the personal lexical verb *kam* ‘have/possess’ and its negative counterpart *s’kam* ‘not have’:³²²

- (380) a. *Kam/s’kam vëllezër që të më ndihmojnë.*
 have/not-have.1Sg brothers that Subj.Mark 1Sg.Dat.Cl help.3Pl.Subj.Pres
 ‘I have/don’t have brothers that would help me.’
- b. *Nuk ka askush që të më ndihmojë.*
 not have.3Sg nobody that Subj.Mark 1Sg.Dat.Cl help.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘There is nobody that would help me.’
- c. *Kanë qen që t’i mbrojnë.*
 have.3Pl dog that Subj.Mark-2Sg.Acc.Cl protect.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘They have a dog that would protect them.’
- d. *Kemi stufë që të na ngrohë.*
 have.1Pl stove that Subj.Mark 1Pl.Acc.Cl keep-warm.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘We have a stove that would keep us warm.’

7.7.2 With or without the complementizer *që*, subjunctive constructions also function as adjuncts of purpose. Examples:³²³

- (381) a. *Kërkoj kapelë (që) të më mbrojë nga dielli.*
 look-for.1Sg hat that Subj.Mark 1Sg.Acc.Cl protect.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 from sun+the.M.Sg
 ‘I am looking for a hat to protect me from the sun.’
- b. *Kërkoj dikë (që) të më ndihmojë.*
 look-for.1Sg someone that Subj.Mark 1Sg.Acc.Cl help.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘I am looking for someone to help me.’
- c. *Gjeta një njeri (që) të më*
 find.1Sg.Aor a man that Subj.Mark 1Sg.Dat.Cl

³²¹ Example from Bužarovska (2004:395).

³²² Example (380a) is from Bužarovska (2004:396).

³²³ Example (381a) is from Bužarovska (2004:395); example (381b) from Bužarovska (2004:391); example (380c) from Bužarovska (2004:390); example (381d) from Bužarovska (2004:387). Compare the adjuncts of purpose in (380) to the adjuncts of purpose in (353). While the adjuncts of purpose in (381) have tensed verbs and are optionally preceded by the complementizer *që*, the adjuncts of purpose in (354) have participles as instantiations of V, and are optionally preceded by the preposition *për*. Note that the third person singular subjunctive form of the verb is in some cases equivalent to the participial form.

- punojĉ* *vreshtĉn.*
hoe.3Sg.Subj.Pres vineyard+the.F.Sg.Acc
'I found a man to hoe the vineyard.'
- d. *Ke* *fĉmijĉ* (*qĉ*) *tĉ* *gĉzohesh.*
have.2Sg children that Subj.Mark rejoice.2Sg.Subj.Pres
'You have children to give you joy.'
- e. *Kanĉ* *qen* (*qĉ*) *t'i* *mbrojĉ.*
have.3Pl dog that Subj.Mark-3Pl.Acc.Cl protect.3Pl.Subj.Pres
'They have a dog to protect them.'
- f. *Kemi* *stufĉ* (*qĉ*) *tĉ* *na*
have.1Pl stove that Subj.Mark 1Pl.Acc.Cl
ngrohĉ.
keep-warm.3Sg.Subj
'We have a stove to keep us warm.'
- g. *Erdha* (*qĉ*) *t'ju* *tregoj* *se*
come.1Sg.Aor that Subj.Mark-2Pl.Acc.Cl tell.1Sg that
do *tĉ* *shkoj.*
will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark leave.1Sg
'I came to tell you that I will leave.'
- h. *Erdhi* *koha* (*qĉ*) *tĉ* *lindĉ.*
come.3Sg.Aor time+the.F.Sg that Subj.Mark bear.3Sg.Subj.Pres
'The time came (for her) to bear a child.'
- i. *E* *bĉra* *atĉ* *qĉ* *tĉ* *tĉ*
3Sg.Acc.Cl do.1Sg.Aor that.Pron that Subj.Mark 2Sg.Dat/Acc.Cl
ndihmoj.
help.1Sg
'I did that in order to help you.'

7.7.3 As complements of the preposition *deri sa* 'until', along with that preposition, subjunctive constructions (never accompanied by the "wh" complementizer *qĉ*) function as adverbial clauses of time:

- (382) a. *Duhet* *tĉ* *presĉ* *shumĉ,*
must/should.Impers.M-P.Pres Subj.Mark wait.3Sg.Subj.Pres long
deri sa t'a *kalojĉ* *rrugĉn.*
until Subj.Mark-3Sg.Ac.Cl cross.3Sg.Subj.Pres street+the.F.Sg.Acc
'(S)he should wait long until (s)he passes the street.'
- b. *Do* *tĉ* *jem* *kĉtu,* *deri sa*
will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark be.1Sg.Subj.Pres here until
tĉ *vijĉ* *jot* *ĉmĉ.*
Subj.Mark come.3Sg.Subj.Pres your mother
'I will be here until your mother comes.'

7.8 Bare subjunctive constructions

As in the other Balkan languages, subjunctive constructions can be bare, i.e. they can occur as the only constituents of a clause.

7.8.1 Bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense, second or third person, singular or plural, express a wish or a (mild) command:³²⁴

- (383) *Të trashëgojeni!*
 Subj.Mark have-children.2Pl.M-P.Pres
 ‘May you be blessed with children!’
- (384) a. *Të shkosh!*
 Subj.Mark go.2Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘You should go!’
- b. *Agimi të shkojë në shkollë*
 Agim+the.M.Sg Subj.Mark go.3Sg.Subj.Pres to school
Sokoli të qëndrojë këtu!
 Sokol+the.M.Sg Subj.Mark remain.3Sg.Subj.Pres here
 ‘Agim to go to school, Sokol to remain here!’

7.8.2 Bare subjunctive constructions with present tense verbs, first person singular or plural, can (with appropriate intonation) express resolution or agreement:

- (385) a. *Të provoj/provojmë.*
 Subj.Mark try.1Sg/Pl.Pres
 1. ‘Let me/us try.’
 2. ‘So, I/we shall try.’

³²⁴ Example (384b) is from Asenova (2004:184), with my glosses and translation.

Note that wishes can also be expressed by verb forms with specific optative morphology, Albanian being the only Balkan language that has such forms. Thus, we have the following alternative:

- (i) *Të jenë të bekuar!*
 Subj.Mark be.3Pl.Pres.Subj Pl.Agr.Cl blessed.Part
- (ii) *Qofshin të bekuar!*
 be.3Pl.Opt Pl.Agr.Cl blessed.Part
 ‘May they be blessed!’

With verbs of the first conjugation such as *shoh* ‘see’, *shkoj* ‘go’, *tregoj* ‘tell’ commands can, on the other hand, be expressed by imperative morphology (with clitics appearing either to the left or to the right of the verb):

- (iii) *Trëgon!*
 tell.2Sg.Imper+1Pl.Acc.Cl
- (iv) *Na trëgo!*
 1Pl.Acc.Cl tell.2Sg.Imper
 ‘Tell us!’

With all verbs, commands can also be signalled by moving the verb to the left of the pronominal clitics:

- (v) *Hape derën!*
 open.2Sg+3Sg.Acc.Cl door+the.F.Acc
 ‘Open the door!’
- (vi) *Hapeni derën!*
 open+3Sg.Acc.Cl+2Pl door+the.F.Acc
 ‘You (all) open the door!’

As observed, in (vi), where the person/number features are plural, the pronominal clitic occurs between the verb and the plural marker.

- b. *T'i* *presim.*
 Subj.Mark+3Pl.Acc.Cl meet/welcome.1Pl.Subj.Pres
 1. 'Let us meet/welcome them.'
 2. 'So, we shall meet/welcome them.'
- c. *Të* *të* *jap.*
 Subj.Mark 2Sg.Pron.Cl give.1Sg.Subj.Pres
 1. 'Let me give it to you.'
 2. 'So, I shall give (it) to you.'

7.8.3 Bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense can also express astonishment.³²⁵

- (386) a. *Të* *kesh* *para dhe të*
 Subj.Mark have.2Sg.Subj.Pres money and Subj.Mark
rrosh *si* *fukara!*
 live.2Sg.Subj.Pres like poor man
 'To have money and to live as a poor man!'
- b. *Të* *dijë* *dhe të* *mos*
 Subj.Mark know.3Sg.Subj.Pres and Subj.Mark not.Mod
na *tregoje!*
 1Pl.Pron.Cl tell.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 'To know and not to tell us!'
- c. *Të* *kesh* *tokën tënde dhe të*
 Subj.Mark have.2Sg.Subj.Pres land your and Subj.Mark
ketë *rrëmbyer* *tjetri!*
 have.3Sg.Subj.Pres taken.Part other
 'To have your own land and have it taken by another person!'
- d. *Të* *martohet* *kaq herët!*
 Subj.Mark marry.3Sg.M-P.Pres so soon
 'To get married so soon!'

7.8.4 In the Tosk Albanian dialect spoken in Southern Macedonia, bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the past perfect express unrealized probability. Examples:³²⁶

- (387) a. *%Të* *kishin* *ardhur!*
 Subj.Mark have.3Pl.Imperf come.Part
 'They should have come!'
- b. *%T'i* *kishin* *pritur!*
 Subj.Mark+3SgAcc.Cl have.3Pl.Imperf met/welcome.Part
 'They should have met/welcome them!'

³²⁵ Example (386a) and (386c) are from Asenova (2002:193), with my glosses and translation.

³²⁶ Dalina Kallulli does not accept these sentences. They have been, however, double-checked with many native speakers of Albanian in the Prespa region in Southern Macedonia.

Note that with the intonation of questions, subjunctive constructions with verbs in the past perfect can express a plea:

- (i) *Të* *më* *jepnit* *pakë bukë!?*
 Subj.Mark 1Sg.Dat.Cl give.2Pl.Imperf little bread
 'Could you give me some bread, please?' (lit. 'To have given me a little bread.')

7.8.5 Questions with bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present perfect can express doubt or wonderment:³²⁷

- (388) a. *Të ketë qenë Kozma?!
Subj.Mark have.3Sg.Subj.Pres been.Part Kozma
'Could it be that it was Kozma?!'*
- b. *T'a kesh dëgjuar këtë
Subj.Mark-3Sg.Acc.Cl have.2Sg.Subj.Pres heard.Part that
lajm?!
news.Sg
'Could it be that you have heard that news?!'*
- c. *Të kesh marrë para hua?!
Subj.Mark have.3Sg.Subj.Pres taken.Part money loan
'Could (it be that) you have taken money on loan?!'*
- d. *Ku të ketë qenë domaqini?!
where Subj.Mark have.3Sg.Subj.Pres been.Part host+the.M.Sg
'Where could the host be?!'*

7.8.6 Negated bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present or present perfect tense, second or third person, singular or plural, express prohibition.³²⁸

³²⁷ Examples (388a-c) are from Asenova (2002:189), with my glosses and translation. In Bulgarian, Macedonian, Megleno-Romanian and Aromanian, doubt or wonderment can also be expressed by negated subjunctive constructions, predominately with past tense verb forms (cf. 1.8.10; 2.7.9; 5.8.7; 6.8.7). The Albanian counterparts of these constructions are sentences with the modal negation marker *mos* and the adverb *vallë* 'possibly':

- (i) *Mos vallë ishte Petriti?!
not.Mod possibly be.3Sg.Imperf Petrit+the.M.Sg
'Wasn't it Petrit?!'*
- (ii) *Vallë mos ka ardhur?!
possibly not.Mod have.3Sg come.Part
'Hasn't he come?!'*
- (iii) *Mos vallë i është prishur makina?!
not.Mod possibly 3Sg.Dat.Cl be.3Sg gone-bad.Part car+the.F.Sg
'Could it be that his car got broken?!'*
- (iv) *Mos vallë u shurdhove?!
not.Mod possibly Refl.Cl deafen.2Sg.Aor
'Could it be that you have become deaf?!'*

Note that *vallë* is also used in non-negated clauses expressing doubt or wonderment:

- (v) *Ku vallë ka shkuar?!
where possibly have.3Sg gone.Part
'Where could (s)he have gone?!'*

³²⁸ Prohibition is also expressed by imperative or indicative verb forms preceded by the modal negation marker *mos*. Any clitics included in the structure are placed to the right of the modal negation marker and to the left of the verb:

- (i) *Mos shko!
not.Mod go.2Sg.Imper
'Don't go!'*
- (ii) *Mos më trego azgjë!
not.Mod 1Sg.Dat.Cl tell.2Sg.Imper nothing
'Don't tell me anything!'*

- (389) a. *Të* *mos* *ia* *japësh!*
 Subj.Mark not.Mod 3Sg.Dat.Cl+3Sg.Acc.Cl give.2Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘Don’t give it to him!’
- b. *Të* *mos* *e* *lërë* *pa*
 Subj.Mark not.Mod 3Sg.Acc.Cl leave.3Sg.Subj.Pres without
e *parë!*
 3Sg.Acc.Cl seen.Part
 ‘Don’t leave it without seeing it!’
- c. *Të* *mos* *shkosh!*
 Subj.Mark not.Mod go.2Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘Don’t go.’

7.8.7 Negated bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense, first person singular or plural, express agreement, while the plural ones (with appropriate intonation) can also express resolution:

- (389) a. *Të* *mos* *shkoj.*
 Subj.Mark not.Mod go.1Sg
 ‘So, I shan’t go.’
- b. *Të* *mos* *shkojmë.*
 Subj.Mark not.Mod go.1Pl
 1. ‘So, we shan’t go.’
 2. ‘Let us not go.’

7.8.8 Negated bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present perfect tense express a threat:

- (391) *Të* *mos* *ia* *kes* *dhënë!*
 Subj.Mark not.Mod 3Sg.Dat.Cl+3Sg.Acc.Cl have.2Sg.Subj.Pres given.Part
 ‘Don’t you dare give it to her/him!’ (lit. ‘You should not give it to him!’)

7.8.9 Followed by embedded questions introduced by a “wh” word, bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present or imperfect tense are used in vivid narration. Examples:

-
- (iii) *Mos* *ma* *hapni* *derën!*
 not.Mod 1Sg.Dat.Cl+3Sg.Acc.Cl open.2Pl door+the.Acc
 ‘Don’t open the door for me!’

The indicative counterpart of (iii) is (iv):

- (iv) *Nuk* *ma* *hapni* *derën.*
 not.Indic 1Sg.Dat.Cl+3Sg.Acc.Cl open.2Pl door+the.Acc
 ‘You are not opening the door for me.’

Note that, in colloquial Albanian, the modal negation marker may either follow or precede the subjunctive marker. Thus, we have the following alternatives:

- (v) *Të* *mos* *shkosh!*
 Subj.Mark not.Mod go.2Sg.Subj.Pres
- (v)’ *Mos* *të* *shkosh!*
 not.Mod Subj.Mark go.2Sg.Subj.Pres
 1. ‘Don’t go.’
 2. ‘You shouldn’t go!’

- (392) a. *Të dish sa i madh është!*
 Subj.Mark know.2Sg.Subj.Pres how M.Sg.Agr.Cl big.M.Sg be.3Sg
 ‘You should see how big (s)he is!’ (lit. ‘You should know how big (s)he is!’)
- b. *Të shihje se³²⁹ ç’ ndodhi.*
 Subj.Mark see.2Sg.Imperf that what happened.3Sg.Aor
 ‘You should have seen what happened!’

7.8.10 With verbs in the first and third person, bare subjunctive construction can be preceded by the exhortative marker *le* ‘let.’³³⁰

7.8.10.1 When the verb is in the present tense, the subjunctive construction preceded by the exhortative marker *le* ‘let’ expresses a command or a suggestion:

- (393) a. *Le të shkojmë!*
 let Subj.Mark go.1Pl
 ‘Let us go!’
- b. *Le t’i presim!*
 let Subj.Mark-3Pl.Acc.Cl meet.1Pl
 ‘Let us meet them!’
- c. *Le të vinë nesër!*
 let Subj.Mark come.Pl.Subj.Pres tomorrow
 ‘Let them come tomorrow!’
- d. *Le t’u jepet liri!*
 let Subj.Mark-3Pl.Dat.Cl give.3Sg.M-P.Pres freedom+the.M.Sg
 ‘Let freedom be given to them!’

7.8.10.2 When the verb is in a past tense, the subjunctive structure preceded by the exhortative marker *le*, expresses unrealized probability:

- (394) *Le të vinin.*
 let Subj.Mark come.3Pl.Aor
 ‘They should have come.’

7.8.11 In story-telling a bare subjunctive construction in the present tense can appear in the complement of another bare subjunctive construction in the present tense:

- (395) a. *Të marrë t’a*
 Subj.Mark take.1Sg.Subj.Pres Subj.Mark-3Sg.Acc.Cl
rajë!
 beat.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 ‘(Lo and behold,) (s)he beat him up!’

³²⁹ In indicative complement clauses, “wh” words can be preceded by the indicative complementizer *se*.

³³⁰ Whereas in Albanian the exhortative marker *le* co-occurs with the subjunctive marker, in its Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian counterparts, *neka*, alternates with it. The Macedonian counterparts of (393c) would be either (i) or (ii):

- (i) *Neka dojdut utre!*
 let come.3Pl.Perf.Pres tomorrow
- (ii) *Da dojdut utre!*
 Subj.Mark come.3Pl.Perf.Pres tomorrow
 ‘Let them come tomorrow!’

- b. *Të* *ngrihet,* *të* *hajë,* *dhe*
 Subj.Mark get-up.3Sg.M-P.Pres Subj.Mark eat.3Sg.Subj.Pres and
të *dalë,* *pa* *thenë* *asgjë.*
 Subj.Mark go out.3Sg.Subj.Pres without said.Part nothing
 ‘(Just imagine!) To get up, eat and leave without saying anything!’
- c. *Të* *kthehet* *në* *mes* *të*
 Subj.Mark return.3Sg.M-P.Pres in half Agr.Cl
natës *i* *pirë,* *të*
 night+the.F.Sg.Dat M.Sg.Agr.Cl drunk.Part Subj.Mark
ngrejë *më* *kembë* *shtëpinë* *dhe* *të*
 raise.3Sg.Subj.Pres on leg house and Subj.Mark
na *bëjë* *për* *turp* *para*
 1Pl.Acc.Cl make.3Sg.Subj.Pres for disgrace before
botës!
 world+the.F.Sg.Dat
 ‘(Just imagine!) To come back drunk in the middle of the night, make everybody get up and expose us to laughter.’ (lit. ‘(S)he returned in half night drunk, rose the house on leg and made us for disgrace to the world.’)

7.9 (Tosk) Albanian future tenses

Subjunctive constructions accompanied by the invariant modal clitic *do* ‘will’ are used in the (Tosk) Albanian future tenses.

7.9.1 The future tense is constructed by *do* ‘will.Mod.Cl’ + subjunctive marker + verb in an active or medio-passive subjunctive present tense form. The “wh” complementizer *që* optionally appears to the immediate left of the subjunctive marker.

7.9.1.1 The future tense is basically used to express futurity relative to the present moment:

- (396) a. *Do* (*që*) *të* *ta* *jap*
 will.Mod.Cl that Subj.Mark 2Sg.Dat.Cl+3Sg.Acc.Cl give.1Sg
librin *nesër.*
 book+the.M.Sg tomorrow
 ‘I will give you the book tomorrow.’
- b. *Studentët* *do* (*që*) *të* *vinë*
 students+the.Pl will.Mod.Cl that Subj.Mark come.3Pl.Subj.Pres
nesër.
 tomorrow
 ‘The students will come tomorrow.’
- c. *Projekti* *do* (*që*) *të* *jetë* *kryer*
 project+the.Pl will.Mod.Cl that Subj.Mark be.3Sg.Subj.Pres finish.Part
shpejt.
 soon
 ‘The project will soon be finished.’

7.9.1.2 When the verbs in the subjunctive construction have second or third person forms, the future tense can express an order:

- (397) a. *Do* (*që*) *të* *shkosh* *në*
 will.Mod.Cl that Subj.Mark go.2Sg.Subj.Pres in
shtëpi, *do* (*që*) *të* *marrësh*
 house+the.F.Sg will.Mod.Cl that Subj.Mark take.2Sg.Subj.Pres

një çantë, dhe do (që) t'ma
 a bag and will.Mod.Cl that Subj.Mark-1Sg.Dat.Cl+3Sg.Acc.Cl
sjellësh këtu.
 bring.2Sg.Subj.Pres here
 'Go home, take a bag and bring it to me here!' (lit. You will go home, take a bag and bring it to me here.)

- b. *Ata do (që) të përgjigjen të*
 they will.Mod.Cl that Subj.Mark respond.3Pl Agr.Cl
parët. Pas tyre e kemi
 first+the.Pl after them.Dat 3Sg.Acc.Cl have.1Pl
radhën ne.
 order+the.F.Sg.Acc we
 'They should respond first! After them it is our turn.' (lit. 'They will respond first. After them we have the order.')

7.9.1.3 The future tense can also express habitual actions, in which case the 'wh'-complementizer *që* is obligatorily present:

- (398) a. *Do që të vijë, do*
 will.Mod.Cl that Subj.Mark come.3Sg.Subj.Pres will.Mod.Cl
që të ulet, dhe do që
 that Subj.Mark sit-down.3Sg.M-P.Pres and will.Mod.Cl that
të fillojë që të tregojë.
 Subj.Mark begin.3Sg.Subj.Pres that Subj.Mark talk.3Sg.Subj.Pres
 '(S)he would come, sit down and begin to talk.'
- b. *E tëra do të*
 F.Sg.Agr.Cl whole.F.Sg will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark
koncentrohet në punë.
 concentrate.3Sg.Imperf.M-P.Pres in work
 'She would completely concentrate on her work.'

7.9.1.4 Clauses with verbs in the future tense, preceded by the "wh" complementizer *që*, can function as relative clauses referring to indefinite DPs in complements of verbs of quest:³³¹

- (399) a. *Kërkoj njeri që do të flasë*
 look for.1Sg man that will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark know.3Sg.Subj.Pres
greqisht.
 Greek
 'I am looking for a man that knows Greek.'
- b. *Kërkoj grua që do të*
 look for.1Sg woman that will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark
rruajë fëmijë.
 look-after.3Sg.Subj.Pres children
 'I am looking for a woman that looks after children.'

7.9.2 The modal clitic *do*, followed by the subjunctive marker, in association with verbs in (a) the active or medio-passive aorist or imperfect, (b) the active or medio-passive present perfect, or (c) the active or medio-passive past perfect tense, yields the active or medio-passive future-in-the-past,

³³¹ These constructions appear as alternatives to the relative subjunctives introduced by the "that"-complementizer (cf. 7.7.1.1).

the active or medio-passive future perfect, and the active or medio-passive future perfect in-the-past, respectively.

7.9.2.1 The active future-in-the-past tense has the structure *do* + *të* + active imperfect forms of a lexical verb. Examples:

- (400) a. *do* *të* *merrja*
will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark take.1Sg.Imperf
'I would take (it)'
- b. *do* *të* *shkonte*
will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark go.3Sg.Imperf
'(s)he would go'

7.9.2.2 The medio-passive future-in-the-past tense has the structure *do* + *të* + medio-passive imperfect forms of a lexical verb. Examples:

- (401) a. *do* *të* *bëhej*
will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark do.3Sg.M-P.Imperf
'it would be done'
- b. *do* *të* *merrej*
will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark take.3Sg.M-P.Imperf
'it would be taken'

7.9.2.3 The active future perfect tense has the structure *do* + *të* + subjunctive present tense forms of *kam* 'will' + participle of a lexical verb. Examples:

- (402) a. *do* *të* *kem* *larë*
will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark have.1Sg washed.Part
'I will have washed'
- b. *do* *të* *kesh* *shitur*
will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark have.2Sg.Subj.Pres sold.Part
'you will have sold (it)'
- c. *do* *të* *kenë* *vënë*
will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark have.3Sg/Pl.Subj.Pres put.Part
'(s)he/they will have put (it there)'

7.9.2.4 The medio-passive future perfect has the structure *do* + *të* + subjunctive present tense forms of *jam* 'be' + participle of a lexical verb. Examples:

- (403) a. *do* *të* *jem* *larë*
will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark be.1Sg.Subj.Pres washed.Part
'I will have been washed'
- b. *do* *të* *jesh* *shitur*
will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark be.2Sg.Subj.Pres sold.Part
'you will have been sold'
- c. *do* *të* *jenë* *vënë*
will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark be.3Sg/Pl.Subj.Pres put.Part
'(s)he/they will have been put (there)'

7.9.2.5 The active future perfect-in-the-past has the structure *do* + *të* + imperfect forms of *kam* 'have' + participle of a lexical verb. Examples:

- (404) a. *do* *të* *kisha* *larë*
 will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark have.1Sg.Imperf washed.Part
 ‘I would have washed’
- b. *do* *të* *kishe* *shitur*
 will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark have.2Sg.Imperf sold.Part
 ‘you would have sold’
- c. *do* *të* *kishin* *vënë*
 will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark have.3Pl.Imperf put.Part
 ‘they would have put (it there)’

7.9.2.6 The M-P future perfect-in-the-past has the structure *do* + *të* + imperfect forms of *jam* ‘be’ + participle of a lexical verb. Example:

- (405) a. *do* *të* *isha* *larë*
 will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark be.1Sg.Imperf washed.Part
 ‘I would have been washed’
- b. *do* *të* *ishe* *njohur*
 will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark be.2Sg.Imperf introduced.Part
 ‘you would have been introduced’
- c. *do* *të* *ishin* *vënë*
 will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark be.3Pl.Imperf put.Part
 ‘they would have been put’

7.9.3 The active and medio-passive future perfect tenses express actions/events supposed to happen up to a certain point of time. Examples:

- (406) a. *Dasma* *do* *të* *bëheshte*
 wedding+the.F.Sg will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark do.3Sg.M-P.Imperf
të *dielën.*
 Agr.Cl Sunday+the.F.Sg.Acc
 ‘The wedding had to be done on the Sunday.’
- b. *Deri nesër* *në* *mesditë* *do*
 till tomorrow on noon will.Mod.Cl
t’a *kryemim* *projektin.*
 Subj.Mark-3Sg.Acc.Cl finish.1Pl.Imperf project+the.M.Acc
 ‘By tomorrow at noon we shall have finished the project.’

7.9.4 The active and M-P future-in-the-past tenses render (a) events or actions that are expected to take place at a future moment prior to other future events or actions, or (b) events or actions that could hypothetically have happened at some point in the past. Examples:

- (407) a. *Kur të* *kthehemi* *do* *të* *jetë*
 when Subj.Mark return.1Pl will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark be.3Sg.Subj.Pres
shkrirë *bora.*
 melted.Part snow+the.F.Sg
 ‘When we come back, the snow would have melted.’
- b. *Do* *t’a* *ketë* *dëgjuar*
 will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark-3Sg.Acc.Cl have.3Sg.Subj.Pres heard.Part

<i>emrin</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>qytetit</i>	<i>tonë.</i>
name+the.M.Sg.Acc	Acc.Agr.Cl	town+the.M.Sg.Dat	our.Dat

‘(S)he might have heard the name of our town.’

7.9.5 The active and medio-passive future-perfect-in-the-past tenses render hypothetical events relative to some point of time prior to another point or time in the past, or (b) events that could have happened but were obstructed. Examples:

- (408) a. *Të mos kishe ardhur, do*
 Subj.Mark not.Mod have.2Sg.Imperf come.Part will.Mod.Cl
t’a kishim kryer
 Subj.Mark-3Sg.Acc.Cl have.1Sg.Imperf finish.Part
projektin.
 project+the.M.Acc
 ‘If you had not come we would have finished the project.’
- b. *Këtë njeri dikush do t’a*
 this man somebody Subj.Mark Subj.Mark-3Sg.Acc.Cl
kishte ofenduar.
 have.3Sg.Imperf offended.Part
 ‘Somebody might have offended this man.’

7.10 Conditional sentences

Future tenses are regularly used in conditional sentences. As a matter of fact, they appear not only in the *apodosis*, but also in the *protasis* – in the “if”-clause.

7.10.1 In *realis* conditional sentences, both clauses have subjunctive constructions with a verb in the active or medio-passive subjunctive present tense. The subjunctive construction to the right of the modal clitic is never preceded by the “wh” complementizer *që*. Examples:

- (409) a. *Po të duash, do të*
 if Subj.Mark want.2Sg.Subj.Pres will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark
shkojmë atje.
 go.3Pl.Subj.Pres there
 ‘If you want, we shall go there.’
- b. *Po të jetë kryer projekti*
 if Subj.Mark be.1Sg.Subj.Pres finished.Part project+the.M.Sg
do të shkojmë atje.
 will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark go.1Pl there
 ‘If the project is finished, we shall go there.’

7.10.2 In *irrealis* conditional sentences both clauses have subjunctive constructions with a verb in the active or medio-passive imperfect. These sentences have two readings each: (a) *irrealis* from the point of view of the moment of speaking and (b) *irrealis* from the point of view of a past moment.

- (410) *Po të thoshe, (projektin) do*
 if Subj.Mark said.2Sg.Imperf project+the.M.Sg.Acc will.Mod.Cl
t’a kishim kryer (projektin).
 Subj.Mark-3Sg.Acc.Cl have.1Pl.Imperf finished.Part project+the.M.Sg.Acc
 1. ‘If you said so, we would finish the project.’
 2. ‘If you had said so, we would have finished the project.’

7.10.3 The use of the perfect in the *protasis* or both in the *protasis* and the *apodosis*, excludes the “*irrealis* from the point of view of the moment of speaking” reading, and thus disambiguates the sentence:

- (411) a. *Po tē kishe thënë ashtu, do*
 if Subj.Mark have.2Sg.Imperf said.Part so will.Mod.Cl
t’a kishim kryer
 Subj.Mark+3Sg.Acc.Cl had.1Pl.Imperf finished.Part
projektin.
 project+the.M.Sg.Acc
 ‘If you had said so, we would have finished the project.’
- b. *Po tē kishe thënë ashtu, do*
 if Subj.Mark have.2Sg.Imperf said.Part so will.Mod.Cl
tē ishte kryer projektin.
 Subj.Mark be.3Sg.Imperf finished project+the.M.Sg
 ‘If you had said so, the project would have been finished.’
- c. *(Projektin) po (projektin) tē ish*
 project+the.M.Sg if project+the.M.Sg Subj.Mark be.3Sg.Imperf
kryer (projektin), do tē kishim
 finished.Part project+the.M.Sg will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark have.1Pl.Imperf
shkuar atje.
 gone.Part there
 ‘If the project had been finished, we would have gone there.’

7.11 Sentences with temporal clauses

In sentences with temporal clauses the future-marking modal clitic can be used in both the main and the “when”-clause.

7.11.1 In many cases, the presence of the future marking modal clitic is optional:

- (412) a. *Kur (do) tē vish do*
 when will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark come.2Sg.Subj.Pres will.Mod.Cl
ta kryejmë projektin.
 Subj.Mark+3Sg.Acc.Cl finish.1Pl project+the.M.Sg.Acc
 ‘When you come, we shall finish the project.’
- b. *Kur (do) tē vish ti, ai*
 when will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark come.2Sg.Subj.Pres you he
më do tē ketë shkuar.
 already will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark have.3Sg.Imperf gone.Part
 ‘When you come, he will already have gone.’
- c. *Kur (do) tē zgjohemi, më*
 when will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark wake-up.1Pl.M-P.Pres already
do tē jemi ne Shkup.
 will Subj.Mark be.1Pl in Skopje
 ‘When we wake up, we shall already be in Skopje.’

7.11.2 In temporal clauses expressing habitual actions, which, as a rule, have verbs in the imperfect, both the modal clitic *do* and the “wh” complementizer *që* are obligatorily present:

- (413) a. *Kur do që tē vije (ata)*
 when will.Mod.Cl that Subj.Mark come.3Sg.Imperf they

- do* *t'a* *pritnin* *me*
 will.Mod.Cl Subj.Mark++3Sg.Acc.Cl welcome.3Pl.Imperf with
gëzim.
 joy
 'Whenever he would come, they would welcome him with joy.'
- b. *Kur* *do* *që* *të* *vijne*, *do*
 when will.Mod.Cl that Subj.Mark came.2Sg.Imperf will.Mod.Cl
të *ziheshin*.
 Subj.Mark quarrel.3Pl.M-P.Imperf
 'Whenever you would come, they would quarrel.'

8. Northern Geg Albanian

In Geg Albanian, especially in the northern dialects, the subjunctive is sparingly used. In many environments in which Standard or Tosk Albanian employ subjunctive constructions, in Geg Albanian we find infinitives. According to Joseph (1983:91-100), the Geg infinitive is either (a) a common Albanian formation (revitalized in Geg Albanian dialects during the period prior to the publication of the oldest Albanian written document (1555)); or (b) both the Geg Albanian infinitive and the Tosk Albanian *për + të + plus + Part* constructions were innovations, introduced after the split of the dialects.

8.1 Forms of the verbs in the Northern Geg Albanian infinitive

The Gen infinitive is introduced by the infinitive marker *me*. When not preceded by the infinitive marker the same non-finite form can be used as a participle.

8.1.1.1 There are one "simple" non-finite form and three complex ones: medio-passive present, active perfect and medio-passive perfect.

8.1.1.2 The "simple" infinitive form is actually a bare aorist root.³³² In (414) we have some Northern Geg Albanian examples:³³³

- (414) a. *pàs* 'have'
 b. *kân* 'be'
 c. *lâ* 'wash'
 d. *ârdh* 'come'
 e. *lexu* 'read'
 f. *shku* 'go'

8.1.1.3 The other three constructions, employ the non-finite (infinitive) forms of the auxiliaries *pàs* 'have' and/or *qen* 'be', in addition to the non-finite (infinitive) form of the lexical verb. In the medio-passive present infinitive, the non-finite (infinitive) form of the lexical verb is preceded by non-finite (infinitive) form of *qen* 'be'; in the active perfect infinitive, the non-finite (infinitive) form of the lexical verb is preceded by the non-finite (infinitive) form of *pàs* 'have'; whereas in the medio-passive perfect infinitive, the non-finite (infinitive) form of the lexical verb is preceded by the non-finite (infinitive) forms of *pàs* 'have' and *qen* 'be', in this order. For the Northern Geg Albanian verb *lâ* 'wash' we have the following complex infinitive constructions:

³³² With a great number of verbs, there is no distinction between the present and the aorist root/base.

³³³ The hat symbol (^) in Geg Albanian denotes nasality. Nasal vowels are characteristic for this idiom.

- (415) a. medio-passive present infinitive form: *qen lâ*
 b. perfect infinitive form: *pâs lâ*
 c. medio-passive perfect infinitive form: *pâs qen lâ*

8.2 Use of the infinitive in Northern Geg Albanian

8.2.1 In Northern Geg Albanian, the infinitive is typically used in complements of modal and intentional verbs, which can be in the present or any of the past tenses. Examples:

- (416) a. %*Duhet* *me* *i* *shkru*
 must/should.Impers.M-P.Pres to.Inf.Mark 3Sg.Dat.Cl write.Non-Fin
ndoj fjal.
 some.M.Sg word
 ‘One should drop her/him a word or two.’ (lit. ‘One should write to her/him some word.’)
- b. %*Nuk mujm/* *mujtëm* *me* *u* *lâ.*
 not can.1Pl could.1Pl to.Inf.Mark Refl.Cl wash.Non-Fin
 ‘We cannot/couldn’t be washed.’
- (417) a. %*Dua/* *desha* *me* *ja*
 want.1Sg want.1Sg.Imperf to.Inf.Mark 3Sg.Dat.Cl+3Sg.Acc.Cl
dhân.
 give.Non-Fin
 ‘I want/wanted to give it to him/her.’
- b. %*Iliri* *detiroi* *Flamurin* *me*
 Ilir+the.M.Sg force.3Sg.Aor Flamur+the.M.Sg.Acc to.Inf.Mark
lexu nji libër.
 read.Non-Fin a book
 ‘Ilir forced Flamur to read a book.’

8.2.2 Preceded by *per* ‘for’ + *me* ‘to’, the Northern Geg infinitive appears as a complement of non-intentional verbs. Some Northern Geg Albanian examples are given in (418):

- (418) a. %*Kam* *ârdh* *për* *me* *u* *lâ.*
 have.1Sg come.Non-Fin for to.Inf.Mark Refl.Cl wash.Non-Fin
 ‘I came (in order) to wash myself.’
- b. %*Kemi* *bâ* *pushim* *për* *me*
 have.1Pl.Imperf make.Non-Fin pause for to.Inf.Mark
i ndigju lajmet.
 3Pl.Acc.Cl hear.Non-Fin news+the.F.Pl
 ‘We made a pause to hear the news.’
- c. %*Lajmroj* *për* *me* *dit* *se*
 call.1Pl.M-P.Pres for to.Inf.Mark know.Non-Fin that
mërzitem për ju.
 care.1Pl.M-P.Pres for you.Pl
 ‘We are calling so that you know that we care about you.’

8.2.3 The Northern Geg infinitive is also found in subject positions:

- (419) %*Me* *lexu* *libra* *âsht* *mir.*
 to.Inf.Mark read.Non-Fin books be.3Sg good
 ‘To read books is good.’

8.2.4 Most importantly, the infinitive forms take part in the formation of the future tenses.

8.3 Northern Geg Albanian future tenses

8.3.1 The (“simple”) future tense employs present forms of *pàs* ‘have’ plus the (simple) infinitive form of the lexical verb. Examples:

- (420) a. %Kemi me ârdh.
 have.1Pl to.Inf.Mark come.Non-Fin
 ‘We will come.’
- b. %Kemi me e krye
 have.1Pl to.Inf.Mark 3Sg.Acc.Cl finish.Non-Fin
 projektin.
 project+the.M.Sg.Acc
 ‘We shall finish the project.’
- c. %Nuk ka me ârdh nesër.
 not have.3Sg to.Inf.Mark come.Non-Fin tomorrow
 ‘(S)he will not come tomorrow.’
- d. %Nuk kam me ja dhân.
 not have.1Pl to.Inf.Mark 3Sg.Dat.Cl+3Sg.Acc.Cl give.Non-Fin
 ‘I will not give it to him/her.’

8.3.2 The future perfect employs imperfect forms of *pàs* ‘have’ plus active or medio-passive infinitive forms of the verb, respectively. Examples:

- (421) a. %Deri nesër n’ ora pes, kishim me
 till tomorrow in hour five had.1Pl.Imperf to.Inf.Mark
 e kry projektin.
 3Sg.Acc.Cl finish.Non-Fin project+the.M.Sg.Acc
 ‘Till tomorrow at five, we shall have finished the project.’
- b. %Deri nesër n’ ora pes, projekti kish
 till tomorrow in hour five project+the.M.Sg had.3Sg.Imperf
 me pàs qen kry.
 to.Inf.Mark have.Non-Fin be.Non-Fin finished.Non-Fin
 ‘Till tomorrow at five, the project shall have been finished.’

8.4 Interaction of the infinitive and the subjunctive construction in conditional sentences

With the spread of the Albanian standard dialect (which is based on Tosk Albanian) subjunctive constructions have been spreading in Northern Geg Albanian. In the speech of educated speakers of Northern Geg Albanian, the infinitive alternates with the subjunctive in many environments, and is regularly used in conditional contexts.

8.4.1 In sentences expressing possibility, the verb in the “if”-clause is a subjunctive construction with the tensed verb in the present subjunctive or present medio-passive,³³⁴ while the verb in the main clause has a (“simple”) future tense, constructed by a present tense form of the “have” auxiliary plus an infinitive of a lexical verb. Examples:

- (422) a. %Si t’ dush, kemi me
 if Subj.Mark want.2Sg.Subj.Pres have.1Pl to.Inf.Mark

³³⁴ The roots of the verbs and the phonological changes incurred by the addition of the suffixes are distinct from those in Tosk Albanian.

shku *atje* *nesër*.
 go.Non-Fin there tomorrow
 ‘If you want, we shall go there tomorrow.’

- b. %*Si* *t’* *jet* *kry* *projekti*,
 if Subj.Mark be.3Sg finished.Non-Fin project+the.M.Sg
 kemi *me* *shku* *atje*.
 have.1Pl to.Inf.Mark go.Non-Fin there
 ‘If the project is finished, we shall go there.’

8.4.2 Conditional sentences which express unrealisable conditionality can be represented by an “if”-clause with a subjunctive construction with a tensed verb in the imperfect followed by non-finite form of a lexical verb,³³⁵ in the *protasis*, and a future perfect, constructed by the imperfect form of “have” plus an infinitive of a lexical verb, in the *apodosis*. These sentences have two readings each: (a) *irrealis* from the point of view of the moment of speaking and (b) *irrealis* from the point of view of a past moment.

- (423) a. %*Po* *t’* *mos* *kishe* *ârdh*,
 if Subj.Mark not.Mod have.2Sg.Imperf come.Non-Fin
 kishim *me* *lexu*.
 have.1Pl. Imperf to.Inf.Mark read.Non-Fin
 1. ‘If you didn’t come, we would read/be reading.’
 2. ‘If you hadn’t come, we would have read/been reading.’
- b. %*Po* *t’* *mos* *kish* *thân* *ai*, *ti*
 if Subj.Mark not had.3Sg.Imperf say.Non-Fin he you.Sg
 nuk *kishe* *me* *ârdh*.
 not had.2Sg.Imperf to.Inf.Mark come.Non-Fin
 1. ‘If he didn’t say so, you wouldn’t come.’
 2. ‘If he hadn’t said so, you wouldn’t have come.’

8.4.3 The use of the past perfect in the *protasis*, or both in the *protasis* and the *apodosis*,³³⁶ excludes the “*irrealis* from the point of view of the moment of speaking” reading, and thus disambiguates the sentence:

- (424) a. %*Po* *t’* *mos* *kish* *ârdh*, *projekti*
 if Subj.Mark not had.3Sg.Imperf come.Non-Fin project+the.M.Sg
 kish *me* *pâs* *qen* *kry*.
 had.3Sg.Imperf to.Inf.Mark have.Non-Fin be.Non-Fin finish.Non-Act
 ‘If he hadn’t come, the project would have been finished.’
- b. %*Po* *t’* *mos* *kish* *pâs* *ârdh*
 if Subj.Mark not had.3Sg.Imperf have.Non-Fin come.Non-Fin
 aj, *projekti* *nuk* *kish* *me*
 he project+the.M.Sg not had.3Sg.Imperf to.Inf.Mark
 qen *kry*.
 be.Non-Fin finish.Non-Fin
 ‘If he hadn’t come, the project wouldn’t have been finished.’

³³⁵ The tensed verb in the imperfect followed by non-finite form of a lexical verb actually constitutes the past perfect.

³³⁶ The past perfect of the “have” auxiliary plus an infinitive, actually represents the future perfect-in-the-past.

9. Modern Greek

Modern Greek has preserved the form of the infinitive operative in Ancient Greek, but its functions have been completely taken over by subjunctive constructions with inflected verbs.

9.1 Use of infinitive forms

Apart from the non-finite form used in the perfect tenses,³³⁷ infinitive forms exist only in some frozen expressions, where they are used as nouns of neuter gender (and are preceded by a definite article of neuter gender):

- (425) a. *Kalos ine to idhin ton!*
good.M.Sg be.3Sg the.N.Sg see.Inf 2Sg.Acc.Cl
'It is indeed a pleasure to look at you!' (lit. 'Your looks are good.')
- b. *Apaghorevete to omilin!*
forbid.3Sg.M-P.Pres the.N.Sg speak.Inf
'Silence!' (lit. 'Speaking is forbidden.')
- c. *Apaghorevete to kapnizin!*
forbid.3Sg.M-P.Pres the.N.Sg smoke.Inf
'No smoking!' (lit. 'Smoking is forbidden.')

9.2 The subjunctive marker in contrast with indicative complementizers

9.2.1 The subjunctive constructions are introduced by the subjunctive marker *na*. Here are two examples:³³⁸

- (426) a. *Prepi na figho.*
must.Impers Subj.Mark leave.1Sg
'I must leave.'
- b. *Na pas eki!*
Subj.Mark go.2Sg there
'You should go there!'

9.2.2 The subjunctive marker introducing subjunctive constructions differs from the complementizers introducing indicative complements.

9.2.2.1 The most common indicative clause complementizer is *oti* 'that.'

- (427) a. *O Janis ipe oti tha voithisi.*
the.M.Sg Janis say.3Sg.Aor that will.Mod.Cl help.3Sg
'Janis said that he would help.'
- b. *Na tus pis oti imaste kala.*
Subj.Mark them.Dat.Cl tell.2Sg.Perf.Pres that be.1Pl well.N.Pl
'You should tell them that we are well.'

9.2.2.2 The "wh" word *pos*, whose basic meaning is 'how', is also used as a complementizer.³³⁹ It appears as an alternative to *oti*, mostly in formal and literary dialogues:

³³⁷ Cf. 9.1 in the chapter "The Perfect and the Evidential".

³³⁸ Example (426b) is a bare subjunctive (cf. 9.9).

³³⁹ When used as an interrogative pronoun, *pos* is heavily stressed, while when used as a complementizer it is unstressed.

- (428) a. *Ipe* *oti/pos* *tha* *erthi.*
 say.3Sg.Aor that will.Mod.Cl come.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 'He said that he would come.'
- b. *Ksero* *oti/pos* *tha* *erthi.*
 know.1Sg that will.Mod.Cl come.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 'I know that he will come.'

9.2.2.3 Verbs of believing and verbs of perception can have subjunctive as well as indicative complements – with a very subtle difference in the meaning.³⁴⁰

- (429) a. *Pistevo* *na* *erthi.*
 believe.1Sg Subj.Mark come.3Sg.Perf.Pres
- b. *Pistevo* *oti/pos tha* *erthi.*
 believe.1Sg that will.Mod.Cl come.3Sg.Perf.Pres
 'I believe that he would come.'
- (430) a. *Eniotha* *mesa mu* *na* *ghinome*
 feel.1Sg.Imperf inside 1Sg.Gen.Cl Subj.Mark become.2Sg
aksafna *pjo* *gheneos.*
 unexpectedly more brave.M.Sg
 'I felt/was feeling (in myself) becoming unexpectedly more brave.'
- b. *Eniotha* *mesa mu* *pos/?oti* *ghinome*
 feel.1Sg.Imperf inside 1Sg.Gen.Cl that become.2Sg
aksafna *pjo* *gheneos.*
 unexpectedly more brave.M.Sg
 'I felt/was feeling (in myself) becoming unexpectedly more brave.'

9.2.2.4 Clausal complements of emotional and factive verbs are most often introduced by the “wh” complementizer *pu*, derived from the archaic complementizer *οπου*, that relates to the Modern Greek interrogative word *pu* ‘where’.³⁴¹

- (431) a. *I* *Ana* *eksipni* *itan* *pu* *dhen* *irthe.*
 the.F.Sg.Cl Ana smart.F.Sg be.3Sg.Past that not come.3Sg.Aor
 'Ana was smart not to have come.'

³⁴⁰ Examples (430a-b) are from Asenova (2002:157). The clause with the subjunctive complement is less assertive. Aspectual verbs can also take both subjunctive and indicative complements, but there are more pronounced formal and semantic differences:

- (i) *Elpizo* *na* *ftaso* *stin* *ora.*
 hope.1Sg Subj.Mark arrive.1Sg.Perf.Pres in+the.F.Sg.Acc time
 'I hope to arrive on time.'
- (ii) *Elpizo* *oti/pos tha* *ftaso* *stin* *ora.*
 hope.1Sg that will.Mod.Cl arrive.1Sg.Perf.Pres in+the.F.Sg.Acc time
 'I hope that I will arrive on time.'

