



The Balkan Subjunctive

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Structure of the lecture

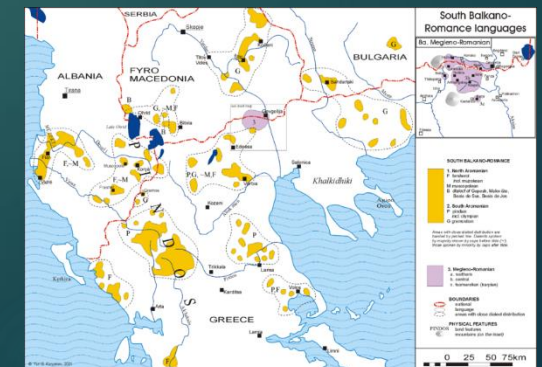
1. The Balkan *Sprachbund*
2. The Balkan subjunctive
3. Structural ambiguity: types of structures
4. Infinitives as opposed to subjunctives in the Balkans
5. Loss of the infinitive as a non-random phenomenon

The Balkan Peninsula



Balkan languages vs «languages of the Balkans» (Schaller 1975)

- ▶ Languages of the Balkans: a pure geographic label
 - ▶ Balkan languages: those languages of the Balkans which participate in the Balkan *Sprachbund*:
- ▶ Albanian
 - ▶ Slavic: Bulgarian Macedonian South-East Serbian (the Torlak region)
 - ▶ Romance: Aromanian (south of the Danube river), greatly influenced by Greek, spoken in Greece, Albania, Bulgaria, Macedonia e Serbia)
 - ▶ Megleno-Romanian ((Meglenite): spoken in a few villages along the border between Northern Greece and Macedonia : a minority language under risk of extinction
 - ▶ Daco-Romanian
 - ▶ Modern Greek
 - ▶ Romany



A little bit of history: how did the Sprachbund emerge?

Three empires:

The Byzantine Empire – after Slavic migration to Balkan peninsula the Byzantine empire had an important cultural and political role on the Balkan peoples (X - XII s.)

The Bulgarain Empire – played a unificatory role on the Balkans until the fall of Constantinople under the Turks (1453)

The Ottoman Empire – XIV-XVs. When most of the Balkan peninsula fell under Turkish conquest and was part of it until late XIX s.

The Balkans as a cultural area: shòpska salàta, mussakà, yogurt, taratòr, rakia, airàn



The Balkan *Sprachbund*

- ▶ *Sprachbund* is: a linguistic area comprising genetically unrelated languages that, as a result of historical processes, have influenced one another to such an extent that they have come to develop and/or share through diffusion a number of convergent structural and lexical properties, independently of their genetic background.
- ▶ We need to understand how the features spread from one speech community to another
- ▶ Language contact:
- ▶ Intense
- ▶ Intimate
- ▶ Multi-lateral
- ▶ Multi-dimensional

Common Balkan morpho-syntactic features

	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	+	+				+	+		

Ma = Macedonian; Bu = Bulgarian; SC = Serbian/Croatian; Ro = Romanian; Ar =Aromanian; MR = Megleno-Romenian; Al = Albanian; MG = Modern Greek; BR = Balkan Romany (Mišeska-Tomić 2006: p. 27)

The Balkan subjunctive: V1 particle V2

Iskam *da piša/da pišeš*.

'I want to write/I want that you write' (Bul)

Vreau *să cânt /să cânți* 'I want to sing/I want that you sing' (Rom)

Pot *s-lu* fac aistu lú cru. 'I can do it this job'. (Aromanian spoken in Bulgaria)

Thelo *na grafo/na grafis* 'Voglio scrivere/che tu scriva' (MG)

Moram *d idem/d ideš* 'I want to go/I want that you go' (Kamenica, Serbia Orientale)

Particle or complementizer?

- a) V1 Comp V2;
- b) b) V1 Mood V2

Romance languages (Italian, French, Spanish, etc.)

► Infinitives AND Subjunctives

Voglio vederlo.