³⁴¹ Example (431c) is from Rivero (1995: section 4.1.1). The “wh” pronoun *pu* is actually a very general marker of subordinate clauses, referred to as “general relativizer” (*relativum generale*). As exemplified in (i), it can introduce a relative clause, as well:

- (i) *O* *anthropos* *pu* *meni* *edho* *ine* *filos* *mu.*
 the.M.Sg man that live.3Sg here be.3Sg brother 1Sg.Gen.Cl
 'The man that lives here is my brother.'

- b. *Xerome* *pu* *se* *idha.*
 please.1Sg.M-P.Pres that 2Pl.Acc.cl see.1Sg.Aor
 'I am glad to have seen you.'
- c. *Metaniono* *pu* *efigha* *toso* *noris.*
 regret.1Sg that leave.1Sg.Aor so early
 'I regret to have left so early.'

9.2.5 The negation marker that occurs in subjunctive clauses differs from the one occurring in indicative clauses. While indicative clauses are negated by the negation marker *dhen*, subjunctive clauses are negated by the negation marker *mi(n)*,³⁴² to which we shall refer as "modal negation marker".³⁴³

- (432) a. *Ksero* *oti* *i* *Ana dhen* *milai* *elinika.*
 know.1Sg that the.F.Sg Ana not speak.3Sg Greek
 'I know that Ana does not speak Greek.'
- b. *Ithelan* *na* *mi* *su* *miliso.*
 wanted.3Pl.Imperf Subj.Mark not.Mod 2Sg.Gen.Cl speak.1Sg
 'They wanted me not to speak to you.'

9.3 Forms of verbs in subjunctive constructions

The verbs in the subjunctive constructions can typically be in the (active or medio-passive) imperfect present, (active or medio-passive) perfective present, (active or medio-passive) present perfect or (active or medio-passive) past perfect tense.³⁴⁴

9.3.1 The perfective present tense forms are formally related to the forms of the indicative aorist and have traditionally been referred to as "subjunctive aorist" forms. Holton, Mackridge and Philippaki-Warburton (1997) lay emphasis on the fact that these forms are used in subordinate clauses and use the label "dependent tense" forms.³⁴⁵ Yannis Veloudis (p.c.) suggests the label "perfective subjunctive." I have, however, opted for the term "perfective present", which reflects the fact that the distinction between these forms and the "proper" present tense forms is aspectual.³⁴⁶

³⁴² The occurrence of the final *n* is phonologically conditioned: it occurs before vowels and stops (assimilating to the stop), while there is some variability in its retention before fricatives (cf. Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton 1987:63).

³⁴³ Example (432b) is from Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton (1987:64). The modal negation marker is also used in clauses expressing prohibition, in exhortative clauses introduced by the exhortative marker *as* 'let', as well as in participial/gerundial clauses, where the form of the modal negation marker is always *mi* (cf. Veloudis 1982):

- (i) *Min* *kitas!*
 not.Mod look.2Sg.Imperf
 'Don't look!'
- (ii) *As* *min* *erthi* *o* *Janis!*
 let not.Mod come.2Sg the.M.Sg.Nom Janis
 'Let Janis not come!'
- (iii) *Mi* *fovondas* *tipote* *bike.*
 not.Mod fearing nothing enter.3Sg.Aor
 'Not fearing anything, he went in.'

³⁴⁴ In some environments, forms of the imperfect are also encountered.

³⁴⁵ Being perfective, these forms cannot be used in sentences with present relevance, in which the (indicative) present tense forms are used.

³⁴⁶ As a matter of fact, every single form in Modern Greek is either imperfective or perfective. Aspectual distinctions are marked by suffixes, allomorphy or suppletion. Examples:

9.3.2 In Table 33, the imperfective present and perfective present tense forms of the lexical verb *dhino* ‘give’ are given along with the imperfect and aorist forms of the same verb:³⁴⁷

Table 33: Forms of the Modern Greek lexical verb *dhino* ‘give’

	Present (imperfective)	Perf. Present (perfective)	Imperfect (imperfective)	(Indic.) Aorist (perfective)
1 st Sg	<i>dhino</i>	<i>dhoso</i>	<i>edhina</i>	<i>edhosa</i>
2 nd Sg	<i>dhinis</i>	<i>dhosis</i>	<i>edhhines</i>	<i>edhoses</i>
3 rd Sg	<i>dhini</i>	<i>dhosi</i>	<i>edhine</i>	<i>edhose</i>
1 st Pl	<i>dhinume</i>	<i>dhosume</i>	<i>dhiname</i>	<i>dhosame</i>
2 nd Pl	<i>dhin(e)te</i>	<i>dhos(e)te</i>	<i>dhinate</i>	<i>dhosate</i>
3 rd Pl	<i>dhinun</i>	<i>dhosun</i>	<i>dhinan</i>	<i>edhosan</i>

9.3.3 The use of the perfective present tense forms in contrast with those of the imperfective present tense forms is illustrated in (433):

- (433) a. *Dhen thelo na tu (to)*
not wish.1Sg.Pres Subj.Mark him.Gen.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
dhoso to vivlio.
give.1Sg.Perf.Pres the.N.Sg book
‘I don’t want to give him the book.’
- b. *Dhen thelo na tu dhinis*
not wish.1Sg.Pres Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Gen.Cl give.2Sg.Imperf.Pres
vivlia.
books
‘I don’t want you to keep giving him books.’

9.4 Typical uses of subjunctive constructions

Typically, subjunctive constructions are used as complements of the lexical modal verbs *boro* ‘can/may’, *prepi* ‘must/should’, *xriazete* ‘should/ought/need/be necessary’, *isos* ‘may/be possible’ and *exo* ‘have’; as complements of control verbs such as *prospatho* ‘try’, volitional verbs such as *thelo* ‘want’ or *epithimo* ‘wish’, inchoatives such as *arxizo* ‘begin’, *sinexizo* ‘continue’, or intentional verbs such as *skopevo* ‘intend’, *sxedhiazō* ‘plan’, *proetimazo* ‘prepare’, *apofevgho* ‘avoid’, all of which may go under the general name of “intentional verbs”,³⁴⁸ and as complements of verbs of

	Present Imperfective	Perfective	Past Imperfective (i.e. imperfect)	Perfective i.e. aorist)	
s-suffix	<i>strivo</i>	<i>tripso</i>	<i>estriva</i>	<i>estripsa</i>	‘turn.1Sg’
allomorphy	<i>meno</i>	<i>mino</i>	<i>emena</i>	<i>emina</i>	‘stay.1Sg’
suppletion	<i>vlepo</i>	<i>dho</i>	<i>evlepa</i>	<i>idha</i>	‘see.1Sg’

³⁴⁷ The citation form of verbs is the first person singular (active) present tense form.

³⁴⁸ There are verbs that, in addition to the intentional reading, have other readings. Such verbs take subjunctive complements only when they have an intentional reading; otherwise, they take “that”-complements. Compare the reading of the verb *le(g)ō* ‘say’ in (i), where it takes a subjunctive complement, to its reading in (ii), where it takes a “that”-complement:

- (i) *Le(gh)o na figho.*
say.1Sg Subj.Mark leave.1Sg
‘I am thinking of leaving. (lit. ‘I am saying (to myself) that I should leave.’)
- (ii) *Le(gh)o oti tha figho.*
say.1Sg that will.Mod.Cl leave.1Sg
‘I am saying that I will leave.’

perception, such as *vlepo* ‘see’ or *akuo* ‘hear’.³⁴⁹ There is no tense agreement between the verb of the main clause and the verb of the subjunctive construction, though there may be agreement in number and person. As in most other Balkan languages, when such an agreement occurs, there is “equi” deletion and the one and only subject surfaces usually to the left of the verb of the main clause, but in marked sentences it can surface to the immediate left of the subjunctive marker, or to the right of the verb of the subjunctive construction. When the subject of the subordinate clause is not coreferent with the subject of the main clause, it occurs either to right of the verb of the subjunctive construction or to the immediate left of the subjunctive marker, which can be separated from the verb only by pronominal clitics. Pronominal subjects are dropped unless emphatic.

9.4.1 While the modal verbs *prepi* ‘must/should’ and *isos* ‘may/is possible’ are always impersonal, the modal verbs *boro* ‘can/may’, *exo* ‘have’ and *xriazete* ‘should/ought/need/be necessary’ can be personal or impersonal, though the latter verb takes subjunctive complements only when impersonal.³⁵⁰

9.4.1.1 The occurrence of subjunctive constructions as complements of the impersonal modal verb *prepi* ‘must/should’ is illustrated in (434):³⁵¹

- (434) a. *Prepi na figho/fighis.*
must.Impers Subj.Mark leave.1/2Sg
‘I must leave.’
- b. *Prepi na to kitaksis kala*
must.Impers Subj.Mark 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl look.2Sg.Perf.Pres well
prin na to aghorasis.
before Subj.Mark 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl buy.2Sg.Perf.Pres
‘You must look at it well before you buy it.’
- c. *(O Jorghos) eprepe (o Jorghos)*
the.M.Sg Jorghos must.Impers.Imperf the.M.Sg Jorghos
na fighi (o Jorghos).
Subj.Mark leave.3Sg the.M.Sg Jorghos
‘Jorghos had to leave.’

9.4.1.2 Examples of subjunctive constructions as complements of the modal verb *isos* ‘may/be possible’ are given in (435):³⁵²

- (435) a. *Isos na erthi na*
may/be possible.Impers Subj.Mark come.3Sg.Perf.Pres Subj.Mark
mas dhi.
1Pl.Acc.Pl.Cl see.3Sg.Perf.Pres
‘(S)he may come to see us!’

³⁴⁹ The citation form of all verbs is the 1st person singular form. Subjunctive constructions as complements of the modal verb *exo* ‘have’ are discussed in 9.5

³⁵⁰ When personal, the modal verb *xriazete* ‘should/need’ takes a nominal complement. For example:

- (i) *Xriazome xrono.*
need.1Sg.M-P.Pres time
‘I need time.’

³⁵¹ The impersonal verb forms are equivalent to the 3rd person singular present tense ones.

³⁵² Whereas in the sentence with the perfective present tense form *erthi* we have epistemic modality, in the sentence with the aorist (perfective past tense) form *irthe* we have deontic modality.

- b. *Isos* *na* *irthe.*
 may/be possible.Impers Subj.Mark come.3Sg.Aor
 ‘(S)he might come.’

9.4.1.3 Examples of subjunctive constructions as complements of the impersonal modal verb *xriazete* ‘should/need’ are given in (436):

- (436) a. *Xriazete* *na* *fighis/fighun.*
 be necessary.Impers.M-P.Pres Subj.Mark leave.2/3Pl.Perf.Pres
 ‘It is necessary that you/they leave.’
- b. *Dhen xriazete* *na* *voithisis/voithisun.*
 not be necessary.Impers.M-P.Pres Subj.Mark help.2/3Pl.Perf.Pres
 ‘It is not necessary that you/they should help.’

9.4.1.4 Examples of subjunctive constructions as complements of the impersonal and personal modal verb *boro* ‘can/may’ are given in (437a) and (437b) respectively. As it may be observed, the personal verb *boro* ‘can/may’ is a control verb, i.e. it has to have joint reference with the verb in its complement:

- (437) a. *Bori* *na* *figho/fighis.*
 can/may.Impers Subj.Mark leave.1/2Sg
 ‘It is possible that I/you leave.’
- b. *Boro* *na* *figho/*fighis.*
 can/may.1Sg Subj.Mark leave.1/2Sg
 ‘I/*you can/may leave.’

9.4.2 As for the the subjunctive constructions which occur as complements of intentional verbs, some of them have to agree with the person/number features of the verb of the upper (main) clause, while others do not. With respect to agreement with the person/number features of their subjunctive complements, intentional verbs fall into three classes. (A) Verbs such as *skopevo/sxedhiaz* ‘intend’, *apofevgho* ‘avoid’ or *prospatho* ‘try’, which have joint reference with their subjunctive complements. (B) Verbs such as *dhiatazo/dhino entoli* ‘order’, *protino* ‘suggest’, which have disjoint reference with the subjects of their subjunctive complements. (C) Verbs such as *thelo* ‘want’, *epithimo* ‘wish’ or *elpizo* ‘hope’, which may have joint or disjoint reference with their subjunctive complements.

9.4.2.1 The subjects of subjunctive constructions in complement positions of verbs of class (A) are as a rule dropped.³⁵³

- (438) a. *Skopevo* *na* *ertho/*erthis.*
 intend.1Sg Subj.Mark come.1/2Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘I intend to come.’

³⁵³ For emphatic purposes, a pronominal subject with same reference as the subject of the main clause can appear to the left of the subjunctive marker or to the left of the verb of the main clause:

- (i) *Skopevo* *egho* *na* *ertho.*
 intend.1Sg I Subj.Mark come.1Sg.Pef.Pres
- (ii) *Egho* *skopevo* *na* *ertho.*
 I intend.1Sg Subj.Mark come.1Sg.Pef.Pres
 ‘I intend to come myself.’

- b. *Apofevghi na se sinandisi/*sinandiso.*
 avoid.3Sg Subj.Mark 2Sg.Acc.Cl meet.3/1Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘He avoids meeting you.’
- c. *I Maria prospathi na troghudhisi/*troghudhiso.*
 the.F.Sg Maria try.3Sg Subj.Mark sing.3/1Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘Maria tries to (start to) sing.’
- d. *I Eleni arxise na etimazete*
 the.F.Sg Eleni start.3Sg.Aor Subj.Mark prepare.3Sg.M-P.Pres
jaanaxorisi.
 for departure
 ‘Eleni started to prepare for departure.’

9.4.2.2 The structures in which subjunctive constructions appear as complements of intentional verbs of class (B) can be of three different subtypes. (a) The agent of the subjunctive construction surfaces as a subject of the subjunctive clause if lexical, while pronominal subjects do so only if they are emphatic, non-emphatic pronominal subjects being dropped (cf. 439a-b).³⁵⁴ (b) The agent of the subjunctive construction surfaces in the position of indirect object of the main clause and the intentional verb is described as “indirect object control” verb (cf. 439c-d). (c) The agent of the subjunctive construction surfaces in the position of direct object of the intentional verb, and the intentional verb is described as “direct object control” verb (cf. 439e-f).³⁵⁵

- (439) a. *Dhietakse i Maria na*
 order.3Sg.Aor the.F.Sg Maria Subj.Mark
erthi amesos.
 come.3Sg.Perf.Pres immediately
 ‘He gave an order for Maria to come immediately.’
- b. *Dhietakse na erthis amesos.*
 order.3Sg.Aor Subj.Mark come.2Sg.Perf.Pres immediately
 ‘He gave an order for you to come immediately.’
- c. *Tis dhietakse tis Marias na*
 3Sg.F.Dat.Cl order.3Sg.Aor the.F.Sg.Gen Marija.F.Gen Subj.Mark
erthi amesos.
 come.3Sg.Perf.Pres immediately
 ‘He ordered Maria to come immediately.’
- d. *Mu dhietakse na ertho amesos.*
 1Sg.Acc.Cl order.3Sg.Aor Subj.Mark come.1Sg.Perf.Pres immediately
 ‘He ordered me to come immediately.’
- e. *I Maria epise ton Jani*
 the.F.Sg Maria persuade.3Sg.Aor the.M.Sg.Acc Jani
na aghorasi kenurja tileorasi.
 Subj.Mark buy.3Sg.Perf.Pres new TV
 ‘Maria persuaded Jani to buy a new TV.’

³⁵⁴ In analogous structures in Romanian, a complementizer appears obligatorily to the left of the subject of the subjunctive constructions (cf. 4.5.3.2). Since in Romanian structures analogous to the structures exemplified in (439c-f) the occurrence of this complementizer is precluded, the distinct properties of those structures have been ascribed to the non-existence or deletion of the complementizer. In Megleno-Romanian, Aromanian and Albanian, however, a complementizer can optionally appear in all three subtypes of structures (cf. 5.4.3.2; 6.4.3.2; 7.5.3.2) – to the immediate left of the subjunctive marker, or to the left of the subject or a focused element of the subjunctive construction.

³⁵⁵ Note that all the verbs that have (b) structures also have (a) structures. Cf. the discussion of analogous structures in Macedonian in 1.4.2.2.

- f. *O Janis ekane tus mathites na*
 the.M.Sg Janis make.3Sg.Aor the.M.Pl.Acc students Subj.Mark
milisun ghalika.
 speak.3Pl French
 'Janis made the students speak French.'

9.4.2.3 The verbs of class (C) can have joint or disjoint reference with the verbs of the subjunctive constructions in their complements. In the former case, the subjects of the subjunctive constructions are as a rule dropped,³⁵⁶ whereas in the latter case they can be dropped or expressed by lexical DPs/NPs or pronouns, which can occur to the right of the verb or to the left of the subjunctive marker.³⁵⁷

- (440) a. *Thelo na pao eki.*
 want.1Sg Subj.Mark go.1Sg there
 'I want to go there.'
- b. *Thelo na pame mazi.*
 want.1Sg Subj.Mark go.1Pl together
 'I want us to go together.'
- c. *O Jorghos theli (i Maria) na*
 the.M.Sg Jorghos want.3Sg the.F.Sg Maria Subj.Mark
pai (i Maria) eki (i Maria).
 go.2Sg the.F.Sg Maria there the.F.Sg Maria
 'Jorgos wants Maria to go there.'
- d. *O Jorghos theli (ESI) na pas*
 the.M.Sg Jorghos want.3Sg you.Sg Subj.Mark go.2Sg
(ESI) eki (ESI).
 you.Sg there you.Sg
 'Jorgos wants you to go there (yourself).'
- (441) a. *Elpizo na figho sto Londhino*
 hope.1Sg Subj.Mark leave.1Sg.Perf.Pres to+the.M.Sg London
avrio.
 tomorrow
 'I hope to leave for London tomorrow.'
- b. *Elpizo (i Maria) na fighi*
 hope.1Sg the.F.Sg Maria Subj.Mark leave.3Pl.Perf.Pres
(avrio) (i Maria) sto Londhino (avrio).
 tomorrow the.F.Sg Maria to+the.M.Sg London tomorrow
 'I hope Maria will leave for London tomorrow.'

³⁵⁶ In emphatic environments, the subject of the subjunctive construction is expressed by a pronoun with same reference as the subject of the main clause.

³⁵⁷ Post-verbal subjects are preferred when there are no other elements in post-verbal position.

9.4.3 Subjunctive constructions that occur as complements of verbs of perception, may have joint or disjoint reference with the verb of the upper clause, though cases with disjoint reference are more frequent.³⁵⁸

- (442) a. *Vlepi ton ilio na lambi.*
see.3Sg the.M.Sg.Acc sun Subj.Mark shine.3Sg
'(S)he sees the sun shine.'
- b. *Thelo na se dho na*
want.1Sg Subj.Mark 2Sg.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Perf.Pres Subj.Mark
koli(m)bas.
swim.3Sg
'I want to see you swim.'
- c. *Thelo na ton dhis na*
want.1Sg Subj.Mark 2Sg.Acc.Cl see.2Sg.Perf.Pres Subj.Mark
koli(m)ba.
swim.3Sg
'I want you to see him swim.'
- d. *Eniotha mesa mu na ghinome*
feel.1Sg.Imperf inside 1Sg.Gen.Cl Subj.Mark become.1Sg
aksafna pjo gheneos.
unexpectedly more brave.M.Sg
'I felt/was feeling (in myself) becoming unexpectedly more brave.'
- e. *Akuses na sfirizi ena kalami?*
hear.2Sg.Aor Subj.Mark sing.3Sg a.N pipe
'Did you hear a pipe play?'
- f. *Dhen thimame na to ipa afito.*
not remember.1Pl Subj.Mark 3Sg.N.Cl say.1Sg.Aor that.N.Sg
'I don't remember to have said that.'
- g. *Miazi na min edhose megkali*
appear.3Sg Subj.Mark not.Mod give.3Sg.Aor great.F.Sg
prosoxi stin kopela.
attention to+the.F.Sg.Acc girl
'It appears that he was not paying much attention to the girl.'

9.4.4 In reported speech, subjunctive constructions appear as complements of verbs of saying, which, as a rule, take indicative complements. Examples:

³⁵⁸ Example (442d) is from Asenova (2002:157), with my glosses and translation. Verbs of perception can also take indicative complements. Consider (i) which formally differs from (442d) in having an indicative "wh" complementizer, *pos*, followed by a medio-passive verb, rather than a subjunctive marker, followed by an active verb. While in the sentence with a subjunctive complement the event is seen as a possibility, in the sentence with an indicative complement it is seen as a fact.

- (i) *Eniotha mesa mu pos ghinomun ksafnika pjo*
feel.1Sg.Aor inside 1Sg.Gen.Cl that became.1Sg.M-P.Imperf unexpectedly more
gheneos.
brave.M.Sg
'I felt (in myself) that I was becoming unexpectedly more brave.'

- (443) a. *Su ipa na min milisis!*
 2Sg.Gen.Cl tell.1Sg.Aor Subj.Mark not.Mod speak.2Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘I am telling you to shut up!’ (lit. ‘I am telling you not to speak up!’)
- b. *Su ipa na mi(n) dhiavazis!*
 2Sg.Gen.Cl said.1Sg.Aor Subj.Mark not read.2Sg
 ‘I told you not to read!’

9.5 Subjunctive constructions as complements of the modal *exo*

Subjunctive constructions can occur as complements of the modal verb *exo* ‘have’, which can be personal or impersonal.

9.5.1 The personal verb *exo* ‘have’ is a control verb that expresses obligation:

- (444) a. *Exo na dhiavazo.*
 have.1Sg Subj.Mark read/study.1Sg.Pres
 ‘I have to read.’
- b. *Ti exo na kano?*
 what have.1Sg Subj.Mark do.1Sg
 ‘What do I have to do?’
- c. *Ixe na pai sto*
 have.3Sg.Imperf Subj.Mark go.3Sg.Perf.Pres in+the.N.Sg.Cl
panepistimio.
 university
 ‘He had to go to the university.’
- d. *Dhen ixa na grapso tipota,*
 not have.1Sg.Imperf Subj.Mark write.1Sg.Perf.Pres nothing
ke pigha sinema.
 and go.1Sg.Aor cinema
 ‘I did not have to write anything, so I went to the cinema.’

9.5.2 When *exo* is impersonal and the verb in the subjunctive construction in its complement is in the second or third person, the sentence can express strong obligation, almost an order:³⁵⁹

- (445) *Exi na to kanis afto, aljos*
 have.Impers Subj.Mark it.N.Sg.Acc.Cl do.2Sg that.N.Sg otherwise
tha se skotoso!
 will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Acc.Cl kill.1Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘You have to do it, or else!’ (lit. ‘You have to do that, otherwise I will kill you.’)

9.6 Subjunctive constructions as complements of raising verbs

Subjunctive constructions have been said to occur as complements of so-called raising verbs:³⁶⁰

³⁵⁹ Orders are more commonly expressed by *prepi* ‘must.’ Thus, (i) would be a more common variant of (445):

(i) *Prepi na to kani afto, aljos tha*
 have.Impers Subj.Mark it.N.Sg.Acc.Cl do.3Sg that.N.Sg otherwise will.Mod.Cl
ton skotoso!
 3Sg.M.Sg.Acc.Cl kill.1Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘He has to do it, or else!’ (lit. ‘He has to do that, otherwise I will kill him.’)

³⁶⁰ Example (446b) is from Rivero (1995: section 5.3.3).

- (446) a. *Ola ta aghorja etixe na ine*
 all the.N.Pl boys happen.3Sg.Aor Subj.Mark be.3Pl
arosta.
 sick.N.Pl
 ‘All (the) boys happened to be sick.’
- b. *Ta pedhia fenonde na dhulevun.*
 the.N.Pl children seem.3Sg.Aor Subj.Mark work.3Pl
 ‘The children seem to be working.’

Since the “raised subjects” do not agree in person and number with the “raising verb”, it is more appropriate to treat them as topicalizations.

9.7 Subjunctive complements with “wh” words as arguments or adjuncts

Subjunctive constructions can have “wh” words as subjects, objects or adjuncts – all of them raised to clause-initial position.

9.7.1 Most frequently, the constructions with “wh” words as subjects, objects or adjuncts are embedded questions. Examples:

- (447) a. *Ksero pjos na mas stili*
 know.1Sg who Subj.Mark 1Pl.Pron.Cl send.3Sg.Perf.Pres
afra ta ghramata.
 these the.N.Pl letters
 ‘I know who can send us these letters.’
- b. *Dhen kserume se pjon na stilume*
 not know.1Pl to whom.Acc Subj.Mark send.1Pl.Perf.Pres
ta emborevmata.
 the.N.Pl merchandise
 ‘We do not know to whom to send the merchandise.’
- c. *Dhen ksero me pjon na miliso.*
 not know.1Sg with whom.Acc Subj.Mark talk.1Sg
 ‘I do not know to whom to talk.’
- d. *Ksero ti na kano.*
 know.1Sg what Subj.Mark do.1Sg
 ‘I know what to do.’
- e. *Ksero pos na ghrafo me pena.*
 know.1Sg how Subj.Mark write.1Sg with fountain pen
 ‘I know how to write with a fountain pen.’

9.7.2 As in other Balkan languages, subjunctive constructions with “wh” words as subjects, objects or adjuncts can also occur as complements of verbs expressing (a) assertion or denial of existence or (b) coming into view or availability or causation of one of these (*cf.* Grosu 2002).

9.7.2.1 Assertion or denial of existence is usually expressed by the existential verb *exo* ‘have’.³⁶¹

³⁶¹ Example (448a) is from Grosu (2004:407). In complements of *exo* ‘have’, analogous constructions can sometimes be constructed with indefinite pronouns. Examples:

- (i) *Exo kati na su po.*
 have.1Sg something Subj.Mark 2Sg.Dat.Cl tell.1Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘I have something to tell you.’

- (448) a. *Dhen exo pjon na stilo*
 not have.1Sg whom.Acc Subj.Mark send.1Sg
sto Parisi.
 to Paris
 'I have no-one I can send to Paris.'
- b. *(Dhen) exume pjon na mas*
 not have.1Pl who.Acc Subj.Mark 1Pl.Acc.Cl
stili ta emborevmata.
 send.3Sg.Perf.Pres the.N.Pl merchandise
 'We have someone/(no-one) to send us the merchandise.'
- c. *(Dhen) exume se pjon na*
 not have.1Pl to who.Acc Subj.Mark
stilume ta emborevmata.
 send.1Pl.Perf.Pres the.N.Pl merchandise
 'We have someone/(no-one) to whom to send the merchandise.'
- d. *Dhen exi ti na kani.*
 not have.3Sg what Subj.Mark do.3Sg
 'He has nothing to do.'
- e. *Dhen exo me pjon na ertho.*
 not have.1Sg with whom.Acc Subj.Mark come.1Sg.Perf.Pres
 'I have nobody with whom I can come.'

9.7.2.2 Coming into view or availability or causing something to be visible or available can be expressed by a variety of verbs, though not all of those verbs can take subjunctive existential constructions. A few examples are given in (449).³⁶²

- (449) a. *Epsaksa/vrika ti na su stilo*
 look-for/find.1Sg.Aor what Subj.Mark 2Sg.Dat.Cl send.1Sg.Perf.Pres
stis diakopes.
 in+the.F.Sg.Gen holiday
 'I looked for/found what to send you during the holiday.'
- b. *Dhialeksa ti/pjon na stilo*
 choose.1Sg.Aor what/whom Subj.Mark send.1Sg.Perf.Pres
sto horjo.
 to+the.N.Sg village
 'I chose what/whom to send to the village.'
- c. *Vrika me ti na skepasto.*
 find.1Sg.Aor with what Subj.Mark cover.1Sg.M-P.Pres
 'I found something with which to cover myself.'

9.8 Subjunctive constructions as nominal modifiers or as adjuncts

There are subjunctive constructions functioning as nominal modifiers or as adjuncts.

-
- (ii) *Dhen exo tipota na su dhoso.*
 not have.1Sg anything Subj.Mark 2Sg.Dat.Cl give.1Sg.Perf.Pres
 'I do not have anything to give to you.'

³⁶² Example (449a) is from Grosu (2004:407).

9.8.1 Subjunctive constructions appearing to the immediate right of indefinite complements of the verb *exo* ‘have/possess’, can function as nominal modifiers which describe the way in which the (human) referent of the subject of the main clause will benefit from the referent of the direct object to which the subjunctive construction refers. Note, however, that in many cases, the subjunctive constructions in such sentences have dual interpretation – as nominal modifiers and as adjuncts of purpose, while there are cases in which the latter interpretation prevails.³⁶³

- (450) a. *Dhen exo adhelffa na me*
not have.1Sg brothers Subj.Mark 1Sg.Dat.Cl
voithisun.
help.3Pl.Perf.Pres
‘I don’t have brothers to help me.’
- b. *Exun skili na tus filai.*
have.3Pl dog Subj.Mark 3Pl.Acc.Cl protect.3Sg.Perf.Pres
1. ‘They have a dog that would protect them.’
2. ‘They have a dog in order to protect them.’
- c. *Exume soba na mas zesteni.*
have.1Pl stove Subj.Mark 1Pl.Acc.Cl warm.3Sg.M-P.Pres
1. ‘We have a stove that would keep us warm.’
2. ‘We have a stove in order to keep us warm.’
- d. *Exis pedhja na ta herese.*
have.2Sg children Subj.Mark 3Pl.N.Acc.Cl rejoice.2Sg.M-P.Pres
1. ?*‘You have children that would give you joy.’
2. ‘You have children so that they can give you joy.’ (lit. ‘You have children so that you can rejoice in them.’)

9.8.2 Clauses in which the subjunctive construction is preceded by the invariant complementizer *pu* ‘that’ function as relative clauses referring to indefinite DPs in complements of a number of verbs whose meanings are related to verbs with the meaning ‘look-for/seek’ or to its opposite ‘find’ (which is the final stage of looking for/seeking), and can go under the name of “verbs of quest”.³⁶⁴

³⁶³ Example (450a) is from Bužarovska (2004:397).

When the subjunctive construction functions as an adjunct, it can be preceded by the preposition *ja* ‘for’ (cf. 9.8.3):

- (i) *Exis pedhja ja na herese.*
have.2Sg children for Subj.Mark rejoice.2Sg.M-P.Pres
‘You have children so that they can give you joy.’
- (ii) *Exun skili ja na tus filai.*
have.3Pl dog for Subj.Mark 3Pl.Acc.Cl protect.3Sg
‘The have a dog in order to protect them.’
- (iii) *Exume soba ja na mas zesteni.*
have.1Pl stove for Subj.Mark 1Pl.Acc.Cl keep-warm.3Sg.M-P.Pres
‘We have a stove in order to keep us warm.’

³⁶⁴ The term is borrowed from Bužarovska (2004), where the syntactic environments that favor the realization of an iso-functional syntactic pattern, which occurs in the mixed domain of purpose and modification in Macedonian, Aromanian, Albanian and Modern Greek are examined. Bužarovska shows that Macedonian, Aromanian, Albanian and Modern Greek share a limited set of ditransitive verbs that allow “purpose-like” modification of their direct object, due to dual case assignment and argues that the weakening of control at the expense of benefactive meaning is responsible for gradual shift from purpose to modification. Examples (451a-b) are from Bužarovska (2004:387); example (451c) from Bužarovska (2004:380).

- (451) a. *Psaxno jineka pu na frondizi ta pedhja.*
 look for.1Sg woman that Subj.Mark care.3Sg the.Pl children
 ‘I am looking for a woman that takes care of children.’
- b. *Psaxno kapelo pu na me prostatevi apo*
 look for.1Sg hat that Subj.Mark 2Sg.Acc.Cl protect.3Sg from
ton ilio.
 the.M.Sg sun
 ‘I am looking for a hat that will protect me from the sun.’
- c. *Vrika kapjon fititi (pu) na dhidhaski anglika.*
 found.1Sg.Aor some student that Subj.Mark teach.3Sg English
 ‘I found a student that teaches English.’

9.8.3 Preceded by the preposition *ja* ‘for’,³⁶⁵ subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense function as adjuncts of purpose. Examples:³⁶⁶

- (452) a. *Irtha ja na se voithiso.*
 come.1Sg.Aor for Subj.Mark 2Sg.Acc.Cl help.1Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘I came to help you.’
- b. *Irtha ja na se voithao*
 came.1Sg.Aor for Subj.Mark 2Sg.Acc.Cl help.1Sg

The complementizer *pu* can sometimes be deleted. The deletion of *pu* can, however, lead to ambiguity – the subjunctive construction can be interpreted as a relative modifier, or as an adjunct of purpose. Thus, without *pu*, (451c) in addition to the listed reading, can have the reading (i):

- (i) ‘I found a student to teach English.’

³⁶⁵ Example (452d) is from Bužarovska (2004:385); examples (452e-f) from Bužarovska (2004:395); example (452g) from Bužarovska (2004:382); example (452i) from Asenova (2002:162). In literary texts, instead of *ja* ‘for’, the archaic conjunction *oste* ‘so that’ is used. In some cases, the preposition *ja* ‘for’, is optional or is completely left out. In sentences with indefinite nominals to the left of the subjunctive construction, the deletion of *ja* ‘for’ may, however, lead to a change of the reading. Thus, without *ja*, sentences (452f), (452g) and (452h) in addition to the listed readings, may have the readings (i), (ii) and (iii), respectively:

- (i) ‘I am looking for a hat that is to protect me from the sun.’

- (ii) ‘I gave him a pencil that draws.’

- (iii) ‘I found someone that is to help me.’

³⁶⁶ When the subject of the subjunctive clause is overtly expressed, it cannot occur between the preposition *ja* and the subjunctive marker *na*. As a rule, it occurs to the right of the verb, and marginally to the immediate left of *ja*. Thus, (i) is unacceptable, (ii) is well-formed, while (iii) is very marginally acceptable:

- (i) **Tus kalesan ja o Janis na ghnorisi*
 3Pl.Acc.Cl invited.3Pl.Aor for the.M.Sg Janis Subj.Mark meet.3Sg.Perf.Pres
ti Maria.
 the.F.Sg.Acc Maria
- (ii) *Tus kalesan ja na ghnorisi o*
 3Pl.Acc.Cl invited.3Pl.Aor for Subj.Mark meet.3Sg.Perf.Pres the.M.Sg
Janis ti Maria.
 Janis the.F.Sg.Acc Maria
- (iii) *??Tus kalesan o Janis ja na ghnorisi*
 3Pl.Acc.Cl invite.3Pl.Aor the.M.Sg Janis for Subj.Mark meet.3Sg.Perf.Pres
ti Maria.
 the.F.Sg.Acc Maria
 ‘They invited them so that Janis would meet Maria.’

- (*apo dho ke pera*).
from now and further
'I came to be of help to you (from now on).'
- c. *Thelo na to eksijiso apla*
want.1Sg Subj.Mark 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl explain.1Sg.Perf.Pres simply
ja na to katalavun ke ta
for Subj.Mark 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl understand.3Pl.Perf.Pres and the.N.Pl
pedhja.
children
'I want to explain it simply so that even the children might understand it.'
- d. *Vrika ton fititi ja na dhidhaski*
find.1Sg.Aor the.M.Sg.Acc student for Subj.Mark teach.3Sg
anglika.
English
'I found the student to teach English.'
- e. *Aghorasa prioni ja na kovo ksila*.
buy.1Sg.Aor saw for Subj.Mark cut.1Sg wood
'I bought a saw to cut wood.'
- f. *Psahno kapelo (ja) na me prostatevi apo*
look for.1Sg hat for Subj.Mark 1Sg.Acc.Cl protect.3Sg from
ton ilio.
the.M.Sg.Acc sun
'I am looking for a hat to protect me from the sun.'
- g. *Tu edhosa (ena) molivi (ja) na zografizi*.
3Sg.M.Dat.Cl give.1Sg.Aor a.N pencil for Subj.Mark draw.3Sg
'I gave him a pencil to draw.'
- h. *Vrika kapjon (ja) na me*
find.1Sg.Aor someone.Acc for Subj.Mark 1Sg.Dat.Cl
voithisi.
help.3Sg.Perf.Pres
'I found someone to help me.'
- i. *Irthe i ora na ghenisi*.
come.3Sg.Aor the.F.Sg hour Subj.Mark bear.3Sg.Perf.Pres
'It was time (for her) to bear a child.' (lit. 'Came the hour (for her) to bear a child).'
- j. *Ja na nikisi o Janis,*
for Subj.Mark win.3Sg.Perf.Pres the.M.Sg Janis
prepi na min pesi.
must.Impers Subj.Mark not.Subj fall.3Sg.Perf.Pres
'For Janis to win, it is necessary that he should not fall.'
- k. *Irtha (ja) na se pliroforiso oti*
came.1Sg.Aor for to 2Sg.Acc.Cl inform.1Sg.Perf.Pres that
fevgho.
leave.1Sg
'I came to inform you that I am leaving.'

9.8.4 Preceded by the preposition *xoris* ‘without’, subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense function as adjuncts of concession:³⁶⁷

- (453) a. *To ekane xoris na kseri jati.*
 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl do.3Sg.Aor without Subj.Mark know.3Sg why
 ‘(S)he did it without knowing why.’
- b. *Amesos ghiname fili xoris na*
 immediately become.1Pl.Aor friends without Subj.Mark
pume leksi.
 say.1Pl.Perf.Pres word
 ‘We became friends without saying a word.’

9.8.5 As complements of temporal prepositions such as *mexri* ‘before’ or *prin* ‘until’, along with those prepositions, subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense function as adjuncts of time:

- (454) a. *Prepi na perimeni poli prin (na)*
 must.Impers Subj.Mark wait.3Sg much before Subj.Mark
perasi to dhromo.
 cross.3Sg.Perf.Pres the.N.Sg street
 ‘He has to wait a lot before crossing the street.’
- b. *Tha ime edho mexri na erthi i*
 will.Mod.Cl be.1Sg here until Subj.Mark come.3Sg.Perf.Pres the.F.Sg
mitera su.
 mother 2Sg.Gen.Cl
 ‘I will be here until your mother comes.’

9.8.6 Noteworthy is the occurrence of the subjunctive construction in the complement of the preposition *san* ‘as’:

³⁶⁷ Note that in many cases subjunctive complements of prepositions are preceded by the expletive *to* ‘it’, or the relativizer *pu*:

- (i) *Apo to na kathete kanis, kalitera na erghazete*
 from it Subj.Mark sit.3Sg.M-P.Pres someone better Subj.Mark work.3Sg.M-P.Pres
 ‘It is better to work, than to sit doing nothing.’ (lit. ‘From it that someone sits, it is better that he works.’)
- (ii) *Esthanomuna kapia ghlikadha is to na*
 feel.3Sg.M-P.Imperf some-kind.F.Sg pleasure in it Subj.Mark
ksanamelite.
 examine.3Sg.M-P.Pres
 ‘She felt some kind of pleasure in examining herself.’
- (iii) *Me to na min akus kanenan, vlepis ti*
 with it Subj.Mark not.Mod listen.2Sg nobody.Acc see.2Sg what
pathenis.
 cause to happen.2Sg
 ‘By not listening to anybody, you see what happens to you.’
- (iv) *O dhromos ine skotinos ospu na s’*
 the.M.Sg road be.3Sg dark.M.Sg till Subj.Mark 3Sg.Acc.Cl
andamoso.
 meet.1Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘The road is dark, until I meet you.’

Example (iv) is from a popular song.

- (455) *San na petai o Janis sta sinefa.*
 as Subj.Mark fly.3Sg the.M.Sg.Nom Janis on+the.N.Pl clouds
 ‘(It looks) as if Janis is flying in the clouds.’

9.9 Bare subjunctive constructions

As in the other Balkan languages, the subjunctive constructions in Modern Greek can be “bare”, i.e. they can occur by themselves and not as complements of other verbs.

9.9.1 Bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense, second and third person, singular and plural, express a wish or a (mild) command.³⁶⁸ Examples:³⁶⁹

- (456) *Na zisete!*
 Subj.Mark live.2Pl
 ‘May you live long!’
- (457) a. *Na pas na dhis ton*
 Subj.Mark go.2Sg Subj.Mark see.2Sg.Perf.Pres the.M.Sg.Acc
patera su!
 father.Acc 2Sg.Gen.Cl
 ‘You should go to see your father!’
- b. *Na pai ki aftos!*
 Subj.Mark go.3Sg and he
 ‘He should go, as well!’
- c. *To mesimeri na to exis*
 the.N.Sg noon Subj.Mark 3Sg.N.Cl have.2Sg
sidheromeno to pandeloni!
 pressed.N.Sg.Pass.Part the.N.Sg trousers.
 ‘At noon you should have your trousers pressed!’

9.9.2 Bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense, first person, singular and plural, express resolution or agreement:

- (458) a. *Na su dhoso/dhosume.*
 Subj.Mark 2Sg.Gen.Cl give.1Sg/Pl
 1. ‘Let me/us give (it) to you.’
 2. ‘So, I/we shall give (it) to you.’
- b. *Na katevo eghe sto pighadhi!*
 Subj.Mark descend.1Sg I to+the.N.Sg well
 1. ‘Let me descend to the well!’
 2. ‘So, I shall descend to the well.’

³⁶⁸ Like other Balkan languages, Modern Greek has constructions. They are introduced by the exhortative marker *as* ‘let’, and express wishes or mild commands:

(i) *As fighune.*
 let leave.3Pl.Perf.Pres
 ‘Let them leave.’

³⁶⁹ Examples (457a-b) are from Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton (1987:181); example (457c) from Asenova (2002:191), with my glosses and translation.

9.9.3 Negated bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense, second or third person, singular or plural, express a prohibition.³⁷⁰

- (459) a. *(Na)* *min* *tu* *to* *stilis!*
 Subj.Mark not.Mod 3Sg.M.Gen.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl send.2Sg
 'Don't send it to him!'
- b. *Na* *mi(n)* *ghrafis!*
 Subj.Mark not.Mod write.2Sg
 'Don't go on writing!'

9.9.4 Negated bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense, first person singular, express agreement, while negated bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense, first person plural, may (with appropriate intonation) express agreement or resolution:

- (460) a. *Na* *mi(n)* *ghrafo.*
 Subj.Mark not.Mod write.1Sg
 'So, I shan't write.'
- b. *Na* *mi(n)* *ghrafume!*
 Subj.Mark not.Mod write.1Pl
 1. 'So, we shan't write.'
 2. 'Let us not write.'

9.9.5 Bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the imperfect express unrealised probability:³⁷¹

³⁷⁰ Bare subjunctive constructions with 2nd person (singular or plural) indicative forms of verbs, preceded by the modal negation marker *min*, are actually negative counterparts of the positive imperative forms, which cannot be negated. In (i) we have a positive sentence corresponding to (459a):

- (i) *Stile* *tu* *to!*
 send.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.M.Gen.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
 'Send it to him.'

As shown by the unacceptability of (ii), neither the indicative negation marker *dhen*, nor the subjunctive marker *min* can precede the imperative form of the verb:

- (ii) **Dhen/*min* *tu* *to* *stile!*
 not not.Mod 3Sg.M.Gen.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl send.2Sg.Imper

Note that a prohibition can also be introduced by the exhortative marker *as* 'let'. Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton (1987:179) show that there is a distinction between the reading of a prohibition expressed by negated bare subjunctive construction and one introduced by the exhortative marker:

- (iii) *Na* *mi(n)* *ghrafis!*
 Subj.Mark not.Mod write.2Sg
 'You shouldn't write!'
- (iv) *As* *mi(n)* *ghrafis.*
 Exhort.Mark not.Mod write.2Sg
 'You need not write.'

³⁷¹ Examples (461b-c) are from Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton (1987:181). Note that constructions with imperfect verbs preceded by the exhortative marker *as* 'let' express an unfulfilled wish or a guess. Examples:

- (i) *As* *itane* *ikosi* *xrono* *peripu.*
 let be.3Sg.Imperf twenty years.Gen about
 '(S)he may have been approximately twenty years old.'

- (461) a. *Na* *itheles* *na* *erthis!*
 Subj.Mark want.2Sg.Imperf Subj.Mark come.2Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘If only you would like to come!’
- b. *Na* *se* *ixa* *konda mu!*
 Subj.Mark 2Sg.Acc.Cl have.1Sg.Imperf near 1Sg.Gen.Cl
 ‘If only I had you near me!’
- c. *Na* *isuna* *eki* *na* *evlepes*
 Subj.Mark be.2Sg.Imperf there Subj.Mark see.2Sg.Imperf
ti *xara* *tus!*
 the.F.Sg.Acc joy 3Sg.F.Gen.Cl
 ‘I wish you were there to see her joy!’
- d. *Na* *erxosun* *na* *kolimbuses!*
 Subj.Mark come.2Sg.Imperf Subj.Mark swam.2Sg.Imperf
 ‘You should have come and swam!’

9.9.6 Questions with bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in any past tense can express doubt or wondering:³⁷²

- (462) a. *Na* *pethane* *o* *Themelis?!*
 Subj.Mark die.3Sg.Aor the.M.Sg Themelis
 ‘Could it be that Themelis has died?!’
- b. *Se* *pjon* *na* *to* *exi* *dhosi*
 to whom Subj.Mark 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl have.3Sg given.Act.Perf.Part
to *klidhi?!?*
 the.N.Sg key
 ‘To whom could he have given the key?!’

9.9.7 Followed by embedded questions introduced by a “wh” word, bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense are used in vivid narration:

- (463) *Eki* *na* *dhis* *ti* *ejine!*
 there Subj.Mark see.2Sg.Perf.Pres what happen.3Sg.M-P.Aor
 ‘You should see what happened!’

9.9.8 In story-telling, two or more bare subjunctive constructions appear in a sequence:

- (464) *Na* *min* *ksero* *tipota* *egho* *ke* *na*
 Subj.Mark not.Mod know.1Sg nothing I and Subj.Mark
min *kseri* *o* *Jorghos!*
 not.Mod know.3Sg the.M.Sg Jorghos
 ‘(Just imagine!) That I should not know anything (about it) and Jorghos should not know, either.’

-
- (ii) *As* *mu* *to* *elejes* *pjo* *brosta.*
 let 1Sg.Gen.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl say.2Sg.Imperf more early
 ‘You should have said it to me earlier.’

Pronounced with the intonation of a question, bare subjunctives can express a plea:

- (iii) *Na* *mu* *dhosete* *ligo* *psomi?!?*
 Subj.Mark 1Sg.Gen.Cl give.2Pl.Perf.Pres little bread
 ‘Could you give me some bread, please?’ (lit. ‘To have given me some bread?!’)

³⁷² Example (464a) is from Asenova (2002:191), with my glosses and translation.

9.10 Modern Greek future tenses

The Modern Greek future tenses are constructed by the invariant modal clitic *tha* 'will' + lexical verb which inflects for person, number and tense.

9.10.1 Future tense constructions are not negated by the modal negation marker *mi(n)*, but rather by *dhen* – the negation marker characteristic of indicative constructions. They are not dissociated from the subjunctive constructions, as claimed by Joseph and Philippaki-Warbuton (1987:180). Both historically and structurally Modern Greek future tenses are related to subjunctive constructions. In the past, the future tenses had actually been *tha* + subjunctive construction sequences.³⁷³ In contemporary future tenses the forms of the verbs to the right of the future-marking modal clitic *tha* are analogous to those used in subjunctive constructions.³⁷⁴ From a general Balkan perspective, the Modern Greek future tenses can actually be analysed as *tha* + subjunctive structures with the subjunctive marker deleted.

9.10.2 Constructions in which the modal clitic *tha* combines with imperfective or perfective present forms, which represent the Modern Greek future tense, express futurity relative to the moment of speaking. Examples are given in (465) and (466):

- (465) a. *Tha su dhiavazo ta vradhia.*
will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Gen.Cl read.1Sg.Imperf.Pres the.N.Pl.Cl evenings
'I will be reading to you in the evenings.'
- b. *I eklisia tha dhini voithia*
the.F.Sg.Cl church will.Mod.Cl give.3Sg.Imperf.Pres help
stus ftoxis.
to+the.M.Pl.Acc.Cl poor.M.Pl.Acc
'The church will be giving help to the poor.'
- (466) a. *Tha su to dhiavaso avrio.*
will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Gen.Cl 3Sg.N.Cl read.1Sg.Perf.Pres tomorrow
'I will read it to you tomorrow.'
- b. *Tha su dhoso plirofories avrio.*
will.Mod.Cl 2Sg.Gen.Cl give.1Sg.Perf.Pres information.Pl tomorrow
'I will give you information tomorrow.'

9.10.3 With second or third person subjects, the future tense can express an order:

³⁷³ *Tha* is actually derived from *thelo* 'wish' + the subjunctive marker *na*. In Modern Greek it actually occurs in a structural position analogous to that of the lexical verbs that introduce subjunctive constructions. Compare (i) to (ii):

- (i) *Dhen tha borusa na ertho.*
not will.Mod.Cl can.1Sg.Imperf Subj.Mark come.1Sg.Perf.Pres
'I wouldn't be able to come!'
- (ii) *Dhen theli na fighi.*
not want.3Sg Subj.Mark leave.3Sg.Perf.Pres
'He doesn't want to leave.'

³⁷⁴ While the simple present tense employs only imperfective present tense verb forms, the future tense, along with subjunctive constructions, employs both imperfective and perfective present tense forms.

- (467) *Tha to paris!*
will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl take.2Sg.Perf.Pres
'You WILL take it!'

9.10.4 Constructions in which the modal clitic *tha* combines with imperfect forms represent the Modern Greek future-in-the-past, which expresses events that were supposed to happen but were obstructed:

- (468) a. *Dhen tha borusa na ertho.*
not will.Mod.Cl can.1Sg.Imperf Subj.Mark come.1Sg.Perf.Pres
'I couldn't have come!'
- b. *Dhen tha boruse na to*
not will.Mod.Cl can.3Sg.Imperf Subj.Mark 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
pari.
take.3Sg.Perf.Pres
'(S)he couldn't have taken it!'

9.10.5 Constructions in which the modal clitic *tha* combines with imperfect, present perfect or past perfect forms represent the Modern Greek future-in-the-past, future perfect-in-the-past and future past-perfect-in-the-past, respectively.

9.10.5.1 Examples of use of the future-in-the-past in monoclausal sentences are given in (469):

- (469) a. *Mexri avrio to mesimeri tha exo*
by tomorrow at noon will.Mod.Cl have.1Sg
teliosi ton proghramatismo.
finished.Act.Perf.Part the.M.Sg.Acc project
'By tomorrow at noon, I shall have finished the project.'
- b. *Pistevo oti tha exi kurasti*
believe.1Sg that will.Mod.Cl have.3Sg.Imperf tired.M-P.Perf.Part
poli simera.
much today
'(S)he must have gotten very tired today.' (lit. 'I believe that (s)he has gotten very tired today.')
- c. *Tha exi thimosti mazi su,*
will.Mod.Cl have.3Sg.Imperf angered.M-P.Perf.Part with you
ji' afto dhen su milai.
for that.N.Sg not 2Sg.Gen.Cl speak.3Sg
'He must have gotten angry with you, that is why he is not speaking to you.'

9.10.6 Example of use of the future-in-the-past, future perfect-in-the-past and future past-perfect-in-the past are given in 9.11.

9.11 Conditional sentences

The future tenses are employed in both the *protasis* and the *apodosis* of conditional sentences.

9.11.1 In *realis* conditional sentences, an "if"-clause with a verb in the present tense (of both perfective and imperfective verbs)³⁷⁵ occurs in the *protasis*, while a future tense construction occurs in the *apodosis*.³⁷⁶

³⁷⁵ The selection of verbs in the "if"-clauses is analogous to the selection of verbs in the subjunctive construction. In positive "if"-clauses the use of the modal clitic is optional, while in negative "if"-clauses no modal clitics are allowed.

³⁷⁶ Examples (470a-b) are from Joseph and Philippaki-Warbuton (1987:182).

- (470) a. *An* (tha) *tus* *dho* *tha*
 if will.Mod.Cl 3Pl.M.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Perf.Pres will.Mod.Cl
tus *kaleso*.
 them.Acc.Cl invite.1Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘If I see them, I will invite them.’
- b. *An* (tha) *tus* *dhis* *tha*
 if will.Mod.Cl 3Pl.M.Cl see.2Sg.Perf.Pres will.Mod.Cl
tus *kalesis*.
 them.Acc.Cl invite.2Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘If you see them, you will invite them.’

9.11.2 *Irrrealis* (or counterfactual) conditional sentences, i.e. conditional sentences that express unrealised or unrealizable conditionality, are represented by an “if”-clause with a verb in the imperfect in the *protasis* and a future-in-the-past tense in the *apodosis*. These sentences have an *irrealis* from the point of view of a past moment reading, though an *irrealis* from the point of view of the moment of speaking reading is sometimes also possible.³⁷⁷

- (471) a. *An* (tha) *ton* *evlepes* *tha*
 if will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.2Sg.Imperf wil.Mod.Cl
stenaxoriosun(a).
 upset.2Sg.M-P.Imperf
 ‘If you had seen him, you would have been upset.’
- b. *An* (tha) *mu* *to* *’leje/’leghe*
 if will.Mod.Cl 1Sg.Dat.Cl 3Neut.Acc.Cl say.3Sg.Imperf
tha *ton* *pijena* *egho*.
 will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc bring.1Sg.Imperf I
 1. ‘If he had asked me, I would have taken him there.’ (lit. ‘If he said to me,
 I would have taken him there.’)
 2. ‘If he asked me, I would take him there.’
- c. *An* (tha) *erhotan* (afti) *tha* *ton*
 if will.Mod.Cl came.3Sg.Imperf they will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
sinandusan *me xara*.
 meet.3Pl.Imperf with joy
 ‘If he had come, they would have met him with joy.’
- d. *An* (tha) *erxosun* *tha* *tus*
 if will.Mod.Cl come.2Sg.Imperf will.Mod.Cl 3Pl.M.Acc.Cl
evlepes.
 see.2Sg.Imperf
 ‘If you had come you would have seen them.’

In conditional sentences expressing commands, we have a subjunctive construction in the apodosis:

- (i) *An* (tha) *ton* *dhis* *na* *min*
 if will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl see.2Sg Subj.Mark Mod.Neg
tu *milis*.
 3Sg.M.Dat.Cl speak.2Sg.Perf.Pres
 ‘If you see him, don’t speak to him!’

³⁷⁷ For pragmatic reasons, connected with choice of lexical items, in some sentences, the “*irrealis* from the point of view of the moment of speaking” reading is not possible.

- e. *O* *Jorghos* *tha* *mu* *to*
 the.M.Sg.Cl Jorghos will.Mod.Cl 1Sg.Acc.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
eleje/eleghe *an* *(tha)* *to* *evlepe.*
 say.3Sg.Imperf if will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl see.3Sg.Imperf
 1. 'Jorghos would have told me if he had seen it.'
 2. 'Jorghos would tell me if he saw it.'

9.11.3 The use of the past perfect in the *protasis* or both the *protasis* and the *apodosis* excludes the "irrealis from the point of view of the moment of speaking" reading:

- (472) a. *An* *(tha)* *ixes* *erthi*
 Subj.Mark will.Mod.Cl have.2Sg.Imperf come.Act.Perf.Part
tha *tus* *ixes* *dhi.*
 will.Mod.Cl 3Pl.M.Acc.Cl have.2Sg.Imperf seen.Act.Perf.Part
 'If you had come you would have seen them.'
- b. *An* *dhen* *ixes* *erthi* *tha*
 if not have.2Sg.Imperf come.Act.Perf.Part will.Mod.Cl
telioname/ *ixame* *teliosi*
 finish.1Pl.Imperf have.1Pl.Imperf finished.Act.Perf.Part
ton *proghramatismo.*
 the.M.Sg.Acc.Cl project
 'If you had not come, we would have finished the project.'
- c. *An* *(tha)* *ton* *ixe* *dhi,*
 if will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl have.3Sg.Imperf seen.Act.Perf.Part
o *Jorghos* *tha* *mu* *to*
 the.M.Sg.Cl Jorghos will.Mod.Cl 1Sg.Acc.Cl 3Sg.N.Acc.Cl
eleje/eleghe/ixe *pi.*
 say/have.3Sg.Imperf said.Act.Perf.Part
 'If he had seen it, Jorghos would have said it to me.'
- d. *An* *dhen* *ixes* *erthi,* *tha*
 if not have.2Sg.Imperf come.Act.Perf.Part will.Mod.Cl
ixame *teliosi* *ton* *proghramatismo.*
 have.1Pl.Imperf finished.Act.Perf.Part the.M.Sg.Acc project
 'If you had not come, we would have finished the project.'

9.12 "When" clauses

The future marking modal clitic is used not only in "if"-clauses, but also in "when"-clauses.

1.12.1 In "when" clauses with verbs in the present tense, the future marking modal clitic *tha* is optional:

- (473) a. *Tha* *tu* *to* *dhoso* *otan*
 will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.M.Gen.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl give.1Sg.Perf.Pres when
(tha) *ton* *dho.*
 will.Mod.Cl him.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Perf.Pres
 'I will give it to him when I see him.'
- b. *Otan* *(tha)* *erthis* *tha* *ton*
 when will.Mod.Cl come.2Sg.Perf.Pres will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
teliosume *ton* *programatismo.*
 finish.1Pl.Perf.Pres the.M.Sg.Acc.Cl project
 'When you come, we shall finish the project.'

1.11.2 In “when” clauses with verbs in the imperfect, which express habitual actions, the presence of the modal clitic *tha* is obligatory:

- (474) *Otan* **(tha)* *erhotan* *(afti)* *tha* *ton*
 when will.Mod.Cl come.3Sg.Imperf they will.Mod.Cl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
sinandusan *me* *xara.*
 met.3Pl.Imperf with joy
 ‘When(ever) he would come they would meet him with joy.’

10. Arli Balkan Romani

In Arli Balkan Romani, the infinitive is completely wiped out, subjunctive constructions being used extensively.

10.1 The subjunctive marker in contrast with indicative complementizers

The subjunctive constructions are introduced by the subjunctive marker *te*. Here are two examples:³⁷⁸

- (475) a. *Te* *dža* *odori!*
 Subj.Mark go.2Sg there
 ‘You should go there.’
 b. *Valjani* *te* *džav mange.*
 should.Impers Subj.Mark go.1Sg me.Dat
 ‘I should leave.’

10.1.1 The subjunctive marker introducing subjunctive constructions differs from the complementizers introducing indicative complements.

10.1.1.1 The most common indicative clause complementizer is *kote* ‘that.’

- (476) a. *O* *Bajrami* *vakergja* *kote* *ka* *pomožinel.*
 the.M.Sg Bajrami say.3Sg.Past that will.Mod.Cl help.3Sg
 ‘Bajrami said that he would help.’
 b. *Te* *vakere* *(o)lenge* *kote* *sijam* *šukar.*
 Subj.Mark tell.2Sg them.Dat that be.1Pl well
 ‘You should tell them that we are well.’
 c. *Vakergja* *kote* *ka* *avel.*
 say.3Sg.Past that will.Mod.Cl come.3Sg
 ‘(S)he said that (s)he would come.’
 d. *Džanav* *kote* *ka* *avel.*
 know.1Sg that will.Mod.Cl come.3Sg
 ‘I know that (s)he will come.’
 e. *Džanav* *kote* *i* *Merita* *na* *kerel*
 know.1Sg that the.F.Sg Merita not make.3Sg
lafi *grčki.*
 talk Greek
 ‘I know that Melita does not speak Greek.’ (lit. ‘I know that Merita does not make talk in Greek.’)

³⁷⁸ More examples are given below.

10.1.1.2 The “wh” word *kaj*, whose basic meaning is ‘where’, is also used as a complementizer – as a disfavoured alternative to *kote* ‘that.’ Examples:

- (477) a. *Javinaja men te dikhen kaj s'kldinaja*
 call.1Pl us.Acc Subj.Mark see.2/3Pl where/that worry.1Pl
tumenge.
 you.Pl.Dat
 ‘We are calling so that you/they may see that we worry about you.’
- b. *Aljum te vakerav tumenge kaj*
 come.1Sg.Past Subj.Mark tell.1Sg you.2Pl.Dat where/that
ka džav mange.
 will.Mod.Cl go.1Sg me.Dat
 ‘I came to inform you that I am leaving.’

10.1.1.3 Clausal complements of emotional and factive verbs are most often introduced by the “wh” word *so*, whose basic meaning is ‘what’.³⁷⁹

- (478) a. *I Merita sine gogjaver so na ali.*
 the.F.Sg Merita be.Past³⁸⁰ smart what not come.F.Sg.Part
 ‘Merita was smart not to have come.’
- b. *Lošovav so ka rese ko vahti.*
 please.1Sg.M-P.Pres what will.Mod.Cl arrive.2Sg in+the.M.Sg time
 ‘I am pleased that you will arrive on time.’
- c. *O čhavo dikhlja so rovela i*
 the.M.Sg child see.3Sg.Part what cried.F.Sg.Part the.F.Sg
daj.
 mother
 ‘The child saw that his mother was crying.’

10.1.2 As in Modern Greek and Albanian, there is a modal negation marker *ma*, distinct from the indicative negation marker *na*. Subjunctive clauses can be negated either by the indicative negation marker *na* to the right of the subjunctive marker, or by the modal negation marker *ma* to its left. Thus, we can have the following alternatives:³⁸¹

- (479) a₁ *Vakergjum leske ma te drabarel.*
 tell.1Sg.Past him.Dat not.Mod Subj.Mark read.3Sg

³⁷⁹ *So* ‘what’ is a borrowing from dialectal Macedonian. As exemplified in (i), it can also introduce a relative clause:

- (i) *...i angrustik, so sine ko mesali...*
 the.F.Sg ring what be.Past on table
 ‘...the ring which was on the table...’

So has actually developed into a general marker of subordinate clauses – *relativum generale*.

³⁸⁰ As pointed out in 10.1 in the chapter “The Perfect and the Evidential”, the Arli “be” auxiliary *isi* makes person, but no tense distinctions in the first and second person, and present vs. past tense, but no number distinctions in the third person.

³⁸¹ According to Boretzki (p.c) *ma te* was originally used in prohibitions, but has subsequently spread to other uses of the subjunctive.

Note that the clitics come to the right of the negated verb, as they do in the case of positive imperatives:

- (i) *Dikh le!*
 look.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.Acc.Cl
 ‘Look at him!’

a ₂	<i>Vakergjum</i> tell.1Sg.Past	<i>leske</i> him.Dat	<i>te</i> Subj.Mark	<i>na</i> not	<i>drabarel.</i> read.2Sg	
	'I told him not to read.'					
b ₁	<i>Ola</i> they	<i>mangena</i> want.3Pl	<i>sine</i> be.Past	<i>ma</i> not.Mod	<i>te</i> Subj.Mark	<i>kerav</i> make.1Sg
	<i>lafi</i> word	<i>(o)lea.</i> him.Instr				
b ₂	<i>Ola</i> they	<i>mangena</i> want.3Pl	<i>sine</i> be.Past	<i>te</i> Subj.Mark	<i>na</i> not	<i>kerav</i> make.1Sg
	<i>lafi</i> word	<i>(o)lea.</i> him.Instr				
	'They have wanted me not to speak to him.' ³⁸²					
c ₁	<i>Ma</i> not.Mod	<i>te</i> Subj.Mark	<i>vakere</i> tell.2Sg	<i>nikaske.</i> ³⁸³ nobody		
c ₂	<i>Te</i> Subj.Mark	<i>na</i> not	<i>vakere</i> tell.2Sg	<i>nikaske.</i> nobody		
	'Don't tell anybody.'					

10.2 *Forms of verbs in subjunctive constructions*

The active and the medio-passive present tense forms³⁸⁴ can be “full” or “short”, the latter being distinguished from the former by lacking the final vowel. While the long forms are used only in indicative clauses, the short forms are used both in indicative and subjunctive ones. The auxiliary *isi*³⁸⁵ ‘be’ has a subjunctive present tense paradigm, distinct from the indicative one.

10.2.1 For the lexical verb *činela* ‘cut’ we have the following present tense paradigms:

Table 34: Present tense paradigms of the Arli lexical verb *činela* ‘cut’

	Long (used in indicatives)		Short (used in indicatives and subjunctives)	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>činava</i>	<i>činaja</i>	<i>činav</i>	<i>čina</i>
2 nd	<i>činea</i>	<i>činena</i>	<i>čine</i>	<i>činen</i>
3 rd	<i>činela</i>	-’-	<i>činel</i>	-’-

10.2.2 The indicative and subjunctive present tense paradigms of the auxiliary *isi* are built from different bases. They are given in Table 35:

³⁸² In these sentences the past tense form of the “be” auxiliary *sine* is used as a pastness marker.

³⁸³ There is double negation, as in Balkan Slavic.

³⁸⁴ The medio-passive forms are characterized by the affix *-ov*, added to present bases. Compare the active form (i) to the passive form (ii):

(i) *činava* ‘cut.1Sg. Act.Pres’

(ii) *lošovava* ‘please.1Sg.M-P.Pres’

³⁸⁵ The citation form of all verbs is the 3rd person singular form.

Table 35: Present tense paradigms of Arli the auxiliary *isi* ‘be’

	Indicative		Subjunctive	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1 st	<i>sijum</i>	<i>sijam</i>	<i>ovav</i>	<i>ova</i>
2 nd	<i>sijan</i>	<i>sijen</i>	<i>ove</i>	<i>oven</i>
3 rd	== = <i>isi</i> == =		<i>ovel</i>	<i>oven</i>

10.3 Typical uses of subjunctive constructions

Typically, subjunctive constructions are used as complements of the lexical modal verbs *šaj* ‘can/may/be possible’ and *valjani* ‘should/need/be necessary’, and as complements of control verbs such as *probinela* ‘try’, causatives such as *rondela* ‘urge’, volitional verbs such as *mangela* ‘want’, or intentional verbs such as *sugerinela* ‘intend’ or *akharela* ‘plan’, all of which may go under the general name of “intentional verbs”.³⁸⁶ There is no tense agreement between the verb of the main clause and the verb of the subjunctive constructions, though there may be agreement in number and person. As in most of the other Balkan languages, when agreement in person and number occurs, there is “equi” deletion and the one and only subject surfaces to the left of the verb of the main clause, but in marked sentences it can surface to the left of the subjunctive marker, or to the right of the verb of the subjunctive construction. When the subject of the subordinate clause is distinct from the subject of the main clause, it occurs either to the left of the subjunctive marker or to the right of the verb. Pronominal subjects are dropped, unless emphatic.

10.3.1 The modal verbs *šaj* ‘can/may/be possible’ and *valjani* ‘should/ought/need/be necessary’ are always impersonal.³⁸⁷

- (480) a. *Šaj* *te* *džav/dža.*
can/may.Impers Subj.Mark go.1/2Sg
‘I/you can/may go.’
- b. *Valjani* *te* *pišinav/pišinel* *lake* *disavo lafi.*
should.Impers Subj.Mark write.1/3Sg her.Dat some word
‘I/(s)he should drop her a word or two.’
- c. *Valjani* *te* *ove/ovel* *sako* *drom točno.*
should.Impers Subj.Mark be.2/3Sg.Subj.Pres every.M time punctual
‘You/(s)he should always be punctual.’
- d. *(O* *Barjami)* *valjani* *(o* *Barjami)*
the.M.Sg Bajrami should.Impers the.M.Sg Bajrami
te *čhinel* *le* *(o* *Barjami).*
Subj.Mark cut.3Sg 3Sg.M.Cl the.M.Sg Bajrami
‘Bajrami should cut it.’

³⁸⁶ Verbs of knowledge, thinking, saying and asking, which in their epistemic sense usually take indicative complements, can express an attitude and take subjunctive complements. Compare the intentional reading of the verb *džanela* ‘know’ in (i) to its non-intentional reading in (ii):

- (i) *Džanela* *te* *hal* *a* *na* *džanela* *te*
know.3Sg Subj.Mark eat.3Sg and not know.3Sg Subj.Mark
kerel buti.
do.3Sg work
‘(S)he knows (how) to eat, but does not know (how) to work.’
- (ii) *Džanav* *kote* *ka* *avel.*
know.1Sg that will.Mod.Cl come.3Sg
‘I know that (s)he will come.’

³⁸⁷ Boretzky (p.c.) points out that the subjunctive marker can be omitted after the modal verb *šaj* ‘can/may’.

- e. *Valjani sine te anav bar.*
 should.Impers be.Past Subj.Mark bring.1Sg stone
 'I should have brought a stone.'

10.3.2 As for the subjunctive constructions which occur as complements of intentional verbs, some of them have to agree with the person/number features of the verb of the upper (main) clause, while others do not. With respect to agreement with the person/number features of their subjunctive complements, intentional verbs fall into three classes. (A) Verbs such as *probinela* 'try', *nietinela* 'intend' or *nashela* 'avoid' have joint reference with their subjunctive complements. (B) Verbs such as *naredinela* 'order', *sugeririnela* 'suggest', *akharela* 'invite' have disjoint reference with the subjunctive constructions in their complements. (C) Verbs such as *mangela* 'want', *rodela* 'demand', *planirinela* 'plan' may have joint or disjoint reference with their subjunctive complements.

10.3.2.1 The subjects of subjunctive constructions in complement positions of verbs of class (A) are dropped.³⁸⁸

- (481) a. *Nietinela te dromarel.*
 intend.3Sg Subj.Mark travel.3Sg
 '(S)he intends to travel.'
- b. *Nashela te dikhel tut.*
 avoid.3Sg Subj.Mark meet.3Sg you.Sg.Acc
 '(S)he avoids meeting you.'
- c. *Probingja te bistrel ola.*
 try.3Sg.Past Subj.Mark forget.3Sg her.Acc
 '(S)he is trying to forget her.'

10.3.2.2 The structures in which subjunctive constructions appear as complements of intentional verbs of class (B) can be of three different subtypes. (a) The agent of the subjunctive construction surfaces as a subject of the subjunctive clause if lexical, while pronominal subjects do so only if they are emphatic, non-emphatic pronominal subjects being dropped (*cf.* 482a-b). (b) The agent of the subjunctive construction surfaces in the position of indirect object of the main clause, and the intentional verb is described as "indirect object control" verb (*cf.* 482c-d). (c) The agent of the subjunctive construction surfaces in the position of direct object of the intentional verb, and the intentional verb is described as "direct object control" verb.³⁸⁹

- (482) a. *Naredingja i Nafija te avel*
 order.3Sg.Past the.F.Sg Nafija Subj.Mark come.3Sg
akana.
 now
 'He gave an order for Nafija to come now.'
- b. *Naredingja te ave akana.*
 order.3Sg.Past Subj.Mark come.2Sg now
 'He gave an order for you to come now.'

³⁸⁸ For emphatic purposes, a pronominal subject with same reference as the subject of the main clause can appear to the left of the subjunctive marker:

- (i) *Nietinela OV te avel.*
 intend.3Sg he Subj.Mark come.3Sg
 'He intends to come himself.'

³⁸⁹ Note that all the verbs that have (b) structures also have (a) structures. *Cf.* the discussion on analogous structures in Macedonian in 1.4.2.2.

- c. *Naredingja* *e* *Nafijake* *te* *avel*
 order.3Sg.Past the.Obl Nafija.Dat Subj.Mark come.3Sg
akana.
 now
 'He ordered Nafija to come immediately.'
- d. *Naredingja* *mange* *te* *avav* *akana.*
 order.3Sg.Past me.Dat Subj.Mark come.1Sg now
 'He ordered me to come now.'

10.3.2.3 The verbs of class (C) can have joint or disjoint reference with the verbs of the subjunctive constructions in their complements. In the former case, the subjects of the subjunctive constructions are as a rule dropped,³⁹⁰ whereas in the latter case they can be dropped or expressed by lexical DPs/NPs or pronouns, which can occur to the right of the verb or to the left of the subjunctive marker.

- (483) a. *Na manglja te pišinel/(pišinav) lake.*
 not want.3Sg.Past Subj.Mark write.3/1Sg her.Dat
 '(S)he didn't want (me) to write to her.'
- b. *Na mangela te ovav/ovel tlo/klo izmekjari.*
 not want.3Sg Subj.Mark be.1/3Sg.Subj.Pres your servant
 '(S)he doesn't want me/her/him to be your servant.'
- c. *Mangava te de/den le oleske.*
 want.1Sg Subj.Mark give.2Sg/3Pl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl him.Dat
 'I want that you/they give it to him.'
- d. *O Bajrami mangela o bakšiši*
 the.M.Sg Bajrami want.3Sg the.M.Sg present
*(OLA) te (*OLA) den oleske (OLA).*
 they Subj.Mark they give.3Pl him.Dat they
 'Bajrami wants them to give the present to him (themselves).'
- (484) a. *I Ana planirinela (o Bajrami) te*
 the.F.Sg Ana plan.3Sg the.M.Sg Bajrami Subj.Mark
džal ko Amsterdam (o Bajrami).
 go.3Sg in+the.M.Sg Amsterdam the.M.Sg Bajrami
 'Ana is planning for Bajrami to go to Amsterdam.'
- b. *I Ana planirinela o chave te džan*
 the.F.Sg Ana plan.3Sg the.Pl children Subj.Mark go.3Pl
tajsa.
 tomorrow
 'Ana is planning for the children to go tomorrow.'

³⁹⁰ In emphatic environments, the subject of the subjunctive construction is expressed by a pronoun with same reference as the subject of the main clause.

10.3.3 In Bulgarian, Modern Greek and Albanian, subjunctive constructions typically occur as complements of verbs of perception. In Arli, however, as in Macedonian, Megleno-Romanian and Aromanian, verbs of perception take subjunctive complements only in specific contexts – in negative clauses, as in (485), or when the verbs of perception themselves are subjunctive complements, as in (486).³⁹¹

- (485) a. *Na* *dikhljum* *tut* *te* *sikljove*.
2Sg.Acc.Cl see.1Sg.Past you.Sg.Acc Subj.Mark teach.2Sg.M-P.Pres
'I haven't seen you study.' (lit. 'I haven't seen you teach yourself.')
- b. *Na* *šungjum* *tut* *te* *giljave*.
2Sg.Acc.Cl hear.1Sg.Past you.Sg.Acc Subj.Mark sing.2Sg
'I haven't heard you sing.'
- (486) a. *Mangava* *te* *dikhav* *te* *nangjove*.
want.1Sg Subj.Mark see.1Sg Subj.Mark swim.2Sg.M-P.Pres
'I want to see you swim.'
- b. *Mangava* *te* *dikhav* *le* *te*
want.1Sg Subj.Mark see.1Sg 3Sg.M.Pron/Cl Subj.Mark
nangjovel.
swim.3Sg.M-P.Pres
'I want to see him swim.'
- c. *Mangava* *te* *dikhav* *(o* *Ivani)* *te*
want.1Sg Subj.Mark see.1Sg the.M.Sg Ivan Subj.Mark
sikljol *(o* *Ivani)*.
teach/learn.3Sg the.M.Sg Ivan
'I want to see Ivani studying.'
- d. *Mangava* *(e* *Ivane)* *te* *šunav*
want.1Sg the.Obl Ivani.Acc Subj.Mark hear.1Sg
(e *Ivane)* *te* *giljavel* *(e* *Ivane)*.
the.Obl Ivani.Acc Subj.Mark sing.3Sg the.Obl Ivani.Acc
'I want to hear Ivani sing.'

10.3.4 In reported speech, subjunctive constructions appear as complements of verbs of saying, which, as a rule, take indicative complements. Examples:

³⁹¹ Verbs of perception usually take "that"-complements:

- (i) *Dikhava kote/kaj nangjavela*.
see.1Sg that swim.3Sg
'I see that he is swimming.'

While in clauses with indicative complements the event is taken as a fact, clauses with subjunctive complements express direct perception.

- (487) a₁ *Vakerav* *tuke* *ma* *te* *kere*
 tell.1Sg you.Sg.Dat not.Mod Subj.Mark make.2Sg
 laŋi.
 word
- a₂ *Vakerav* *tuke* *te* *na* *kere* *laŋi.*
 tell.1Sg you.Sg.Dat Subj.Mark not make.2Sg word
 ‘I am telling you to be silent.’ (lit. ‘I am telling you not to make a word.’)
- b₁ *Vakerġum* *leske* *ma* *te* *drabarel.*
 tell.1Sg.Past him.Dat not.Mod Subj.Mark read.2Sg
- b₂ *Vakerġum* *leske* *te* *na* *drabarel.*
 tell.1Sg.Past him.Dat Subj.Mark not read.2Sg
 ‘I told him not to read.’

10.4 Subjunctive constructions as complements of the modals *isi* and *na(n)e*

Subjunctive constructions can occur in the complement positions of the modal impersonal verb *isi* ‘be’ and its negated counterpart *na(n)e* ‘not+be.’

10.4.1 Sentences in which subjunctive constructions occur as complements of the (positive) impersonal modal verb *isi* express strong determination:

- (488) a. *Isi* *te* *aven!*
 be.Impers Subj.Mark come.3Pl
 ‘They are to come!’
- b. *Isi* *te* *le* *le!*
 be.Impers Subj.Mark take.3Pl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
 ‘They are to take it!’

10.4.2 When negated, the impersonal modal verb *isi* ‘have’ becomes a distinct lexical unit – *na(n)e* ‘not have’, whose associations with subjunctive constructions have meanings distinct from that of the *ima* + subjunctive constructions.

10.4.2.1 Clauses in which subjunctive constructions (with present tense verb forms) occur as complements of the negative impersonal modal verb *na(n)e* ‘not have’ represent an alternative negative counterpart to the future tense:

- (489) a. *Na(n)e* *te* *aven.*
 not+be.Impers Subj.Mark come.3Pl
 ‘They won’t come.’
- b. *Na(n)e* *te* *le* *le.*
 not+be.Impers Subj.Mark take.3Pl 3Sg.Acc.Cl
 ‘They won’t take it.’

10.4.2.2 Clauses in which subjunctive constructions (with present tense verb forms) occur as complements of the negative impersonal modal verb *na(n)e* ‘not have’ also denote strong determination (if the verb is in the first person) or prohibition (if the verb is in the second or third person):³⁹²

³⁹² The prohibition expressed through *nema* ‘not+have’ + subjunctive construction has components of spite or defiance and is, thus, distinct from the prohibition expressed through the negative counterparts of imperative forms.

- (490) a. *Na(n)e* *te* *džav!*
 not+be.Impers Subj.Mark go.1Sg
 'I will not go!'
- b. *Na(n)e* *te* *le* *le!*
 not+be.Impers Subj.Mark take.3Pl 3Sg.Acc.Cl
 'They shouldn't take it!'

10.4.3 A subjunctive construction with a verb in the present perfect, occurring as complement of *na(n)e*, expresses a doubt that the action in question would have taken place. Example:

- (491) *Na(n)e* *te* *le* *sine* *love.*
 not+be.Impers Subj.Mark take.2Sg be.Past money
 '(In all probability), you haven't taken the money.'

10.5 Subjunctive complements with "wh" words as arguments or adjuncts

The subjunctive constructions can have "wh" words as subjects, objects or adjuncts appearing to the immediate left of the subjunctive marker.

10.5.1 Most frequently, such subjunctive constructions are embedded questions. Examples:

- (492) a. *Džanava* *ko* *te* *bičhavel* *amenge* *akala lila.*
 know.1Sg who Subj.Mark send.3Sg us.Dat these letters
 'I know who can send us these letters.'
- b. *Na* *džanava* *kaske* *te* *bičhavav*
 not know.1Sg who.Dat Subj.Mark send.1Sg
o lila.
 the.Pl letters
 'I do not know to whom to send the letters.'
- c. *Na* *džanava* *kasaja* *te* *kjerav* *laŋi.*
 not know.1Sg who.Instr Subj.Mark make.1Sg talk
 'I do not know with whom to talk.'
- d. *Džanava* *so* *te* *kjerav.*
 know.1Sg what Subj.Mark do.1Sg
 'I know what to do.'
- e. *Džanava* *sar* *te* *drabarav* *e* *penkaloja.*
 know.1Sg how Subj.Mark write.1Sg the.Obl fountain-pen.Instr
 'I know how to write with a fountain pen.'

10.5.2 Subjunctive constructions with "wh" subjects/objects/adjuncts can also occur as complements of the impersonal existential verbs *isi* 'be' and *na(n)e* 'not be'; or as complements of verbs that express coming into view or availability or causation of one of these (*cf.* Grosu 2004).

10.5.2.1 Examples of subjunctive constructions with "wh" subjects/objects/adjuncts in complements of the impersonal existential verbs *isi* and *na(n)e* are given in (493):³⁹³

³⁹³ Analogous constructions can be constructed with indefinite pronouns:

- (i) *Isi* *nešto* *te* *vakere! tuke.*
 be.Impers something Subj.Mark tell.3Sg you.Sg.Dat
 '(S)he has something to tell you.'

- (493) a. *Na(n)e* *ko* *te* *bičhavel* *amenge* *lil.*
not+be.Impers who Subj.Mark send.3Sg us.Dat letter
'There is no-one who can send us a letter.'
- b. *Isi* *so* *te* *kine* *ko* *akava dukjani.*
be.Impers what Subj.Mark buy.2Sg in this shop
'There are things you can buy in this shop.'
- c. *Na(n)e* *so* *te* *kerel* *pe.*
not+be.Impers what Subj.Mark make/do.3Sg Refl.Cl
'There is nothing one can do.'
- d. *Na(n)e* *kasaja* *te* *avav.*
not+be.Impers who.Instr Subj.Mark come.1Sg
'There is nobody with whom I can come.'
- e. *Na(n)e* *bašo* *so* *te* *astarel* *pe.*
not+be.Impers for what Subj.Mark catch.3Sg Refl.Cl
'There is nothing (s)he can hold onto.'
- f. *Na(n)e* *sar* *te* *bičhavel* *o* *paketi.*
not+be.Impers how Subj.Mark send.3Sg the.M.Sg parcel
'There is no way (s)he can send the parcel.'

10.5.2.2 The verbs *isi* and *na(n)e* which take as complements subjunctive constructions with "wh" complements/adjuncts can often be accompanied by a personal pronoun in the Acc case:³⁹⁴

- (494) a. *Na(n)e* *amen ko* *te* *bičhavel* *amenge*
not+be.Impers us.Acc who Subj.Mark send.3Sg us.Dat
lil.
letter
'We have no-one who can send us a letter.' (lit. 'There is no-one with us who can send us a letter.')
- b. *Na(n)e* *amen kaske* *te* *biča*
not+be.Impers us.Acc who.Dat Subj.Mark send.1Pl
o *lil.*
the. M.Sg letter
'We have no-one to whom we can send the letter.' (lit. 'There is no-one with us to whom we can send the letter.')

10.5.2.3 Examples of subjunctive constructions as complements of verbs that express coming into view or availability or causation of one of these are given in (495):

- (495) a. *Alusargja* *ko* *te* *trampinel* *la.*
choose.3Sg.Past who Subj.Mark replace.3Sg 3Sg.F.Acc.Cl
'She chose someone to take her place.'

³⁹⁴ As in the case of the structures in 10.5.2.1, analogous constructions can be constructed with indefinite pronouns:

- (i) *Na(n)e* *man ništo* *te* *dav* *tut.*
not+be.Impers me.Acc nothing Subj.Mark give.1Sg you.Sg.Dat
'He has nothing to give to you.' (lit. 'To him is nothing to give to you.')

- b. *Arakhljum solea te učharav ma.*
 find.1Sg.Past what.Instr Subj.Mark cover.1Sg 1Sg.Acc.Cl
 ‘I found something with which to cover myself.’

10.6 Subjunctive constructions as nominal modifiers or as adjuncts

Not all subjunctive constructions occur in complement position; we have subjunctive constructions functioning as nominal modifiers or as adjuncts.

10.6.1 Subjunctive constructions appearing to the immediate right of indefinite objects of *isi* ‘be’ plus Acc pronoun or *na(n)e* ‘not+be’, plus Acc pronoun,³⁹⁵ function as nominal modifiers which describe the use or activity of the indefinite object:

- (496) a. *Na(n)e ma phralja te pomožinen*
 not+be.Impers 1Sg.Acc.Cl brothers Subj.Mark help.3Pl
ma.
 1Sg.Acc.Cl
 ‘I do not have brothers to help me.’ (i.e. ‘There are not to me brothers to help me.’)
- b. *Isi tut čhave te lošare.*
 be.3Sg.Impers you.Sg.Acc children Subj.Mark rejoice.2Sg
 ‘You have children to give you joy.’ (i.e. ‘There are to you children to rejoice.’)
- c. *Isi olen džukel te arakhel olen.*
 be.3Sg.Impers them.Acc dog Subj.Mark protect.3Sg them.Acc
 ‘They have a dog to protect them.’ (i.e. ‘There is to them a dog to protect them.’)
- d. *Isi amen pečka te takjarel amen.*
 be.3Sg.Impers us.Acc stove Subj.Mark warm.3Sg us.Acc
 ‘We have a stove to keep us warm.’ (i.e. ‘There is to us a stove to keep us warm.’)
- e. *Isi ma nešto te vakerav*
 be.3Sg.Impers 1Sg.Acc.Cl something Subj.Mark tell.1Sg
tuke.
 you.Sg.Acc
 ‘I have something to tell you.’ (i.e. ‘There is to me something to tell you.’)

10.6.2 Indefinite objects of verbs with the meaning ‘look-for/seek’ or its opposite ‘find’ – the final stage of looking for/seeking, which can go under the name of “verbs of quest”,³⁹⁶ can also be modified by subjunctive constructions:

- (497) a. *Rodava manuše te džanel grčko.*
 look-for.1Sg man.Acc Subj.Mark know.3Sg Greek
 ‘I am looking for a man that knows Greek.’
- b. *Arakhljum čhaja te džanel angliski.*
 find.1Sg.Past girl Subj.Mark know.3Sg English
 ‘I found a girl that teaches English.’

³⁹⁵ The sequences *isi* ‘be’ plus Acc pronoun and *na(n)e* ‘not+be’ plus Acc pronoun render meanings which in most European languages are expressed by lexical verbs with the meaning ‘have/possess’.

³⁹⁶ The term is borrowed from Bužarovska (2004), where the syntactic environments that favor the realization of an iso-functional syntactic pattern, which occurs in the mixed domain of purpose and modification in Macedonian, Aromanian, Albanian and Modern Greek are examined. Bužarovska shows that Macedonian, Aromanian, Albanian and Modern Greek share a limited set of ditransitive verbs that allow “purpose-like” modification of their direct objects, due to dual case assignment and argues that the weakening of control at the expense of a benefactory meaning is responsible for gradual shift from purpose to modification.

10.6.3 Subjunctive constructions can also function as adverbial modifiers of purpose:

- (498) a. *Kergjam sine pauza te šuna o*
make.1Pl.Past be.Past pause Subj.Mark hear.1Pl the.M.Sg
haberija.
news
'We had made a pause so that we hear the news.'
- b. *Javinaja men te dikhen kaj s'kldinaja*
call.1Pl 1Pl.Refl.Cl Subj.Mark see.2Pl that worry.1Pl
tumenge.
you.Pl.Dat
'We are calling so that you see that we worry about you.'
- c. *Te pobedinel valjani te sikljol.*
Subj.Mark win.3Sg should.Impers Subj.Mark learn/study.3Sg
'In order to win, (s)he has to study.'
- d. *Te pobedinel valjani ma te*
Subj.Mark win.3Sg should.Impers not.Mod Subj.Mark
perel.
fall.3Sg
'In order to win, (s)he should not fall.'
- e. *Aljum te vakerav tumenge kaj*
come.1Sg.Past Subj.Mark tell.1Sg you.Pl.Dat that
ka džav mange.
will.Mod.Cl go.1Pl me.Dat
'I came (in order) to inform you that I am leaving.'
- f. *Alo vahti te de ma odova*
come.M.Sg.Part time Subj.Mark give.2Sg 1Sg.Dat.Cl that
so dužine mange.
what owe.2Sg me.Dat
'The time came for you to give me what you owe me.'

10.6.4 Very often subjunctive complements to the right of nominal expressions have ambiguous interpretation – as adjuncts of purpose or as nominal modifiers:

- (499) a. *Arakhljum jekh manuš te randel i phuv.*
find.1Sg.Past a man Subj.Mark dig.3Sg the.F.Sg earth
1. 'I found a man (in order) to dig the earth.'
2. 'I found a man who would dig the earth.'
- b. *Rodava sadik te arakhel ma*
look-for.1Sg.Past hat Subj.Mark protect.3Sg 1Sg.Acc.Cl
taro kham.
from+the.M.Sg sun
1. 'I am looking for a hat (in order) to protect me from the sun.'
2. 'I am looking for a hat that would protect me from the sun.'
- c. *Kingjum pila te čhinav kašta.*
buy.1Sg.Past saw Subj.Mark cut.3Sg wood.Pl
1. 'I bought a saw (in order) to cut wood.'
2. 'I bought a saw that cuts wood.'

10.6.5 Preceded by the preposition *bizo* 'without', together with that preposition, subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense function as adjuncts of concession:

- (500) a. *Kergja odova bizo te džanel soske.*
 make/do.3Sg that without Subj.Mark know.3Sg why
 ‘(S)he did it without knowing why.’
- b. *Navredingjum ola bizo te mangav.*
 offend.3Sg.Past her.Acc without Subj.Mark want.3Sg
 ‘I offended her without wanting to.’

10.6.6 As a complement of the preposition *džikote* ‘until’, along with that preposition, subjunctive constructions function as adjuncts of time:³⁹⁷

- (501) a. *Ka ovav akate sa džikote te avel*
 will.Mod.Cl be.1Sg.Subj here all until Subj.Mark come.3Sg
ti daj.
 your.F.Sg.Poss.Cl mother
 ‘I will be here until your mother comes.’
- b. *Vajani te adžikerel but dži kote*
 should.Impers Subj.Mark wait.3Sg much till when
te nakhel o drumo.
 Subj.Mark cross.3Sg the.M.Sg road
 ‘(S)he should wait long until (s)he can cross the road.’

10.6.7 Noteworthy is the occurrence of subjunctive constructions (with verbs in any tense) to the immediate right of the preposition *sar* ‘like/as’ in sentences such as (502):

- (502) *Sar te ujrak ko badal.*
 as Subj.Mark fly.3Sg in+the.M.Sg cloud.M.Sg
 ‘(It looks) as if he is flying in the clouds.’

10.7 Bare subjunctive constructions

As in other Balkan languages, in Arli the subjunctive constructions can be “bare”, i.e. they can occur by themselves and not as complements of other verbs.

10.7.1 Bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense, second or third person, singular or plural, express a wish³⁹⁸ or a command.³⁹⁹ Examples:

³⁹⁷ The subjunctive complements of many prepositions are preceded by the expletive *odova* ‘that.’ Examples:

- (i) *Alo dzi odova te žalinen le sare?*
 come.M.Sg.Part at that Subj.Mark feel-sorry.3Pl 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl all
 ‘He is in such a deplorable situation, that everybody feels sorry for him.’ (lit. ‘He came to that that everybody feels sorry for him.’)
- (ii) *Na(n)e pošukar odolestar te ove daj.*
 not+be.Impers Compar+pleasant that.Abl Subj.Mark be.2Sg.Subj.Pres mother
 ‘There is nothing more pleasant than being a mother.’ (lit. ‘There is nothing more pleasant of being a mother.’)

³⁹⁸ A wish can also be expressed by subjunctive constructions in complement positions of the verb *mangela* ‘want’, preceded by the conditional modal auxiliary *bi* (a borrowing from Macedonian):

- (i) *Bi mangav sine te ovel ma čhurik.*
 would.Mod.Cl want.1Sg be.Past Subj.Mark be.1Sg 1Sg.Acc.Cl knife.
 ‘I would like to have a knife.’

³⁹⁹ When referring to third persons, the bare subjunctive constructions expressing commands/orders are in free variation with exhortative clauses, introduced by the exhortative marker *neka* ‘let’ (a borrowing from Macedonian):

- (503) *Te* *dživdinel* *o* *thagar!*
 Subj.Mark live.3Sg the.M.Sg king
 ‘Long live the king!’ (lit. ‘Let the king live.’)
- (504) a. *Te* *dža* *te* *dikhe* *te*
 Subj.Mark go.2Sg Subj.Mark see.2Sg your.2Sg.Obl.Poss.Cl
dade!
 father.Acc
 ‘Go to see your father!’
- b. *Te* *ave!*
 Subj.Mark come.2Sg
 ‘Come!’
- c. *Te* *džan!*
 Subj.Mark go.3Pl
 ‘They should go!’

10.7.2 Bare subjunctive constructions with present tense verbs, first person singular or plural, can (with appropriate intonation) express resolution or agreement:

- (505) a. *Te* *dav* *le.*
 Subj.Mark give.1Sg 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
 1. ‘Let me give it to him.’
 1. ‘So, I shall give it to him.’
- b. *Te* *džana.*
 Subj.Mark go.1Pl
 1. ‘Let us go.’
 2. ‘So, we shall go.’

10.7.3 Bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense, any person, can express astonishment:

- (506) a. *Te* *ove* *tut* *love* *a* *te*
 Subj.Mark be.2Sg.Subj.Pres you.Sg.Acc money and Subj.Mark
dživdine *sar* *čorolo!*
 live.2Sg like poor man
 ‘To have money and to live like a poor man!’ (lit. ‘To be with money and to live like a poor man!’)
- b. *Te* *džanel* *a* *ma* *te* *vakerel*
 Subj.Mark know.3Sg and not.Mod Subj.Mark tell.3Sg
amenge!
 us.Dat
 ‘To know and not to tell us!’

-
- (i) *Neka* *džal!*
 let go.3Sg
 ‘Let him/her go!’

- c. *Te prandinel pe agjaar terni!*
 Subj.Mark marry.3Sg Refl.Cl so young.F.Sg
 'To get married so young!'

10.7.4 Bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present perfect can express unrealised probability or wish.⁴⁰⁰

- (507) a. *Te ave sine!*
 Subj.Mark come.3Pl be.Past
 'You should have come!'
- b. *Te ave sine te dikhe*
 Subj.Mark come.2Sg be.Past Subj.Mark see.2Sg
sine!
 be.Past
 'You should have come and seen it!'
- c. *Te dikhe sine so ulo!*
 Subj.Mark see.2Sg be.Past what happen.M.Sg.Part
 'You should have seen what happened!'
- d. *Te džane sine kobor tano*
 Subj.Mark know.2Sg be.Past how much been.M.Sg.Part
baro!
 big.M.Sg
 'You should have seen how big he is!'
- e. *Te ovel sine uzal mande!*
 Subj.Mark be.3Sg.Subj.Pres be.Past near me.Loc
 'If only he were near me!'

10.7.5 Negated bare subjunctive constructions with present tense verbs, second or third person, singular or plural express a prohibition.⁴⁰¹

⁴⁰⁰ Pronounced with the intonation of questions, structurally analogous subjunctive constructions, can express a plea:

- (i) *Te den man hari maro?*
 Subj.Mark give.2Pl me.Acc little bread
 'Could you give me some bread, please?' (lit. 'To give me a little bread.')

⁴⁰¹ As exemplified in (508), these structures can be negated either by the modal negation marker – placed to the left of the subjunctive marker, or by the non-modal negation marker – placed to the right of the subjunctive marker (cf. 10.1.2). Note in this connection that Arli verbs with imperative morphology can be negated in all environments.

- (i) *Ma ava!*
 not.Mod come.2Sg.Imper
 'Don't come!'
- (ii) *Ma dikh le!*
 not.Mod look.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.Acc.Cl
 'Don't look at him!'
- (iii) *Ma le le.*
 not.Mod take.2Sg.Imper 3Sg.Acc.Cl
 'Don't take it!'