Want-1SG see-INF-CL

'I want to see him/it'

Voglio che tu lo veda.

Want.1SG that you CL see-3SUBJ

'I want you to see him/it'

Balkan subjunctives: main properties

- ▶ Formed with a subjunctive marker + the verbal complex (indicative mood):

Trjabva **da** *mu* *go* *vărneš.* **BG**
must Subj.Mark cl.3SG.DAT cl.3SG.ACC get back.2SG.PRES
'You must get it back to him.'

- ▶ Employed in embedded clauses instead of Romance infinitives or subjunctives:

A. *Ivan iska* *da* *pee.* **BG**
Ivan want.3SG Subj.Mark sing.3SG
'Ivan wants to sing.'

B. *Trebuie* *să* *mâncăți.* **RO**
must.2PL Subj.Mark eat.2PL
'You must eat.'

- ▶ Employed in root clauses in order to convey various modal meanings:

A. *Da* *zatvoriš* *vratata!* **BG**
Subj.Mark close.2SG door-the.F.SG
'Close the door!'

B. *Unde să mă descalț?* **RO**
where Subj.Mark me.refl take off shoes.1SG
'Where should I take off my shoes?'

More contexts for embedded Balkan subjunctives

V1:

Modals: *must, can/may*

Aspectuals: *start, continue, stop, finish*

Implicatives: *try, attempt, manage, succeed*

Verbs of mental ability: *know (how), learn (= come to know how)*

Verbs of motion: *come to, go to*

Examples

Moga da pluvam 'I can swim' (Bul)

Započvam da četa sega. 'I begin to read now'

Otivam da kupja mlijako. 'I go to buy milk'

Ne uspijavam da nauča frenski. 'I cannot learn French'

Semantic properties: no deictic Tense on V2

- ▶ V1 + V2 form one event
- ▶ V2 cannot be modified by temporal adverbials with a distinct time reference (Varlokosta and Hornstein 1993)

○ Kostas kseri/arxise simera na odhijisi (*avrio) (MG Roussou 2009, 1826)

Kosta znae/započva dnes da šofira (*utre) (Bul)

‘Kosta knows today (how) to drive (*tomorrow)’

Am reușit să plec (*mîine) (Rom Alboiu 2007, 198)

‘I managed to leave (*tomorrow)’

Syntactic properties: No overt embedded subject

*O Yanis_i kseri na kolimbai *i Maria* (MG Kapetangianni and Seely 2007, 144, ex. (23))

Yanis knows PRT swims Maria

* Victor încearcă *Mihai* să cînte (Rom, Alboiu 2007, 190 (ex 9a))

Victor tries Mihai PRT sings

*Ivan znae/se opitva da pluva *Marija* (Bul)

Ivan knows/tries PRT swims Maria

Modal particle vs. complementizer

- ▶ Znam **da** pluvam dobre (Bul)
know PRT swim-1SG well
'I know how to swim well'
= I am capable of swimming well
- ▶ Znam, **če** pluvam dobre.
I know that swim-1SG well
'I know that I can swim well'
= I know that I have good swimming abilities

«Restructuring verbs» (Rizzi 1976):

Modals: *must, can/may*

Aspectuals: *start, continue, stop, finish*

Implicatives: *try, attempt, manage, succeed*

Verbs of mental ability: *know (how), learn (= come to know how)*

Verbs of motion: *come to, go to*

Restructuring = clause union; an initial bi-clausal structure is transformed into a monoclausal one.

Transparency effects

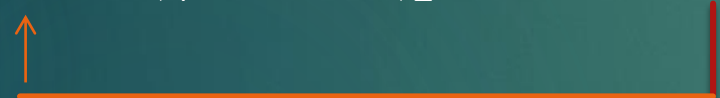
- Clitic climbing with V2 = Inf

Lo posso scrivere. (Italian)

It can-1SG write-INF

'I can write it'

lo [v₁ posso [v₂ scrivere t_θ



Though not in French any longer: cf.

Sa vie, il **la** pouvait citer t_θ en exemple.

(M. Toesca in *Le Figaro*, June 4, 1971, cited in Authier & Reed 2008)

Clitic climbing: with Infinitives only

- ▶ Older stages of the Balkan languages: Old Church Slavonic and Medieval Greek
- ▶ *čto ti mogŭť dati ...* (Cod.Supr., 3, 37, 213r, 12-13)
what you-DAT can-3PL give-INF
- ▶ τί σοι δύνανται δοῦναι
'What can they give you?'

(Pană Dindelegan 2013: 191)

her-CL.ACC can-1SG see-INF

'I can see her'

O ştiu cînta

her-CL.ACC know-1SG sing-INF

'I know how to sing it'

>> But not if a subjunctive replaces the infinitive

Pot **să o vâd** acum. Vs. *O pot **să vâd** acum

Structure of monoclausal subjunctives

- ▶ [CP ... [TP Tense [FP ...Subject V1_{functional} [VP[†] V2_{lexical}]
- ▶ Every clause must have deictic Tense: V1 + T(ense) V2
- ▶ Functional/restructuring verbs have no arguments of their own, so they inherit the subject argument of the embedded verb.

Cinque 1999: a hierarchy of Modal and Aspectual functional verbs

[Mod_{epistemic} [Mod_{possibility} [Mod_{volition} [Mod_{obligation}
 'must' 'it's possible' 'want' 'have to'
[Asp_{terminative} [Asp_{inceptive} [Mod_{ability} [Asp_{frustrative/success} [Mod_{permission}
 'stop' 'begin' 'can1' 'manage' 'can2'
[Asp_{conative} [Asp_{completive} [V_{infin}]]]]]]]]]]
 'try' 'finish'

Evidence for the structure

- ▶ [_{Clause} *nie možem* [*da* [_{FP} *možem* [*da* [_{VP} *vlezem*]]]] (Bul) (Krapova 1998:118)
we can-1PL PRT can-1PL PRT enter-1PL
- ▶ (i) 'It is possible for us to be able to enter'; It is possible for us to be permitted to enter' Mod possibility > Mod ability; Mod poss > Mod permission
- ▶ (ii) '*We are able for it to be possible for us to enter'; *We are permitted for it to be possible for us to enter'.
- ▶ *Mod ability > Mod possibilit; *Mod permission > Mod possibilit

Additional evidence for monoclausality

Languages in which Complementizers (*that*) to precede the subjunctive disallow this combination if V1 is a restructuring verb. This means that the embedded clause is not independent (in traditional grammars: “complex predicate”)

Romanian:

- a. **Victor încearcă [ca pe Mihai [să-l ajute]]* (Alboiu 2007, p. 197)
Victor try-3SG that PE Mihai PRT-him-CL help-3SG
‘Victor is trying to help Mihai’

Albanian:

- b. **Harrova [që librin ta lexoja]* forgot-1SG that books to read-SUBJ-1SG
‘I forgot to read books’

>> V1 and V2 do not belong to different clauses but must belong to one and the same clause.

Summary so far

- ▶ Subjunctives selected by so-called restructuring verbs pattern structurally (though not morphologically) with infinitives; V(stem)+Inflection(agreement)
- ▶ No temporal reference = present tense morphology only

Cf. *Moga da săm kupil knigata 'I can have bought the book'

- ▶ Even though Balkan languages have replaced their infinitives with the subjunctive construction, the latter is still part of a monoclausal structure
- ▶ Clitic climbing is not possible because of the blocking effect of the subjunctive particle (Terzi 1994). If the particle is missing, CC becomes available.

Missing subjunctive particles in Eastern Serbian dialects

- ▶ *d'a li ga m'ogu n'ajdem?* (Kamenitsa - Sobolev 2003,68)
Q him-CL.ACC can-1SG find-1SG
'Can I find him?'
- ▶ *i gu nă mořaxmă fană* (Gela – Sobolev 2003,68)
and him-CL.ACC not could-1PL catch-1PL
'And we couldn't catch him'.