- (508) a₁ *Ma* *te* *bičhavel* *oleske* *o* *lil!*
 not.Mod Subj.Mark send.3Sg you.Sg.Dat the.M.Sg book
- a₂ *Te* *na* *bičhavel* *oleske* *o* *lil!*
 Subj.Mark not send.3Sg him.Dat the.M.Sg book
 ‘Don’t send him the book!’
- b₁ *Ma* *te* *khuyen!*
 not.Mod Subj.Mark enter.3Pl
- b₂ *Te* *na* *khuyen!*
 Subj.Mark not enter.3Pl
 ‘Don’t enter!’
- c₁ *Ma* *te* *de* *oleske!*
 not.Mod Subj.Mark give.2Sg him.Dat
- c₂ *Te* *na* *de* *oleske!*
 Subj.Mark not give.2Sg him.Dat
 ‘Don’t give it to him!’

10.7.6 Negated bare subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense in the first person singular express agreement, while negated subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense, first person plural, can (with appropriate intonation) express agreement or resolution.⁴⁰²

- (509) a₁ *Ma* *te* *khuvav.*
 not.Mod Subj.Mark enter.1Sg
- a₂ *Te* *na* *khuvav.*
 Subj.Mark not enter.1Sg
 ‘So, I shan’t enter.’
- b₁ *Ma* *te* *khuva.*
 not.Mod Subj.Mark enter.1Pl
- b₂ *Te* *na* *khuva.*
 Subj.Mark not enter.1Pl
 1. ‘So, we shall not enter.’
 2. ‘Let us not enter!’

10.7.7 Negated or non-negated questions with bare subjunctive constructions express doubt or wonderment:

- (510) a. *Te* *(na)* *sine* *o* *Bajrami?!
 Subj.Mark not be.3Sg.Past the.M.Sg Bajrami
 ‘Could it (not) be that it was Bajrami?’*

(iv) *Ma* *bičhav* *(o)leske.*
 not.Mod send.2Sg.Imper him.Dat
 ‘Don’t send (it) to him!’

⁴⁰² As the subjunctive constructions in 10.7.5 these constructions can be negated either by the modal negation marker placed to the left of the subjunctive marker, or by the non-modal negation marker – placed to the right of the subjunctive marker.

- b. *Te* (na) *alo?!?*
 Subj.Mark not come.M.Sg.Part
 ‘Could it (not) be that he has already come?!’
- c. *Ma* *te* *rumindilo* *oleskoro* *vorda?!?*
 not.Mod Subj.Mark gone-bad.M.Sg.Part his car
 ‘Could it be that his car got broken?!’
- d. *Tu* *ma* *te* *uljan* *kašuko?!?*
 you not.Mod Subj.Mark become.2Sg.Past deaf.M.Sg
 ‘You haven’t become deaf, have you?!’
- e. *Te* *na* *alo* *o* *Bajrami?!?*
 Subj.Mark not come.M.Sg.Part the.M.Sg Bajrami
 ‘Bajrami hasn’t come, has he?!’
- f. *Te* *na* *delindiljan?!?*
 Subj.Mark not go-mad.2Sg.Past
 ‘Have you gone mad?!’ (lit. ‘You haven’t got mad, have you.’)

10.7.8 In story-telling, a bare subjunctive construction with a verb in the present tense can take as a complement another bare subjunctive construction in the present tense, or else two or more subjunctive constructions with verbs in the present tense appear in a sequence:

- (511) a. *Te* *lel* *te* *marel* *le!*
 Subj.Mark take.3Sg Subj.Mark beat up.3Sg 3Sg.M.Acc.Cl
 ‘(Lo and behold,) (s)he beat him up!’
- b. *Te* *ušel,* *te* *hal* *hem* *te*
 Subj.Mark get-up.3Sg Subj.Mark eat.3Sg and Subj.Mark
ikljol *bizo* *te* *vakerel* *ništo!*
 get out.3Sg without Subj.Mark say.3Sg nothing
 ‘(Just imagine!) To get up, eat, and leave without saying anything!’

10.8 Arli future tenses

Futurity in Arli Romani is expressed through the association of the modal clitic *ka* ‘will’ with a tensed verb.

10.8.1 The association of *ka* with verbs in the present tense represents the Arli simple future tense, which expresses futurity relative to the moment of speaking. Examples:

- (512) a. *Ka* *čitinav* *tukje* *tajsa.*
 will.Mod.Cl read.1Sg you.Sg.Dat tomorrow
 ‘I will read/be reading to you tomorrow.’
- b. *Ka* *avav* *tajsa.*
 will.Mod.Cl come.1Sg tomorrow
 ‘I will come tomorrow.’
- c. *O* *proekti* *ka* *ovel* *(amen) bitimo*
 the.M preject will.Mod.Cl be.3Sg.Subj us.Acc finished.M.Sg.Part
tajsa.
 tomorrow
 ‘The project will be finished (by us) tomorrow.’

10.8.2 *Ka* + present tense forms, followed by *sine*, represents the Arli “future-in-the-past”. It expresses a belief or an expectation that an action that had begun prior to a designated point of time will be accomplished until that point of time:

- (513) *Dži akana/tajsa ka sikljovel sine*
 till now/tomorrow will.Mod.Cl show/teach/learn.3Sg.M-P.Pres be.Past
te nangjovel.
 Subj.Mark swim.3Sg.M-P.Pres
 ‘Till now/tomorrow he will have taught himself/learnt to swim.’

10.8.3 Both future and future-in-the-past tense can express habitual actions, with no discernible difference in the meaning:

- (514) *Ka avel (sine), ka bešel (sine)*
 will.Mod.Cl come.3Sg be.Past will.Mod.Cl seat-down.3Sg be.Past
em ka počminel (sine) te vakerel.
 and will.Mod.Cl begin.3Sg be.Past Subj.Mark tell.3Sg
 ‘(S)he would come, seat down and begin to tell stories.’

10.8.4 The future and the future-in-the-past tense with the modal clitic *ka* can be negated only when there is a presuppositional component in its interpretation; otherwise, negated futurity is expressed by *na(n)e* ‘not be’ plus a subjunctive construction (cf. 10.4.2.1). Thus, we have negated constructions with *ka* ‘will’ in (515), but *na(n)e* plus subjunctive construction in (516):

- (515) a. *Na ka len tut olenca.*
 not will.Mod.Cl take.3Pl you.Sg.Acc they.Instr
 ‘(I suppose,) they won’t take you with them.’
 b. *Te ave sine, na ka agorkera*
 Subj.Mark come.2Sg be.Past not will.Mod.Cl finish.1Pl
sine o proekti.
 be.Past the.M.Sg project
 ‘Had you come, we would not have finished the project.’
- (516) a. *Na(n)e te lav tut.*
 not+be.Impers Subj.Mark take.1Sg you.Sg.Acc
 ‘I am not taking YOU.’
 b. *Na(n)e te avel dži ko pandž.*
 not+be.Impers Subj.Mark come.3Sg till in+the.M.Sg five
 ‘(S)he won’t come till five.’

10.8.5 Future tenses can take subjunctive complements:

- (517) a. *Ka ovel pošukare te*
 will.Mod.Cl be.3Sg.Subj.Pres Compar+good Subj.Mark
ovel sine čhaj.
 be.3Sg.Subj.Pres be.Past girl
 ‘It would be better if it were a girl.’

b ₁	<i>Ka</i> will.Mod.Cl <i>te</i> Subj.Mark	<i>ovel</i> be.3Sg.Subj.Pres <i>čitina</i> read.2Pl	<i>lake</i> her.Dat	<i>pošukare</i> Compar +pleasant <i>sine</i> be.Past	<i>ma</i> not.Mod <i>akala lila.</i> these books
b ₂	<i>Ka</i> will.Mod.Cl <i>na</i> not	<i>ovel</i> be.3Sg.Subj.Pres <i>čitina</i> read.2Pl	<i>lake</i> her.Dat	<i>pošukare</i> Compar +pleasant <i>sine</i> be.Past	<i>te</i> Subj.Mark <i>akala lila.</i> these books

‘It would be better, if you did not read her these books.’

10.9 Conditional sentences

The future tenses are regularly used in conditional sentences.

10.9.1 In *realis* conditional sentences, an “if”-clause with a verb in the present tense occurs in the *protasis*, while a future tense construction occurs in the *apodosis*:

- (518) a. *Ako ovel sijan šukar, (tu)*
if be.2Sg.Subj.Pres be.2Sg.Indic.Pres good.M.Sg you.Sg
ka le bakšiši.
will.Mod.Cl get.2Sg present
‘If you are good, you will get a present.’
- b. *Ako na ave, ka čitina tajsa.*
if not come.2Sg will.Mod.Cl read.1Pl tomorrow
‘If you don’t come, we shall read tomorrow.’

10.9.2 Conditional sentences represented by a subjunctive construction (or, in some cases, by an “if”-clause) with a verb in the past tense in the *protasis* and a future-in-the-past tense in the *apodosis* have (a) *irrealis* from the point of view of the moment of speaking readings; or (b) *irrealis* from the point of view of a past moment reading:

- (519) a. *Te/ ako sine ma(n) love ka*
Subj.Mark if be.Past 1Sg.Acc.Cl money will.Mod.Cl
kinav sine jekh kher.
buy.1Sg be.Past a house
1. ‘If I had money, I would buy a house.’
2. ‘If I had had money, I would have bought a house.’
- b. *Te ave sine, na ka agorkera*
Subj.Mark come.2Sg be.Past not will.Mod.Cl finish.2Pl
sine o proekti.
be.Past the.M.Sg project
1. ‘If you came we would not finish the project.’
2. ‘If you had come, we would not have finished the project.’
- c₁ *Te na ave sine, na(n)e*
Subj.Mark not come.2Sg be.Past not+be.Impers
te dav sine o lil.
Subj.Mark give.1Sg be.Past the.M.Sg book
- c₂ *Ma te ave sine, na(n)e*
not.Mod Subj.Mark come.2Sg be.Past not+be.Impers

<i>te</i>	<i>dav</i>	<i>sine</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>lil.</i>
Subj.Mark	give.1Sg	be.Past	the.M.Sg	book

1. 'If you did not come, I would not give you the book.'

2. 'If you had not come, I would not have given you the book.'

10.10 Sentences with temporal clauses

In sentences with temporal clauses, the future-marking modal clitic is used in both the main and the "when"-clause.

(520) *Keda tu ka ave, ov ka ovel*
 when you will.Mod.Cl come.2Sg he will.Mod.Cl be.3Sg.Subj
sine više gelo.
 be.Past already gone.M.Sg.Past
 'When you come, he would have already be gone.'

1.10.1 Temporal sentences with verbs in either the present or the past tense can express habitual actions:

(521) *Keda ka avel (sine), ka adžikiren*
 when will.Mod.Cl come.3Sg be.Past will.Mod.Cl welcome.3Pl
(sine) lošipaja.
 be.Past joy.Instr
 'Whenever (s)he would come, they would welcome him/her with joy.'

Appendix One
CORE VOCABULARIES¹
Balkan Slavic Languages²

English No	Serbo-Croatian		Bulgarian		Macedonian	
	Serbian Cyrilic script	Croatian Latin script	Cyrilic script	Latin transcription	Cyrilic script	Latin transcription
001 all	сви	svi	всички	vsički	site	site
002 and	и	i	и	i	и	i
003 animal	животиња	životinja	животно	Životno	животно	životno
004 arm	рука	ruka	ръка	rāka	рака	raka
005 ashes	пепео	pepeo	пепел	pepel	пепел	pepel
006 at	код	kod	при	pri	kaj	kaj
007 back	леђа	leđa	гръб	grāb	грб	grb
008 bad	лош	loš	лош	loš	лош	loš
009 bark	кора	kora	кора	kora	кора	kora
010 because	зато што	zato što	заштото	zaštoto	затоа што	zatoa što
011 belly	трбух	trbuh	корем	korem	мев	mev
012 berry	зрно	zrno	зрно	zrno	зрно	zrno
013 big	велики	veliki	голям	goljam	голем	golem
014 bird	птица	ptica	птица	ptica	птица	ptica
015 bite	ујести	ujesti	ухапвам	uxapvam	апе	ape
016 black	црн	crn	черен	čeren	црн	crn
017 blood	крв	krv	кръв	krāv	крв	krv
018 blow	дувати	duvati	духам	duxam	дува	duva
019 bone	кост	kost	кост	kost	коска	koska
020 breast	груди	grudi	гърди	grādi	гради	gradi
021 breathe	дисати	disati	диша	diša	дише	diše

¹ The Balkan Slavic, Romanian and Modern Greek vocabularies were compiled by Pepijn Hendriks (Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian and Macedonian), Jeroen Bakker (Romanian) and Bart de Vries (Modern Greek) – student interns at the University of Leiden, working in the framework of the Spinoza Project. The Tosk Albanian, Gheg Albanian, Aromanian, Megleno-Romanian and Balkan Romani vocabularies were elicited from native speakers of those languages: Agim Poloska (Tosk Albanian), Avzi Mustafa (Gheg Albanian), Kocca and Verula Nicea (Aromanian), Dionisie Papațafa (Megleno-Romanian), Bajrami Severdžan (Arli); all of them living in Macedonia.

Pepijn Hendriks, Jeroen Bakker and Bart de Vries have provided phonological and morphological analyses of the Slavic, Romance and Modern Greek vocabularies. These analyses have been entered into the Spinoza Project areal typological data base. (cf. <http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/spls>).

The citation form for verbs is the infinitive for Serbo-Croatian and Megleno-Romanian, the short (suffix-less) infinitive Romanian, the 1st person singular present indicative form for Bulgarian, Aromanian, Tosk and Geg Albanian and Modern Greek, the 3rd person singular imperfective present indicative form for Macedonian and the 3rd person singular active present indicative for Arli Balkan Romani.

² As pointed out in the introductory chapter (Chapter One), the term “Serbo-Croatian” refers to a language which has officially been dissolved and replaced by “Serbian”, “Croatian” or “Bosnian”. Since the relevant formal aspects of the latter languages are the same, the all-embracing label “Serbo-Croatian” has been used throughout the book, the terms “Serbian” and “Croatian” being used whenever reference to distinct uses are being made. In this table the Serbian usage has been represented in the Cyrillic script; the Croatian usage in the Latin script. Note, however, that in Serbia both the Cyrillic and the Latin alphabets are officially accepted and interchangeably used.

English		Serbo-Croatian		Bulgarian		Macedonian	
No		Serbian Cyrilic script	Croatian Latin script	Cyrilic script	Latin transcription	Cyrilic script	Latin transcription
022	brother	брат	brat	брат	brat	брат	brat
023	burn	горети	gorjeti	горя	gorja	гори	gori
024	child	дете	djete	дете	dete	дете	dete
025	claw	канџа	kandža	нокът	nokăt	канџа	kandža
026	clothing	одеџа	odjeća	дрехи	drexî	алишта	ališta
027	cloud	облак	oblak	облак	oblak	облак	oblak
028	cold	хладан	hladan	студен	studen	студен	studen
029	come	доџи	doći	идвам	idvam	доаџа	doąa
030	cook	кувати	kuhati	готва	gotva	готви	gotvi
031	count	бројати	brojati	броя	broja	брон	broi
032	cry	плакати	plakati	плача	plaća	плаче	plaće
033	cut	сеџи	sjeći	режа	reža	сече	seće
034	dance	играти	plesati	танцува	tancuvam	танцува	tancuva
035	dark	таман	taman	тъмен	tămen	темен	temen
036	day	дан	dan	ден	den	ден	den
037	die	умрети	umrjeti	умирам	umiram	умира	umira
038	dig	копати	kopati	копая	kopaja	копа	kopa
039	dirty	прљав	prljav	мръсен	mrăsen	насен	gnasen
040	dog	пас	pas	куче	kuće	куче	kuće
041	down	доле	dolje	долу	dolu	долу	dolu
042	drink	пити	piti	пия	pîja	пие	pie
043	dry	сув	suh	сух	sux	сув	suv
044	dull	туп	tup	тъп	tăp	тап	tap
045	dust	прашина	prašina	прах	prax	прав	prav
046	ear	уво	uvo	ухо	uxo	уво	uvo
047	earth	земља	zemlja	земя	zemja	земја	zemja
048	eat	јести	jesti	јада	jada	јаде	jade
049	egg	јаје	jaje	яйце	jajce	јајце	jajce
050	eight	осам	osam	осем	osem	осум	osum
051	eye	око	oko	око	oko	око	oko
052	fall	пасти	pasti	падам	padam	паџа	paąa
053	far	далек	dalek	далечен	dalećen	далечен	dalećen
054	fat	маст	mast	мазнина	maznina	маст	mast
055	father	отац	otac	баща	bašta	татко	tatko
056	fear	плашити се	plašiti se	страхувам се	straxuvam se	се плаши	se plaši
057	feather	перо	pero	перо	pero	перо	pero
058	few	мало	malo	малко	malko	малку	malku
059	fight	борити се	boriti se	бора се	borja se	се борги	ce bori
060	fire	ватра	vatra	огън	ogăn	огон	ogon
061	fish	риба	riba	риба	riba	риба	riba
062	five	пет	pet	пет	pet	пет	pet
063	float	пловити	ploviti	плавам	plavam	плива	pliva
064	flow	теџи	teći	тека	teka	тече	teće
065	flower	цвет	cvjet	цвете	cvete	цвеџе	cveće
066	fly	летети	letjeti	лета	leta	лета	leta
067	fog	магла	magla	мъгла	măgla	магла	magla
068	foot	нога	noga	крак	krak	нога	noga
069	four	четри	četri	четири	četipi	четри	četri
070	freeze	смрзнути	smrznuti	замрзвам	zamrăzvam	замрзнува	zamrznuva
071	full	пун	pun	пълен	pălen	полн	poln
072	give	дати	dati	давам	davam	дава	dava
073	good	добар	dobar	добър	dobăr	добар	dobar
074	grass	трава	trava	трева	treva	трева	treva

English No	Serbo-Croatian		Bulgarian		Macedonian	
	Serbian Cyrilic script	Croatian Latin script	Cyrilic script	Latin transcription	Cyrilic script	Latin transcription
075	green	зелен	zelen	зелен	zelen	зелен
076	guts	црева	creva	черва	červa	црева
077	hair	коса	kosa	коса	kosa	коса
078	hand	рука	ruka	ръка	rāka	рака
079	he	он	on	той	toj	тој
080	head	глава	glava	глава	glava	глава
081	hear	чути	čuti	чувам	čuvam	слуша
082	heart	срце	srce	сърце	sărce	срце
083	heavy	тежак	težak	тежък	težāk	тежок
084	here	овде	ovdje	тук	tuk	овде
085	hit	ударати	udariti	удрям	udrjam	удира
086	hold	држати	držati	държа	dārža	држи
087	horn	рог	rog	рог	rog	рог
088	house	кућа	kuća	къща	kāšta	куќа
089	how	како	kako	как	kak	како
090	hundred	сто	sto	сто	sto	сто
091	hunt	ловити	loviti	лова	lova	лови
092	husband	муж	muž	мъж	māž	маж
093	I	ја	ja	аз	az	јас
094	ice	лед	led	лед	led	мраз
095	if	ако	ako	ако	ako	ако
096	in	у	u	в	v	во
097	kill	убити	ubiti	убивам	ubivam	убива
098	knee	колено	koljeno	коляно	koljano	колено
099	know	знати	znati	зная	znaja	знае
100	lake	језеро	jezero	езеро	ezero	езеро
101	laugh	смејати се	smijati se	смея се	smeja se	се смее
102	leaf	лист	list	лист	list	лист
103	left (side)	леви	levi	ляв	ljav	лев
104	leg	нога	noga	крак	krak	нога
105	lie	лежати	ležati	лежа	leža	лежи
106	lip	усна	usna	устна	ustna	усна
107	live	живети	živjeti	живея	živeja	живее
108	liver	јетра	jetra	черен дроб	čeren drob	црн дроб
109	long	дуг	dug	дълъг	dālāg	долг
110	louse	ваш	vaš	въшка	vāška	вошка
111	man	мушкарац	muškarac	мъж	māž	маж
112	many	много	mnogo	много	mnogo	многу
113	meat	месо	meso	месо	meso	месо
114	milk	млеко	mljeko	мляко	mljako	млеко
115	moon	месец	mjesec	луна	luna	месечина
116	mother	мајка	majka	майка	majka	мајка
117	mountain	планина	planina	планина	planina	планина
118	mouth	уста	usta	уста	usta	уста
119	name	име	ime	име	ime	име
120	narrow	узак	uzak	тесен	tesen	тесен
121	navel	пуapak	pupak	пъп	pāp	папок
122	near	близак	blizak	близък	blizāk	близок
123	neck	врат	vrat	врат	vrat	врат
124	new	нов	nov	нов	nov	нов
125	night	ноћ	noć	нощ	nošt	ноќ
126	nine	девет	devet	девет	devet	девет
127	nose	нос	nos	нос	nos	нос

English	Serbo-Croatian		Bulgarian		Macedonian	
	Serbian Cyrilic script	Croatian Latin script	Cyrilic script	Latin transcription	Cyrilic script	Latin transcription
128 not	не	ne	не	ne	не	ne
129 old	стар	star	стар	star	стар	star
130 one	један	jedan	едно	edno	еден	eden
131 other	други	drugi	друг	drug	друг	drug
132 person	човек	čovjek	човек	čovек	човек	čovек
133 play	играти	igrati	играя	igraja	игра	igra
134 pull	вући	vući	дърпам	dârpam	влече	vleče
135 push	гурати	gurati	бутам	butam	бутка	butka
136 rain	киша	kiša	дъжд	dăžd	дожд	dožd
137 red	црвен	crven	червен	červen	црвен	crven
138 right	прави	pravi	прав	prav	прав	prav
139 right(side)	десни	djesni	дясен	djasen	десен	desen
140 ripe	зreo	zreo	зрял	zrjal	зрел	zrel
141 river	река	rjeka	река	reka	река	reka
142 road	пут	put	път	pât	пат	pat
143 root	корен	korjen	корен	koren	корен	koren
144 rope	уже	uže	въже	văže	јаже	jaže
145 rotten	труо	truo	гнил	gnil	гнил	gnil
146 round	округао	okrugao	кръгъл	krăgâl	тркалезен	trkalezen
147 rub	трљати	trljati	трия	trija	трие	trie
148 salt	со	so	сол	sol	сол	sol
149 sand	песак	pjesak	пясък	pjasăk	песок	pesok
150 say	рећи	reći	казвам	kazvam	вели	veli
151 scratch	гребати	grebati	драпам	drapam	гребе	grebe
152 sea	море	more	море	more	море	more
153 see	видети	vidjeti	виждам	viždam	гледа	gleda
154 seed	семе	sjeme	семе	seme	семе	seme
155 seven	седам	sedam	седам	sedam	седум	sedum
156 sew	шити	šiti	шия	šija	шие	šie
157 sharp	оштар	oštar	остър	ostâr	остер	oster
158 shoot	пуцати	pucati	стрелям	streljam	пука	puka
159 short	кратак	kratak	къс	kăs	кус	kus
160 sing	певати	pjevati	пея	peja	пее	pee
161 sister	сестра	sestra	сестра	sestra	сестра	sestra
162 sit	седети	sedjeti	седа	seda	седи	sedi
163 six	шест	šest	шест	šest	шест	šest
164 skin	кожа	koža	кожа	koža	кожа	koža
165 sky	небо	nebo	небе	nebe	небо	nebo
166 sleep	спавати	spavati	спия	spija	спиe	spie
167 small	мали	mali	мальк	malăk	мал	mal
168 smell	помирисати	pomirisati	помирисвам	pomirisvam	помирисува	pomirisuva
169 smoke	дим	dim	дим	dim	чад	čad
170 smooth	гладак	gladak	гладък	gladăk	мазен	mazen
171 snake	змија	zmija	змия	zmija	змија	zmija
172 snow	снег	snjeg	сняг	snjag	снег	sneg
173 some	неколико	nekoliko	няколко	njakolko	неколку	nekolku
174 speak	говорити	govoriti	говоря	govorja	зборува	zboruva
175 spear	копље	koplje	копие	kopie	копје	kopje
176 spit	пљувати	pljuvati	плюя	pljuja	плюка	pluka
177 split	расцепити	rascjepiti	разцепвам	razcepvam	расценувам	rascepuva
178 squeeze	стиснути	stisnuti	стискам	stiskam	стиснува	stisnuva
179 stab	убости	ubosti	промушвам	promušvam	прободува	proboduva
180 stand	стајати	stajati	стоя	stoja	сстои	stoi

English	Serbo-Croatian		Bulgarian		Macedonian	
	Serbian Cyrilic script	Croatian Latin script	Cyrilic script	Latin transcription	Cyrilic script	Latin transcription
181 star	звезда	zvjezda	звезда	zvezda	свезда	dzvezda
182 stick	штап	štap	пгъчка	prăčka	стап	stap
183 stone	камен	kamen	камък	kamāk	камен	kamen
184 straight	усправан	uspravan	прав	prav	прав	prav
185 suck	сисати	sisati	смуча	smuča	шмука	šmuka
186 sun	сунце	sunce	слънце	slānce	сонце	sonce
187 swell	отећи	oteći	отичам	otičam	отекнува	oteknuva
188 swim	пливати	plivati	плувам	pluvam	плива	pliva
189 tail	реп	rep	опашка	opaška	опашка	opaška
190 ten	десет	desjet	десет	deset	десет	deset
191 that	тај/онај	taj/onaj	оня	onja	тој/оној	toj/onoj
192 there	тамо/онамо	tamo/onamo	там	tam	таму/онаму	tamu/onamu
193 they	они	oni	те	te	тие	tie
194 thick	дебео	debeo	дебел	debel	дебел	debel
195 thin	мршав	mršav	мъгшав	māršav	слаб	slab
196 think	мислити	misлити	мисля	mislja	мисли	misli
197 this	овај	ovaj	тоя	toja	овој	ovoj
198 thou	ти	ti	ти	ti	ти	ti
199 three	три	tri	три	tri	три	tri
200 throw	бацити	baciti	хвърлям	xvărļjam	фрла	frla
201 tie	везати	vjezati	врзвам	vrāzvam	врзува	vrzuva
202 tongue	језик	jezik	език	ezik	јазик	jazik
203 tooth	зуб	zub	зъб	zāb	заб	zab
204 tree	дрво	drvo	дърво	dārvo	дрво	drvo
205 turn	окренути	okrenuti	обръштам	obrāštam	завртува	zavrtuva
206 twenty	двадесет	dvadeset	дваесет	dvaeset	дваесет	dvaeset
207 two	два	dva	две	dve	два	dva
208 up	горе	gore	горе	gore	горе	gore
209 vomit	бљувати	bljuvati	бълвам	bālvam	блуге	blue
210 walk	шетати	šetati	ходя	xodja	шета	šeta
211 warm	топао	topao	топъл	topāl	топол	topol
212 wash	прати	prati	мия	mija	мие	mie
213 water	вода	voda	вода	voda	вода	voda
214 we	ми	mi	ние	nie	ние	nie
215 wet	мокар	mokar	мокър	mokār	мокар	mokar
216 what?	шта	što	какво	kakvo	што	što
217 when?	кад	kad	кога	koga	кога	koga
218 where?	где	gdje	къде	kāde	каде	kade
219 white	бео	beo	бял	bjal	бел	bel
220 who?	ко	tko	кој	koj	кој	koj
221 wide	широк	širok	широк	širok	широк	širok
222 wife	жена	žena	жена	žena	жена	žena
223 wind	ветар	vjetar	вятър	vjatār	ветер	veter
224 wing	крило	krilo	крило	krilo	крило	krilo
225 wipe	брисати	brisati	бърша	bārša	брише	brīše
226 with	са	sa	със	sās	со	so
227 woman	жена	žena	жена	žena	жена	žena
228 woods	шума	šuma	гора	gora	шума	šuma
229 work	радити	raditi	работя	rabotja	работи	raboti
230 worm	црв	crv	червей	červej	црвец	crvec
231 ye	ви	vi	вие	vie	вие	vie
232 year	година	godina	година	godina	година	godina
233 yellow	жут	žut	жълт	žālt	жолт	žolt

Balkan Romance Languages

No	English	Romanian	Aromanian	Megleno-Romanian
001	all	tot	tuts	toț
002	and	și	shi	și
003	animal	animal	pravdă	vită
004	arm	braț	brats	mână
005	ashes	scrum	cinushe	ciănușa
006	at	la	la	la
007	back	spate	păltare	gărb
008	bad	rău	arău	furisit
009	bark	scoartă	cuă	coaiă
010	because	pentru că	ti atsea	dintru că
011	belly	pântece	pântic	foali
012	berry	boabă	fructu	rod
013	big	mare	mare	mari
014	bird	pasăre	pulj	pulj
015	bite	mușca	mushcu	mucicari
016	black	negru	lai	negru
017	blood	sânge	sândze	sondzi
018	blow	sufla	suflu	suflari
019	bone	os	os	os
020	breast	piept	cheptu	cheptu
021	breathe	sufla	adilj	diiri
022	brother	frate	frate	frati
023	burn	arde	ardu	ardiri
024	child	copil	ficior	ficior
025	claw	gheară	cangea	unglja
026	clothing	îmbrăcăminte	stranje	rubi
027	cloud	nor	nior	nor
028	cold	rece	aratse	rați
029	come	vine	yin	viniri
030	cook	găti	măyiripsi	gutviri
031	count	socoti	numir	numirari
032	cry	plânge	plăngu	plondziri
033	cut	tăia	talj	tăljari
034	dance	dansa	gioc	iucari
035	dark	întunecos	scutidos	timnicav
036	day	zi	dzuă	zuă
037	die	muri	mor	muriri
038	dig	săpa	asap	săpari
039	dirty	murdar	măryit	tăvălit
040	dog	câine	căne	căni
041	down	sub	pitu	ân jos
042	drink	bea	beau	beari
043	dry	uscat	uscat	uscat
044	dull	tocit	tămpit	stricat
045	dust	praf	pulbire	pra

No	English	Romanian	Aromanian	Megleno-Romanian
046	ear	ureche	ureaclje	ureacljă
047	earth	pământ	loc	pimin
048	eat	mânca	măc	măncari
049	egg	ou	ou	ou
050	eight	opt	optu	optu
051	eye	ochi	oclju	oclju
052	fall	cădea	cad	cădeari
053	far	departe	dipărtos	dipărtos
054	fat	grăsime	ligdă	tuc
055	father	tată	tată	tată
056	fear	se teme	aspar	spăreari
057	feather	pană	peană	peană
058	few	puțin	putsân	neac
059	fight	se lupta	mi alumni	ămburari
060	fire	foc	foc	foc
061	fish	peșe	pescu	peaști
062	five	cinci	tsintsi	cinci
063	float	pluti	amplăntescu	plivăiri
064	flow	curge	cur	curari
065	flower	floare	lilice	floari
066	fly	zbura	azboiru	prăiri
067	fog	ceață	negură	mogla
068	foot	picioar	cicior	picioar
069	four	patru	patru	patru
070	freeze	îngheța	ngljets	ănglitari
071	full	plin	nplin	plin
072	give	da	dau	dari
073	good	bun	bun	bun
074	grass	iarbă	iarbă	iarbă
075	green	verde	vearde	veardi
076	guts	maț	matsă	maci
077	hair	păr	per	per
078	hand	mână	mână	mână
079	he	el	năs	iel
080	head	cap	cap	cap
081	hear	auzi	avdzu	uzori
082	heart	inimă	inimă	inimă
083	heavy	greu	greu	greu
084	here	aici	aotse	ua
085	hit	lovi	agudescu	friguri
086	hold	ține	tsân	țâneari
087	horn	corn	cornu	corn
088	house	casă	casă	casă
089	how	cum	cum	cum
090	hundred	sută	sută	sută
091	hunt	vâna	avin	luviri
092	husband	soț	bărbat	bărbat

No	English	Romanian	Aromanian	Megleno-Romanian
093	i	eu	io	io
094	ice	gheață	gljets	gljeț
095	if	dacă	tsi cara	acu
096	in	în	tu	ău
097	kill	ucide	vătăm	tălciori
098	knee	genunchi	dzănuclju	zănuclju
099	know	ști	shtiu	știri
100	lake	lac	lac	balta
101	laugh	râde	arăd	rodiri si
102	leaf	frunză	frândză	frundză
103	left (side)	stâng	stâng	leav
104	leg	picior	cicior	picior
105	lie	s-întinde	escu băgat	ziciri
106	lip	buză	budză	usna
107	live	trăi	bănedz	giiri
108	liver	ficat	hicat lai	drob negru
109	long	lung	lungu	lungiu
110	louse	păduche	piduclju	piduclju
111	man	bărbat	om	om
112	many	mult	multsă	multu
113	meat	carne	carne	carni
114	milk	lapte	lapte	lapti
115	moon	lună	lună	lună
116	mother	mamă	dadă	mamă
117	mountain	munte	munte	munti
118	mouth	gură	gură	rot
119	name	nume	numă	numi
120	narrow	strâmt	strimtu	strimtu
121	navel	buric	buric	buric
122	near	aproape	aproape	proapi
123	neck	gât	gushe	gușa
124	new	nou	nău	nou
125	night	noapte	noapte	noapti
126	nine	nouă	nao	noauă
127	nose	nas	nare	nas
128	not	nu	nu	nu
129	old	vechi	veclju	veclju
130	one	un	un	un
131	other	alt	altu	lantu
132	person	om	om	om
133	play	juca	agioc	iucari
134	pull	trage	trag	trariri
135	push	împinge	pingu	pichiaști
136	rain	ploaie	ploaie	ploaiă
137	red	roșu	arosh	roși
138	right	corect	corect	direptu
139	right (side)	drept	dreapt	direapt

No	English	Romanian	Aromanian	Megleno-Romanian
140	ripe	copt	mătur	coptu
141	river	râu	arâu	vali
142	road	drum	cale	cali
143	root	rădăcină	arădătsină	corni
144	rope	funie	funie	funjă
145	rotten	putred	putrid	putrid
146	round	rotund	arucutos	tărculat
147	rub	freca	frec	fricari
148	salt	sare	sare	sari
149	sand	nisip	arină	pisoc
150	say	zice	dzăc	ziciri
151	scratch	zgăria	zgrăm	gărilaşti
152	sea	mare	amare	mari
153	see	vedea	ved	videari
154	seed	sămânță	simnitsă	simință
155	seven	şapte	shapte	şapti
156	sew	coase	cos	coasiri
157	sharp	ascuţit	ntruyisit	scuţot
158	shoot	trage	plăscăneascu	giida
159	short	scurt	sheurtu	cus
160	sing	cânta	cântu	cântari
161	sister	soră	sor	soră
162	sit	şedea	shed	şideari
163	six	şase	shase	şasi
164	skin	piele	cheale	coaţă
165	sky	cer	tser	ţer
166	sleep	dormi	dormu	durmiri
167	small	mic	njic	mic
168	smell	mirosi	anjurdzescu	miruseaşti
169	smoke	fum	fum	fum
170	smooth	neted	lustrusit	maznic
171	snake	şarpe	nipărtică	sarpi
172	snow	zăpadă	neao	neauă
173	some	nişte	ndao	codjva
174	speak	vorbi	zburascu	lăliri
175	spear	suliţă	sulitsă	măzdrak
176	spit	scuipa	ascuc	ocupiri
177	split	despica	disic	disicari
178	squeeze	strânge	stringu	strindjiri
179	stab	înjughia	ntsăp	ămbudari
180	stand	sta	stan	stăteari
181	star	stea	steao	steauă
182	stick	băţ	ciumag	tuiagă
183	stone	piatră	chiatră	răpă
184	straight	drept	ndreptu	drept
185	suck	suge	sug	suziri
186	sun	soare	soare	soari

No	English	Romanian	Aromanian	Megleno-Romanian
187	swell	umfla	unflu	ă nflari
188	swim	ânota	anot	plivăiri
189	tail	coadă	coadă	coada
190	ten	zece	dzatse	zeafi
191	that	acel	atsel	țela
192	there	acolo	aclo	cola
193	they	ei	năshi	ielj
194	thick	gros	gros	gros
195	thin	slab	slab	slab
196	think	gândi	minduescu	slăgăiri
197	this	acest	aislu	țista
198	thou	tu	tine	tu
199	three	trei	trei	trei
200	throw	arunca	aruc	turiri
201	tie	lega	leg	ligari
202	tongue	limbă	limbă	limbă
203	tooth	dinte	dinte	dinti
204	tree	copac	lemnu	lemnu
205	turn	întoarce	shuts	zănvariri
206	twenty	douăzeci	yinyits	doauzoț
207	two	doi	dao	doi
208	up	sus	ningă	ăn sus
209	vomit	vărsa	vom	vumari
210	walk	plimba	mi primnu	șătăiri
211	warm	cald	caldu	caldu
212	wash	spăla	lau	spilari
213	water	apă	apă	apă
214	we	noi	noi	noi
215	wet	ud	ud	ud
216	what?	care	tsi	ți
217	when?	când	cândă	con
218	where?	unde	iu	iu
219	white	alb	albu	albu
220	who?	cine	care	cari
221	wide	lat	largu	lărgu
222	wife	soție	muljare	muljari
223	wind	vânt	vintu	boari
224	wing	aripă	areapită	peană
225	wipe	șterge	ashtergu	șteardziri
226	with	cu	cu	cu
227	woman	femeie	muljare	muljari
228	woods	pădure	pădure	orman
229	work	lucra	lucredz	sirbiri
230	worm	vierme	yermu	ghiarmi
231	ye	voi	voi	voi
232	year	an	an	an
233	yellow	galben	galbin	galbin

Albanian

No	English	Gheg	Tosk
001	all	gjith	gjithë
002	and	ene	e
003	animal	gjë	kafshë
004	arm	dora	krah
005	ashes	heij	hi
006	at	pran	te
007	back	stema	kurriz
008	bad	keq	keq
009	bark	kore	kore
010	because	pse	sepse
011	belly	bark	bark
012	berry	fryt	frutë
013	big	madh	madh
014	bird	zog	zog
015	bite	kafshan	kafshon
016	black	zi	zi
017	blood	gjak	gjak
018	blow	goditje	fryn
019	bone	aasht	kockë
020	breast	ndreq	kraharor
021	breathe	marr frymë	merr frymë
022	brother	vlla	vëlla
023	burn	digjet	digjet
024	child	fëmij	fëmijë
025	claw	thundra	kthetër
026	clothing	tesha	veshje
027	cloud	re	re
028	cold	ftohtë	ftohtë
029	come	vjen	vjen
030	cook	gati	gatuan
031	count	njef	numëron
032	cry	qa	qan
033	cut	pret	pret
034	dance	luin	kërcen
035	dark	errtë	errët
036	day	ditë	ditë
037	die	vdes	vdes
038	dig	gropon	gërmon
039	dirty	papastër	ndyrë
040	dog	qenë	qen
041	down	posht	teposhtë
042	drink	pi	pi
043	dry	that	tharë
044	dull	pa preft	topitur

No	English	Gheg	Tosk
045	dust	drejt	pluhur
046	ear	vesh	vesh
047	earth	dhë	tokë
048	eat	ha	ha
049	egg	voe	vezë
050	eight	tetë	tetë
051	eye	sy	sy
052	fall	bi	bie
053	far	largt	largt
054	fat	tlynë	majmë
055	father	baba	atë
056	fear	frigohet	ka frikë
057	feather	pendel	pendë
058	few	pak	pak
059	fight	luftan	lufton
060	fire	zjarr	zjarr
061	fish	peshk	peshk
062	five	pes	pes
063	float	noton	plivit
064	flow	rrjedh	rrjedh
065	flower	lule	lule
066	fly	fluturon	fluturon
067	fog	njegiel	mjegull
068	foot	kumba	këmbë
069	four	katr	katër
070	freeze	ngri	ngrin
071	full	flot	plot
072	give	jelo	jep
073	good	mirë	mirë
074	grass	borë	bar
075	green	jeshil	gjelbër
076	guts	zorr	të përbrendshme
077	hair	kosa	flok
078	hand	dora	dorë
079	he	ai	ai
080	head	kryj	kokë
081	hear	dëgjon	dëgjon
082	heart	zemër	zemër
083	heavy	rand	rëndë
084	here	vit	këtu
085	hit	me I ra	rreh
086	hold	mban	mban
087	horn	bri	bri
088	house	sitpi	shtëpi
089	how	si	si
090	hundred	njiqindë	njëqind
091	hunt	gjun	gjuan
092	husband	burr	burrë

No	English	Gheg	Tosk
093	i	unë	unë
094	ice	akull	akull
095	if	ani	nëse
096	in	në	në
097	kill	mbyt	vras
098	knee	gjuni	gju
099	know	di	di
100	lake	liqen	liqen
101	laugh	qeshet	qesh
102	leaf	fletë	gjethe
103	left (side)	majt	majtë
104	leg	kamba	shalë
105	lie	shtriket	rri shtrirë
106	lip	buza	buzë
107	live	jeton	jeton
108	liver	mlçiu e zeze	mëlçi
109	long	gjat	gjatë
110	louse	thënej	morr
111	man	burr	burrë
112	many	shumë	shumë
113	meat	mish	mish
114	milk	qumsit	qumësht
115	moon	haana	hënë
116	mother	nana	nënë
117	mountain	mali	mal
118	mouth	goja	gojë
119	name	emni	emër
120	narrow	ngusit	ngushtë
121	navel	krthiz	kërthizë
122	near	afër	afërm
123	neck	qaf	qafë
124	new	ri	ri
125	night	natë	natë
126	nine	neritë	nëntë
127	nose	hunol	hundë
128	not	jo	nuk
129	old	vjetër	vjetër
130	one	nji	një
131	other	tjetër	tjetër
132	person	njeri	njeri
133	play	loj	luan
134	pull	hek	tërheq
135	push	me sity	shtyn
136	rain	shi	shi
137	red	kuq	kuq
138	right	drëjt	drejtë
139	right (side)	djatht	djathhtë
140	ripe	pjekun	pjekur
141	river	lum	lumë

No	English	Gheg	Tosk
142	road	rrugë	udhë
143	root	rresyë	rrënjë
144	rope	litar	litar
145	rotten	kolbët	kalbur
146	round	rrumbullakt	rrumbullakët
147	rub	fërkan	fërkon
148	salt	kryp	kripë
149	sand	zall	rërë
150	say	thot	thotë
151	scratch	gervish	gërvisht
152	sea	det	det
153	see	shiqon	sheh
154	seed	forë	farë
155	seven	srtatë	shtatë
156	sew	qep	mbjell
157	sharp	mprefhtë	mprehtë
158	shoot	shigjeta	qëllon
159	short	skurt	shkurtër
160	sing	kendon	këndon
161	sister	matra	motër
162	sit	rri	rri
163	six	gjashtë	gjashtë
164	skin	lekur	lëkurë
165	sky	qiell	qiell
166	sleep	fle	fle
167	small	vogel	vogë
168	smell	merr erë	ndien erë
169	smoke	tym	tym
170	smooth	limutë	lëmuar
171	snake	gjorpen	gjarpër
172	snow	vdorë	dëborë
173	some	disa	ca
174	speak	fol	flet
175	spear	kopje	heshtë
176	spit	psrtynë	pështyn
177	split	nda	çan
178	squeeze	shtërmgon	pickon
179	stab	shpon	shpon
180	stand	rrinë	qëndron
181	star	yll	yll
182	stick	shviop	shkop
183	stone	gur	gur
184	straight	drejt	drejtë
185	suck	thith	thith
186	sun	diell	diell
187	swell	anjenjet	fryhet
188	swim	noton	noton

No	English	Gheg	Tosk
189	tail	besht	bisht
190	ten	dhetë	dhjetë
191	that	aif	ai
192	there	atjef	aty
193	they	ata	ata
194	thick	trasië	trashë
195	thin	dobet	hollë
196	think	mendon	mendon
197	this	kaj	ky
198	thou	ti	ti
199	three	tre	tre
200	throw	gjuan	hedh
201	tie	lidh	lidh
202	tongue	gjuhë	gjuhë
203	tooth	dhaamb	dhëmb
204	tree	dru	dru
205	turn	kthen	rrotullon
206	twenty	nizet	njëzet
207	two	dy	dy
208	up	nalt	përpjetë
209	vomit	vjell	vjell
210	walk	shetitë	ecën
211	warm	nxentë	ngrohtë
212	wash	la	lan
213	water	riqë	ujë
214	we	ne	ne
215	wet	lagtë	lagur
216	what?	çka	çfarë
217	when?	Kur	kur
218	where?	Ku	ku
219	white	borde	bardhë
220	who?	Kush	kush
221	wide	gjaanë	gjerë
222	wife	gru	shoqe
223	wind	erë	erë
224	wing	kruh	krah
225	wipe	fshin	fshin
226	with	me	me
227	woman	gru	grua
228	woods	morl	pyll
229	work	punë	punon
230	worm	krumb	krimb
231	ye	ju	ju
232	year	vjet	vit
233	yellow	verdhë	verdhë

Modern Greek

No	English	Greek alphabet	Latin tanscription
001	all	ολος	ólos
002	and	και	ke
003	animal	ζώο	zoo
004	arm	χέρι	xéri
005	ashes	στάχτη	stáxti
006	at	σε	se
007	back	πλάτη	pláti
008	bad	κακός	kakós
009	bark	φλοιός	fliós
010	because	γιατί	jatí
011	belly	κοιλιά	kiliá
012	berry	μούρο	múro
013	big	μεγάλος	meghálos
014	bird	πουλί	pulí
015	bite	δαγκώνω	dhangóno
016	black	μαύρος	mávnros
017	blood	αίμα	éma
018	blow	φυσάω	fisáo
019	bone	κόκαλο	kókalo
020	breast	στήθος	stíthos
021	breathe	αναπνέω	anapnéo
022	brother	αδερφός	adherfós
023	burn	καίγομαι	kéghome
024	child	παιδί	pedhí
025	claw	νύχι	níxi
026	clothing	ρούχα	rúxa
027	cloud	σύννεφο	sinefo
028	cold	κρύος	kríos
029	come	έρχομαι	érxome
030	cook	μαγειρεύω	majiréno
031	count	μετρώ	metró
032	cry	κλαίω	kléo
033	cut	κόβω	kóvo
034	dance	χορεύω	xoréno
035	dark	σκοτεινός	skotinós
036	day	ημέρα	iméra
037	die	πεθαίνω	pethéno
038	dig	σκάβω	skávo
039	dirty	βρόμικος	vrómikos
040	dog	σκυλί	skilí
041	down	κάτω από	káto apó
042	drink	πίνω	píno
043	dry	στεγνός	steghnós
044	dull	αμβλύς	amvlís
045	dust	σκόνη	skóni
046	ear	αυτί	aftí
047	earth	γη	ji
048	eat	τρώω	tróo
049	egg	αυγό	avghó
050	eight	οχτώ	oxtó
051	eye	μάτι	máti

No	English	Greek alphabet	Latin tanscription
052	fall	πέφτω	péfto
053	far	μακριά	makriá
054	fat	λίπος	lipos
055	father	πατέρας	patéras
056	fear	φοβάμαι	fováme
057	feather	φτερό	fteró
058	few	λίγοι	liji
059	fight	μάχομαι	máxome
060	fire	φωτιά	fotiá
061	fish	ψάρι	psári
062	five	πέντε	pénde
063	float	επιπλέω	epipléo
064	flow	τρέχω	tréxo
065	flower	λουλούδι	lulúdhì
066	fly	πετώ	petó
067	fog	ομίχλη	omixli
068	foot	πόδι	pódhi
069	four	τέσσερα	téseera
070	freeze	παγώνω	paghóno
071	full	γεμάτος	jemátos
072	give	δίνω	dhíno
073	good	καλός	kalós
074	grass	γρασίδι	ghrasídhì
075	green	πράσινος	prásinos
076	guts	σπλάχνα	spláxna
077	hair	μαλλιά	maliá
078	hand	χέρι	xéri
079	he	αυτός	aftós
080	head	κεφάλι	kefáli
081	hear	ακούω	akúo
082	heart	καρδιά	kardhiá
083	heavy	βαρύς	varís
084	here	εδώ	edhó
085	hit	χτυπώ	xtipó
086	hold	κρατώ	krató
087	horn	κέρατο	kérato
088	house	σπίτι	spíti
089	how	πώς	pós
090	hundred	εκατό	ekató
091	hunt	κυνηγώ	kinighó
092	husband	άντρας	ándras
093	I	εγώ	eghó
094	ice	πάγος	pághos
095	if	αν	an
096	in	σε	se
097	kill	σκοτώνω	skotóno
098	knee	γόνατο	ghónato
099	know	ξέρω	kséro
100	lake	λίμνη	límni
101	laugh	γελάω	jeló
102	leaf	φύλλο	filo
103	left (side)	αριστερά	aristerá
104	leg	πόδι	pódhi
105	lie	ξαπλώνω	ksaplóno

No	English	Greek alphabet	Latin tanscription
106	lip	χείλι	xili
107	live	ζω	zo
108	liver	συκώτι	sikóti
109	long	μακρύς	makrís
110	louse	ψείρα	psíra
111	man	άντρας	ándras
112	many	πολλοί	polí
113	meat	κρέας	kréas
114	milk	γάλα	ghála
115	moon	φεγγάρι	fengári
116	mother	μητέρα	mitéra
117	mountain	βουνό	vunó
118	mouth	στόμα	stóma
119	name	όνομα	ónoma
120	narrow	στενός	stenós
121	navel	αφαλός	afalós
122	near	κοντά	kondá
123	neck	λαιμός	lemós
124	new	καινούριος	kenúrios
125	night	νύχτα	níxta
126	nine	εννιά	eniá
127	nose	μύτη	miti
128	not	δεν	dhen
129	old	παλιός	paliós
130	one	ένα	éna
131	other	άλλος	álos
132	person	άνθρωπος	ánthropos
133	play	παίζω	pézo
134	pull	τραβώ	travó
135	push	σπρώχνω	sbróxno
136	rain	βροχή	vVroxí
137	red	κόκκινος	kókinos
138	right	σωστός	sostós
139	right (side)	δεξιά	deksiá
140	ripe	ώριμος	órimos
141	river	ποτάμι	potámi
142	road	δρόμος	dhrómos
143	root	ρίζα	ríza
144	rope	σκοινί	skiní
145	rotten	σάπιος	sápios
146	round	στρογγυλός	strongilós
147	rub	τρίβω	trívo
148	salt	αλάτι	aláti
149	sand	άμμος	ámos
150	say	λέω	léo
151	scratch	ξύνω	ksíno
152	sea	θάλασσα	thálasa
153	see	βλέπω	vlépo
154	seed	σπόρος	spóros
155	seven	εφτά	eftá
156	sew	ράβω	rávo
157	sharp	κοφτερός	kofterós
158	shoot	πυροβολώ	pirovoló
159	short	κοντός	kondós

No	English	Greek alphabet	Latin tanscription
160	sing	τραγουδώ	traghudhó
161	sister	αδρεφή	adherfi
162	sit	κάθομαι	káthome
163	six	έξι	éksi
164	skin	δέρμα	dhérma
165	sky	ουρανός	uranós
166	sleep	κοιμάμαι	kimáme
167	small	μικρός	mikrós
168	smell	μυρίζω	mirízo
169	smoke	καπνός	kapnós
170	smooth	λείος	líos
171	snake	φίδι	fidhi
172	snow	χιόνι	xióni
173	some	μερικοί	merikí
174	speak	μιλώ	miló
175	spear	ακόντιο	akóndio
176	spit	φτύνω	ftino
177	split	χωρίζω	xorízo
178	squeeze	σφίγγω	sflingo
179	stab	μαχαίρωνω	maxeróno
180	stand	στέκομαι	stékome
181	star	αστέρι	astéri
182	stick	ξύλο	ksílo
183	stone	πέτρα	pétra
184	straight	ίσιος	isios
185	suck	ρουφώ	rufó
186	sun	ήλιος	ílios
187	swell	φουσκώνω	fuskóno
188	swim	κολυμπώ	kolimbó
189	tail	ουρά	urá
190	ten	δέκα	dhéka
191	that	εκείνο	ekíno
192	there	εκεί	ekí
193	they	αυτοί	aftí
194	thick	χοντρός	xondrós
195	thin	αδύνατος	adhinátos
196	think	σκέφτομαι	skéftome
197	this	αυτό	aftó
198	thou	εσύ	esí
199	three	τρία	tría
200	throw	ρίχνω	ríxno
201	tie	δένω	dhéno
202	tongue	γλώσσα	glósa
203	tooth	δόντι	dhóndi
204	tree	δέντρο	dhéndro
205	turn	στρίβω	strívo
206	twenty	είκοσι	íkosi
207	two	δύο	dío
208	up	πάνω από	páno apó
209	vomit	ξερνά	ksernó
210	walk	περπατώ	perpató
211	warm	ζεστός	zestós
212	wash	πλένω	pléno
213	water	νερό	neró

No	English	Greek alphabet	Latin Tanscription
214	we	εμείς	emis
215	wet	βρεγμένος	vreghménos
216	what?	τι	ti
217	when?	πότε	póte
218	where?	πού	pu
219	white	άσπρος	áspros
220	who?	ποιος	pjos
221	wide	πλατύς	platís
222	wife	σύζυγος	jinéka
223	wind	αέρας	aéras
224	wing	φτερό	fteró
225	wipe	σκουπίζω	skupízo
226	with	με	me
227	woman	γυναίκα	jinéka
228	woods	δάσος	dhásos
229	work	δουλεύω	dhulévo
230	worm	σκουλήκι	skuliki
231	ye	εσείς	esís
232	year	χρόνος	xrónos
233	yellow	κίτρινος	kitrinos

ARLI BALKAN ROMANI

No	English	Arli
001	all	sárine
002	and	thaj
003	animal	džangvarí
004	arm	vas
005	ashes	pravó
006	at	ki
007	back	dumó
008	bad	džungaló
009	bark	kóra
010	because	sóske
011	belly	vogí
012	berry	plod
013	big	baró
014	bird	čiriklí
015	bite	kicinéla
016	black	kaló
017	blood	rat
018	blow	phudéla
019	bone	kokaló
020	breast	kolín
021	breathe	dišinéla
022	brother	phral
023	burn	thabljóla
024	child	čhavoró
025	claw	kandžá
026	clothing	šejá
027	cloud	badaló
028	cold	badól
029	come	avéla
030	cook	ciravól
031	count	ginél
032	cry	rovéla
033	cut	čhinéla
034	dance	kheléla
035	dark	kaló
036	day	divé
037	die	meréla
038	dig	hanéla
039	dirty	melaló
040	dog	dzukél
041	down	telál
042	drink	pijél
043	dry	šukó
045	dust	právo
046	ear	kan

No	English	Arli
047	earth	phuv
048	eat	hába
049	egg	angró
050	eight	ohtó
051	eye	jakh
052	fall	peréla
053	far	durutnó
054	fat	khil
055	father	dad
056	fear	darála
057	feather	peró
058	few	harí
059	fight	maréla pes
060	fire	jag
061	fish	mačhó
062	five	pančo
063	float	plivinéle
064	flow	thavdéla
065	flower	luludzí
066	fly	ujrála
067	fog	mágla
068	foot	punró
069	four	štar
070	freeze	smrzninéla
071	full	pherdó
072	give	déla
073	good	šukár
074	grass	čhar
075	green	harjaló
076	guts	pojrá
077	hair	bal
078	hand	vast
079	he	vov
080	head	šeró
081	hear	šunéla
082	heart	viló
083	heavy	pharó
084	here	akaté
085	hit	kuvéla
086	hold	ikerél
087	horn	šing
088	house	kher
089	how	sar
090	hundred	šel
091	hunt	lovizéla
092	husband	rom
093	I	me
094	ice	baráf

No	English	Arli
095	if	te
096	in	ko
097	kill	mudaréla
098	knee	kočár
099	know	džanéla
100	lake	devriál
101	laugh	asóla
102	leaf	patrín
103	left (side)	lévo
104	leg	punró
105	lie	pašljóla
106	lip	vušt
107	live	dživdinéla
108	liver	kaló bukó
109	long	lungó
110	louse	džuv
111	man	rom
112	many	but
113	meat	mas
114	milk	thud
115	moon	lúna
116	mother	doj
117	mountain	planína
118	mouth	muj
119	name	anáv
120	narrow	tang
121	navel	púpko
122	near	pašé
123	neck	men
124	new	nevó
125	night	rat
126	nine	enjá
127	nose	nakh
128	not	na
129	old	puró
130	one	jekh
131	other	avér
132	person	manúš
133	play	kheléla
134	pull	cidéla
135	push	bucíl
136	rain	bršínd
137	red	loló
138	right	hakó
139	right (side)	désno
140	ripe	pekhardó
141	river	len
142	road	drúmo

No	English	Arli
143	root	dárhi
144	rope	šoló
145	rotten	kernó
146	round	rotaló
147	rub	moréla
148	salt	lon
149	sand	peséko
150	say	vakeréla
151	scratch	harovóla
152	sea	denízi
153	see	dikhela
154	seed	seme
155	seven	eftá
156	sew	sivéla
157	sharp	óštro
158	shoot	stréla
159	short	tiknó
160	sing	giljavéla
161	sister	phen
162	sit	bešéla
163	six	šov
164	skin	morči
165	sky	haváj
166	sleep	sovéla
167	small	tiknó
168	smell	khandéla
169	smoke	dimáni
170	smooth	mázno
171	snake	sap
172	snow	iv
173	some	nísare
174	speak	kheréla láfi
175	spear	kópje
176	spit	čhungaréla
177	split	pharavéla
178	squeeze	khedéla
179	stab	posavéla
180	stand	tergióla
181	star	čeréni
182	stick	kašt
183	stone	bar
184	straight	ispravimó
185	suck	šmúka
186	sun	kham
187	swell	šuvljóla
188	swim	nangjóla
189	tail	porík
190	ten	deš

No	English	Arli
191	that	oková
192	there	odorí
193	they	olá
194	thick	thuljardó
195	thin	kišló
196	think	gindinéla
197	this	oikará
198	thou	tu
199	three	trin
200	throw	fordéla
201	tie	phandéla
202	tongue	čhib
203	tooth	dand
204	tree	kašt
205	turn	iranéla pes
206	twenty	biš
207	two	duj
208	up	trujál
209	vomit	čhadéla
210	walk	phiréla
211	warm	tató
212	wash	thovéli
213	water	paní
214	we	amén
215	wet	sopanó
216	what?	so
217	when?	kéda
218	where?	koté
219	white	pamó
220	who?	ko
221	wide	buvló
222	wife	romní
223	wind	bavlál
224	wing	phak
225	wipe	khoséla
226	with	thaj
227	woman	romní
228	woods	veš
229	work	kerelabutí
230	worm	kirmó
231	ye	túmen
232	year	berš
233	yellow	gálbeno

Appendix Two

SAMPLES TEXTS¹

Македонски (Macedonian)

Старецот го избриша сечивото од ножот и го остави веслото. Потоа го оптегна едрото и чунот пак заплови по поранешниот правец.

‘Сигурно изеле една четвртина од рибата, и тоа од најубавото месо,’ рече гласно. ‘Би сакал сето тоа да е само сон и никогаш да не ја уловев. Жал ми е за сето ова, рибо. Сè испадна наопаку.’ Замолче и сега повеќе не сакаше да гледа во рибата. Искрвавена и измиена, сега таа имаше боја како на сребрена подлога од огледало, но нејзините линии сèуште се гледаа.

‘Не требаше да одам толку далеку, рибо,’ рече тој. ‘Како заради мене, така и заради тебе. Се извинувам, рибо.’

А сега, си рече сам на себе, види дали е добро врзан ножот и дали сече. Потоа подготви ги рацете, бидејќи ќе се појават уште многу морски кучиња.

‘Би сакал да имам камен наместо нож,’ рече старецот, откоги ги провери врзалките на веслото. ‘Требаше да понесам камен.’ Требаше да понесеш многу работи, помисли тој. Но, не ги понесе, старче. Сега не е време да мислиш за она што намаш. Мисли што можеш да направиш со она што го имаш.

‘Ми даваш многу добри совети,’ рече гласно. ‘Уморен сум од нив.’

Држејќи ја рачката од кормилото под мишка, ги кладе двете раце во вода, додека се движеше чунот напред.

‘Господ знае колку зеде она последното,’ рече тој. ‘Но сега е многу полесна.’ Не сакаше да мисли за искасапената долна страна на рибата. Знаеше дека секое тресење на морското куче значи кинење месо, и дека рибата сега остава широка трага за сите морски кучиња, широка како морски автопат.

Тоа беше риба од која човек би можел да живее цело лето, помисли тој. Не мисли за тоа. Сега одморај се и обиди се пак да ги оспособиш рацете за да го бранат она што остана од рибата. Мирисот на крвта од моите раце не значи ништо во споредба со сета смрдеа во водата. Освен тоа, тие и не крварат многу. Не се толку многу исечени. Крварењето можеби ќе и помогне на левата рака да се отпушти.

За што можам да мислам сега?, помисли тој. За ништо. Не смеам да мислам на ништо, туку да ги чекам другите морски кучиња. Би сакал навистина тоа да беше сон, помисли тој. Но, кој знае? Можеби ќе тргне на подобро. Следното морско куче имаше лопатеста муцка. Дојде како што доаѓа свиња на корито, само што свињата нема толку широка уста, за да може човек да ја стави главата во неа. Старецот го пушти да ја загризе рибата, а потоа му го забодде ножот в мозок. Но, кучето се тргна нанзад свиткувајќи се како рулет и го скрши ножот.

Старецот се смести кон кормилото. Тој дури и не гледаше како полека тоне големото марко куче, покажувајќи се првин целото, а потоа помало и најпосле

¹ The texts of the languages that use the Latin alphabet are represented with the alphabet currently used in those languages. The Macedonian and Bulgarian texts are rendered in their original Cyrillic scripts and transcribed with the symbols of the Serbo-Croatian Latin alphabet (with some additions for the phonemes for which there are no corresponding symbols). The Modern Greek text is rendered in the Greek alphabet and transcribed in the Latin alphabet (with symbols that are used in English). Some orthographic changes in compliance with the orthography adopted officially after the text was published have been introduced.

сосема sitno. Тоа секогаш го фасцинираше старецот. Но сега дури не го ни погледна.

Ернест Хемингвеј, *Старецот и морето*. Превод: Душко Црвенковски and Саве Цветановски. Скопје: Култура, 1961. 65-66.

Macedonian - Latin transcription

Starecot go izbriša sečivoto od nožot i go ostavi vesloto. Potoa go optegna edroto i čunot pak zaplovi po poranešniot pravec.

‘Sigurno izele edna četvrtina od ribata, i toa od najubavoto meso’, reče glasno. ‘Bi sakal seto toa da e samo son i nikogaš da ne ja ulovev. Žal mi e za seto ova, ribo. Sé izpadna naopak.’ Zamolče i sega poveќе ne sakaše da gleda vo ribata. Iskrvavena i izmiena, sega taa imaše boja kako na srebrena podloga od ogledalo, no nejzinite linii séušte se gledaa.

‘Ne trebaše da odam tolku daleku, ribo,’ reče toj. ‘Kako zaradi mene, taka i zaradi tebe. Se izvinuvam, ribo.’

A sega, si reče sam na sebe, vidi dali e dobro vrzan nožot i dali seče. Potoa podgotvi gi racete, bidejќi ќе se pojavat ušte mnogu morski kučinja.

‘Bi sakal da imam kamen namesto nož,’ reče starecot, otkoga gi proveril vrzalkite na vezloto. ‘Trebaše da ponesam kamen.’ Trebaše da ponesesh mnogu raboti, pomisli toj. No, ne gi ponese, starče. Sega ne e vreme da misliš za ona što nemaš. Misli što možeš da napraviš so ona što go imaš.

‘Mi davaš mnogu dobri soveti,’ reče glasno. ‘Umoren sum od niv.’

Držeјќi ja račkata od kormiloto pod miška, gi klade dvete race vo voda, dodeka se dvižeše čunot napred.

‘Gospod znae kolku zede ona poslednoto,’ reče toj. ‘No sega e mnogu polesna.’ Ne sakaše da misli za iskasapenata dolna strana na ribata. Znaеше deka sekoe tresenje na morskoto kuće znači kinenje meso, i deka ribata sega ostava široka traga za site morski kučinja, široka kako morski avtopat.

Toa beše riba od koja čovek bi možel da živee celo leto, pomisli toj. Ne misli na toa. Sega odmoraj se i obidi se pak da gi osposobiš racete za da go branat ona što ostana od ribata. Mirisot na krvta od moite race ne znači ništo vo sporedba so seta smrdea vo vodata. Osven toa, tie i ne krvarat mnogu. Ne se tolku mnogu isečeni. Krvarenjeto možeби ќе i pomogne na levata raka da se otpušti.

Za što možam da mislam sega?, pomisli toj. Za ništo. Ne smeam da mislam na ništo, tuku da gi čekam drugite morski kučinja. Bi sakal navistina toa da beše son, pomisli toj. No, koj znae? Možeби ќе trgne na podobro.

Slednoto morsko kuće imaše lopatesta mucka. Dojde kako što doaga svinja na korito, samo što svinjata nema tolku široka usta, za da može čovek da ja stavi glavata vo nea. Starecot go pušti da ja zagriže ribata, a potoa mu go zabode nožot v mozok. No, kućeto se trгна nanazad svitkuvajќi se kako rulet i go skrši nožot.

Starecot se smesti kon kormiloto. Toj duri i ne gledaše kako poleka tone golemoto morsko kuće, pokažuvajќi se prvin celoto, a potoa pomalo i najposle sosema sitno. Toa sekogaš го fasciniraše starecot. No sega duri не го ни погледна.

Български (Bulgarian)

Старецът обърса острието на ножа и положи греблото. После натегна шкота, улови вятъра и върна лодката по курса.

– Отнесоха ми една четвърт от марлина, и то най-хубавото месо – каза той на глас. – По-добре да беше сън и никога да не го бях улавял! Жалко, че стана така с теб, приятелю. Всичко се обърка.

Замълча, не му се поглеждаше към рибата. Тя се носеше по водата обезкървена, сребриста като огледална амалгама, но ивиците и още личаха.

– Не трябваше да влизам толкова навътре – каза той на марлина. – Лошо и за тебе, и за мене. Прощавай.

Стегни се! – заповяда си. Провери здраво ли е завързан ножът, не се ли е срязало въженцето. И си оправи ръката, защото има още много да става.

– Жалко, че нямам брус за ножа – каза старецът, след като провери въженцето, с което бе пристегнал ножа към ръкохватката на греблото. – Трябваше да взема брус за ножа.

Много работи трябваше да вземеш, старче. Ала нищо не взе. Сега не му е времето да мислиш какво нямаш. Помисли какво можеш да направиш с каквото имаш.

– Все добри съвети ми даваш – възропта гласно. – Омръзнаха ми.

Взе румпела под мишница и потопа двете си ръце във водата; лодката се носеше по курса.

– Един бог знае, колко ми отнесе тая последната. Но сега имам много по-лек ход.

Не му се мислеше как ли е наяден коремът на рибата. Знаеше – всеки остър тласък бе парче откъснато месо и сега рибата оставя в океана за всички акули кървава диря, широка като магистрала.

С тоя марлин човек можеше да се препитава цяла зима. Не мисли за това. Почивай и гледай ръцете ти да са в ред, та да запазиш колкото е останало от него. Сега с тая голяма диря във водата няма значение, че ръцете ми кървят. Пък и не кървят много. Само са ожулени. Кръвопускането можа да предпази лявата да не се схване пак.

Ами сега за какво да мисля? За нищо, само да изчакам да надойдат следващите. Де да беше сън. Пък кой знае? Може и добре да мине.

Новодошлата бе акула-чук. Нахвърли се като прасе на копаня, само че прасето няма такава паст, която да може да ти налага главата. Старецът я остави да захапе, после заби ножа на греблото в мозъка и. Но акулата се дръпна, превъртайки се, и острието се счупи.

Старецът се настани при руля. Дори не погледна акулата, която потъваше бавно – отначало тя се виждаше в истинските си размери, после се смали, докато стана съвсем мъничка. На това той все не се начудваше. Но сега дори не погледна.

Ърнест Хуемингуей, “Старецът и морето”. Ърнест Хуемингуей, *Избрани творби в три тома*, Том III: *Романи. Повести*. Преводач: Димитри Иванов. София: Народна култура. 1990. 487-546 (ексцерпт: 538-539).

Bulgarian – Latin transcription

Starecăt obărsa ostrieto na noža i položi grebloto. Posle nategna škota, ulovi vjatära i vărna lodkata po kursa.

– Otnesoxa mi edna četvărt ot marlina, i to naj-xubavoto meso – kaza toj na glas. – Po-dobre e da beše săn i nikoga da ne go bjax ulavjal! Žalko, če stana taka s teb, prijatelju. Vsičko se obărka.

Zamălča, ne mu se pogleždaše kăm ribata. Tja se noseše po vodata obezkărvena, srebrista kato ogledalna amalgama, no ivicite i ošte ličaxa.

– Ne trjabvaše da vlizam tolkova navătre – kaza toj na marlina. – Lošo i za tebe, i za mene. Proštavaj.

Stegni se! – zapovjada si. Proveri zdravo li e zavărzan nožăt, ne se li e srjazalo văženceto. I si opravi rākata, zaštoto ima ošte mnogo da stava.

– Žalko, če njamam brus za noža – kaza starecăt, sled kato proveru văženceto s koeto be pristegnal noža kăm rākoxvata na grebloto. – Trjabvaše da vzema brus za noža.

Mnogo raboti trjabvaše da vzemeš, starče. Ala ništo ne vze. Segă ne mu e vremeto da misliš kakvo njamaš. Pomisli kakvo možeš da napraviš s kakvoto imaš.

– Vse dobri săveti mi davaš – văzropta glasno. – Omrăznaxa mi.

Vze rumpela pod mišnica i potopi dвете si rāce vāv vodata; lodkata se noseše po kursa.

– Edin bog znae kolko mi otnese taja poslednata. No segă imam mnogo po-lek xod.

Ne mu se misleše kak li e najaden koremăt na ribata. Znaeše – vseki ostăr tlasāk be parče otkăsnato meso i segă ribata ostavja v okeana za vsički akuli kărvava dirja, široka kato magistrala.

S toja marlin čovek možeše da se prepitava cjala zima. Ne misli za tova. Počivaj i gledaj rācete da sa v red, ta da zapaziš kolkoto e ostanalo ot nego. Segă s taja goljama dirja vāv vodata njama značenje, če rācete mi kărvjat. Pāk i ne kărvjat mnogo. Samo sa ožuleni. Krăvopuskaneto moža da predpazi ljavata da ne se sxvane pak.

Ami segă za kakvo da mislja? Za ništo, samo da izčakvam da nadojdat sledvaštite. De da beše săn. Pāk koj znae? Može i dobre da mine.

Novodošlata be akula-čuk. Naxvărli se kato prase na kopanja, samo če praseto njama takava past, kojato da može da nalapa glavata. Starecăt ja ostavi da zaxape, posle zabi noža na grebloto v mozăka i. No akulata se drăpna, prevărtajki se, i ostrieto se sčupi.

Starecăt se nastani pri rulja. Dori ne pogledna akuata, kojato potăvaše bavno – otnačalo tja se viždaše v istinskite si razmeri, posle se smali, dokato stana săvsem mănicka. Na tova toj ne se načudvaše. No segă dori ne pogledna.

Srpskohrvatski (Serbo-Croatian)²

Starac obrisa oštricu noža i ostavi veslo u stranu. Zatim nađe ručicu i jedra se zateguše i čamac je ponova plovio ranijim pravcem.

‘Mora da su joj pojele četvrtinu tela i najbolji deo mesa’, reče glasno. ‘Kamo sreće da je sve ovo samo san i da je nisam nikada ulovio. Žao mi je, ribo. Sad je sve propalo.’ On učuta i više nije hteo ni da pogleda u ribu. Iskrvavljena i oprana vodom, sad je ona imala boju srebrne podloge ogledala ali su se njene pruge još mogle videti.

‘Nisam se smeo otisnuti tako daleko, ribo’, reče on ‘i zbog sebe i zbog tebe. Žao mi je, ribo.’

‘Pa, eto’, reče samom sebi. ‘Pogledaj sad kako je nož vezan. Da li su veze još čitave. Potom ruku dovedi u red, jer će se još mnoge ajkule pojaviti.’

‘Bolje bi bilo da umesto noža imaš kamen’, reče starac, pošto je ispitao veze na dršci od vesala. ‘Trebalo je da sobom ponesem bar jedan kamen.’ Trebalo je poneti mnogo što-šta, pomisli on. Ali nisi poneo, starče. Sada nije vreme da misliš o onome što nemaš. Misli šta možeš učiniti sa ovim čime sada raspolažeš.

‘Daješ mi mnogo dobrih saveta’, reče glasno ‘umorio sam se od njih.’

Držao je ručicu od krme pod miškom i kvasio je obe ruke u vodi dok je čamac odmicao napred.

‘Sam Bog zna koliko je ova poslednja odgrizla’, reče on. ‘Sada je mnogo lakša.’ Nije želeo da misli o iskasapljenoj donjoj strani ribe. Znao je da je svaki ajkulin trzaj značio kidanje mesa, i da riba ostavlja sada za sobom trag svim ajkulama, širok kao drum preko mora.

Bila je to riba, dovoljna da ishrani čoveka preko cele zime. Ne misli o tome. Samo se odmaraj i trudi se da opet osposobiš ruku da brani ono što je ostalo. Miris krvi s moje ruke ne znači ništa prema ovoj silnoj masi u vodi. Osim toga, one i ne krvare mnogo. Ozlede nisu tako strašne. Krvavljenje će možda onemogućiti da mi se leva ruka ponovo zgrči.

O čemu sada da razmišljam?, pomisli on. Ni o čemu. Hajde da ne mislim, pa tako da sačekam druge ajkule. Zašto sve to nije bio san? Ali ko zna? Može se okrenuti i nabolje.

Sledeća ajkula imala je štapastu njušku. Prišla je kao svinja valovu, ako uopšte ijedna svinja ima usta tako široka da bi se kroz njih mogla provući glava. Starac je pusti da zagrije u ribu a onda joj zabi u mazak onaj nož sto je bio na veslu. Ali, ajkula se trže unazad i nož se prelomi.

Starac se namesti kraj krme. Nije čak ni pratio kako velika ajkula tone polako u vodu, ispočetka u svoj svojoj veličini, zatim nešto manja i onda sasvim sitna. Taj prizor je uvek fascinirao starca. Ali, sada je bio slep za sve to.

Ernest Hemingvej, *Starac i more*. Prevod sa engleskog: Karlo Ostojić. Novi Sad: Matica Srpska. 1961. 263-264.

² The text was translated into what was at the time referred to as the “Eastern variant” of Serbo-Croatian. At the present, this variant would be referred to as “Serbian language”.

Român (Romanian)

Șterse lama cuțitului și lăsă vîsla jos. După aceea găsi scota, puse pînza în vînt și aduse iarăși barca pe drumul ei.

‘Cu siguranță că a luat un sfert din el, și încă din carnea cea mai bună’, vorbi el tare. ‘Aș vrea să fi fost doar un vis și să nu-l fi pescuit niciodată. Îmi pare rău, măi pește! Asta strică tot.’ Tăcu și nu vru să se mai uite la pește, în halul în care era acum. Fără sînge și spălat de valuri, avea culoarea argintului de pe spatele unei oglinzi, dar dungile tot i se mai vedeau.

‘N-ar fi trebuit să ies atît de departe în larg, măi pește’ – grăi el. ‘N-a fost bine nici pentru tine, nici pentru mine. Îmi pare rău, măi pește!’

‘Acum’ – făcu el în gînd – ‘uită-te la legătura cuțitului și vezi dacă n-a fost cumva tăiată. Pe urmă ai grijă de mîină, căci mai ai încă destule de tras.’

‘Ce bine ar fi fost să fi avut o piatră pentru cuțit’ – spuse el, după ce cercetă dacă legase bine cuțitul de vîslă. Ar fi trebuit să iau o piatră. ‘Multe ar fi trebuit să iei’ – își zise în sinea lui. Numai că nu le-ai luat, moșule! Nu-i vreme acum să te gîndești la ce n-ai. Gîndește-te ce poți face cu ceea ce ai la tine!

‘Multe sfaturi bune mai îmi dai’ – zise el tare. ‘Mi-e lehamite de ele!’

Ținu echea cîrmei sub braț și își muie amîndouă mîinile în apă, în timp ce barca își vedea de drum.

‘Dumnezeu știe cît o mai fi luat și ăsta din urmă’ – spuse el. ‘Dar e cu mult mai ușoară acum.’

Nu-i venea să se gîndească la acea parte din trupul peștelui ce stătea cufundată în apă și care era mutilată. Știa că fiecare zguduire a bărcii însemna că rechinul smulge carne din trupul peștelui, care lăsa acum în urma lui, prin mare, pentru toți rechini, o dîră lată cît o șosea.

Era un pește din care un om s-ar fi putut hrăni o iarnă întregă – își zise bătrînul. Nu te mai gîndi la asta! Odihnește-te și tu și lasă și mîinile să se odihnească, ca să aperi ce a mai rămas din el! Mirosul sîngelui de pe mîini nu înseamnă nimic pe lîngă tot mirosul acela din apă. Și-apoi, nici nu sîngerează prea tare. N-am nici o tăietură care să merite s-o iau în seamă. Poate că din pricina tăieturilor n-o să mai mi se pună cîrcei la stînga. La ce m-aș putea gîndi acum? se întrebă în sinea lui. La nimic. Nu trebuie să mă gîndesc la nimic, ci doar să-i aștept pe-ai de-au să vină. Mai bine ar fi fost un vis ! își spuse în gînd. Dar cine știe! Putea să iasă și bine!

Rechinul următor, unul din cei cu botul ca lopata, se ivi de unul singur. Veni ca un porc la troacă, dacă porcul ar putea să aibă o gură atît de mare, încît să-ți poți vîrî capul în ea. Bătrînul îl lăsă s-atace peștele, apoi îi înfipse cuțitul prins în vîslă drept în creier. Rechinul se dădu înapoi, rostogolindu-se, iar lama cuțitului plesni.

Bătrînul se așeză la cîrmă. Nici nu se uită la rechinul cel mare ce se scufunda încet în apă, arătîndu-se mai întîi în mărimea lui firească, apoi mai mic și, în sfîrșit, mic de tot. Priveliștea aceasta îl vrăjea totdeauna pe bătrîn, dar acum nici măcar nu-l învrednici cu o privire.

Ernest Hemingway, *Bătrînul și marea*. Trad.: M. Alexandrescu & C. Popa. București: Editura Tineretului. 1960. 76-78.

Meglenit (Megleno-Romanian)³

Moșu au ștearsi tăiătura di cuțot și-u lăso lupata. Napcum au stigni pondza la varcă și varca chinisi pri dumu di mai ăninti. Măncară un cirec di peaști și țeă mai buna carni, ași zisi cu glas. Țer si iia saldi vis și mai bun ici s-nu la cătsam. Mult nju jui di țișta lucru, bra peaști. Nu vrea vichim si zăpucată cutru peaști. Săndzirat si spilat, buiau lui licia, la buia di glindală, ama lui față anca si videa.

Nu trăbuia s-mi duc cota diparti bra peaști, zisi el. Cum di mini șă și di tini. Aț mi rog s-mi ierț bra peaști. Ama, a-ș zisi singur, vez dali ai bun ligat cuțotu și dali taiă. Napcum foli azor monjli, dintru ca si iăviască muljț conj di mari. Mai bun ra si am răpă di cot cuțot, zisi moșu, di ca vizu, dali ai bunligată lupata. Trăbuia si port și răpă. Trăbuia si portu, si slăgăes bun zisi el. Ama nu li purtaș moșuli. Mo nu-i văcotusi slăgăes la țeă ți nu ai.

A-nj dai multi buni anvițătur, aș zisi cu glas. Umărot sam di iali. Au țănea mănua di cormilo suptăsoară, li pusi duauli monj ăn apu a varca fuzea ănainti.

Domnu știa cot lo dila dinăpoia parti, zisi el, ama mo ai mai licșoară. Nu vrea si slăgăiască la partea mănăcă di dijos la peaști. Știa că la sfaca zătrimurari, coinili di mari rupea căti un cumat di carni și ca lăsa bileac mari, di tot lanjtsii conj, lorg ca drumu di pri mari.

Țela ra peaști cu cari uămu putea si ghiiască toată veară, si ciudea el. Nu slăgăia la țeă. Mo dăzmurati si cota, ară s-li faț azor monjli, ca si veagli țeă ți vea rămas di peaști. Sirudia di sondzi din monjli meali nu-i țivagodea pri langa âmpuțătura din apu. Saldi țeă, din monj nu-nj cură multu sondzi. Nu sa cota mult tăiati. Curarea di sondzi poati si jută, la leava monă, si-nj ți lăbăvească. Di țeă pot mo si slăgăes? si zăciudi el. Di tiva nu trăbuiăști si slăgăies di țiua, tucu si ștet si vină lanjt conj din mari. Istina țer ca țela lucru s-iă vis, aș zisi el. Ama cari știă? Poati ca si chinisească la mai bun.

Lantu coinili di mari vea ună mutcă ca lupată. Vini ca cum vini porcu la cupanjă, saldi ca porcu nu ari tari lorgu rostu, ca si poată oumu s-la pună capu ăn el. Moșu, pișim la lăso s-la mucică peăștili, napcum ai la ănțăpo cuțotu ăn măduă. Ama coinili si trăgni năpoi ai la zănvii cuțotu și-i la fronsi. Moșu si nămistu la cromilo, el nu căta cum cătilin si ștuknea peăștli ăn mari, coinili di mari si videa prima ănțreg, napcum si videa mai uneac. Țea daima la zăciudea moșu. Ama mo vichim nu la ni pucuto.

³ The text is a translation of the Macedonian text. The translation was done by Dionisie Papațafa.

Armăn (Aromanian)⁴

Aushlu u ashciarse tăljitura di cătsul shi u alăsă canota. Dupu atse u lărdzi pândza shin căica iara trapse ti ninte.

‘Sigura că măcară un cirec di pescu, shi atse di nai ma mushată carne’, dzăse cu boatse. ‘Vream tută aistă s-hibă mash un yis, shi pute s-nu u avera acătsată. Amărtie ni iaste ti tute aiste, pescu. Tută inshi di anapuda. ‘Amutsă shi tora nu vrea cama s-mutrească tu pescul. Săndzinstă shi spilată tora năsă ave boe ca fundul di asime di yilia, ma aliei iure ninga s-videa.

‘Nu lipsea s-neg ahăt diparte, pescu’, dzăse năs. ‘Cum ti mine ashii shi ti tine. Ljartă me, pescu’.

A tora shi dzăse singur. Vedz disi iaste cătsutlu bun ligat shi disi talje. Dupu atsea ndreadzăle mănjele că va s-seasă ninga multsă canj di amare.

‘Voi s-am chiatră tu loc di cătsul’, dzăse aushlu, di cara featse controlă pi ligăturle di canotă. ‘Lipsea cu mie s-lau chiatră.’ Lipsea s-portu multe lucre, mindui năs. Ma nu li luosh aush. Tora nu iaste chiro s-mindueshcei ti atse tsi nu ai luată. Minduia tsi pot s-fats cu atse tsi ai.

‘Nji dai multe bune minduir’, dzăse boatse. ‘Curmat escu di năse.’

U băgă mănusha di comandă sum soară shi daule mănj li băgă tu apă până căica s-dutsea ninte.

‘Dumnidză shcie căt lo năsă tu sone’, dzăse năs. ‘Ma tore iaste multu ma lishor.’ Nu vrea s-munduiască ti discata parte di pescu di prighiot. Shcia că cu cathi trimburare că cu cathi trimburare cănlle di amare arupe carne shi că tora pescul alasă largă urmă ca stradă dupu care yin tuts alantsă cănj di amare.

Astea ira pescu di care omu putea s-băneadză tută veara, mindui năs. Nu minduia pi atsea. Tora discurmăte shi discurmăle mănjele ta s-pots su apă atsea tsi armase di pescul. Anjurizma di săndzi pi ameale mănj nu ir tsiva analoghie cu tută anputsătură di tu apă. Shi deposia atseale nu săndzăneadză multu. Nu suntu ahăt multu tăljate. Săndzinarea poate s-a ută stănga mănă s-nji lishureadză.

Tu tsi tora s-minduescu? mindui năs. Ti tsiva. Nu lipseashce s-minduescu pi tsiva di căt s-lji ashceptu alansă cănj di amare. Vream aistă s-hibă yis, mindui năs. Ma care shcie? Poate s-hibă ma bună.

Alantu căne di amare avea mutscă ca lupată. Vine ca cum yine porcul pi cupanje, sade tsi porcul nu are ahără largă gură ta s-postă omu s-lu bagă caplu tu năsă. Aushlu lu sălagi s-lu mushcă pescul, adupu atse I lu ndisă cătsutlu tu măduă. Ma cându s-trapse ma năpoe să shutsă ca rulet shi lu frămse cătsutlu.

Aushlu u lo comanda. Năs nitsi s-shutsă s-mutrească cum marle pesk di amare penarga chire tu apă, prota s-videa ntreg, dupu atsea ma njic shi tu sone multu minut. Di aistă aushlu totăna armănea spurisit, ma aistă oară nitsi călu mutri.

⁴ The text is a translation of the Macedonian text. The translation was done by Kocea Nicea.

Shqip (Albanian)

Fshiu faqen e thikës dhe e la lopatën në varkë. Pastaj rregulloi pëlhurën dhe, kur ajo gufoi nga era, e ktheu varkën në drejtimin e mëparshëm.

– Ata kanë marrë me vete sigurisht një të katërtën e peshkut, madje edhe mishin më të mirë, – tha me zë të lartë. – Sa mirë do të qe sikur kjo të ishte vetëm një ëndërr dhe të mos e kisha zënë këtë peshk! Keq më vjen, o peshk, që na ngjau kjo gjë. Na prishi shumë punë. Plaku pushoi; ai s’kishte qejf ta vështronte peshkun tani. Ngjyra e tij i shëmbëllente ngjyrës së amalgamit me të cilën mbulojmë pasqyrën, por vijat e tij dukeshin ende.

– S’duhej të shkoja kaq larg në det, o peshk, tha. – Keq më doli, edhe mua edhe ty. Keq më vjen shumë, o peshk.

“Hajde, mos u huto!” i tha vetes. “Shiko se mos është prerë litari me të cilin ke lidhur thikën. Rregulloje edhe dorën se ke ende punë.”

– Keq më vjen që s’kam gurin për të mprehur thikën, – tha plaku duke kontrolluar litarin në bisht të lopatës. Duhej të kisha marrë gurin me vete. “Shumë gjëra duhej të kishe marrë me vete, more plak”, mendoi. “Po ja që s’i more. Kot e ke që rri e mendo-hesh se ç’nuk ke marrë. Mendohu si mund të mbarosh punë me ato që ke.”

– Uf, më mërzite me këto këshillat e tua, – tha me zë të lartë. Mjaft i dëgjova.

Vuri timonin nën sqetull dhe i futi duart në ujë. Varka shkonte përpara.

– Zoti e di sa mori ai peshkaqeni i fundit – tha. – Por peshku është lehtësuar shumë.

Nuk donte ta sillte ndërmend barkun e tij të sakatuar. Ai e dinte se peshkaqeni kishte këputur nga një copë mish sa herë që e kish goditur varkën dhe se peshku linte tani në det një gjurmë të gjerë, posi një rrugë e madhe, ku mund të vinin të gjithë peshkaqenët e botës.

“Nje peshk i tillë mund ta ushqente njerinë një dimër të tërë. Mos mendo për këtë, more plak! Çlodhu dhe mundohu t’i rregullosh duart, që të mbrosh ç’të ka mbe-tur. Era e gjakut e duarve të mia nuk është asgjë, në krahasim me erën që lëshon peshku në det. Tani duart thuajse nuk kullojnë më gjak. Atje s’ka të prera të thella. Vërtet më shkoj ca gjak nga dora e majtë, por kjo më bëri mirë se shpëtova nga ngërçi.”

E përse të rri e të mendoj tani? Për asgjë. Më mirë të mos mendoj për asgjë dhe të pres peshkaqenët e tjerë. Sa mirë do qe, sikur të gjitha këto të ishin ëndërr. Po ku ta dish? Ndofta më del mirë.”

Peshkaqeni tjetër u duk vetëm; edhe ky ishte nga raca e atyre hundështypurve. Ai u afrua ashtu siç i afrohet derri koritës, vetëm se derri nuk ka një gojë kaq të madhe për ta kollofitur përnjëherësh kokën e njeriut! Plaku e la ta kafshonte peshkun dhe pastaj e goditi në tru me thikën që kishte lidhur te lopata. Por peshkaqeni u praps përnjëherë duke bërë kullotumba dhe thika u thye.

Plaku u ul te timoni. Ai as që vështroi si fundosej ngadalë peshkaqeni duke u bërë gjithnjë më i vogël dhe pastaj fare i vogël. Ai shkrihej kur shihte një gjë të tillë. Por tani nuk i pëlqente të vështronte.

Ernest Hemingvej, *Plaku dhe Deti*. Përktheu nga origjinali: Vedat Kokona. Tiranë: Çabej. 1997. 70-72.

Shqip (Geg Albanian)⁵

Plaku pastroi thikën dhe me gëzim e leshoi në barkë. Mandej ngrehu velat dhe e shtyni barkën në drejtimin e përparshëm.

‘Padyshim kanë hangër një të katërtën e peshkut, madje të mishit më të mirë,’ tha me zâ. ‘Ku me marrë me qenë adërr tanë kjo ngjarje dhe të mos e disha zanë kurrnjherë. Më vjen keq, o peshk, që ngjau kështu. Tanë puna shkoi mbrapshtë’. Heshti dhe nuk deshti më me shique peshkun I përgjakun, shtrihej n’ujë dhe kishte marrë ngjyrë t’argjentë si shpina e pasqyrës, por megjithatë i shifshin shokat.

‘Nuk është dashtë të shkoj aq larg me peshkue’, tha. ‘As për ty, as për vedi. Më vjen keq, o peshk’.

Hajt, i tha vtvedit, Shiqo tash se si është lidhë thika. Mandej bëni gadi duert, se ke me pasë edhe shumë punë.

‘Më mirë do t’ishte me pasë thikë guri’, tha plaku, mbasi shiqoi litarin me të cilin kishte lidhë thikën në lopatë. ‘Asht dashtë të marr sèpaku një gur’. Padyshim ka qenë nevojshme të marr edhe shumë gjana tjera, mendoi, Por, nuk i ke marrë, o plak. Tash s’është koha me mendue për gjanat që s’i ke.

‘Shum këshilla të mira je tue më dhanë,’ i tha më zâ verredit. ‘Më mërzite më’.

Dorzën e timonit e mbante nën sjetull e të dyja duert i lagu n’ujë, e kështu lundroshin.

‘Zoti e din sa ka kafshue peshkaqeni i fundit,’ tha. ‘Tash është shumë më lehtë.’ Nuk donte me mendue për pjesën e poshtme, të sakatueme, të peshkut. Sa herë dridhej barka, plaku e dinte se peshkaqeni shkulte nga një copë mish dhe se peshku është tue lanë gjurmë të gjanë gjaku, të gjanë si xhade.

Ky ishte peshk, me të cilin njeriu do të mundte me kalue tanë dimnin, mendoi. Por, mos mendo për këtë gjâ! Pusho dhe përpiku t’i aftsojsh duert për të mbrojtë pjesën që teproi. Duhma e gjakut të duerve të tija, s’a sht gjâ në krahasim me gjurmën e madhe të gjakut n’ujë. Madje, as që është tue më shkue shumë gjak prej tyne. Varrët nuk janë gjithë të rrezikshme. Rrjedhja e gjakut në dorën e majtë, ndoshta do ta ndihmojë mos me ia zane perseri gërçi.

Pâr çka të medoj tash? Pyeti vetvidin. Për asgjâ. Nuk guxoj me mendue për asnjë send. Por duhet të pres derisa të vijne peshkaqejt tjerë. Vertet do të dëshirojshe të kishte qene anderr, mendoi. Por, kush e di? Ndoshta do të m’ipet e mbara.

Pashkaqeni tjetër që mbërrini, ishte i vetëm. Erdhi si derri në koritë, por pa at gojë të madhe të tij, sa njeriu të mundte me futë kryet në të. Plaku e leshoi me kafshue peshkum e mandej ia nguli thiken në trû. Peshkaqeni u tërhog mbrapa me të shpejtë, u rrotullue dhe theu thikën.

Plaku zuni vend afër timonit. As nuk e kqyri fundosjen e ngadalshme të eshkaqenit të madh: në fillim shifer i tanë, mandej më i vogël dhe më në fund krejt i imtë. Një pamje e tillë kurdoherë e ka magjepsë plakum. Por, këtë herë as që e shiqoi.

Ernest Hemingvej, *Plaku e deti (dhe novela tjera)*. Transl.: Masar Murtezai & Ramiz Kelmendi. Pristina: Miladin Popoviq. 1957. 67-69.

⁵ This text was published in Prishtina during the period when the official language of the Kosovo Albanians was Geg Albanian.

Ελληνικά (Modern Greek)

Ο γέρος σφούγγισε τώρα το μαχαίρι κι άφησε κάτω το κουπί. Ύστερα μάζεψε τη σκότα, το πανί πήρε αέρα κι η βάρκα ξαναμπήκε στη ρότα της.

– Θα μου φάγανε το ένα κάρτο απ’ το ψάρι κι απ’ το καλύτερο μέρος μάλιστα! είπε δυνατά. Κάλλιο νά ‘ταν όνειρο και ποτέ να μην τό ‘χα καμακώσει. Μετάνιωσα, ψάρι. Όλα στραβά πάνε τώρα.

Σώπασε και πήρε το βλέμμα του απ’ το ψάρι και δεν ήθελε να το ξανακοιτάξει. Στραγγισμένο απ’ όλο του το αίμα τώρα και ξεπλυμμένο, είχε το χρώμα της ράχης του καθρέφτη, μόνο που ξεχώριζαν ακόμα οι φαρδιές ρίγες του.

– Δεν έπρεπε ν’ ανοιχτώ τόσο πολύ, ψάρι μου, είπε. Μήτε για σένα ήτανε καλό, μήτε για μένα. Πικρά τό ‘χω μετανιώσει, ψάρι.

Έλα, άσ’ τα αυτά τώρα, είπε στον εαυτό του. Κοίτα μην έχει λασκάρει το δέσιμο του μαχαιριού και μην πάει να κοπεί το σκοινί. Κοίτα να δεις μετά τι θα κάνεις με το χέρι σου, γιατί είναι κι’ άλλη συμφορά νά ‘ρθει ακόμα.

– Καλύτερα νά ‘χα κανένα κοτρόνι, παρά το μαχαίρι, είπε ο γέρος σαν εξέτασε τα δεσίματα του μαχαιριού στο κουπί. Έπρεπε νά ‘χα φέρει μαζί μου κοτρόνια. Πολλά έπρεπε νά ‘χες φέρει, γέρο, σκέφτηκε. Δεν τά ‘φερεις όμως καημένε. Δεν είν’ ώρα τούτη να λογαριάζεις το τι δεν έχεις. Σκέψου τι μπορείς να κάνεις μ’ ό,τι έχεις.

– Πολλές σοφές ορμήνειες μου δίνεις, βλέπω! είπε δυνατά στον εαυτό του. Φτάνει, τις βαρέθηκα.