Bi-clausal subjunctives: I type

- ▶ Have fixed time reference: either simultaneous with respect to matrix tense or future oriented (irrealis) though not past time reference:
 - ▶ *Otkazvam da zamina (sega/utre) // *da sām zaminal včera*
refuse-1SG PRT leave-1SG (now/tomorrow) // have left yesterday
'I refuse to leave now/tomorrow/ *I refuse to have left yesterday'
- >> embedded Tense is finite but dependent for interpretation upon higher verb

...but the embedded subject must be null/unrealized (NS)

- a. *Az otkazvam *ti* da otideš tam utre.
I refuse-1SG you-NOM PRT go-2SG there tomorrow
*'I refuse for you to go there tomorrow'

- b. Az_i otkazvam [_{CP} [_{TP} NS_i da otida]]
refuse-1SG PRT go-1SG
'I refuse PRO to go'

[_{Clause1} V [_{Clause2} NS [PRT +V2]]]

NS = matrix subject (subject control) or matrix subject + someone else (partial control): Otkazax da xodim na kino 'I refused [for us = I and he/she/them] to go to the cinema'.

Control subjunctives: summary

- ▶ Occur after non-restructuring verbs: refuse, persuade, allow, order, tell (verba dicendi)
- ▶ Embedded Tense is anaphoric upon matrix Tense, i.e., its temporal value depends for interpretation on the tense of V1
- ▶ Embedded NS can be controlled by matrix subject or by matrix direct object or both

○ Yanis epise ti Maria [_{CP} NS na pai /*na pighe] sto parti NS = Yanis or Maria

Yanis persuaded Maria PRT go-3SG/*PRT went-3SG to the party

○ Yanis epise ti Maria [NS na pane ja psonia]

Yanis persuaded Maria PRT go-3PL shopping NS= Yanis +Maria

Biclausal subjunctives: II type

- ▶ No restriction on the tense morphology of V2: both past (anterior) and non-past (simultaneous or future) tense forms are possible
- ▶ Overt embedded subject as in Romance subjunctives

Očakvax [ti da rešiš /da si rešil zadačite včera Bul

‘I expected you to do/to have done your homework yesterday’

Elpizo na eftase soos o Yanis xhes MG

‘I hope that John has arrived safe yesterday’

Elpizo na ftasi soos o Yanis. ‘I hope that John arrives/will arrive safe’

Alternation with regular *that*-complements

- ▶ Očakvam, **če** ti šte dojdeš I expect that you will come (Bul)
- ▶ Očakvam ti **da** dojdeš I expect you to come
- ▶ Perimeno **oti** tha erthi autos I expect that he will come (MG)
- ▶ Perimeno **na** erthi autos. I expect he to come
- ▶ Sper că /să îl citești azi (Bîlbîie and Mardale 2018: 283) (Rom)
hope that.IND/PRT it read-2SG today 'I hope you will read it today'
- ▶ Sper [ca azi [să-l citești
hope-1SG that today PRT-it read-2SF 'I hope that today you will read it'

Two types of subordination markers

► Complementizers (realis markers) Modal particles (irrealis)

MG	oti	na
Alb	se	të (që ...të)
Mac	deka/oti	da
Bul	če/deto	da
Rom	că	să (ca ... să)
S/C	da 1	da2