Κράτησε το διάκι στη μασχάλη και βούτηξε και τα δυο του χέρια στο νερό και τ’ άφησε κάμποσο εκεί, ενώ η βάρκα συνέχιζε το ταξίδι της.

– Ένας θεός ξέρει πόσο μου πήρε τούτος ο τελευταίος, είπε. Είμαι πιο αλαφρύς όμως τώρα.

Δεν ήθελε καθόλου να σκεφτεί το καταφαγωμένο κάτω μέρος του ψαριού. Ήξερε πως το κάθε κουτούλημα του καρχαρία κάτω από τη βάρκα σήμαινε κι από ένα κομμάτι που χανόταν από το ψάρι του κι ότι τόσο αίμα που έτρεξε σημάδευε το δρόμο της βάρκας στη θάλασσα για χατίρι όλων των καρχαριών της περιοχής, μ’ ένα αυλάκι πλατύ σαν δημοσιά.

Κι ήταν ένα ψάρι που έφτανε να ζήσει έναν άνθρωπο ολάκερο χειμώνα, συλλογίστηκε με παράπονο. Καλά, μην το σκέφτεσαι, είπε αμέσως στον εαυτό του. Ξεκουράσου μόνο και κοίτα να συνεφέρεις τα χέρια σου για να φυλάξεις όσο σου απόμεινε. Η μυρωδιά που αφήνει στο νερό το αίμα των χεριών μου, τώρα, δεν είναι τίποτα μπροστά σ’ όλη τούτη τη μυρωδιά που έχει απλωθεί γύρω. Κι ύστερα, δεν τρέχει και πολύ αίμα. Δεν έχω κοπεί και πολύ άσκημα. Το ξεμάτωμα μπορεί και να μου φυλάξει τ’ αριστερό να μη μου πιαστεί.

Σαν τι έχω να σκεφτώ τώρα; είπε μέσα του. Τίποτα. Δεν πρέπει τίποτα να σκέφτομαι, μόνο να καρτερώ τους άλλους. Μωρέ είχα χίλιες φορές καλύτερα νά ‘ταν όνειρο, συλλογίστηκε. Μα, πάλι, που ξέρεις; Μπορεί και να πάνε όλα καλά.

Ο επόμενος καρχαρίας που ήρθε ήταν ένας μοναχικός πλακουτσομούρης, σαν τους άλλους δυο. Ήρθε όπως τρέχει το γουρούνι στη σκάφη, αν ένα γουρούνι μπορεί ποτέ νά ‘χει τέτοια στοματάρα που να χωράει το κεφάλι σου μέσα. Ο γέρος τον άφησε να δαγκώσει το ψάρι, και του κάρφωσε το μαχαίρι ίσια στο μυαλό. Μα ο καρχαρίας έδωσε ένα τίναγμα κατά πίσω καθώς κατρακύλησε κι η λεπίδα του μαχαιριού έσπασε.

Ο γέρος, χωρίς να χάνει καιρό, κάθησε στο τιμόνι. Ούτε γύρισε να δει τον πελώριο καρχαρία που αργοβούλιαζε, δείχνοντας πρώτα σε φυσικό μέγεθος, ύστερα όλο πιο μικρός και τέλος σαν μια κουκίδα. Πάντα του άρεσε να το παρατηρεί αυτό. Τώρα όμως μήτε ήθελε να κοιτάξει.

Έρνεστ Χεμινγκουαίη, *Ο Γέρος και η Θάλασσα*. Μετάφραση: Μανώλη Κορνηλίου. Αθήνα: Μίνωας. 1983. 99-101.

Modern Greek – Latin transcription

O jéros sfúnghise tóra to maxéri ki áfise káto to kupí. Ísterá mázepse ti skóta, to paní píre aéra ki i várka ksanabíke sti róta tis.

– Tha mu fágane to éna kárto ap’ to psári ki ap’ to kalítero méros málista! ípe dhi-natá. Kálío na ‘tan óniro ke poté na min tó ‘xa kamakósi. Metániosa, psári. Ola stravá páne tóra.

Sópase ke píre to vléma tu ap’ to psári ke dhen íthele na to ksanakitáksi. Strangis-méno ap’ ólo tu to éma tóra ke ksepliméno, íxe to xróma tis ráxis tu kathréfti, móno pu ksexórizan akóma i fardhiés ríjes tu.

– Dhen éprepe n’ anixtó tóso polí, psári mu, ípe. Míte ja séna ítane kaló, mítē ja ména. Pikrá to ‘xo metaniósi, psári.

Éla, ás’ ta aftá tóra, ípe ston eaftó tu. Kíta min éxi laskári to dhésimo tu maxeriú ke min pái na kopí to skiní. Kíta na dhis metá ti tha kánis me to xéri su, jatí íne ki’ ali simforá ná ‘rthi akóma.

– Kalítera ná ‘xa kanéna kotróni, pará to maxéri, ípe o jéros san eksétase ta dhesímata tu maxeiriú sto kupí. Éprepe ná ‘xa féri mazí mu kotrónia. Polá éprepe ná ‘xis féri, jéro, skéftike. Dhen tá ‘feres ómos kaiméne. Dhen ín’ óra túti na loghariázis to tí dhen éxis. Sképsu tí borís na kánis m’ óti éxis.

– Polés sofés ormínies mu dhínis, vlépo! ípe dhinatá ston eaftó tu. Ftáni, tis varéthika.

Krátise to dhiáki sti masxáli ke vútíkse ke ta dhió tu xéria sto neró ke t’áfise kámboso ekí, enó i várka sinéxize to taksídhi tis.

Énas theós kséri póso mu píre tútos o teleftéos, ípe. Íme pjo alafrís ómos tóra.

Dhen íthele kathólu na skeftí to katafaghoméno káto méros tu psariú. Íksere pos to káthe kutúlíma tu karxaría káto apó ti várka símene ki’ apó éna komáti pu xanótan apó to psári tu ki óti tóso éma pu étrekse simádheve to dhrómo tis várkas sti thálasa ja xatíri ólon ton karxarión tis perioxís, m’ éna avláki platí san dhimosiá.

Ki ítan éna psári pu éftane na zísi énan ánthropo olákero ximóna, silojístike me parápono. Kalá, min to skéftese, ípe amésos ston eaftó tu. Ksekurásu móno ke kíta na sineféis ta xéria su ja na filáksis óso su apómíne. I mirodhiá pu afíni sto neró to éma ton xerión mu, tóra, dhen íne típota brostá s’ óli túti ti mirodhiá pi éxi aplothí jiro. Ki ísterá, dhen tréxi ke polí éma. Dhen éxo kopí ke polí áskima. To ksemátoma borí ke na mu filáksi t’ aristeró na mi mu piastí.

– San ti éxo na skeftó tóra? ípe mésa tu. Típota. Dhen prépi típota na skéftome, móno na karteró tus álus. Moré íxa xílies forés kalítera ná ‘tan óniro, silojístike. Ma, páli, pú kséris? Borí ke na páne óla kalá.

O epómenos karxarías pu írthe ítan énas monaxikós plakutsomúris, san tus álus dhió. Írthe ópos tréxi to ghurúni sti skáfí, an éna ghurúni borí poté ná ‘xi tétia stomatára pu na xorái to kefáli su mésa. O jéros ton áfise na dhangósi to psári ke tu kárfose to maxéri ísia sto mialó. Ma o karxarías édhose éna tínaghma katá píso kathós katrakílise ki i lepídha tu maxeriú éspase.

O jéros, xorís na xáni keró, káthise sto timóni. Ute jírise na dhi ton pelório karxaría pu arghovúliaze, díxnondas próta se físikó méjethos, ísterá ólo pjo mikrós ke télos san mia kukídha. Pánda tu árese na to paratirí aftó. Tóra ómos mítē íthele na kitáksi.

Arli (Arli Balkan Romani)⁶

O bhuro koslja i čhurik thaj muklja o veslo. Pali adova gerdingja o edro thaj i paj-džala palem cidingja ko isto pravcu.

‘Siguro hale jek četvrtina kotar o mačo, hem odova taro najsužo mas, penda glasno. ‘(Bi) mangava sa odova te dvel samo suno thaj nikheda te na astaravla sine. Žal mange saakaleske, mačea. Sa ikילו tersene.’ Čutindža, hem akana na manglja te ikhel ko macho. Ratvali thaj thovdi akana ole sinele renki sar ko srebreno ogledalo ama leskere linie panda dičhoveva sine.

‘Na trubulasine te dzaf doborom dur, machea,’ vakhergja ov. ‘Sar baši mange, agjaar thaj baši tuke. Izvini, machea.’

A akana, vakergja korkoripeske, dik dali i pangli šukor i čurik hem dali čhinela. Pale odova spremin te vasta soske ka pojavinempe panda but morsko džukela. Bi mangava sine te ovelma bar mesto čhurik, vakergjao phuro.

‘Trebelasine te phiravav bar. Trebelasine te phirave but buča,’ gndisarda ov. Ama ni leljan phurea. Akana naj o vakti te gudi golese so najtut. Gudi so šaj te khere o koleja so situt. ‘Sikaveaman but šukar bukja,’ vakergja glasno. ‘Čhindo sijum o lenda.’

Ikherindaj i račka kotor o kormilo teli khak, čhuta pe solduj vasta ako pai džikai dzalasa o pajdžala anglal.

‘O devel džanela kobor lelja okova o poluno,’ vakhergha ov. Ama akana i but polokhi. Na manglja te gudinel baši but čhindi teluni rig e mačeskiri. Džanglja kai svako tresiba e morsko džukeleskoro džanelapesine čhimbe mas, hem kaj o mačo akana mukhela buvli traga sa e morsko džukeling, buvli sar morsko drumo.

Odova sine mačo kotor manuš bi šaj te dživdinelo celo milaj, gudinjgja ov. Ma gudin baši odova. Akana drin thaj probin palem te spremine te vasta te šaj te braninen okova so ačhilo taro mačo. O miris e rateskoro kotor nile vasta na značinel kanči ki sporredba sa akale khandunavale panjea. Ama o lada na ratvorkherena but. Na ne but čhinde. O tavidibe but rateskoro šaj ka pomožinel e bojanolo vas te mukljavel.

So šaj te gudinav akana?, gndingja ov. Bašo khanči. Na ljazimi te gudinav bašo anči, ama ka adžikherav okolen morsko džukeleu. Bi mangavasine odova te ovelsine suno, gudingja ov. Ama ko džanela.

Šaj ka cidel ano pošukar. Ovaver morsko džukel sinele muj sar lopata. Alo sar so avela balo ki balaja, ama e bale mane doborom buvlo muj, te šaj manuš te čhivol pošero ondre. O phuro mukljale te kicinel e mače a polem odova posangjale čhurikaja ki godi.

Ama o phuro mestingjape ko kormilo. Ov na dikhelasine sar pohari batinela o boro morsko džukel, sikavdindoj anglal celo a polem odova potikno thaj najpalal hem tikno. Odova but e phureske sine čudno. Ama akhana niti na dikljale.

⁶ The text is a translation of the Macedonian text. The translation was done by Bajrami Severdžan.

The English text from which translations have been made

The old man wiped the blade of his knife and laid down the oar. Then he found the sheet and the sail filled and he brought the skiff on to her course.

'They must have taken a quarter of him and of the best meat,' he said aloud. 'I wish it were a dream and that I had never hooked him. I'm sorry about it, fish. It makes everything wrong.' He stopped and he did not want to look at the fish now. Drained of blood and awash he looked the color of the silver backing of a mirror and his stripes still showed.

'I shouldn't have gone out so far, fish,' he said. 'Neither for your nor for me. I'm sorry, fish.'

Now, he said to himself. Look to the lashing on the knife and see if it has been cut. Then get your hand in order because there still is more to come.

'I wish I had a stone for the knife,' the old man said after he had checked the lashing on the oar butt. 'I should have brought a stone.' You should have brought many things, he thought. But you did not bring them, old man. Now is no time to think of what you do not have. Think of what you can do with what there is.

'You give me much good counsel,' he said aloud. 'I'm tired of it.'

He held the tiller under his arm and soaked both his hands in the water as the skiff drove forward.

'God knows how much that last one took,' he said. 'But she's much lighter now.' He did not want to think of the mutilated under-side of the fish. He knew that each of the jerking bumps of the shark had been meat torn away and that the fish now made a trail for all sharks as wide as a highway through the sea.

He was a fish to keep a man all winter, he thought. Don't think of that. Just rest and try to get your hands in shape to defend what is left of him. The blood smell from my hands means nothing now with all that scent in the water. Besides they do not bleed much. There is nothing cut that means anything. The bleeding may keep the left from cramping.

What can I think of now? he thought. Nothing. I must think of nothing and wait for the next one. I wish it had really been a dream, he thought. But who knows? It might have turned out well.

The next shark that came was a single shovel-nose. He came like a pig to the through if a pig had a mouth so wide that you could put your head in it. The old man let him hit the fish and then drove the knife on the oar down into his brain. But the shark jerked backwards as he rolled and the knife blade snapped.

The old man settled himself to steer. He did not even watch the big shark sinking slowly in the water, showing first life-size, then small, then tiny. That always fascinated the old man. But he did not even watch it now.

Ernest Hemingway, *The Old Man and the Sea*. London: Jonathan Cape. 1952. 110-112.

Appendix Three

LANGUAGES SPOKEN ON THE BALKANS¹

INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

1. Slavic

1.1 South Slavic

1.1.1 Serbo-Croatian (Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian)

1.1.1.1 Approximately 16 400 000 speakers on the Balkans speak Serbo-Croatian/Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian as their mother tongue, of which 10,000,000 in Serbia and Montenegro, 4,800,000 in Croatia and 4,000,000 in Bosnia and Herzegovina (based on Bugarski 1992; Škiljan 1992; the Yugoslav 1982 census). Serbo-Croatian is also spoken as a mother tongue by Serbian and Croatian national minorities in Romania (80,000 speakers, according to SIL), Albania (data lacking), Macedonia (180,000 speakers, according to the 1994 Macedonian census), Slovenia (cca. 200,000 speakers by extrapolation), Bulgaria (9,000 speakers, according to SIL), Turkey (20,000 speakers, according to SIL; no data on the number of speakers in Balkan Turkey, however); it is also spoken as a second language by the native speakers of Hungarian, Albanian (Geg and Tosk), Arbanasan, Armenian, Aromanian, Bulgarian, Circassian, Czech, German, Greek, Hungarian, Istro-Romance, Istro-Romanian, Italian, Judeo-German, Judeo-Spanish, Macedonian, Polish, Romanian, Romany, Russian, Rusyn, Slovak, Turkish, Ukrainian, Vlach, Venetian, Yiddish, Yurukh – all of them living in present-day Serbia and Montenegro, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. In pre-1990 Yugoslavia, Serbo-Croatian was used as a *lingua communis* by native speakers of all the other languages in the country (cf. Radovanović 1992) and continues to be so used by native speakers of Slovenian and Macedonian in non-official communication with people from the area who do not speak their language.

1.1.1.2 Serbo-Croatian was standardized in the middle of the nineteenth century – following the Vienna Literary Agreement of 1850 between Serbian and Croatian men of letters (cf. Herrity 1992). It was based on a dialect in Hercegovina – a region at the cross-section of the areas populated by Serbs and Croats. The Serbs, who had fought their freedom from the Turkish Empire, embraced it as a replacement for the Slavenoserbski literary language, which had many Old Church Slavonic and Russian features, making it usable only to the literary elite. The Croats saw in it a powerful tool in their strife for independence from the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

1.1.1.3 Traditionally, there are three Serbo-Croatian dialect groups: Štokavian, Kajkavian and Čakavian, the labels deriving from the words for ‘what’ – *što*, *kaj* and *ča*, respectively. The Štokavian dialects are most widespread. The Herzegovina dialect that served as a basis for Serbo-Croatian, is Štokavian. Serbo-Croatian itself has been qualified as “Neoštokavian”. Kajkavian and Čakavian are more restricted groups of dialects spoken in Croatia – the former in its North-Western part, bordering with Slovenia; the latter in Dalmatia, in and around the city of Split.

¹ Only languages spoken by majority or minority communities on the Balkans are listed. No data are given about the minority languages spoken in Turkey (36 languages, in addition to (Osmanli) Turkish, according to SIL), unless these languages are spoken on the Balkans.

The ordering of groups and of languages within a group is according to number of speakers.

1.1.1.4 There are also three major phonologically distinguished variants of Serbo-Croatian – Jekavian, Ijekavijan and Ikavian, reflecting the three distinct developments of the Old Church Slavonic phoneme referred to as “jat”. The Jekavian variant is spoken in Serbia, the Ikavian in Croatia, whereas the Ijekavian variant is spoken in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and parts of Serbia and Croatia – more precisely, in Western Serbia and Eastern, South-Eastern and Northern Croatia.

1.1.1.5 The communicative load of the regional dialects is considerable (*cf.* Kalogjera 1992). This is most evident in the regions where the Kajkavian, Čakavian and South-Eastern Serbian (Torlak) dialects are spoken. Note that the South-Eastern Serbian dialects are Štokavian, but have many features that distinguish them from Standard Serbian or Standard Croatian, which have been referred to as “Neoštokavian”.

1.1.1.6 Political developments during the last decade of the 20th century have led to the replacement of Serbo-Croatian by three languages: Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian. There are no significant structural differences between the Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian standard languages, however (at least not yet). While socio-linguistically we definitely have three distinct languages, from the point of view of structural linguistics we are dealing with one language system.

1.1.2 Bulgarian

1.1.2.1 The majority of the people living in Bulgaria speak Bulgarian as their mother tongue (7,986,000 speakers or 85% of the total population, according to SIL). Bulgarian is also spoken as a mother tongue by Bulgarian national minority groups in Turkey (270,000 native speakers in Turkey, according to SIL; no data on the number of speakers in Balkan Turkey, however), Serbia (36,189 speakers, according to the Yugoslav 1982 census), Greece (30,000 speakers, according to SIL), and Romania (10,439 speakers, according to SIL).² It is spoken as a second language by the Turkic minorities in Bulgaria, as well as by the Macedonians living in Bulgaria.³

1.1.2.2 Bulgarian was standardized during the seventh and eighth decades of the 19th century. It was based on the Eastern dialects of the language.

1.1.2.3 There is a dialect of Bulgarian referred to as “Palityan” or “Bogomil”, which is substantially different from Standard Bulgarian. It is spoken in Bulgaria, Romania and Serbia (*cf.* SIL; no data about number of speakers are given).

1.1.3 Slovenian⁴

1.1.3.1 Slovenian is spoken as a mother tongue in Slovenia⁵ (1,760,000 speakers, according to the 1982 Yugoslav census). It is also spoken as a second language by the speakers of Hungarian, Serbian, Croatian, Italian and Venetian living in Slovenia.

² It is also spoken by a substantial community of 18th century immigrants in Moldova – a former Soviet republic, which since the last decade of the 20th century is an independent state. Since Moldova is not on the Balkans, no data about number of speakers are given here. As pointed out by Dyer (2001), the Bulgarian in Moldova “for the most part retains its “Balkanness”, while at the same time acquiring a new Moldovan face”.

³ The mother tongue of the Macedonians living in Western Bulgaria is hardly distinguishable from the Bulgarian dialects of their next-door neighbours. Standard Bulgarian is, however, distinct, from it.

⁴ Slovenia is at the margins of the Balkan peninsula.

⁵ It is also spoken as a mother tongue by the Slovenian national minorities in Austria and Italy – but that is completely outside the Balkans.

1.1.3.2 Slovenian was standardized in the eighties of the 19th century. The standard was based on the dialects spoken in Central Slovenia.

1.1.4 Macedonian

1.1.4.1 Macedonian is spoken as a mother tongue by the Macedonians in Macedonia (1,332,983 speakers in the Republic of Macedonia, according to the 1994 Macedonian census), as well as by substantial Macedonian minority communities in Greece, Bulgaria and Albania. (SIL quotes 41,017 for Greece 30,000 for Albania and none for Bulgaria, but the numbers are much higher) and a very restricted minority community in the Serbian province of Vojvodina. It is also spoken as a second language by the Albanian, Turkic, Romance and Romany communities in Macedonia.

1.1.4.2 Macedonian was codified during the ten years following the constitution of the Macedonian state (towards the end of World War Two), though the principles of the standard were laid out at the turn of the 20th century. For historical and geographic reasons, the Central Western Macedonian dialects were chosen as a core for the standard. In accordance with the tradition of standardization obtaining throughout the Slavic world, the choice was substantially influenced by the fact that the Western dialects exhibit features that distinguish Macedonian from the neighbouring Slavic languages (*cf.* Korubin 1984; Tomić 1992).

1.1.5 South Slavic Sinte

1.1.5.1 South Slavic Sinte is spoken by limited Gypsy communities in Serbia and Montenegro (31,000 speakers, according to SIL), Croatia and Slovenia (a total of 10,000 speakers in the latter two countries, according to SIL).

1.1.5.2 The South Slavic Sinte is a language with South Slavic structure, strongly influenced by Romani.

1.2 West Slavic

1.2.1 Slovak

1.2.1.1 On the Balkans, Slovak is spoken as a mother tongue by Slovak minority communities in the Serbian province of Vojvodina and in Croatia (76,114 speakers, according to the 1982 Yugoslav census, of which 69,581 in the Serbian province of Vojvodina and 6,533 in Croatia).

1.2.1.2 The Slovak spoken in Vojvodina is structurally undistinguishable from Standard Slovak, though there are numerous instances of interference of Serbo-Croatian in the form of loan-words, loan translations and semantic loans (*cf.* Mikeš 1992).

1.2.2 Rusyn/Ruthinian

1.2.2.1 Rusyn/Ruthinian is the mother tongue of the Rusyns living in the Serbian province of Vojvodina and in Croatia (19 307 in the former and 3 500 in the latter, according to the 1982 Yugoslav census). Thus, it is at the same time a majority and a minority language.

1.2.2.2 Rusyn is the youngest Slavic standard language – its standardization took place in the 1960s (*cf.* Kočiš 1978). Its relationship with other Slavic languages and/or dialects has been a much discussed issue. It has been qualified as (i) a standardized Ukrainian dialect, (ii) a standardized Slovak dialect or (iii) a standardized idiom based on both Ukrainian and Slovak. Gustavsson (1984) applied to it criteria for drawing the demarcation line between the Eastern and the Western Slavic languages and concluded that it is a West Slavic language.

1.2.3 Czech

1.2.3.1 On the Balkans, Czech is spoken as a mother tongue by Czech minority groups in Croatia (19,642 speakers, according to the 1982 Yugoslav census), the Serbian province of Vojvodina (2,012 speakers, according to the 1982 Yugoslav census), Bulgaria (9,000 speakers, according to SIL).

1.2.4 Polish

1.2.4.1 On the Balkans, Polish is spoken as a mother tongue by minority communities in Romania (10,000 speakers, according to SIL) and by scattered minority groups in Croatia, the Serbian province of Vojvodina and in Bosnia and Herzegovina (a total of 3,043 speakers, according to the 1982 Yugoslav census).

1.3 East Slavic

1.3.1 Ukrainian

1.3.1.1 Ukrainian is spoken as a mother tongue by small minority groups in the Serbian province of Vojvodina (5,001 speakers, according to the 1982 Yugoslav census), Bosnia and Herzegovina (4,502 speakers, according to the 1982 Yugoslav census) Croatia (2,000 speakers, according to the 1982 Yugoslav census) and Romania (no data).

1.3.2 Russian

1.3.2.1 As a mother tongue Russian is spoken by scattered minority groups in the town of Northern Serbia (a total of 3,880 speakers, according to the 1982 Yugoslav census) and Bulgaria (11,000 speakers, according to SIL).

2. Romance

2.1 Romanian

2.1.1 (Daco-)Romanian

2.1.1.1 (Daco-)Romanian is spoken as a mother tongue by 90% of the population of Romania (20,520,000 speakers, according to the 1986 Romanian census). It is spoken as a mother tongue by a substantial minority community in the Banat region of the Serbian province of Vojvodina (54,955 speakers, according to the 1982 Yugoslav census).⁶ The native speakers of Bulgarian, German, Greek, Hungarian, Polish, Romani, Serbo-Croatian, and the Turkic languages, who live in Romania, speak it as a second language.

2.1.1.2 (Daco-)Romanian was standardized in the second half of the 19th century. The Banat dialect spoken in Serbia differs from Standard Romanian, but is constantly influenced by it. Standard Romanian is used in education, public life and the mass media in Banat, so that, among educated people, a high degree of diglossia has been perceived (*cf.* Mikeš 1992).

⁶ (Daco-)Romanian is also spoken as a mother tongue in Moldova – a former Soviet republic but an independent state since the last decade of the 20th century. Moldova is, however, outside the outer limits of the Balkans.

2.1.2 Vlach⁷

2.1.2.1 Vlach is spoken in Eastern Serbia (25,535 speakers, according to the 1982 Yugoslav census).

2.1.2.2 Structurally, Vlach is not very different from Romanian.

2.1.3 Aromanian

2.1.3.1 Aromanian is spoken in Albania (60,000 speakers, according to SIL), Greece – in an area of 30 to 40 kilometers between Epirus and Thessaly (50,000 speakers, according to SIL; 100,000 speakers, according to Golab 1984), Macedonia (cca. 30,000 speakers, according to Kovačec 1992, but after Macedonia became an independent state (1992) the number of its citizens who declare themselves as Aromanians has drastically increased).

2.1.3.2 Structurally, Aromanian is distinct from Romanian, Megleno-Romanian and Istro-Romanian.

2.1.4 Megleno-Romanian

2.1.4.1 Megleno-Romanian is spoken only in Northern Greece (12,000 speakers, according to SIL) and Macedonia (more than 2000 speakers, according to Kovačec 1992).

2.1.4.2 Structurally, Megleno-Romanian is distinct from Romanian, Aromanian and Istro-Romanian.

2.1.5 Istro-Romanian

2.1.5.1 Istro-Romanian is spoken only in the North-Eastern part of the Istrian Peninsula (1,200 to 1,500 speakers, according to Kovačec 1992).

2.1.5.2 Structurally, Istro-Romanian is distinct from Romanian, Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian.

2.2 Italic

2.2.1 Italian

2.2.1.1 On the Balkans, Italian is spoken as a minority language in Croatia (11,661 speakers, according to Kovačec 1992) and Slovenia (2,187 speakers, according to Kovačec 1992).

⁷ The word *Vlach* is a cognate to the German word *welsch* and the English word *Welsh*, both meaning ‘Roman’, whatever the language of “the Romans”. Accordingly, it is plausible to assume that this word was “left behind” by the German tribes that had invaded Eastern Europe and the Balkans before the Slavs settled there (cf. The Vlach Connection).

For the Balkan Slavs, a “Vlach” is a speakers of one of the Balkan Romance languages; though the word is also used with the general meaning ‘stranger’. For the Croats along the Dalmatian coast, “Vlachs” are the Serbs behind the mountain ranges. For the Burgerland Croats “Vlachs” are the people across the river from where they lived before they moved to a region which is now in Eastern Austria. The Poles, on the other hand, use a variant of this word, *Wlochy*, to refer to Italy and the Italians. In Balkan linguistics, the word is used as a technical term for reference to the speakers of the Daco-Romanian dialect in Eastern Serbia.

With appropriate case endings, the word *Vlach* turns up in mediaeval Latin (*blachi*) and Greek (*blakhoi*) – words which are also used to refer to the speakers of the Balkan Romance languages.

2.2.2 Venetian

2.2.2.1 Venetian is spoken in Croatia and Slovenia. (SIL quotes 100,000 speakers in the two countries, but the data are very unreliable).

2.2.2.2 Structurally, Venetian is very different from Standard Italian.

2.3 Istro-Romance

2.3.1 Istro-Romance is spoken only on the Western coast of the Istrian Peninsula, Croatia (1,000 or fewer speakers, according to SIL).

2.3.1.1 Istro-Romance is reported to be an archaic Romance language, close to Friulian and the already extinct Dalmatian.

2.4 Judeo-Spanish (Ladino)

2.4.1 Judeo-Spanish is spoken in Turkey (8,000 first language speakers in Turkey, according to SIL; no data on the number of speakers in Balkan Turkey) Serbia and Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia (a few dozen speakers in the latter three countries, according to Kovačec 1992).

3. Germanic

3.1 German

3.1.1 On the Balkans, German is spoken as a mother tongue by German minority communities in Romania (150,000 speakers in 1993, according to SIL),⁸ the Serbian province of Vojvodina (3,808 speakers, according to Kovačec) and Croatia (2,175 speakers, according to Kovačec).

3.1.2 The German dialect spoken in Romania is referred to as Transylvanian; the German dialect spoken in Serbia and Croatia – as Panonian.

3.2 Judeo-German

3.2.1 Judeo-German is spoken by very few speakers in the Serbian province of Vojvodina and in Croatia.

3.2.2 Judeo-German is actually a mixture of Yiddish and German.

3.3 Yiddish

3.3.1 Yiddish is spoken by very few speakers in the Serbian province of Vojvodina and in Croatia.

4. Greek

4.1 (Modern) Greek

4.1.1 (Modern) Greek is the language spoken as a mother tongue by the majority of the population of Greece (9,859,850 speakers or 98% of the population, according to SIL, but the data are doubtful in view of the fact that there are substantial numbers of native speakers of Macedonian and Albanian in the country). Modern Greek language is also spoken as a minority

⁸ In 1988 there were 500,000 speakers. Over 70% of them have emigrated to Germany since 1988, according to SIL.

language in Albania (60,000 speakers or 1.8 of the population, according to SIL), Turkey (4,000 speakers in Turkey, according to SIL; no data on the number of speakers in Balkan Turkey, however), Bulgaria (11,000 speakers, according to SIL), Romania (no data), Serbia and Macedonia (1,832 speakers in the latter two countries, according to Kovačec 1992). It is also spoken as a second language by speakers of Macedonian, Bulgarian, Aromanian, Megleno-Romanian, Romani and Turkish living in Greece.

4.1.2 Modern Greek has two standards: the archaic high-style Katharevusa ‘purified’ and the popular low-style Demotiki. A distinction between a high-style variety and a low style variety has existed from the Middle Ages. In Medieval Greek, however, this distinction was manifested in a distinction between a consciously archaizing style, which attempted to emulate the prestigious Attic dialect of Ancient Greek and the colloquial language, which represented the natural development from the Hellenistic Koine ‘common’. In the modern period, since the founding of the Greek national state (1867) “the desire for a unified national language led to the institutionalization of the historical distinction of style (*cf.* Joseph and Philippaki-Warbuton 1987:2).

4.1.3 Up to the 1970s, Katharevusa was the language of the administration, science, education, the media. Nevertheless, men of letters have been using the popular Demotiki since the 18th century. In the early 1980s Demotiki underwent a spelling reform. Nowadays, Demotiki (with a varied number of Katharevusa elements) is used at all levels of public life.

4.1.4 The nomadic shepherds of northern Greece, referred to as Saracatzans, speak a distinct dialect of Greek – Saracatzan. A related dialect, Karakachan, is spoken by nomadic shepherds in Romania.

4.2 Pontic Greek

4.2.1 Until World War 1, Pontic Greek was spoken in Asia Minor. After the exchange of population between Greece and Turkey, it is spoken throughout Greece by the descendants of the Pontic Greeks. (There are some 200,000 speakers in various suburbs of Athens and Piraeus, according to SIL).

4.2.2 Speakers of Standard Greek are reported not to understand Pontic Greek.

4.3 Tsakonian Greek

4.3.1 Tsakonian Greek is spoken as a mother tongue by a limited number of shepherds on the eastern coast of Peloponnesus. (There are no reliable data on number of speakers – 300 in 1981 by one source in SIL and 10,000 in 1977, by another source in SIL.)

4.3.2 Tsakonian Greek is derived from a Doric dialect spoken in Laconia by ancient Spartans. It is inherently intelligible by speakers of Modern Greek.

5. Albanian

5.1 Tosk Albanian (Arnaut, Shkip)

5.1.1 Tosk Albanian is spoken as a mother tongue by the majority of the population of Albania (2,900,000 speakers, according to SIL), as well as in Greece (no data about number of speakers) and Turkey (15,000 native speakers in Turkey, according to SIL; no data on the number of speakers in Balkan Turkey, however). It is also spoken as a second language by the native speakers of Geg Albanian in North Albania and the Serbian province of Kosovo and

Metohia, as well as by native speakers of Greek, Macedonian, Serbo-Croatian, Aromanian and Romani living in Albania.

5.1.2 Tosk Albanian has been the basis for Standard Albanian (codified after 1945).

5.2 Geg⁹ Albanian (Shkip)

5.2.1 Geg Albanian is spoken as a mother tongue in Northern Albania (300,000 speakers, according to SIL) and by the majority of the population in the Serbian province of Kosovo and Metohia (1,372,750 speakers, according to SIL). It is also spoken by Albanian minority communities in Macedonia (242,000 speakers, according to the 1994 Macedonian census), Bulgaria (1,000 speakers, according to SIL) and Romania (no data). Some Gypsy community in Macedonia, referred to as “Gjupci” “Egjupci” or “Egijptjani” ‘Egyptians’, also uses Geg Albanian as their mother tongue.

5.2.2 Geg Albanian is inherently unintelligible to Tosk Albanian speakers. It was standardized after World War 2 as the language of the Albanians in the Serbian province of Kosovo and Metohia. Subsequently, the standard language based on Tosk became the standard language of all Albanians.

5.3 Arvanitika

5.3.1 Arvanitika is spoken as a mother tongue by the Arvanites in Southern Greece, specifically on the island of Attica. (There are no reliable data on number of speakers – 50,000 speakers, according to one SIL source and 140,000 speakers, according to another.)

5.3.2 Arvanitika is partially intelligible to (Tosk) Albanian speakers. It is heavily influenced by Greek.

5.4 Arbanassian

5.4.1 Arbanassian is spoken in Dalmatia – in and around the city of Zadar (several hundred speakers, according to Kovačec 1992).

5.4.2 Arbanassian is mutually intelligible with Tosk.

6. Romani

6.1 Vlax Romani¹⁰

6.1.1 Vlax Romani is spoken as a mother tongue in Romania (200,000-250,000 speakers, according to SIL) and Albanian (60,000 speakers, according to SIL). It is also spoken in Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Bulgaria (500 speakers, according to SIL) and Greece (1,000 speakers, according to SIL).

6.1.2 On the Balkans, the Kalderash and Lovari dialects of Vlach Romani are spoken; the former in Greece, the latter in Serbia and Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Bulgaria. All the dialects have pronounced superstrata of the majority languages spoken in the area.

⁹ “Geg” has an alternative spelling – “Gheg”. “Geg” is the spelling used by native speakers of the dialect and linguists who work with Albanian.

¹⁰ The label “Vlach” most probably reflects the fact that the presence of the Romi was first registered in Romania. Note that the name *Romania* is of relatively recent origin; before World War One, what is now Romania was referred to as “Wallachia”.

6.2 Balkan Romani¹¹

6.2.1 Balkan Romani is spoken as a mother tongue in Bulgaria (187,000 speakers or 2% of the population, according to SIL), Turkey (25,000-40,000, according to SIL; no data on the number of speakers in Balkan Turkey, however), Serbia and Montenegro and Macedonia (a total of 100,000 in the latter two countries, according to SIL, but the data are unreliable). It is also spoken in Greece and Romania.

6.2.2 There are many mutually understandable dialects of Balkan Romani. Arli – the dialect spoken in Central and Northern Macedonia and in Kosovo and Metohia – has the greatest number of speakers. Related to Arli is the Erli Balkan Romani dialect spoken in Bulgaria.

6.2.3 In addition to Arli, in Northern Macedonia and Kosovo and Metohia there are speakers of Burgundži and Džambazi.¹² The Romas living in Southern Macedonia speak the Kovači Balkan Romani dialect. In central and northwest Bulgaria, Tinsmiths and “East Bulgarian” Balkan Romani are spoken; in Greece – “Greek” Balkan Romani.

7. Armenian

7.1 On the Balkans, Armenian is spoken as a minority language in Turkey (40,000 first language speakers in Turkey as a whole, according to SIL; no data on the number of speakers in Balkan Turkey, however) Bulgaria (27,000 speakers, according to SIL), Macedonia and Serbia and Montenegro (several dozen speakers in the latter two countries, according to Kovačec 1992).

NON-INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

8. Turkic

8.1 (Osmanli) Turkish

8.1.1 The language is spoken by 90% of the population in Turkey (46,278,000 speakers, according to SIL). There are no data about number of native speakers in the Balkan part of Turkey.

8.1.1.2 On the Balkans, apart from the area which is part of Turkey, Turkish is spoken as a minority language in Bulgaria (845,550 speakers or 9% of the population, according to the 1986 Bulgarian census), Romania (150,000 speakers, according to SIL), Greece (128,380 speakers, according to SIL), Macedonia (86,691 speakers, according to Kovačec 1992), and the Serbian province of Kosovo and Metohia (12,513 speakers, according to Kovačec 1992).

8.1.1.3 The Turkish dialect spoken in Romania is referred to as Danubian Turkish; the one spoken in Macedonia is referred to as Macedonian Turkish.

¹¹ While the Vlach Romani are nomadic, the Balkan Romani are sedentary. “Arli” – the name of the Balkan Romani language spoken in Macedonian and Kosovo and Metohia – is the Turkish word for ‘settlers’.

¹² The Džambazi dialect is actually a Balkanized Vlach Romani dialect. Its speakers were originally nomadic horse dealers who subsequently settled in Skopje.

8.2 Gagauz (Gagauzi)

8.2.1 Gagauz is spoken as a minority language in Bulgaria (12,000 speakers, according to SIL), Romania (no data about number of speakers) and Macedonia (4,000 speakers, according to SIL; several thousand speakers, according to Kovačec 1992).¹³

8.2.2 Gagauz is close to Turkish, but uses Orthodox Christian religious vocabulary in contrast to the Islamic vocabulary of Turkish.

8.2.3 In Bulgaria, the Bulgar Gagauz dialect is spoken; in Romania – the Maritime Gagauz; in Macedonia – Yurukh.

8.3 Crimean Turkish (Crimean Tatar)

8.3.1 Crimean Turkish is spoken as a minority language in Romania (25,000 speakers, according to SIL) and Bulgaria (6,000 speakers, according to SIL).

8.3.2 The language is distinct from both Turkish and Tatar.

9. Hungarian

9.1 On the Balkans, Hungarian is spoken as a minority language in Romania (2,004,300 speakers, according to SIL), the Serbian province of Vojvodina (383,715 speakers, according to Mikeš 1992), Croatia (26,439 speakers, according to Kovačec 1992) and Slovenia (9,456 speakers, according to Kovačec 1992).

9.2 Until 1918, Hungarian was the state language in Romania, Croatia and Vojvodina; so it was extensively used by non-native speakers, as well.

¹³ Gagaus is also spoken as a minority language in Moldova – a former Soviet republic; an independent state since the last decade of the 20th century. But Moldova is outside the Balkans.

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SUBJECT INDEX

- A**
- ablative (Abl) 49, 82, 167, 186-188, 194, 200, 201, 222-224, 227, 228, 231, 235, 392, 393, 648
 - absolutive 65, 67, 69, 95, 97, 98, 112, 137, 158, 159, 173-175, 196-198, 212
 - accusative (Acc) 16, 49, 50, 52, 83, 88, 108, 120, 135, 152, 167, 194, 203, 214, 242, 316-318, 324, 325
 - action 66, 96-98, 373, 410
 - addressee 56, 86, 120, 185, 251
 - adjective 18, 21, 23, 31, 46, 49, 50, 55, 56, 59-61, 88, 91-93, 102, 103, 108-111, 125-130, 133, 134, 140, 142, 147, 148, 151, 153-156, 163, 169-171, 175, 178, 189-193, 200, 204-212, 216, 217, 224, 233, 234, 237, 242, 245, 246, 248, 249, 273, 490, 503, 512, 582
 - appositive 50, 128
 - attributive 50, 190, 286
 - indefinite 55, 88, 102, 110, 111
 - pre-nominal 208
 - restrictive 128
 - speaker oriented 216
 - verbal 245
 - adjunct 49, 76, 90, 231, 415, 433-436, 438, 468-472, 500, 502, 503, 515, 517, 529-531, 533, 534, 543, 548, 549, 551-553, 561, 566-568, 570, 572, 582, 584, 593, 595, 596, 623-626, 628, 644, 646, 648
 - articled 49, 50, 59, 92, 125, 128, 171, 191, 210
 - of purpose 626
 - “wh”- 433, 434, 469, 500, 530, 548, 549, 567, 593
 - adjunction 242
 - right 242
 - left 242
 - leftward 242
 - admiratif* 393
 - admirative 20, 335, 389, 394-397, 399
 - present 394
 - imperfect 394, 395
 - adverb 23, 67, 85, 98, 135, 136, 138, 203, 209, 239, 262, 277, 279, 343, 402, 417, 418, 430, 438, 456, 481, 489, 498, 503, 600
 - agentive 67, 89, 98
 - intensifying 279
 - interrogative 418
 - locative 417
 - interrogative 417
 - monosyllabic 239
 - “wh” 417, 418, 430, 489, 498
 - adverbial clause 458
 - of result 458
 - adverbial expression 343
 - adverbial function 418
 - adverbial phrase 135, 136, 439
 - Aegean culture 37
 - affectedness 79, 147, 173
 - agent 69, 71, 96, 99, 106, 115, 138, 139, 147, 175, 198, 232, 428, 429, 465, 495, 524, 544, 545, 564, 590, 619, 640
 - involuntary 69, 98, 115, 138, 160, 175, 198, 230, 232
 - pronominal 428, 465, 495, 524, 544
 - agreement 45, 58, 72, 101, 120, 140, 145, 186, 190, 192, 205, 214, 236, 242, 318, 328, 401, 408, 415, 425, 427, 440, 442, 463, 464, 473, 475, 492, 494, 505, 506, 521, 523, 535, 537, 556, 560-562, 564, 573, 575, 585, 588, 589, 601, 617-619, 620, 639, 640, 649, 651
 - AgrDO 318
 - AgrIO 242
 - Alexander the Great 44
 - Alexandrine period 38
 - alienable possession 215, 217, 261
 - amazement 348-350, 360, 361, 380
 - analytic comparison 15, 16, 23, 24, 31
 - analyticity 49
 - anaphoric element 56, 65, 79, 95, 96, 104, 112, 114, 127, 158, 173, 196, 206, 207, 231, 253, 269-271, 415, 418, 470, 512
 - anaphoric particle 269-271, 418, 470
 - anaphoric reference 56, 65, 95, 96, 112, 120, 137, 158, 173, 196, 231

- ancient substrate 27
 - animacy restriction 217
 - antepenultimate stress 247, 250
 - anteriority 343, 373, 374, 413
 - aoorist 2, 53, 196, 333-38, 351-353, 355, 356, 364, 367, 368, 370, 372, 373, 376, 379, 381, 382, 385, 387, 389-391, 398, 400, 401, 403, 404, 409, 422, 445, 461, 489, 490, 507, 521, 587, 604, 609, 615-617
 - active 604
 - imperfective 336, 421
 - indicative 389, 390, 615
 - medio-passive 604, 334
 - renarrated 352, 353
 - subjunctive 615
 - suppletive 489
 - aoorist base 337, 338, 461, 581
 - apodosis* 2, 32, 387, 451-454, 482, 483, 507, 508, 516, 517, 538, 539, 557, 558, 578, 579, 607, 608, 612, 633-635, 652, 654
 - aprosdokito* 393
 - archeological evidence 42
 - areal term 24
 - argument 33, 41, 44, 49, 63, 66, 69, 70, 79, 86, 92, 96, 108, 115-138, 159, 160, 174-176, 185, 197, 198, 212, 219, 231, 232, 240, 241, 252, 265, 268, 277, 284, 295, 303, 309, 313, 319, 321, 322, 345, 375, 413, 433, 434, 468, 469, 500, 501, 529, 530, 548, 549, 566, 567, 593, 623, 644
 - external 66, 96, 137, 159, 174, 197
 - internal 95, 345
 - lexical 252, 284, 295, 303, 309, 319
 - verbal 79
 - “wh” 433, 434, 469, 500, 530, 548, 549, 567, 593
 - argument position 32, 95, 112, 268
 - Argument Suppression 69, 98, 138, 160, 175, 198
 - article 4, 13-16, 18, 27, 29, 32, 49, 50, 55-62, 73, 75, 82, 88-93, 101-103, 108, 122, 125-134, 140, 141, 143, 147, 248, 153-156, 162, 163, 165, 168, 169-171, 175, 178, 181, 185, 187-189, 191, 192, 200, 205-212, 216, 219, 221, 224-227, 235, 236, 241, 254, 267, 278, 279, 285, 310, 315, 326, 368, 512, 540, 558, 613
 - definite, *see* definite article
 - enclitic 23, 24, 132, 134
 - indefinite, *see* indefinite article
 - non-clitic 132-134, 140
 - possessive 141
 - postpositive 1, 3, 4, 15, 16, 18, 22, 26, 27, 49, 53, 86
 - zero 56, 58, 88
 - article spread 208, 201, 241, 266, 288, 314
 - aspect 336, 337, 342, 344, 345, 355, 383, 401, 497
 - aspectual distinction 335-337, 352, 420, 460, 489, 615
 - aspectual opposition 31, 335
 - assertion 449, 614, 614
 - of existence 63, 633
 - assibilation 41
 - astonishment 441, 474, 505, 535, 544, 573, 599, 649
 - attitude 70, 161, 176, 415, 424, 521, 639
 - Austro-Hungarian empire 36, 45, 697
 - auxiliary (Aux) 1, 3, 5, 6, 13, 15, 19, 20-25, 32, 79, 96, 113, 158, 232, 239, 242-246, 260, 261, 263, 269, 271-273, 275, 277, 279, 280, 282, 292, 293, 300, 301, 316, 330, 334, 335, 337-340, 342, 344, 345, 348, 350-355, 357, 359-362, 364, 365, 368, 369, 372-379, 381-384, 387-391, 398, 401, 406-408, 410, 422, 423, 425, 431, 441, 444, 447, 449, 454, 456, 457, 461, 476-478, 480, 487, 490, 499, 507, 508, 510, 516, 519, 520, 542, 560, 583, 587, 588, 611, 612, 637-639, 648
 - “be”, *see* “be” auxiliary
 - “have”, *see* “have” auxiliary
 - imperfective 269
 - modal, *see* modal auxiliary
 - negative 487
 - non-modal 588
 - “will” 1, 3, 15, 19, 20, 374, 379, 457, 477, 478
- B**
- Balkan areal feature 25
 - Balkan linguistics 31, 701
 - Balkan multilingualism 3
 - Balkan *Sprachbund* 1-3, 26-31, 36, 49, 239, 413, 416, 488
 - Balkan *Sprachbund* feature 3, 24, 26-31, 48, 78
 - Balkan state 35
 - Balkanism 1, 2, 23
 - argument-marking 24
 - grammatical 18, 23, 24
 - primary 15
 - secondary 15
 - syntactic 18

- Balkanization index 23, 24
- bare NP 268, 287
 - doubled 268
 - non-human 287
- base-generation 79
- “be” auxiliary 279, 423, 462, 515
 - frozen 279
 - invariant perfect 515
- beneficiary 79, 147, 158, 195, 219, 229
- Bible 42, 413
- biclausal structure 245, 415
- binding 33, 79
- borrowing 1, 21, 28, 40, 336, 383, 417, 555, 637, 648
 - structural 28
- Bulgarian codifiers 265, 351
- Bulgarian kingdom 43, 44
- Bulgarian state 44
- Bulgaro-V(a)lachian kingdom 40
- Busuku’s *Missal* 413
- Byzantine empire 39, 43, 44, 46, 47
- Byzantine period 27, 204, 212, 213, 400, 413

- C**
- C, C⁰ (Comp) 244, 263, 414, 521
- c-command 428
- C-like property 292, 300, 521
- calque 1, 28, 360
- calquing 336
- cardinal numeral 91, 133, 155, 170
- case 13, 26, 49, 50, 53, 108, 110, 119, 120, 123, 126, 200, 225, 226, 235, 239
 - inherent 239
 - oblique 49, 50, 53, 110, 119, 123, 126, 200, 225, 226, 235
 - prepositional 26
 - underlying 108
 - vocative 13
- case assignment 625, 646
 - dual 625, 646
- case ending 23, 228, 201, 235, 701
- case marker 26, 27, 32, 49, 550, 52, 53, 87, 88, 110, 125-127, 132, 134, 136, 144, 148, 149, 153, 165, 167, 171, 180, 182, 184-187, 192, 203, 219, 225, 235, 242, 257, 298, 315
 - Acc 52, 88, 134, 148, 149, 165, 184, 284
 - morphological 125, 235
 - Voc 26, 27, 50
- case marking 81
 - synthetic-analytic 81
- categorial status 239
- Central and South-European *Sprachbund* 78
- Christian church 36
- Christian Greek 36
- Christianity 39, 42, 47
- circumstantial deduction 348
- clausal clitic cluster, *see* clitic cluster
- clausal clitic system 242-244, 246, 259, 260
- clause 3, 10, 14-16, 29, 32, 128, 242, 243, 247, 249, 250, 257, 268, 270, 271, 274, 280, 282, 294, 300, 302, 308, 316, 317, 322, 348, 414-416, 418, 425, 427-429, 436, 439, 451, 454-456, 458, 463-465, 471, 473, 483, 490-492, 495-497, 500, 501, 504, 507, 520, 521, 524-526, 528, 529, 530, 536, 538, 539, 542, 544-546, 553, 555, 560-564, 570, 578, 579, 580, 581, 588, 590, 591, 608, 611, 614, 615, 617-620, 625, 637, 639-642, 648, 655
- affirmative 3, 10
- ako* 451
- conditional 32, 242, 271, 483, 490, 528, 539, 579
- coordinate 16
- exclamatory 458
- exhortative 440, 504, 615, 648
- future-oriented temporal 455, 580
- generic 268
- interrogative 243, 249, 257, 270, 274
- main 29, 348, 414-416, 425, 427-429, 436, 439, 463-465, 471, 473, 492, 495-497, 500, 501, 520, 521, 524-526, 529, 530, 538, 539, 542, 544-546, 553, 560-564, 570, 578, 588, 590, 591, 611, 617-620, 625, 639-641
- matrix 415; *see also* main
- negative 247, 308, 642
- positive imperative 250, 280, 282, 294, 300, 302, 316, 317, 536, 555
- positive indicative 246, 280, 282, 300, 316
- restrictive relative 128, 322
- subjunctive, *see* subjunctive clause
- subordinate 14-16, 418, 491, 561, 588, 614, 615, 617, 637, 639
- temporal 454-456, 507, 580, 581, 608, 655
- temporal conditional 32
- clause-initial position 14, 246, 262, 362, 368, 433, 468, 529, 548, 566

- Clement 43
 climbing 216, 501
 clitic 6, 7, 18, 32, 63-66, 69, 71, 72, 74, 75, 78, 79, 80, 91, 94, 96, 98-106, 111-114, 116, 122, 134, 135, 137, 141, 143, 140-144, 148, 158-160, 172, 173, 175, 178, 186, 190-192, 194-196, 198, 199, 207, 209, 212-219, 228, 229, 231-233, 235, 239-244, 247-249, 251, 253-273, 275, 276, 279, 280, 282-284, 289-292, 294, 296, 298, 300, 302, 304-309, 312-320, 322, 324-329, 344, 348, 352, 359, 360, 362, 365, 369, 374, 377, 378, 382, 386, 401, 421, 428, 429, 431, 441, 442, 444-446, 449-451, 453-455, 480, 485, 487, 490, 492, 501, 507-509, 523, 527, 528, 534, 542, 558, 576, 578-580, 598, 603, 604, 607, 608, 632, 633, 636, 652, 653, 655
 accusative 243, 260, 289, 316-318
 agreement 6, 32, 132, 140-143, 150, 181, 187, 189-194, 196, 199, 201
 auxiliary 32, 239, 245, 263, 272, 279, 280, 292, 377, 378, 381, 382, 425, 542
 “be” 133, 243, 272
 beneficiary 79, 105, 117, 122, 147, 195, 196, 219
 conditional modal 242, 260, 271, 272, 279, 329, 442, 444, 445, 453, 507, 508, 516, 576
 D-linked 254
 Dat/Gen 27, 32
 dative 64, 69, 75, 78, 79, 80, 98, 100, 104-106, 112, 115, 122, 130, 138, 143, 147, 156, 160, 175, 198, 219, 229, 251, 255, 257, 280, 283, 295, 309
 doubling 3, 252, 266-268, 270, 284, 289, 290, 296, 299, 312, 314, 320, 325-328
 DP pronominal 79, 105
 enclitic 239, 242-244, 246, 259, 262, 263, 273, 274, 277, 280, 293, 300, 316, 317-351, 345, 368
 ethical dative 79, 80, 105, 106, 196, 219
 expectative modal 242, 260, 271, 272, 277, 279, 300, 307, 315, 316, 329, 374, 444-446, 449, 454, 515, 525, 576, 578, 580
 external possession 78, 79, 105, 146
 fused 308, 487
 future-marking modal 244, 608, 632, 635, 655
 genitive 218, 316
 “have” 300
 impersonal 243, 260
 inflected modal 46, 374
 inherent 243
 interrogative 242-244, 260, 263, 264, 271, 272, 421, 451
 modal 32, 242-245, 260-263, 271, 272, 277, 279, 280, 292, 300, 307, 315-317, 329, 344, 348, 360, 374, 386, 387, 401, 414, 416, 421, 431, 441, 442, 444-446, 449, 450, 453, 454, 476, 485-487, 490, 499, 507-510, 515, 516, 527, 528, 558, 559, 576-580, 603, 604, 607, 608, 632, 633, 635, 636, 652, 653, 655
 mood 316
 non-reduced 157, 173
 personal 65, 69, 72, 95, 98, 112, 137, 139, 158, 160, 161, 164, 173, 175, 177-179, 198, 272, 329
 phonologically enclitic 239, 263, 277, 351, 368
 phonologically proclitic 239, 263, 277
 pleonastic 35
 possessive 6, 54, 59, 72-76, 79, 83, 100-105, 116, 117, 122, 143-147, 164, 178, 180, 207, 209, 212, 214, 216, 217, 234, 235, 242
 post-nominal possessive 217
 preverbal 63, 77, 78, 79, 146, 218, 239, 240, 242, 243, 259, 260, 263, 268, 269, 277, 368, 492 536
 proclitic 239, 242, 244, 246, 247, 263, 277, 280, 293, 300, 316, 317
 pronominal 32, 65, 69, 72, 95, 98, 112, 137, 139, 158, 160, 161, 173, 175, 177, 179, 198, 239, 263, 272, 316, 329, 425
 reciprocal 114
 reduced 157, 173, 369
 reflexive 63-66, 69, 71, 72, 74, 75, 95, 96, 100, 112-114, 116, 135, 137, 139, 141, 158-161, 172-174, 177, 181, 196, 212, 231, 233, 143, 260, 269, 271-273, 179, 307, 360, 486, 492, 515, 516, 523, 534
 resumptive 239, 257, 258, 259, 271, 276, 279, 291, 326, 327
 second position 239, 486
 subject 242
 syntactically pre-verbal 239, 277, 368

- verbal 77, 246
- Wackernagel 273
- clitic-doubled 69, 95, 98, 104, 160, 175, 198, 217, 239, 240, 251-256, 265, 266, 268-270, 277, 278, 284-291, 295-299, 303-306, 310-314, 319-324, 326, 331
- clitic-doubler 214
- clitic doubling 26, 27, 31, 32, 49, 52, 63, 76, 81, 95, 105, 112, 134, 135, 152, 153, 157, 158, 173, 214, 239-243, 246, 247, 249-251, 253-255, 257, 259, 265, 267-269, 271, 276-279, 284-289, 292, 295-299, 303-305, 310, 311, 313, 314, 319, 324-326, 328, 330, 345, 351, 362, 486
- grammaticalized 239, 310, 324, 334, 369, 376, 383, 401, 407, 418, 421
- clitic cluster 31, 32, 52, 76, 81, 95, 104, 112, 134, 135, 157, 158, 173, 214, 239, 242-245, 259, 260, 262-264, 271-274, 280, 292, 300, 315, 316, 486, 509
- Clitic Left-Dislocation (CLLD) 240, 241, 265, 268, 321
- Clitic Right-Dislocation 267
- cliticization 247-250
 - directionality of 25, 247, 274
- CLLD, *see* Clitic Left-Dislocation
- cluster, *see* clitic cluster
- command 415, 439, 440, 473, 503, 504, 553, 573, 598, 602, 629, 634, 648
- comment 239, 240
- communicative efficiency 29
- comparative degree 133
- comparative particle 31
- complement 3, 8, 311, 271, 311, 414, 415, 416, 418, 424, 425, 431, 435, 463, 466, 468, 484, 488, 495, 497, 501, 502, 521, 522, 526, 533, 541, 547, 550, 551, 565, 569, 570, 585, 586, 592, 593, 595, 596, 602, 613, 614, 621, 625, 636, 639, 642, 646
- factive 311
- finite 414
- indefinite 435, 502, 550, 551, 569, 570, 595, 596, 625, 646
- indicative 271, 415, 418, 424, 425, 431, 463, 466, 468, 488, 497, 521, 522, 526, 541, 547, 565, 585, 586, 592, 593, 602, 613, 614, 621, 636, 639, 642
- infinitival 416, 484, 488, 495, 497, 501, 533
- non-factive 311
- non-finite 416
 - pronominal 3, 8
 - propositional 3, 8
 - subjunctive 416
- Complement Phrase (CP) 33, 72, 79, 105, 212, 240, 265, 273, 311, 428, 433
- complement position 31, 152, 415, 531, 593, 618, 640, 643, 646, 648
- complementizer 32, 240, 241, 271, 414, 417, 419, 430, 436, 457, 459, 466, 467, 488, 516-518, 521, 523, 524, 526, 531, 541, 542, 551, 559-561, 570, 588, 593, 595, 597, 602-604, 607, 608, 613, 621, 636
- homophonous 488
- indicative 271, 414, 417, 419, 436, 457, 459, 466, 467, 488, 516, 541, 542, 593, 602, 613, 636
- subjunctive 436, 517, 518, 521, 523, 524, 526, 531, 533, 551, 559-561, 570
- "that" 32, 240, 241, 414, 417, 604
- "wh" 32, 430, 588, 593, 595, 597, 603, 604, 607, 608, 621
- concession 438, 459, 472, 503, 533, 552, 572, 628, 647
- concordance 1, 3, 10-15, 27
 - general 3, 27
- conditional form 2, 23, 24, 26, 373, 374, 454, 479
- conditional sentence 2, 67, 207, 240, 242, 271, 387, 401, 421, 422, 432, 433, 441, 447, 448, 451, 451-454, 454, 463, 477, 478, 482, 483, 487, 490, 507, 508, 516, 517, 537-539, 554, 557, 558, 578, 579, 589, 607, 608, 612, 633, 634, 635, 654, 654
- complex counterfactual 421, 422
- counterfactual 421, 422, 463
- speaker oriented 539
- emotionally charged 539
- irrealis* 2, 387, 401, 432, 448, 451, 452, 453, 454, 478, 483, 507, 508, 517, 537, 539, 554, 558, 578, 579, 589, 607, 608, 612, 633, 634, 635, 654
- potentialis* 2, 67, 207, 240, 242, 271, 433, 441, 442, 453, 454, 483, 490, 507, 508, 537, 538
- realis* 447, 451, 453, 454, 477, 482, 487, 507, 516, 537, 538, 557, 578, 607, 633, 654
- conjunction 3, 4, 10, 11, 16, 170, 193, 194, 418, 433, 445, 451, 453, 458, 488, 497, 498, 526, 538, 582, 626

adversative 458
ako 451
 composite 458
 cumulative 458
 hypotactic 3, 10
 paratactic 3, 10, 488
 relative 11
 "wh" 497, 498
 conditionality 452, 453, 507, 515, 516, 542, 612, 634
 realizable 516
 connectivity effect 241
 consonant shift 38, 39
 Constantine and Methodius 42
 contrastive environment 72
 contrastive use 101
 contrastively stressed 83, 210
 control 42, 44, 45, 403, 416, 427-429, 435, 465, 495, 524, 545, 562, 563, 590, 619, 625, 640, 646, 690
 direct object 429, 465, 495, 524, 545, 563, 590, 619
 indirect object 428, 465, 495, 524, 545, 563, 590, 619, 640
 object 428, 429, 465, 495, 524, 545, 563, 590, 619, 640
 subject 416, 427, 562
 weakening of 435, 625, 646
 controller 70, 99
 convergence 6, 28, 29, 31, 336
 coordinated structure 103, 328
 copula 226, 261, 338, 423, 456, 461, 462, 484, 490
 copy theory 317
 copy-and-deletion 264
 core vocabulary 33, 657-681
 counterfactual context 416
 counterfactual value 345
 CP, *see* complement phrase
 coreferentiality 65, 325, 497, 526
 cross-language clash 1
 cross-over effect 241
 "cultural" word 1
 curse 117, 390, 439, 442
 Cyril 43
 Cyrillic 39, 43, 657-661, 683

D

D (Det) 49, 59, 92, 125, 128, 132, 140; *see also* determiner
 Dat/Gen, *see* dative/genitive

Dat/Gen merger 26, 27
 dative (Dat) 6, 11, 15, 16, 18, 24, 49, 52, 54, 63, 69, 70, 79-81, 99, 105, 106, 108, 115, 117, 136, 139, 160, 167, 176, 198, 220, 229, 230, 232, 242, 319, 324, 325; *see also* Dat
 ethical 80, 106, 117
 free 79
 non-argumental 69, 70, 98-100, 115, 160, 176, 198, 232
 Dative Disclosure 69, 99
 Dative/genitive (Dat/Gen) form 1, 6, 190
 dative-possessive merger 23, 24
 decisiveness 431
 declension 3, 53, 109, 203, 223
 declension type 49, 109
 defiance 432, 547, 643
 definite article 29, 32, 55-58, 61, 62, 73, 89-91, 93, 101, 122, 125-127, 129-134, 140, 141, 143, 147, 148, 153-156, 163, 165, 168-171, 175, 178, 181, 187, 188, 191, 192, 200, 205-209, 211, 212, 213, 221, 225-227, 235, 236, 241, 279, 285, 315, 326, 512, 613
 DP-initial 203, 222
 definite adjectival form 50, 94
 definite description 253
 definiteness 3, 49, 55, 56, 92, 108, 110, 125, 126, 128, 150, 153, 167, 168, 186, 187, 189, 190, 239, 241, 252-254, 259, 265, 277, 295, 303, 462
 definites 252, 253, 255
 specific 252, 255
 weak 253
 deictic 194, 315
 deictic reinforcer 206
 demonstrative 24, 52, 93, 110, 132, 149, 194, 206, 207, 211-213, 320, 470, 572
 demonstrative determiner 14, 24, 53, 56, 57, 61, 62, 93, 94, 108, 120, 128, 132, 141, 156, 162, 171, 175, 191, 199, 206, 227
 anaphoric 206
 demonstrative pronoun 57, 61, 63, 94, 162, 194, 206, 212
 anaphoric 206
 proximate 212
 denial of existence 63, 433, 469, 500, 515, 518, 623, 633
 deontic reading 481, 522
 dependency 207, 241

- morphologically determined 207
 - referential 241
 - dependent tense 615
 - desinential string 1
 - determiner (Det) 14, 49, 61, 62, 93, 125, 127, 140, 141, 156, 171, 175, 189, 191, 216, 227, 229, 241, 255, 270, 418, 670
 - demonstrative, *see* demonstrative determiner
 - indefinite 130, 216, 241, 323
 - interrogative 270, 418
 - relative 270
 - diachronic development 31
 - dialectally conditioned use 82
 - diminutive 52, 53, 58, 90
 - direct object 6, 8, 9, 50, 53, 64, 74, 81, 83, 94, 132, 148, 156, 165, 171, 204, 214, 223, 239, 252, 253, 256, 265, 275, 276, 284-287, 290, 295, 296, 303, 304, 311-315, 318-320, 327, 328, 351, 361, 429, 465, 524, 545, 563, 590, 619, 625, 640
 - bare indefinite 254
 - coordinated 328
 - double 8, 9, 156, 161, 330
 - indefinite 252-255, 296, 303, 304, 310, 314, 315, 322-324
 - indefinite human 254
 - second 50, 156, 171
 - strong reading of 285
 - direction 26, 49, 85, 108, 118, 125, 167, 183, 185, 221, 236
 - disagreement 396, 585
 - disbelief 244
 - discourse 33, 76, 79, 106, 158, 239-242, 254, 268, 319, 322
 - discourse factor 72, 101, 239, 259, 310, 313, 319, 320
 - discourse-linking (D-linking) 79, 106, 196, 207, 241, 324, 326
 - disjoint reference 75, 415-417, 464, 466, 497, 500, 502, 521, 523, 544, 562, 589, 592, 618, 621, 640
 - dislocated element 241, 267, 268, 321, 322
 - distal form 94, 120, 132, 162, 194
 - distributive expression 56, 88, 102
 - divergence 31
 - D-linking, *see* discourse linking
 - doubling 3, 49, 240, 320, 325
 - doubling structure 217
 - doubt 38, 443, 475, 506, 507, 514, 556, 575, 585, 600, 631, 644, 651
 - DP 7, 27, 31, 32, 49, 59, 61, 72, 74, 76-79, 81, 92, 100, 103-107, 120, 122, 125, 126, 128, 132, 140, 141, 144-147, 158, 171, 175, 177, 186, 187, 189, 191, 204, 208, 210, 212, 214, 216-219, 224, 237, 255, 266-268, 271, 322-326, 331, 368, 425, 483, 493, 543, 550, 561
 - DP-initial position 81, 125, 140, 153, 155, 168, 170, 189, 205, 224
- E**
- ECM, *see* Exceptional Case Marking
 - ELD, *see* English Left Dislocation
 - emotionally coloured expression 333
 - emperor Constantine 36
 - emperor Theodosius I 36
 - emperor Trajan 39
 - emperor Tzimiskes 43
 - emphacized utterance 72
 - emphatic context 6, 74
 - emphatic expression 63, 95, 112, 135, 157, 164, 172, 180, 195, 425, 428, 429, 463, 465, 492, 495, 496, 521, 524, 542, 544, 563, 588, 590, 617, 619, 639
 - endearment 73
 - English Left Dislocation (ELD) 241
 - “equi” deletion 463, 492, 521, 542, 560, 588, 617, 639
 - ergative construction 66
 - etymological investigation 41
 - etymological research 40
 - ethnic affiliation 37
 - ethnic Balkans 15, 32, 36
 - ethnic border 36
 - ethnic unity 38
 - ethno-historical considerations 31, 35
 - event 65, 66, 69, 70, 95-99, 115, 137, 139, 158, 160, 161, 173, 176, 196-198, 232, 261, 335, 342, 345-348, 352, 354, 356, 357, 359, 364, 366, 367, 370, 373, 376, 393, 402, 404, 410, 415, 456, 466, 478, 480, 497, 531, 583, 592, 621, 642
 - backgrounded 355
 - narrated 335
 - reported 348, 358, 354, 359, 361, 369, 380, 455, 511
 - speech 335

unwitnessed 335, 362, 511
 witnessed 335, 350, 355, 362
 evidential form 32, 333, 336, 338, 345, 347-349,
 352, 354, 355, 357, 359, 360, 368, 383,
 389, 393-397, 442, 452, 480
 evidentiality 53, 242, 335, 336, 340, 341, 344,
 346-350, 352, 361, 369, 375, 376, 380,
 383, 390, 401, 407, 422, 444
 confirmative 347
 non-confirmative 347
 evidentials 23, 24, 27, 30, 335, 336, 346-348,
 359, 393, 396, 397, 399
 exclusion by identification 240
 exhortative (mood) marker 315, 316, 421, 440,
 553, 602, 629, 630, 648
 exhaustively marked 266, 270
 exhaustively specified 266
 Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) 413, 415, 428,
 524, 545, 563, 590
 existence 3, 18, 27, 41, 42, 65, 193, 351, 354,
 355, 395, 396, 415, 433, 469, 500, 515,
 518, 530, 623
 expanded CP 240
 external possession 78, 105

F

factive 311, 312, 418, 488, 586, 614, 637
 family relationship 18, 52-54, 59, 73-75, 78, 83, 88,
 101, 103, 116, 119, 122, 144, 145, 164, 178,
 180, 193, 196, 200, 215, 234
 feel-like construction 69-71, 76, 99, 100, 115, 116,
 154, 160, 161, 176, 177, 198, 232, 233
finaler Bedeutung 16
 FocP, *see* Focus Phrase
 focus 32, 76, 209, 239, 240, 273, 312, 319, 324
 contrastive 240
 identificational 240
 information 240
 presentational 240
 Focus Phrase (FocP) 33, 104, 128, 533
 focus position 76, 239, 240, 243, 254, 256, 264,
 267, 268, 281, 297, 304, 310
 focused constituent 240, 244, 268, 517, 543, 544,
 561, 588
 ForceP 467
 foreground/background distinction 355

function word 1, 125, 239
 functional category 33
 functional projection 33, 242, 244, 260
 future (tense) 23, 24, 261, 353, 360, 379, 386,
 431, 451, 476, 477, 479, 480, 499, 538,
 547, 576, 577, 583, 603, 611, 652
 active 606
 colloquial 527
 intentional 527
 medio-passive 606
 negated 487, 547
 periphrastic 15, 16, 21
 simple 213, 611, 652
volo 23, 24
 "will" 26, 27, 32, 478
 future anterior 353
 future anterior-in-the-past 353
 future past perfect-in-the-past 633
 future-in-the-past 21, 23, 26, 27, 242, 271, 345,
 353, 361, 369, 374, 379, 416, 432,
 447-450, 455, 461, 476, 478-483, 510,
 511, 515, 520, 528, 554, 578, 604-606,
 633, 634, 653, 654
 active 605, 606
 evidential 361, 369, 480, 510, 511
 medio-passive 393, 605, 606
 future perfect 22, 26, 344, 353, 374, 386, 387,
 401, 447, 476, 477, 528, 577, 605, 606,
 611, 612
 active 605
 medio-passive 391, 605
 future-perfect-in-the-past 344, 353, 387, 401, 448,
 476, 478-481, 578, 605-607, 612, 633
 active 604
 evidential 480
 medio-passive 604, 606
 future tense 5, 15, 16, 21, 22, 32, 242, 244, 245,
 260, 261, 271, 329, 353, 360, 379,
 413-416, 421, 431, 432, 446, 447, 449,
 451, 455, 457, 476, 477, 480-482,
 485-487, 490, 499, 507, 509, 515, 516,
 527, 531, 538, 547, 553, 557, 566,
 576-578, 580, 603, 604, 607, 611, 632,
 633, 643, 652-654
 active 607
 indefinite 5, 457
 medio-passive 607
 negated 261, 416, 432, 487, 499, 549

futurity 3, 6, 18-21, 316, 431, 432, 440, 444, 477,
482, 515, 516, 576, 603, 632, 652, 653
negative 432
periphrastic 21
futurum secundum 490, 491, 507

G

Gen/Dat 6, 49, 110, 141
gender 23, 50, 51, 53, 58, 62-64, 72, 86, 89, 91,
101, 108-110, 121, 123, 125, 126, 145, 153,
154, 156, 164, 167-169, 172, 178, 179, 181,
186-190, 193, 203, 205, 222, 224, 226, 227,
234-237, 245, 255, 257, 270, 276, 288, 293,
295, 298, 309, 315, 316, 318, 324, 326, 327,
334, 336, 337, 339, 353, 361, 381, 387, 408,
418, 458, 613
gender/number/case association 203, 223
gender/number/case/(definiteness) association
108
gender/number feature 57, 89, 92
generative analyses 49, 79, 414, 428, 524, 545,
463, 590
generative grammar 239
generative theory 33
genetic families 3
genetic relationship 29
genitive (Gen) 4, 6, 8, 11, 14-16, 18, 24, 25-27,
32, 49, 72, 84, 108-114, 117, 118, 124-126,
132, 140, 141, 143, 152, 168, 186, 192,
203-210, 212-223, 226-229, 231, 235, 237,
272, 273, 315-327, 363, 364, 366, 403-406,
609, 614-616, 619, 621, 622, 624, 628-633,
635
genitive/accusative form 50, 88, 318
geographic Balkans 32
geographic name 37, 55, 58, 126, 127, 154, 188,
206, 227
geographical border 36
geographical unity 35
gerund 282, 374, 512
gerundial 526, 584, 615
gerundive 582
Glagolitic (alphabet) 43
goal-location merger 23, 24
Government and Binding Theory 33
grammatical archaism 31
grammatical form 21, 31
grammatical function 1
grammatical property 2
grammatical sub-system 31

Greek alphabet 42, 672-676, 683
grounding device 355
discourse pragmatic 355
guess 432, 444, 445, 554, 574, 630
gutturals 40

H

habitore 335, 393
habitual action 267, 448, 455, 577, 581, 604, 608,
636, 653, 655
“have” auxiliary 3, 6, 13, 15, 19, 20, 23, 25, 31,
32, 242, 282, 292, 293, 300, 301, 334,
335, 340, 345, 360, 361, 374, 375, 381,
387, 407, 415, 416, 448, 449, 519, 542,
560, 581, 611, 612
head 8, 14, 33, 93, 95, 103, 110, 125, 165, 166, 182,
191, 202, 207, 241, 242, 246-248, 262, 268,
414, 527, 559, 659, 668, 673, 678
empty 242
modal 414
syncretic functional 33
Hellene 36
Hellenistic period 213
heavy constituent 132
humanness 239, 253, 257, 266, 270, 284
Hungarian nationalist 40
hypothetical marker 242

I

identification 240
Illyrian kingdom 40
Illyricum regnum 40
imperative 250, 251, 282, 294, 316-318, 330,
416, 432, 439, 461, 471, 475, 490, 532,
534
negated 250, 251, 282, 294, 302, 317, 556,
574, 575
non-negated 282, 574
positive 250, 432, 630, 637
imperative morphology 282, 308, 504, 505, 536,
537, 555
imperfect 2, 21, 22, 316, 333-337, 351, 352, 355,
364, 365, 367, 370, 372, 376, 379, 382,
384, 385, 389, 390, 391, 394, 395, 398,
401, 406, 409, 421, 455, 459-461, 478,
481, 483, 490, 521, 539, 542, 543, 554,
558, 560, 574, 578, 579, 584, 587, 601,
604-608, 611, 612, 615, 616, 630, 633,
634, 636
active 604

- indicative 389, 390
- medio-passive 604
- perfective 421, 459, 461, 616
- renarrated 352
- imperfective aspect 67, 97, 355, 337, 419, 420, 422, 459, 460, 461, 477, 489, 490, 498, 615, 616, 632
- impersonal verb 70, 99, 113, 115, 137, 139, 159, 161, 174, 176, 198, 232, 243, 260, 269, 330, 409, 424, 425, 426, 431, 449, 463, 492, 494, 500, 513, 521, 543, 560, 561, 588, 589, 593, 617, 622, 639, 643
- existential 548, 567, 644
- modal 425, 426, 431, 432, 464, 481, 493, 499, 542, 547, 561, 565, 566, 617, 618, 643
- impersonal clause 98, 138, 159, 175, 232
- impersonal construction 13, 65, 112, 212, 231, 269
- inalienable possession 215, 217, 261
- indefinite article 49, 55, 56, 58, 75, 88, 89, 92, 102, 125-128, 130, 148, 153, 166, 168, 187, 189, 203, 205, 216, 222, 224, 236, 241, 252, 255, 267, 285, 296, 303, 305, 310, 312, 368, 540, 558
- DP-initial 203, 222
- indefinite pronoun 290, 434, 469, 548, 567, 593, 623, 644, 645
- indefinites 239, 241, 253, 254, 256, 297, 298, 304, 305, 310, 313
- bare 239, 241, 254, 256, 298, 305, 310, 313
- contrastive 254, 297, 304
- referential 253
- indigenous language 27, 36, 42
- indigenous population 36
- indirect object 18, 32, 49, 74, 75, 81, 83, 90, 94, 123, 132, 1235, 140, 150, 157, 165, 172, 180, 181, 185, 194, 201, 204, 212, 219, 220, 228-240, 242, 251, 255, 256, 258, 264, 265, 268, 276-278, 287, 288, 290, 297, 298, 304, 305, 307, 310, 313, 314, 319, 324, 325, 327, 329, 428, 465, 495, 524, 545, 563, 590, 619, 640
- human definite 185
- indefinite 255, 313
- non-specific 239, 298, 305
- specific 239, 264, 297, 304
- inference 261, 316, 396, 444
- inferential construction 261, 354, 476, 479
- infinitival suffix 414, 416, 540
- infinitive 1-5, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 23, 25, 30-32, 36, 360, 373, 397, 398, 413, 414, 416, 417, 456, 457, 484-487, 500, 501, 507, 508, 511-515, 519, 520, 528, 531, 539, 540, 558, 559, 581, 582, 581, 609-613, 636, 657
- long 511
- medio-passive perfect 609, 610
- medio-passive present 609, 610
- morphological 31
- proper 414
- short 90, 94, 151, 194, 408, 414, 416, 456, 486, 511, 513-515, 638, 657; *see also* suffixless
- short negated 513
- short positive 513
- simple 609, 611
- subject control 416
- suffixless 414, 416, 486, 513, 529, 657; *see also* short
- suppletive 475, 534
- surrogate 475, 534
- infinitive marker 19, 151, 279, 397, 511, 513-515, 529, 530, 534
- inflection 1, 49, 125, 512
- Inflection Phrase (IP) 33, 273, 433
- inflectional morphology 31
- initiator 65, 66, 70, 85, 96-99, 158, 173, 196, 345
- instrumental (Instr) 49, 55, 109-111, 117, 118, 124, 222-224, 226-228, 231, 234, 235, 363-366, 492, 500, 502, 508, 638, 644-646, 653, 655
- intensifier 191
- intention 354, 550, 562, 569, 590
- intentional verb 415, 417, 419, 424, 425, 427-429, 463-465, 485, 492, 494, 495, 514, 521, 523, 524, 542, 544, 545, 553, 560, 562, 563, 588-590, 610, 616, 618, 619, 639, 640
- interlocutor 85, 347
- interrogative marker 242
- interrogative pronoun 242, 257, 258, 269, 270, 299, 307, 315, 418, 458, 559, 613
- compound 52
- inter-translativity 28
- intimacy 71, 79, 100, 105, 196
- intonation 348, 396, 440, 442, 473, 475, 506, 535, 537, 554, 556, 573, 575, 598, 599, 601, 630, 631, 649-651
- intonation boundary 273, 384
- invasion 35, 36, 43, 191

IP, *see* Inflection Phrase

irony 348, 349, 359-361, 380, 381, 395, 396

J

joint reference 75, 415, 416, 425, 427, 464, 466,
492-494, 496, 497, 500, 502, 521, 523,
544, 562, 589, 592, 618, 621, 640

K

khan Krum 43

kinship 215

king Basil II 44

king Boris 42

king Charlemagne 43

king Dušan 44

king Rastislav 42

koiné 27, 356, 703

L

language contact 2

language union 1

Left Periphery 76, 239-241, 244, 254, 256, 267,
269, 277, 284, 286, 287, 296, 297, 303,
304, 310, 312, 313, 321, 324, 331, 368

lexical insertion 28

lexical phonology 241

lexicon 1, 30, 33, 62, 207, 241

LF, *see* Logical Form

Logical Form (LF) 49, 92, 125, 128

linearization 239

linguistic localism 35

linguistic patriotism 3

linguistic type 3

Literary Agreement 45, 697

loanword 42, 699

locative (Loc) 25, 49, 81, 84, 85, 88, 106-111,
113, 114, 116, 118, 124, 148, 152, 184,
186, 187, 203, 221, 222, 223, 227-229,
231, 235, 236, 262, 270, 289, 322, 323,
361, 363, 367, 417, 418, 508, 650, 663

Lower Paleolithic 35

l-participle 53, 242, 245-249, 262, 271, 334-338,
344, 348, 351, 352, 354, 355, 357,
360-362, 364, 365, 368, 369, 407,
422-424, 441, 442, 450, 453, 454, 461,
462, 477, 480, 492, 503, 507, 508, 510

aorist 337, 461, 581

imperfective 351, 352

perfective 352, 357

subjunctive 422-424, 461

M

marked category 33

material culture 39

maximal category 241

medio-passive (M-P) 197, 212, 234, 394, 395,
398, 401, 408, 587, 603, 604, 607, 609,
611, 615, 621, 638

middle 65, 67, 95-98, 112, 114, 137, 150, 158,
159, 173, 174, 193, 196, 197, 212, 231,
389, 479

se 65, 95

Middle Ages 41, 416, 703

minimalism 264

Minimalist Program 33

modal auxiliary 5, 375, 416 261, 300, 374, 447

modal construction 29, 375, 421

modal context 423, 424

modal marker 24

expectative 242, 414, 415, 455

frozen 24

modal opposition 31

modal particle 21, 350, 488

modal subordinator 421

modal verb 32, 279, 415, 424-426, 431-433, 446,
462-464, 485, 487, 492, 493, 499, 514,
515, 521, 540, 542, 543, 547, 560, 561,
565, 566, 587, 588, 616-618, 622, 639,
643

impersonal 425, 426, 431, 432, 464, 481,
493, 499, 542, 547, 561, 565, 566, 617,
618, 643

“have” 32

lexical 279, 424, 462, 485, 487, 492, 515,
521, 542, 560, 587, 588, 616, 639

negative 432, 481, 566, 643

personal 426, 618

volitional 532

“will” 416

modality 242, 244, 316, 344, 414, 433, 446, 488,
504, 617

deontic 504

epistemic 261, 415, 419, 424, 463, 479, 521,
522, 617, 639

modification 435, 550, 568, 595, 625, 646

purpose-like 625, 646

modifier 55, 59, 62, 72, 82, 91-93, 101, 103, 105,
122, 125, 128, 132, 136, 140, 145, 153,
155, 162, 164, 168, 169, 177, 178, 186,
192, 204, 211, 216, 233, 235, 257, 258,
269, 270, 325, 326, 626

- adjectival 192, 208, 216
- adverbial 49, 59, 191, 647
- articled 62, 94
- interrogative 242
- nominal 120, 123, 167-169, 212, 415, 435, 470, 502, 531, 549, 568, 595, 624, 625, 646, 647
- noun 6, 73, 119, 123, 126, 151, 154, 167
- partitive 12, 82
- possessive, *see* possessive modifier
- postnominal 93, 128, 129, 134, 146, 163, 164, 171, 175, 178, 204, 205, 210, 208
- pronominal 32, 73, 182
- restrictive relative 211
- ModP 244
- monadic DP 209, 210, 214
- monoclausal structure 633
 - restructuring 415
- mood 21, 33, 242-245, 260, 261, 272, 315-317, 352-354, 360, 361, 414, 488, 517, 534, 587
 - conclusive 354
 - indicative 33
 - past presumptive 375
 - presumptive 354, 360, 375, 376
 - probabilitiv 360, 361
 - renarrated 352, 353
- mood harmony 2
- MoodP 244
- morpheme 1, 49, 108, 125, 135, 140, 153, 168, 255, 372
- morphological marker 1, 49, 315
- morphological marking 186
- morphology 31, 207, 221, 251, 282, 308, 414, 504, 505, 536, 537, 555, 578, 589, 598, 650
- morphonological alternation 420
- morphonological analysis 38
- morpho-syntactic feature 3, 22, 24, 31
- morpho-syntactic phenomena 15
- M-P, *see* medio-passive
- multilingual setting 28
- Murat I 47
- Muslim religion 45
- N**
- narration 355, 364, 443, 476, 506, 557, 576, 601, 631
- narrative viewpoint 355
- negation (Neg) 243, 245, 260, 261, 319, 562, 564
 - double 11, 638
 - single 11
- negation marker 239, 242-245, 247-251, 260-264, 274, 277, 280-282, 292-294, 300-302, 307-309, 310, 317, 329, 414, 444, 458, 487, 536, 555, 575, 586, 600, 601, 615, 630, 632, 637, 650, 651
- indicative 307, 309, 316, 317, 329, 586, 630, 637
- modal 307-309, 316, 317, 329, 586, 600, 601, 615, 630, 632, 637, 650, 651
- neighbouring language 1, 28
- Nemanja dynasty 45
- new information 239, 324
- nominal 1, 3, 32, 81, 84, 103, 107, 109, 118, 119, 127, 186, 187, 199, 226, 247-249, 327, 413, 414, 433, 471, 532
- nominal case system 1
- nominal inflection 49
- nominal system 49, 119
- nominalizer 134, 211
- nominative (Nom) 33, 49, 51, 63, 94, 108, 120, 125, 167, 200, 203, 213, 214, 234, 315, 316
- non-awareness 347, 480
- non-finite form 390, 391, 394, 395, 397, 398, 400, 414, 416, 512, 581, 609, 612, 613
- non-focused constituent 239, 265, 287, 288, 314, 323, 331, 466
- non-initiator 70, 99, 115, 161, 176, 198, 232
- non-specificity 252, 255, 286, 303, 390, 314
- normative tendencies 3
- noun 14, 49-52, 54, 57, 58, 84, 86-89, 74, 90, 107, 109, 118-122, 124-127, 130, 134, 136, 145, 148, 153-155, 168, 169, 171, 178, 187, 188, 191, 193, 203-206, 214, 221, 223-226, 241, 292, 414, 416, 417, 438, 440, 458
 - animate 86, 217, 223, 258
 - common 49, 50, 74, 107, 119, 121, 134, 136, 145, 148, 188, 206, 227, 241
 - de-adjectival 193
 - de-participial 193
 - dummy 292
 - feminine 49, 51, 57, 58, 119, 120, 125, 126, 130, 153, 154, 171, 178, 188, 204, 223-225
 - feminine human 52
 - generic 58, 90, 126, 127, 155, 169, 188, 205, 226
 - inanimate 122, 124, 223
 - masculine 49, 57, 87-89, 118-120, 126, 153, 154, 168, 169, 178, 193, 203, 204, 223, 225

masculine singular common 50, 54
 neuter 49, 57, 119, 120, 169, 204, 214
 non-human 221
 non-human animate 86
 non-specific 258
 verbal 14, 84, 414, 416, 417, 438, 440, 458
 number 23, 64, 72, 101, 108-110, 125, 153, 156, 161
 numeral 13, 25, 31, 55, 60, 91, 133, 142, 143, 155, 170, 209
 ordinal 91, 142, 143, 155, 170

O

obligation 426, 622
 object 3, 6, 9, 16-18, 23-26, 31, 50, 53, 64, 68, 74, 81, 83, 94, 98, 114, 120, 123, 132, 138, 140, 156, 159, 165, 171, 172, 175, 181, 189, 204, 208, 212, 214, 219, 220, 223, 228-232, 251-253, 255, 256, 258, 259, 265, 266, 269, 275, 278, 284, 286, 287, 290, 295-298, 303-305, 310-315, 318-320, 324, 325, 327-329, 331, 351, 361, 401, 402, 428, 429, 465, 495, 496, 513, 524, 545, 547, 563, 590, 619, 625, 640
 animate 25, 165
 definite topicalized 265
 direct, *see* direct object
 indirect, *see* indirect object
 lexical 239, 265, 276-278
 non-specific definite topicalized 265
 of preposition 64, 86, 90, 95, 112, 157, 173, 195, 214
 prepositional 136
 specific definite topicalized 255
 topicalized 240, 241, 265, 277, 278, 547
 “wh” 239
 object arbitrarization 68, 114
 object reduplication 23, 24
 oblique marker 53
 obviation effect 416, 495, 521
 old information 239, 319, 324
 optative form 21, 390, 586, 598
 ordering of clitics 243, 244, 260, 272, 317, 318, 357, 414
 ordering of constituents 32, 49, 192, 358
 Ottoman administration 47
 Ottoman empire 36, 44-47

P

parasitic gap 289, 533
 participle 14, 15, 22, 50, 58, 96, 190, 192, 193, 239, 242, 245-249, 282, 293, 301, 334-340, 342, 345, 346, 351, 353, 357, 361, 365, 368, 369, 372-375, 377, 378, 381, 383, 384, 387, 388, 390, 397, 400-407, 410, 413, 462, 490, 512, 515, 520, 528, 539, 581, 582, 584, 587, 588, 596, 609
 active 334, 490
 “be” 226
 conditional 272, 369, 510
 imperfective 351, 352
 inflecting 293, 301, 335, 373
 inflecting passive 301, 334-336, 342, 345, 372, 373, 383, 384, 388
 l, *see l*-participle
 medio-passive perfect 401-403, 405
 passive 50, 96, 242, 245-249, 301, 334-336, 338, 339, 342, 345, 351, 361, 372, 373, 377, 381, 383, 384, 387, 388, 400, 401-403, 405, 406, 423, 462
 past, *see* past participle
 perfect 400-405, 490
 perfective 351
 present 239, 374, 375, 490
 past participle 301, 334, 336, 337, 339, 340, 342, 369, 373-375, 377, 378, 381, 384, 387
 invariant 301
 past perfect 336, 337, 340, 343, 344, 346, 357, 364-366, 371, 377, 380, 383, 384, 386, 391, 392, 394, 395, 398, 402, 409, 490, 615
 active 398, 615
 active admirative 394, 395
 active indicative 391, 392
 “be” 377, 380, 383
 “have” 26, 337, 343, 344, 346, 371
 inverted 378, 381
 medio-passive 334, 338, 398, 615
 medio-passive admirative 394, 395
 medio-passive indicative 391, 393
 past (tense) 23, 24, 337, 339, 340, 345, 377, 388, 401, 406, 408, 409, 410, 419, 422, 423, 444, 461, 655
 anterior 353
 conditional 374, 515, 520, 535
 imperfective 335, 337, 341, 422, 461

- indefinite 352, 353
- indicative 423
- indicative indefinite 353
- irrealis* 2
- medio-passive 334, 338
- perfective 335, 337, 341, 421, 422, 617
- renarrated indicative 353
- simple 32, 255, 336, 347, 361, 401, 408, 409
- subjunctive 421-423, 441, 451, 461
- syncretic 521
- synthetic 333, 334, 340, 361, 376, 383
- pejorative connotation 498
- perception 415, 430, 463, 466, 497, 526, 546, 564, 588, 592, 614, 617, 621, 642
- perfect 2, 3, 10, 13, 14, 21-27, 30-32, 232, 316, 333-335, 337-347, 349-357, 359-369, 370-381, 383-395, 397-404, 409-411, 442, 444, 447, 448, 452, 459, 474, 476, 477, 479, 480, 483, 489, 490, 493, 499, 503, 505, 506, 508, 512, 515, 519, 521, 528, 539, 558, 577-579, 599, 600, 604, 605, 608, 609, 611, 612, 615, 633, 644, 650
- active 334, 390, 401, 402, 404, 609
- active admirative 394, 401
- analytic 3, 333, 369, 370, 400
- composite 369, 370, 519
- compound 21, 22
- experiential 335
- forms of 337
- habeo* 23, 24
- “have” 10, 26, 27, 335, 340, 342-345, 350, 351, 369, 370, 376, 383, 384, 401
- imperfective 337
- indicative 391, 398
- inverted 334, 377, 378, 380, 381
- medio-passive admirative 394, 401
- medio-passive indicative 341
- of result 335
- passive 390, 398, 401, 403, 405, 609, 610
- past, *see* past perfect
- periphrastic 25
- present, *see* present perfect
- simple 369, 370, 521
- synthetic 333, 369, 400
- perfective aspect 67, 97, 250, 335, 337, 338, 345, 352, 364, 401, 419, 420, 446, 447
- periphrastic comparison 18, 21, 26
- permission 504
- Persian wars 37
- person/number feature 74, 105, 122, 425, 427, 464, 492, 494, 521, 523, 544, 562, 564, 589, 598, 618, 640
- person restriction 251
- personal pronoun 1, 25, 26, 49, 63, 94, 111, 121, 125, 134-136, 139, 143, 147, 149, 152, 156, 157, 172, 194, 199, 212, 227, 228, 230, 231, 233, 234, 329, 407, 645
- pleonastic 26
- reflexive 231
- PF affix 317
- PF filter 264
- Philip II 37
- phonetic innovation 31
- phonological behaviour 246, 274, 280, 307
- phonological directionality 263
- phonological feature 3
- phonological form 1, 88, 100
- phonological orientation 32
- phonological representation 271
- phonological system 38
- phonological word 144, 178, 247, 249, 250, 263, 264, 273, 274
- prosodically restructured 144, 178, 247, 249
- plea 441, 599, 631, 650
- pluperfect 22, 391-395, 397, 398
- active 394, 398
- active indicative 391, 392
- compound 22
- medio-passive 334, 394, 334
- medio-passive indicative 391, 393
- polydefinite DP 209-211
- portmanteau morpheme 108, 630, 637
- possessive genitive DP 204
- definite human 54
- possessive interpretation 77-79, 105, 106, 117, 122, 158, 173, 195, 218, 219
- possessive modifier 18, 50, 60, 72, 73, 75, 78, 83, 91, 93, 101-105, 132, 135, 136, 139-141, 143-145, 147, 162-164, 177-180, 199, 200, 204, 217, 233-235, 325
- phonologically deficient 144
- possessive pronoun 6, 72, 74, 75, 136, 199, 228, 235
- relative 142
- possessive relationship 32, 73, 81, 105, 107, 116, 142, 150, 181, 183, 196, 199, 201, 202, 212, 214, 234, 237
- possessiveness 16, 17

- possessor 32, 69, 72, 75, 76, 78, 79, 81-83, 98,
 101, 104, 105, 107, 115, 132, 138,
 140-147, 150, 160, 165, 166, 175, 178,
 181-183, 185, 198, 201, 202, 204, 230,
 232, 237
 animate lexical 166
 definite human 165, 180, 204
 definite non-human 165
 feminine 142
 inanimate 82, 183, 185
 inanimate lexical 166
 lexical 76, 83, 104, 165, 166
 possessum 32, 72, 73, 75, 76, 79, 83, 101, 104,
 122, 136, 140-145, 150, 165, 181-183,
 201, 202, 204, 214, 237
 post-Byzantine period 27, 400
 posteriority 413
 post-syntactic morphology 251
 PP, *see* prepositional phrase
 Prague School tradition 239
 pre-article position 206, 207
 predicate 50, 58, 81, 82, 116, 156, 182, 186, 189,
 192, 208, 213, 226, 233, 239, 240, 241,
 244-249, 258, 262, 266, 293, 311, 313,
 331, 338, 375, 415, 433, 456, 458, 462,
 470, 471, 531, 532, 550, 568, 569
 factive 311, 458
 nominal 81, 226, 242, 245-247, 249, 258,
 262, 293, 338, 375, 436, 462
 small clause 50, 156, 189, 208
 predication 246, 267, 268
 predicative 50, 111, 141, 162, 190, 407
 preposition 1, 16, 12, 14, 49, 74, 81-85, 90, 94,
 106-108, 124, 132, 134, 135, 140, 141,
 147, 148, 150-152, 157, 165-168, 172,
 177, 180-186, 188, 200-203, 207, 213,
 214, 219, 221, 227, 235-237, 241, 269,
 285, 324, 435, 436, 438, 439, 459, 471,
 472, 502, 503, 512, 533, 534, 540,
 551-553, 572, 573, 582, 584, 596, 597,
 625, 626, 628, 647, 648
 Acc case marking 134
 composite 213
 locative 81, 85, 152
 primary 213, 222
 sequence of 85, 125
 simple 213, 222
 prepositional phrase (PP) 6, 49, 58, 64, 69, 81,
 83, 85, 95, 98, 102, 110, 112, 118, 135,
 151, 152, 157, 160, 167, 173, 175, 183,
 194, 200, 201, 203, 204, 220, 221, 227,
 239, 262, 277, 295, 302, 318, 319
 directional 81, 84, 106, 107, 124, 152, 204
 locative 262
 present base 337, 338, 461, 581, 638
 present perfect 32, 232, 336, 337, 339, 340,
 343-346, 357, 361-364, 366, 373,
 377-381, 384, 385, 388, 390, 391,
 393-395, 397-399, 401-403, 409-411,
 444, 447, 460, 479, 519, 577, 587, 600,
 601, 604, 615, 633, 644, 650
 active indicative 390, 615
 active perfective 615
 active subjunctive 587
 “be” 388
 “have” 343, 337, 344, 346
 indicative 317, 351, 390, 446, 456, 488,
 657
 inverted 377, 378, 380, 381
 medio-passive 334, 338, 391, 394, 587, 604,
 615
 medio-passive indicative 391, 393
 present tense 21, 22, 33, 339, 340, 345, 377, 388,
 401, 406, 408, 409, 419, 422, 423, 444,
 461
 conditional 515-517, 538, 579, 655
 imperfective 422
 indicative 292, 300, 308, 381, 384, 387, 389,
 390, 391, 394, 423, 615
 perfective 419, 459, 489, 615-617, 632
 presumptive 375, 376
 simple 491
 subjunctive 423, 456, 497, 587, 611
 presumption 448, 559, 479, 653
 presupposition 209, 239
 presupposition/focus distinction 209
 Principles and Parameters Theory 33
 pro 229, 237, 268, 415, 495
 PRO 415
 probability 261, 433, 441, 499, 554, 574, 599,
 602, 630, 644, 650
 prohibition 282, 414, 432, 442, 475, 481, 499,
 505, 536, 537, 547, 555, 566, 574, 600,
 615, 630, 637, 643, 650
 pronominal clitic, *see* clitic
 pronoun 1, 6, 16, 17, 32, 63, 64, 94, 95, 135, 157,
 162, 172, 173, 194, 195, 214, 222, 228,
 229, 269, 295, 302, 315, 410
 compound 269
 dative 26, 230, 232

demonstrative, *see* demonstrative pronoun
 doubled 157, 172, 195
 indefinite, *see* indefinite pronoun
 interrogative, *see* interrogative pronoun
 locative 418
 non-emphatic 525
 oblique 157, 172, 195
 personal, *see* personal pronoun
 possessive, *see* possessive pronoun
 proximate 89, 94, 132, 162, 194
 reflexive 74, 95, 146, 172, 207, 230, 231, 234, 269
 relative, *see* relative pronoun
 self-standing 3, 7
 relative pronoun 11, 142, 207, 242, 257, 270, 277, 298, 306, 550, 568, 569, 595
 atypical 277
 proper name 38, 52, 53, 62, 119, 127, 134, 136, 141, 142, 144, 154, 181, 182, 185, 188, 189, 204, 206, 227, 241, 253
 feminine 136, 142
 masculine 50, 52, 53, 136, 142, 188
 prosodic inversion 264
 prosodic requirement 263
 prosodic subcategorization 263
protasis 2, 32, 451-454, 482, 483, 507, 508, 516, 517, 528, 538, 539, 557, 558, 579, 607, 608, 612, 633-635, 654
 proximity 62
 purpose 32, 44, 46, 94, 108, 427, 435, 436, 459, 464, 471, 495, 502, 524, 533, 544, 550, 551, 562, 568, 570, 582, 595, 596, 618, 625, 626, 640, 646, 647

Q

quantifier 62, 92, 94, 129, 130, 133, 150, 156, 170, 181, 208, 209, 241, 284, 298, 305, 433
 definite 129, 170
 floating 62, 133
 question 31, 105, 117, 215, 247, 249, 260, 264, 290, 294, 361, 382, 397, 433, 441, 443, 468, 475, 476, 500, 506, 529, 530, 536, 548, 556, 557, 566, 575, 576, 582, 593, 599-601, 623, 631, 644, 650, 651
 embedded 433, 443, 468, 476, 500, 506, 529, 530, 548, 557, 566, 576, 593, 601, 623, 631, 644
 negative 264
 question word 3, 9

R

raising 524, 545, 563, 590
 subject-to-object 524, 545, 563, 590
 referent 65, 96, 112, 187, 196, 276, 315, 320, 322, 327, 531, 596, 625
 relativizer 26, 81, 239, 258, 259, 269-271, 276, 277, 279, 289, 315, 326, 318, 435, 439, 585, 614
 complex 259
 double 259
 general 26, 81, 258, 259, 270, 289, 326, 318, 585, 614
 invariant 239, 258, 269, 271, 276, 277, 279, 315, 435, 439
relativum generale 23, 24, 239, 258, 276, 277, 279, 298, 306, 315, 326, 418, 435, 458, 488, 585, 614, 637
 reported speech 431, 446, 468, 477, 486, 498, 516, 526, 547, 565, 593, 621, 642
 reportedness 246, 354
 Renaissance 36
 resolution 440, 442, 473, 475, 505, 506, 535, 537, 554, 556, 573, 575, 598, 601, 629, 630, 649, 651
 restructuring configuration 416
 restructuring structure 415
 resultative reading 343, 346, 363, 373
 resultativeness 333, 336, 343, 346, 369, 383, 388, 391
 Revised Extended Standard Theory 33
 rheme 239
 role-denoting DP 286
 Roman conquest 39, 42
 Roman influence 36
 Roman period 38
 Roman rule 26, 39
 Romanian nationalists 40
 Romans 36, 39, 40, 44, 701
 Russian-Byzantine war 43

S

Samuel's kingdom 44
 saturation 66, 68, 97, 114
 arbitrary 66, 97, 98
se-absolutive 67, 95, 97, 137, 159, 197
se-construction 65, 66, 68-70, 95, 98, 99, 114, 115, 137-139, 159
se-passive 67, 95-97, 137, 159, 197

- secondness 273
- semantic field 1
- sentence 171, 239, 253, 266, 267, 296, 304, 368, 397, 419, 425, 449, 459, 463, 526, 492, 521, 542, 617, 630, 639
 - complex 253, 266, 267, 296, 304
 - conditional, *see* conditional sentence
 - declarative 397
 - heavy 253, 266, 267, 296, 304
 - marked 171, 368, 526, 542, 617, 639
 - negative-interrogative 419, 459
 - neutral 239
 - positive 449, 630
 - prototypical 239
 - SVO 239
 - unmarked 239, 425, 463, 492, 521, 542
- si*-construction 159, 160
- si/sǎ/se/s*-construction 174-176
- Sign model 66
- Slavic invasion 36, 43
- Slavic vocabulary 42
- socio-linguistic contact 28
- sortal restriction 66, 97, 98
- sound correspondence 1
- spacial differentiation 56, 120
- spacial ablative relationship 201
- [+specific] versus [- specific] ambiguity 241
- specificity 239, 241, 252-257, 259, 265, 266, 270, 277, 284, 287-289, 296-298, 303-305, 310, 313, 314
- Spec TP 240
- Spec VP 240
- specifier 49, 103, 104, 240-242, 268
- spite 432, 643
- Standard Theory 33
- standardization 33, 699
- status 29, 31, 48, 55, 132, 189, 207, 239, 243, 288, 335, 375, 521
- Stefan Nemanja 45
- story-telling 72, 195, 231, 342, 360, 381, 444, 476, 557, 576, 602, 631, 652
- stress pattern 210, 247, 248
- structural linguistics 45, 698
- structural variants 2
- subject 240, 241, 362, 425, 427, 428, 463-465, 492, 495, 496, 514, 517, 521, 524, 525, 531, 532, 542, 544, 550, 561-563, 588, 590, 617-620, 623, 639, 640
 - animate definite 531, 532, 550
 - focused 425, 517
 - lexically expressed 495
 - non-emphatic pronominal 428, 465, 495, 524, 544, 563, 590, 619, 640
 - post-verbal 514, 517, 525, 620
 - preverbal 240, 241
 - pronominal 362, 425, 427, 428, 463-465, 492, 495, 496, 521, 524, 542, 544, 561-563, 588, 590, 617-619, 639, 640
 - raised 623
- subjunctive clause 3, 21, 280, 282, 292, 300, 301, 316, 329, 414, 420, 421, 428, 433, 436, 462, 465, 467, 469, 495, 502, 505, 524, 544, 550, 551, 558, 563, 568-570, 578, 590, 595, 615, 619, 624, 637, 640
 - positive 280, 282, 300, 316
- subjunctive context 423, 424
- subjunctive construction 32, 409, 415, 429, 439-444, 469-471, 473-476, 503-506, 517, 518, 521, 531, 532, 534-537, 553-557, 573-576, 597, 595, 596, 600-602, 604, 613, 615, 629-631, 648-652
- bare 32, 409, 415, 439-444, 473-476, 503-506, 517, 521, 531, 534-537, 553-557, 573-576, 597, 602, 613, 629-631, 648-652
- double 429
- negated bare 442, 443, 475, 505, 506, 536, 537, 555, 556, 574, 575, 600, 601, 630, 651
- negated interrogative 506
- non-negated bare 475, 556, 575
- perfective 615
- relative 469-471, 518, 531, 532, 595, 596, 604
- subjunctive (mood) marker 242-245, 541, 260, 261
- subjunctive structure 4, 6, 413, 415, 426, 446, 473, 481, 602, 632; *see also* subjunctive construction
- subordinator 413, 414, 421
 - "wh" 4
- subordinator phrase (SubP) 467
- SubP, *see* subordinator phrase
- substrate 27, 28
- suffixation 190, 369
- Sultan Murat 47
- superlative degree 133
- suppletion 615, 616
- surface structure 245, 486, 526
- surprise 335, 348, 349, 359, 361, 380, 389, 393, 395, 447
- suzerainty 47

Swadesh list 33
 syncretism 24, 49, 100, 109
 syntactic alternation 71, 100
 syntactic behaviour 49, 272
 syntactic information 251
 syntactic structure 33

T

temporal interpretation 216
 temporal opposition 31, 335
 Tense/AgrS 245
 thematic relation 81, 106, 123, 147, 200
 theme 43, 70, 99, 115, 175, 176, 198, 230, 232, 239
 θ -role 65
 θ -Theory 66
 threat 40, 432, 442, 474, 505, 506, 601
 Tobler-Mussafia behaviour 246, 259
 Tobler-Mussafia restriction 242
 tone 109, 119, 120
 topic 76, 239, 240, 254, 256, 263, 267, 268,
 286-288, 297, 298, 304, 305
 contrastive 240, 268
 direct object 284
 multiple 265
 Topic Phrase (TopP) 33, 104, 240, 241, 467
 topic position 240, 254, 256, 284, 286-288, 297,
 303, 304, 312, 321, 331
 topicality 284, 287
 topicalization 239, 241, 254, 265, 277, 278, 296,
 303, 322, 623
 multiple 265
 topicalized constituent 95, 104, 105, 241, 254,
 262, 268, 277, 286, 287, 297, 304, 319,
 322, 323, 330, 345, 484, 486, 487
 toponym 35, 38, 41, 50
 TopP, *see* Topic Phrase
 Tense Phrase (TP) 240
 TP, *see* Tense Phrase
 typological feature 1, 3
 tzar 42, 43
 tzar Dušan 45, 47
 tzar Lazar 47
 tzar Samuel 44
 tzar Svjatoslav 43

U

uncertainty 396
 uniqueness 29, 241, 252
 unrealized probability 441, 461, 599, 602
 unrealized wish 554, 555, 574

urban center 335, 395, 336
 urban identity 336, 395

V

vassalage 47
 verb 5, 13, 19, 23, 24, 31, 32, 66, 68, 105, 114,
 115, 160, 218, 221, 239, 242, 245,
 246-249, 261, 262, 282, 307, 317, 330,
 334-336, 343-346, 351, 361, 370, 372,
 373, 383, 388, 391, 393, 374, 408, 415,
 416, 418, 419, 423-426, 427-431, 432,
 435, 444, 449, 456, 458, 459, 463-466,
 468-471, 481, 482, 488, 492, 493, 495,
 497-499, 500, 504, 512, 514, 518, 519,
 521, 524, 526, 528, 530-532, 536, 537,
 541, 543-548, 550, 551, 560, 561-565,
 567-570, 582, 586, 588-590, 592, 593,
 595, 596, 604, 610-614, 616, 618, 619,
 621-623, 633, 637, 639, 642, 644, 646,
 652
 anti-causative 115, 160
 common 317
 control 415, 424, 427-429, 464, 465, 492,
 495, 521, 524, 544, 545, 562, 563, 589,
 590, 616, 618, 619, 622, 639, 640
 causative 512
 directional 221
 embedded 415
 emotional 418, 458, 488, 586, 614, 637
 existential 423, 469-471, 500, 530-532, 548,
 550, 567-569, 593, 623, 644
 factive 418, 458, 488, 586, 614, 637
 finite 23, 24, 415, 416
 imperative 31, 239, 245, 262, 419, 470, 499,
 531, 536, 550
 imperfective 336, 482, 497, 633
 impersonal, *see* impersonal verb
 inchoative 415, 424, 463, 492, 521, 616
 inflected 282, 613
 intentional, *see* intentional verb
 inter-personal contact 68, 114
 intransitive 13, 334, 335, 344-346, 373, 391,
 393
 main 374, 425, 428, 463, 492, 521
 matrix 415
 modal, *see* modal verb
 negative 330, 432, 444, 481
 non-intentional 588, 610
 of asking 415, 424, 463, 521, 639
 of believing 459, 519, 541, 560, 586, 614

- of knowledge 415, 424, 463, 521, 639
 - of perception 415, 430, 463, 466, 497, 526, 546, 564, 588, 592, 614, 621, 642
 - of quest 435, 459, 470, 531, 550, 551, 568, 570, 595, 596, 604, 625, 646
 - of saying 419, 431, 468, 498, 504, 526, 547, 565, 593, 621, 642
 - of thinking 415, 424, 463, 521, 639
 - perfective 336, 419, 482, 497, 633
 - personal 425, 426, 463, 464, 469, 492, 493, 543, 561, 588, 589, 618, 622
 - phrasal 31
 - raising 514, 518, 521, 528, 622, 623
 - strong 372
 - superordinate 32
 - tensed 5, 19, 32, 242, 246-249, 261, 307, 416, 449, 456, 582, 596, 511, 612, 652
 - transitive 13, 105, 218, 246, 334, 335, 343, 346, 351, 361, 373, 383, 388, 391, 393, 408, 537
 - unaccusative 66, 218, 246, 344, 345, 346, 370, 372, 373, 383, 388
 - unergative 343, 346, 370, 373
 - volitional 415, 424, 463, 492, 504, 521, 532, 616, 639
 - verb base 335
 - verb-clitic complex 242
 - verbal morphology 414
 - verbal root 413
 - verbal system 1, 23, 32
 - vivid narration 443, 476, 506, 557, 576, 601, 631
 - vocative (Voc) 13, 18, 20, 49-52, 55, 61, 86-88, 91, 93, 109-111, 119, 120, 125, 131, 152, 153, 167, 171, 186, 187, 189, 203, 204, 206, 222-224, 227, 228, 230, 277
 - volition 29
 - VP 33, 62, 240, 262, 267, 268
 - VP movement 267
- W**
- warning 114
 - weak cross-over effect 241
 - “wh”-word 9, 11, 32, 81, 149, 242, 244, 249, 257-259, 269, 270, 278, 288
 - interrogative 289, 290, 306, 314, 315
 - invariant 257, 288, 326, 418, 488
 - wish 78, 316, 420, 460, 488, 489, 494, 616, 618, 632, 648, 632, 648, 650
 - wondering 146, 349, 350, 356, 360, 363, 364, 368, 631
 - wonderment 443, 475, 506, 536, 556, 575, 600, 651
 - World War One 43, 46-48, 704

INDEX OF LANGUAGES, DIALECTS, ETHNONYMS AND TOPONYMS

A

Adriatic (sea) 35, 36, 40
 Aegean (sea) 35, 38, 83, 440
 Aeolic 37, 38
 Ahaians 37
 Albania 2, 30, 36, 39-41, 44, 46, 54, 191, 333, 336, 389, 395, 418, 435, 697, 699, 701, 703, 704
 Albanian 1-12, 14-21, 24-26, 28-33, 40, 41, 48, 49, 69, 92, 99, 115, 119, 128, 139, 142, 161, 176, 186-188, 190, 191, 194-196, 198-200, 202, 232, 239, 244, 265, 278, 307-310, 312, 313, 333-336, 347, 389-391, 393-399, 413, 414, 416, 428, 430, 435, 436, 451, 459, 524, 544, 550, 558, 563, 568, 581, 582, 585, 587, 589, 590, 595, 598-603, 609-611, 619, 625, 637, 642, 646, 657, 667, 691, 692, 697, 699, 702-704
 colloquial Albanian 16, 601
 G(h)eg Albanian 4, 6, 20, 30, 33, 186, 200, 333, 395, 397-399, 413, 416, 581, 609-611, 657, 667-671, 692, 697, 703, 704
 North (G(h)eg) Albanian 6
 Northern G(h)eg Albanian 333, 395, 397-399, 581, 609-611
 Northern Tosk Albanian 395
 South-Eastern Albanian 54
 Southern Albanian 2
 Southern Geg Albanian 395
 Southern Tosk Albanian 4, 5, 186, 333
 Standard Albanian 30, 186, 389, 390, 399, 581, 704
 Tosk Albanian 4, 5, 30, 33, 186, 200, 202, 286, 307, 333, 334, 389, 391, 395, 397, 398, 413, 581, 582, 585, 587, 589, 599, 603, 609, 611, 667, 672, 697, 703, 704
 Alps 35, 58, 91
 Akandžali 247
 Amerindian 41
 Anatolia 45-47
 Antes 42
 Apennine 35
 Arabic 45, 46
 Arabs 43

Arbanassan 697, 704
 Arcado-Cypriot 37, 38
 Arli 30, 33, 49, 69, 222-228, 231-237, 329, 330, 407-410, 413, 414, 423, 636-639, 642, 648, 650, 652, 653, 657, 677-679
 Armenian 44, 45, 697, 705
 Aromanian 2, 3, 5, 6, 9-14, 21-24, 26, 28-30, 33, 39, 40, 49, 64, 69, 119, 120, 139, 143, 167-169, 171, 172, 176, 177, 180, 181, 184-186, 239, 244, 279, 299-301, 305, 333, 334, 336, 345, 347, 383-389, 413, 414, 416, 428, 435, 436, 470, 524, 528, 544, 550, 558-561, 563, 568, 573, 576-579, 590, 595, 600, 619, 625, 642, 646, 657, 662-666, 690, 697, 701, 703, 704
 Farsheriote Aromanian 336, 389
 Kruševo-Bitola Aromanian 184
 Ohrid-Struga Aromanian 184
 Western Aromanian 30
 Aromanians 39, 701, 704
 Arvanitika 704
 Asia Minor 35, 39, 43, 45-47, 703
 Avars 39, 40, 42, 43
 Axios 37, 38

B

Balkan 1-12, 18, 21, 23-32, 35, 38, 41, 43, 44, 46, 48-50, 56, 72, 79, 91, 139, 142, 156, 171, 191, 214, 229, 232, 236, 239, 240, 242, 244, 245, 251, 255, 256, 270, 271, 289, 298, 307, 309, 315, 316, 333, 335, 347, 409, 413-416, 435, 452, 454, 473, 488, 526, 528, 530, 551, 553, 570, 573, 582, 592, 597, 598, 617, 623, 629, 632, 639, 648, 701, 705
 Balkan mountain 38, 91, 457
 Balkan peninsula 35, 39, 48, 697
 Balkan Romance 12, 13, 24, 30, 38, 39, 48, 72, 145, 186, 212, 334, 414, 436, 459, 470, 662, 701
 Balkans 1, 21, 28, 29, 31-33, 35-48, 51, 72, 333, 697-706
 North-Western Balkans 40
 South-Eastern Balkans 46
 Western Balkans 42

Banat 370, 700
 Bitola 30, 58, 64, 184, 333, 336, 345, 347, 383, 388
blachi 701
blakhoi 701
 Black sea 35, 38, 46
 Bogomil 698
 Bosnia 46
 Bosnia and Hercegovina 697, 698, 700, 702, 704
 Bosnian 30, 45, 333, 657, 697, 698
 Buda 47
 Bulgaria 2, 30, 35, 39, 41-48, 89, 246, 335, 352, 360, 476, 407, 457, 488, 697-700, 703-706
 Eastern Bulgaria 2
 North-Western Bulgaria 360
 Northern Bulgaria 35
 Republic of Bulgaria 246
 Southern Bulgaria 2, 457
 South-Western Bulgaria 457
 Bulgarian 1-14, 16-21, 24-26, 29-31, 33, 38, 40-44, 47-49, 55, 65, 66, 69, 73, 75, 79, 86-92, 94-96, 99-101, 105-107, 113-115, 122, 125, 128, 158, 161, 176, 196, 198, 212, 219, 232, 239, 242, 244, 247, 259-265, 267-269, 271, 277, 311, 333-335, 347, 351-357, 359-362, 367, 368, 370, 407, 413-416, 430, 435, 436, 454-456, 458, 460-462, 467, 470, 472, 473, 476, 478, 479, 481, 483, 492-494, 500, 502, 504, 510, 524, 551, 556, 558, 570, 600, 642, 657-661, 683, 685, 686, 697, 698, 700, 703, 705
 colloquial Bulgarian 16, 271, 472
 literary Bulgarian 354
 Middle Bulgarian 333
 Mysian Bulgarian 107
 Rhodopi Bulgarian 31, 88, 107, 351
 Bulgarians 43-45, 48
 Bulgars 39, 42-44
 Turkic Bulgars 42
 Burgundži 705

C

Čakavian 697, 698
 Carpathian mountain range 38, 40
 Caucasus 45
 Central Asia 46
centum 38, 41

Circassian 697
 Constantinople 41
 Crete 36, 37, 69, 76, 98, 699-702, 706
 Croatia 36
 Croatian 30, 31, 45, 49, 112, 113, 123, 239, 273, 276, 333, 361, 365, 366, 413, 416, 484, 486, 489, 492, 493, 495-497, 499, 500, 502, 503, 506, 521, 657-662, 697, 698
 colloquial Croatian 112
 Dalmatian Croatian 276
 Standard Croatian 31, 123, 239, 276, 361, 366, 413, 416, 489, 500
 Croats 43, 45, 697, 701
 Burgerland Croats 701
 Czech 697, 700
 Czechia 46
 Cumans 42

D

Dacia 39, 40
 Dacian 27, 38, 41
 Dacians 38, 39, 40
 Daco-Mysian 41
 Daco-Mysians 39
 Dalmatian coast 42, 701
 Dalmatian 702
 Danube 1, 35, 36, 38-40, 42-44, 46-48, 127, 360
 Danubian plains 37
 Dardic 45
 Debar 64, 445
 Demotiki 703
 Dorian 37, 38
 Dorians 37
 Duklja 44
 Durazzo 44
 Džambazi 705

E

Edessa 64
 Eastern Austria 701
 Egiptjani 704
 Egjupci 704
 Egyptians 704
 England 47, 197
 English 26, 56, 66, 88, 145, 201, 21, 222, 239, 241, 244, 254, 288, 350, 374, 406, 452, 470, 488, 518, 532, 551, 552, 569-571, 583, 626, 627, 646, 657-681, 683, 696, 701

Epirus 36, 37, 44, 701

Eteocretans 37

Europe 29, 35, 44, 46, 47, 58, 78, 91, 333, 701

Western Europe 46, 47

F

Florina 64

France 47, 220

Franks 42, 43

G

Gagauz(i) 706

Bulgar Gagauz 706

Maritime Gagauz 706

Galičnik 54, 446

Georgian 45

German 334, 697, 700-702

Germanic 42, 702

Germany 47, 702

Gjupci 704

Gorna Belica 389

Gots 39

Greece 2, 343

Northern Greece 30, 37, 40, 43, 62, 64, 83, 85, 212, 252, 325, 336, 395, 417, 440, 701, 703

North-Western Greece 2, 343

Southern Greece 47, 219, 704

Greek 1-6, 8-12, 16-21, 24-33, 36-40, 42-45, 47-49, 62, 69, 99, 158, 171, 203-205, 207, 208, 212-214, 216, 219-221, 225, 227, 239, 240, 244, 245, 315-317, 319, 321-326, 333-335, 337, 347, 393, 400-402, 406, 413-415, 417, 418, 430, 435, 436, 459, 470, 550, 551, 555, 568, 570, 585, 595, 604, 613-616, 625, 629, 632, 633, 636, 637, 642, 646, 657, 672-676, 683, 693, 694, 697, 700-705

Ancient Greek 27, 37-39, 212, 213, 400, 413, 613, 703

Biblical Greek 413

Byzantine Greek 6

Macedonian Greek 325

Modern Greek 2-6, 8-12, 16-21, 25-33, 48, 49, 69

Northern Greek 2, 333

North-West Greek 37, 38

Greek coast 42, 701

Gulf of Trieste 35

H

Haliacmon 37

Havati 46

Hercegovina 365, 489, 697

Hittite 337

Hungarian 40, 697, 700, 706

Hungarians 40

Hungary 46, 47

Huns 39, 42

I

Illyrian 27, 38, 40, 41

Illyrian territory 41

Illyrians 41, 42

Indo-European 29, 37, 38, 40, 41, 45, 48, 49, 78, 146, 407, 418, 458, 581, 697

Indo-Europeans 37

Ionian 35, 40

Ionic 36, 37

Iran 45, 46

Iranians 42

Istrian peninsula 701, 702

Istro-Romance 697, 702

Istro-Romanian 39, 40, 697, 701

Italic 701

Italian 21, 29, 191, 697, 701, 702

Puglian Southern Italian 29

Italy 40, 46, 697, 701

J

Judeo-German 697, 702

Judeo-Spanish 2, 697, 702

K

Kajkavian 484, 697, 698

Kalderash 704

Karakachan 703

Kastoria 333, 336

Katharevusa 703

Khazars 42

koiné 27

Korča 333, 336, 418, 435

Korçë 333, 336, 418

Kosovo 47, 190, 191, 692

Kosovo and Metohia 703-705

Kostur 64, 333, 336

Kriva Palanka 120

Kruševo 30

Kumanovo 53, 120

Kurdish 45

L

Ladino 702
 Larisa 36
 Latin 3, 9, 28, 36, 38, 39, 41, 43, 369, 512,
 657-661, 672-676, 683, 684, 686, 694,
 701
 Leipzig 1
 Lelegians 37
 Lerin 64
 Lešnja 186
 Lovari 704
 Luiaš 37

M

Macedonia 2, 3, 30, 37-41, 43-48, 83, 184, 202,
 206, 227, 245, 246, 299, 335, 347, 389,
 440, 445, 579, 589, 599, 699, 701-706
 Eastern Macedonia 30
 Pirin Macedonia 246
 South-Eastern Macedonia 83, 247, 579
 South-Western Macedonia 202, 335, 347,
 389, 445
 Western Macedonia 2, 30
 Macedonian 1-14, 16-18, 21-26, 28-33, 37, 38,
 43, 49-58, 62-65, 72-75, 79, 83, 85, 86,
 88-91, 93, 94, 96, 100, 101, 103, 105,
 106, 108, 113, 114, 117, 119, 120, 122,
 125, 147, 158, 196, 217, 219, 239, 240,
 242-255, 257, 259-262, 265, 268, 269,
 271, 279, 292, 296-299, 301, 304, 305,
 311, 312, 321, 325, 333-343, 345-347,
 349, 350, 359, 360, 368, 373, 382-384,
 387, 388, 397, 413-418, 423, 430-433,
 435, 436, 440, 444-449, 452-454, 456,
 458-465, 468, 470-472, 481, 483, 490,
 492-495, 500, 502, 504, 542, 543, 550,
 551, 556, 561, 568, 570, 582, 585, 589,
 595, 600, 602, 619, 625, 637, 640, 642,
 646, 648, 657-661, 683, 684, 689, 690,
 695, 697-699, 702, 703-705
 archaic South-Western Macedonian 55
 Central-Western Macedonian 699
 colloquial Macedonian 16, 74
 dialectal Macedonian 4, 6, 9, 10, 12, 22, 637
 Eastern Macedonian 57, 58, 245, 246, 334,
 336, 417, 454, 637
 North-Western Macedonian 248-351
 Northern Macedonian 53, 57, 63, 83, 333,
 705
 Ohrid-Struga Macedonian 185, 336

South-Western Macedonian 64, 82, 336, 346,
 454
 Southern Macedonian 2, 26, 85, 90, 333, 383
 Standard Macedonian 22, 53, 89, 247, 248,
 336, 337, 418
 West-Central Macedonian 247, 249, 250, 418
 Western Macedonian 247, 249, 250
 Macedonians 37, 38, 43, 45, 698, 699
 Ancient Macedonians 37, 38, 44
 Magyars 39
 Marica 47
 Marmora 46
 Meglenite 13, 14
 Meglenite mountains 30, 40
 Megleno-Romanian 3, 13, 24, 29, 30, 33, 39, 40,
 49, 139, 152-154, 156-158, 161, 162, 165,
 173, 178, 183, 239, 292, 295, 297-301,
 304, 305, 333-335, 347, 376-383, 387,
 388, 413, 414, 416, 428, 440, 524,
 540-544, 547, 553, 557, 558, 563, 590,
 600, 619, 642, 657, 662-665, 701, 703
 Megleno-Romanians 39, 40
 Mesta 38
 Moldavia, *see* Moldova
 Moldova 40, 697, 698, 700, 706
 Mongols 39, 46
 Montenegro 2, 41, 44, 110, 364, 365, 697-699,
 702, 704, 705
 Montenegrin/Albanian border 36
 Moravia 42, 43
 Mysian 38, 39, 41
 Mysians 39

N

North-Central India 45
 North-Western Anatolia 46, 47
 Northern Dalmatia 43
 Novo Selo 360, 361

O

Ohrid 12, 28, 43, 44, 52, 54, 64, 73, 85, 186, 336,
 337, 342, 346, 347, 385, 386, 574
 Struga 346
 Old Church Slavonic 43, 45, 333, 334, 413, 414,
 416, 420, 423, 444, 446, 456, 457, 460,
 477, 486, 488-490, 512, 697, 698
 Olympus 37
 Osmanlis 46, 47
 Ossetic 45
 Ottomans 46, 47

- P**
 Paleo-Macedonian 38
 Palityan 697
 Pannonia 43
 Panonian 702
 Pechenegs 42
 Pelasgia 36
 Pelasgians 36, 37
 Peloponnesus 43, 703
 Persian 37, 45
 Pindus 37
 Polish 697, 700
 Pontic Greek 703
 Pre-Albanian 41
 Pre-Greek 37
 Pre-Hellenic 36
 Pre-Romanian 41
 Prespa 28, 44, 202, 599
 Prilep 37, 342
 Prizren 118, 119, 120, 121, 277
 Proto-Slavonic 334
 Proto-Indo-European 333
Provincia Illyrica 40
 Pyrenean peninsula 35
- R**
 Raška 45
 Resen 333, 336, 345
 Rhodopi mountain 88, 89
 Romance 3, 12-14, 21, 24, 28, 30, 38-40, 48, 49, 51, 72, 145, 186, 212, 219, 240, 259, 334, 347, 370, 371, 375, 376, 424, 425, 436, 459, 470, 495, 521, 657, 662, 697, 699-702
 Roman empire 28, 36
 Romani 2, 24, 26, 28-30, 32, 33, 45, 36, 49, 222, 223, 227, 239, 407, 409, 413-415, 636, 652, 657, 677, 695, 699, 700, 703-705
 Balkan Romani 24, 26, 28-30, 32, 33, 45, 46, 49, 69, 222, 239, 329, 407, 413-415, 636, 657, 677, 695, 705
 Northern Romani 46
 Vlax Romani 24, 46
 Romania 39, 46
 Southern Romania 39, 43
 Romanian 1-4, 5-11, 13-21, 24-26, 29-33, 39-41, 46, 49, 59, 92, 99, 100, 120, 125-128, 132-134, 136, 139, 141-143, 146-148, 150, 152-154, 156-158, 161, 162, 165, 167, 169, 173, 176, 178, 180, 181, 183, 186, 191, 200, 239-241, 244, 245, 279, 280, 282, 284, 285, 290, 292, 295, 297-301, 304, 305, 333-335, 337-360, 369-383, 387, 388, 413, 414, 416, 418, 436, 440, 457, 470, 511, 512, 514-517, 519-524, 526-528, 530-532, 534, 536, 537, 540-544, 547, 553, 557, 558, 563, 590, 600, 619, 642, 657, 662-666, 688, 689, 697, 700, 701, 703
 colloquial Romanian 16, 17, 136, 515, 534, 536
 Daco-Romanian 3, 13, 39, 40, 700, 701
 Old Romanian 282
 Standard Romanian 142, 150, 282, 369, 370, 526, 536, 700
 Transylvanian Romanian 375, 702
 Romanians 39, 40
 Romas 30, 45, 46, 705
 Rome 35, 36, 40, 43, 67, 97, 114
 Russia 43, 47
 Russians 43
 Rusyn 697, 699
 Ruthinian 699
- S**
 Salish 33
 Sanskrit 45, 337
satem 38, 41
 Sava 35, 36
 Scadar 36
 Scandinavian 334
 Serbia 2, 38-41, 45-48, 120, 154, 364, 365, 488, 657, 698, 700-704
 Eastern Serbia 2, 38-40, 120, 488, 701
 South-Western Serbia 364, 365
 Serbia and Montenegro 697, 699, 702, 704, 705
 Serbian 1, 3, 5-11, 24, 30, 31, 36, 44, 45, 47, 53, 63, 66, 111-113, 117-123, 239, 276-278, 333, 340, 361, 365-369, 413, 414, 416, 484, 489, 491-493, 495, 499, 500, 502-504, 506, 508-511, 521, 657-661, 687, 697, 698
 Banat Serbian 276
 Pirot South-Eastern Serbian 119
 Prizren-Timok South-Eastern Serbian 118, 120
 South-Eastern Serbian 2, 24, 26, 30, 31, 53, 112, 118-123, 139, 276-278, 333, 361, 366-369, 413, 416, 484, 491, 499, 508-511, 698
 Standard Serbian 30, 31, 112, 113, 119, 123, 273, 276, 277, 361, 366-368, 413, 414, 416, 484, 489, 491, 499, 508, 521, 698
 Svärlijg-Zaplen Serbian 120, 121

Serbo-Croatian 2, 3, 5, 19, 20, 26, 29, 30, 33, 45,
50, 63, 108-111, 113, 117, 120, 200, 239,
271-274, 334, 355, 361-365, 368, 416,
484-488, 490-492, 502, 507, 508, 537,
558, 657-661, 683, 687, 697-700, 704
Serbs 43-45, 47, 48, 697, 701
Sicily 43
Široka Laka 88
Skopje 30, 45, 71, 159, 167, 185, 236, 248, 338,
409, 454, 456, 608, 705
Skopska Crna Gora 120
Slaveni 42
Slavenoserbski 45, 697
Slavic 1, 3, 5, 10-14, 21, 24, 28, 29, 31, 35, 36,
41-44, 48-51, 53, 69, 72, 94, 113, 139,
145, 158, 172, 212, 219, 245, 279,
333-337, 360, 383, 396, 397, 413, 414,
416, 418, 454, 457, 476, 638, 657, 697,
699, 700
Balkan Slavic 3, 5, 12, 13, 24, 28, 29, 42, 43,
48, 49, 69, 72, 113, 158, 172, 212, 245,
279, 335, 336, 383, 396, 397, 413, 414,
416, 457, 638, 657
East Slavic 700
East South Slavic 1
non-Balkan Slavic 49
Slavonia 43
Slavs 21, 37, 39-44, 701
Slovak 697, 699
Standard Slovak 699
standardized Slovak 699
Slovakia 46
Slovenia 36, 697-699, 701, 702, 706
Slovenian 697-699
South-Slavic Sinte 699
Southern Carpatians 40
Sremska Mitrovica 36
Spanish 2
Modern Spanish 2
Old Spanish 2
Spartans 703
Stara Planina 35
Štip 37
Štokavian 697, 698
Struga 184, 185, 336, 342, 346

T

Thessalian plain 36
Thessaloniki 6, 40, 42, 44, 62, 185, 222, 322
Thessaly 36, 44, 45, 701
Thrace 38, 39, 44
Western Thrace 44

Thracian 27, 38-41
Timok 31, 120
Tinsmiths 705
Torlak 367, 698
Transylvania 40
Tsakonian 703
Turkey 35
Balkan Turkey 697, 698, 702, 703, 705
Turkey in Europe 35
Turkic 42, 44, 336, 698-700, 705
Turkish 1, 2, 29, 35, 44, 46, 48, 335, 336, 347,
395, 396, 480, 696, 705, 706
Anatolian Turkish 46
Balkan Turkish 29
Crimean Turkish 706
Danubian Turkish 705
Osmanli Turkish 48, 697, 705
Turks 35, 47
Ottoman Turks 35, 47
Tursenians 37

U

Ukraine 42, 700
Ukrainian 697, 699, 700
standardized Ukrainian 699
Ursari 46

V

V(a)lach 39
V(a)lachia 39, 40, 46; *see also* Wallachia
Vardar 37, 38, 44, 50, 83, 154, 227
Veles 37, 447
Venetian 697, 699, 700
Vienna 45, 47, 697
Vlach 45, 47, 697
Voden 64
Vojvodina 36, 60, 69, 700, 702, 706
Volga 42

W

Wallachia 46, 48, 704

Y

Yiddish 697, 702
Yugoslavia 48, 697
Yurukh 697, 706

Z

Zeta 44, 110

AUTHOR INDEX

A

Akan, B. 336
Alboiu, G. 125, 129, 132, 135, 141, 286, 373,
511, 514, 517, 518, 521, 524, 528, 537
Alexander, R. 353, 356
Alexiadou, A. 216, 217, 220
Ammann, A. 29
Anagnostopoulou, E. 220, 240, 320-323
Andrejčin, L. 352
Andriotes, N. 38
Androutsopoulou, A. 190, 208
Arnaudova, O. 49, 240, 265, 267, 268, 311
Aronson, H. 325
Asan, F. 513
Asenova, P. 2, 3, 31, 134, 178, 200, 201, 203, 267,
287, 313, 333, 356, 369, 400, 413, 414, 443,
458, 463, 466, 474, 475, 488, 521, 526, 535,
536, 585, 592, 598-600, 614, 619, 626, 629, 631
Atanasov, P. 13
Avgustinova, T. 263
Avram, L. 79, 146, 370, 372-374
Auwera, van der, J. 2, 29, 277

B

Baker, M. 267
Bakker, P. 46
Barić, E. 109
Belić, A. 31
Benešová, E. 715
Berent, G. 253
Bernstein, J. 125
Beukema, F. 705
Bibović, L. 271, 488
Billings, L. 715
Birnbaum, H. 1, 3
Bogdanović, N. 119, 121
Bojadžiev, T. 335, 352, 355, 461, 473, 477-480
Boretzky, N. 226, 227, 235, 237, 409, 639
Bošković, Z. 242, 264, 273, 317
Broch, O. 367
Browne, W. 116, 271, 277, 488
Browning, R. 413
Bužarovska, E. 417, 435, 470, 531, 532, 550, 568,
570, 595, 596, 625, 626, 646

C

Campbell, L. 24-26, 45
Campos, H. 171, 190, 206, 207, 209-211
Carter, F. 35

Curtius Rufus 38
Ćavar, D. 273
Chomsky, N. 33
Cinque, G. 240, 241
Civjan, T. 28, 29
Coene, M. 79, 141, 146, 370, 372, 373, 374
Comrie, B. 335
Cornilescu, A. 125, 140, 240, 287, 288, 517
Culicover, P. 239
Cvijić, J. 35

D

Darden, B. 337
Dejanova, M. 333
Demiraj, S. 31, 413
D'Hulst, Y. 141, 370, 372-374
Dimitriadis, A. 204, 324, 325
Dimitriu, C. 375
Dimitrova-Šmiger, N. 86
Dimitrova-Vulchanova, M. 49, 55, 65-67, 69, 70,
88, 92, 93, 95-100, 102-104, 112, 115, 125,
126, 128, 137, 143, 158-161, 173-176, 189,
191, 196-198, 232, 259, 273
Dobrovie-Sorin, C. 140, 148, 149, 239, 241, 279,
284, 288-291, 521
Dozon, A. 393

E

Elson, M. 1
Enç, M. 241
Eversley, L. 46
Ewen, R. 263

F

Farkas, D. 532
Feuillet, J. 31
Fielder, G. 355
Fine, J. 36, 42, 43, 47
Firbas, F. 239
Franks, S. 253, 263, 265, 273
Fried, M. 78, 79, 147
Friedman, V. 191, 242, 335, 336, 347, 352, 356,
359-361, 375, 376, 389, 393, 395-397, 399,
401, 407, 415

G

Genadžieva-Mutafčeva, Z. 463
Genčeva, Z. 267, 268

Geredžikov, G. 354
 Giannakidou, A. 245
 Gierling, D. 286
 Gilsenbach, R. 45
 Giusti, G. 49, 55, 88, 92, 93, 102-104, 125, 126, 128, 143, 189, 191
 Gołąb, Z. 1, 701
 Grickat, I. 277, 488
 Grosu, A. 125, 128, 132, 140, 433, 469, 515, 528-531, 548, 567, 593, 594, 623, 624, 644
 Gustavsson, S. 699

H

Hacking, J. 454
 Haegeman, L. 33, 217
 Hajičová, E. 239
 Halpern, A. 263
 Hatzidakis, G. 413
 Hauge, K.R. 260
 Haugen, E. 334
 Hellan, L. 259
 Herrity, P. 45, 699
 Hesychius 38
 Heusinger, K. 104
 Hinrichs, U. 711
 Horrocks, G. 207, 220, 325
 Horvath, J. 528
 Hubbard, P. 335, 581, 582

I

Iatridou, S. 240, 241, 326
 Inkelas, S. 263
 Isac, D. 245, 475, 534
 Ivančev, S. 355
 Ivanova, T. 106
 Ivić, M. 271, 487, 488
 Izvorski, R. 433

J

Jacobsen, W. 335
 Jaeggli, O. 239
 Jakab, E. 316, 415, 475, 534
 Jeffers, R. 28
 Joseph, B. 1, 2, 25, 28, 29, 31, 207, 213, 214, 315-319, 323, 324, 327, 328, 413, 414, 456, 582, 609, 615, 629, 630, 632, 633, 703

K

Kallulli, D. 265, 310-313, 315, 599
 Kalogjera, D. 698
 Karastaneva, T. 467
 Katičić, R. 35-38, 40, 41

Kaufman, T. 45
 Kayne, R. 242
 Kazazis, K. 10, 28, 323
 Kenesei, I. 240
 King, T.H. 240, 253, 263, 265
 Kiparsky, P. 311
 Kiparsky, C. 311
 Kiss, K. 240
 Kočiš, M. 699
 Kolliakou, D. 216
 Koneski, B. 50, 54, 55, 74, 174, 245, 342, 345, 416, 421, 447
 Kopitar, J. 1, 27
 Korubin, B. 699
 Kostov, K. 356, 363, 407
 Kovačec, A. 701-706
 Krahe, H. 41, 242
 Kramer, C. 242
 Krapova, I. 241, 246, 270, 354, 413-415, 467
 Kretschmer, P. 38
 Kucarov, I. 335, 352, 354, 355, 461, 473, 477-480
 Kučanda, D. 277
 Kurcová, H. 413

L

Landman, F. 433
 Lehist, I. 28
 Lindstedt, J. 23, 24, 26, 28, 334, 335, 352, 355, 367, 368

M

Mallinson, G. 512, 514
 Manolesou, I. 204, 208, 213
 Manoliu-Manea, I. 376
 Marelj, M. 65, 66, 68, 96-98, 114, 137, 159, 174, 196, 197, 231, 416, 495
 Marković, M. 389
 Matras, Y. 713
 Mazon, A. 435
 Meier-Brügger, M. 213
 Meillet, A. 38
 Meyer, E. 36
 Mikeš, M. 699, 700, 706
 Miklosich, F. 1, 27
 Minčeva, A. 79
 Mindak, J. 342
 Minnis, K. 413, 432
 Mirčev, K. 413, 432
 Mirkulovska, M. 56
 Mitkovska, L. 60, 67, 82, 84
 Mladenov, M. 30, 360, 361
 Mladenov, S. 457
 Montoliu, C. 2
 Moskovsky, C. 104, 105

Motapanyane, V. 125, 129, 132, 135, 141, 240,
241, 286, 373, 414, 475, 511, 512, 514, 518,
521, 524, 527, 528, 534, 537
Mrazović, P. 364, 368, 490-492
Murzaku, A. 194

N

Newmark, L. 190, 193, 335, 581, 582
Nicolova, R. 95, 269

O

Ortman, A. 714
Orzechowska, H. 269

P

Pancheva, R. 72, 100, 103, 116, 204, 216
Panevová, J. 239
Pentheroudakis, J. 323
Penčev, J. 335, 352, 355, 461, 473, 477-480
Philippaki-Warburton, I. 207, 213, 245, 315-317,
319, 322-324, 327, 328, 615, 629, 630, 632,
633, 703
Popescu, A. 714
Prifti, P. 335, 581
Progovac, L. 273

R

Radovanović, M. 697
Reinhart, T. 66
Reiter, N. 1
Remetić, S. 119, 121, 275, 277
Rivero, M.L. 69, 98, 99, 115, 138, 139, 160, 161,
175, 176, 198, 199, 212, 232, 244, 251, 259,
263, 264, 273
Rizzi, L. 240
Roberts, I. 273
Rochemont, M. 239
Rosetti, A. 414
Rudin, C. 242, 259, 263-265, 414

S

Sandfeld, K. 1, 3-7, 10-14, 25-27, 50, 54, 289
Scatton, E. 89
Schaller, H.W. 1, 15, 16, 26
Schick, I.P. 79
Schürks, L. 79
Schwyzer, E. 38
Sedláček, J. 333
Sgall, P. 239

Simeonov, B. 3
Škiljan, D. 697
Šmiger, R. 86
Smyth, H.W. 212
Sobolev, A. 2, 31, 81, 88, 107, 110, 186, 457
Solta, G.R. 2, 18-22, 26, 28, 31
Spencer, A. 242
Stateva, P. 79, 105
Stavrou, M. 171, 190, 206, 207, 209-211, 216,
217, 326
Steinke, K. 30, 31
Stojanović, D. 416, 495
Swadesh, M. 33

T

Tasmowski, L. 141
Terzi, A. 414, 517
Thomason, S.G. 25, 26
Tomić, O.M. 49, 56, 64, 73, 78, 79, 147, 242,
244, 245, 247-250, 263, 264, 271-273, 316,
336, 414-416, 435, 44, 486, 487, 490, 495,
699
Topolinjska, S.Z. 50, 54, 55, 62, 64, 85, 106, 119,
121, 247, 254, 265, 277, 417, 418, 447, 458,
459
Trubetzkoy, N. 1
Tsimpli, I. M. 240

V

Vasiliev, A. 39
Veloudis, Y. 1, 403, 615
Vermeer, W. 31
Vraciu, A. 31
Vrzić, Z. 271, 488
Vukadinović, Z. 364, 368, 490-492

W

Wackernagel, J. 213, 273, 362
Weigand, G. 1, 27
Weinreich, U. 1
Weinrich, H. 334
Wendland, D. 38
Wilder, C. 273
Wunderlich, D. 79

Z

Zeune, A. 35
Zwicky, A. 103
Zymberi, I. 190

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