Italian che

French que

J'ai appris qu'il est parti

Je préfère qu'il soit parti

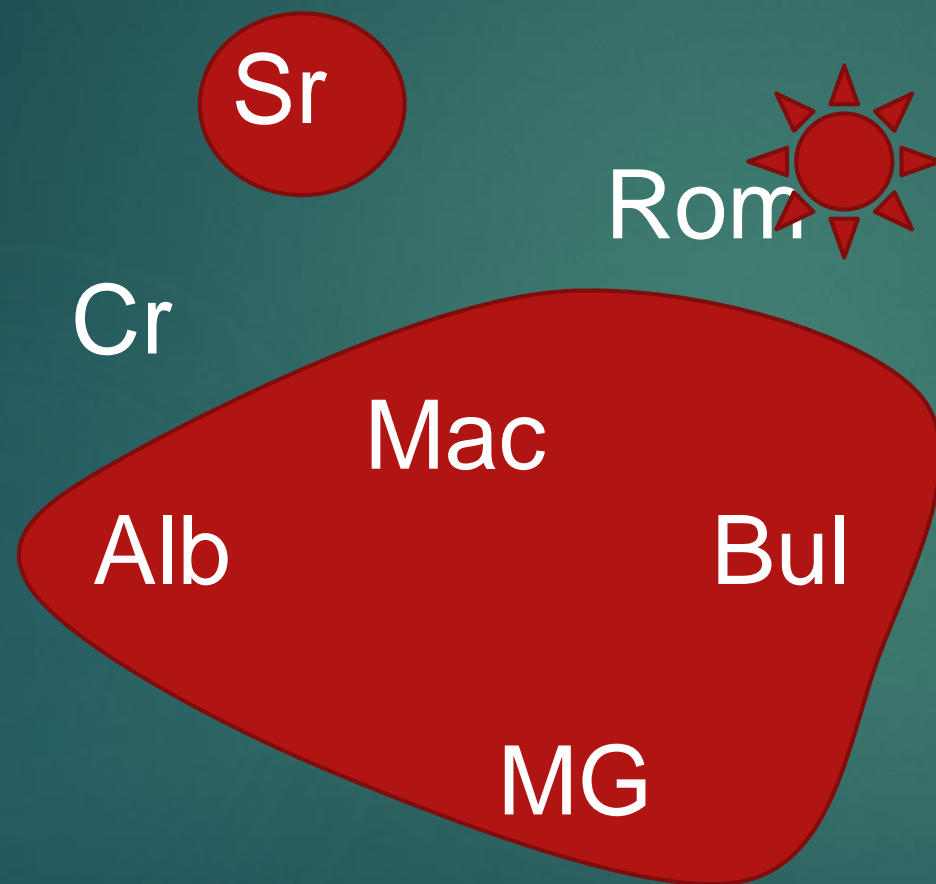
List of main selecting verb patterns (Roussou 2009)

- a. Modals: must, can/may
- b. Aspectuals: start, stop, manage, forget, succeed, try
- c. Verbs of knowing: know (how to do sth), learn (how to do sth)
- d. Verbs of motion: go(to do sth)
- e. Perception verbs: see, hear
- f. Epistemic verbs: believe, hope, expect
- g. Directives and permissives: say (to do sth), order(to do sth), persuade, advise, allow, oblige, suggest (to do sth)
- h. Volitionals: want, desire, prefer ambiguous

Ambiguous subjunctives

- ▶ *Ivan_j iska NS_j da zamine utre/*včera* Control
Ivan want-3SG PRT leave-3SG tomorrow/*yesterday
'John wants to leave tomorrow'
- ▶ *Ivan_j iska Petăr_k da e večē pristignal* Independent
John wants Peter PRT is already arrived
'John wants for Peter to have arrived already'
- ▶ *čto **mi** xoštete dati* Restructuring
what me-CL.DAT want-2PL give.-INF Τί **μοι** θέλετε δοῦναι
'What do you want to give me/What will you give me'
Old Slavic (Cod.Supr., 3, 36, 205b, 27)

The retreat of the Infinitive in the Balkans



Infinitives and Subjunctives

Romanian Infinitives and Supine: a) after ability modals can, know (how), b) aspectuals, c) permission modals:

- ▶ *Pot **vorbi** românește.* 'I can speak Romanian'.
- ▶ *Știu **vorbi** românește.* 'I know to speak Romanian'
- ▶ *Am început **a vorbi**.* 'Ho cominciato a parlare'
- ▶ *O are **de terminat***
it has DE finished-sup
'He has to finish it.'
- ▶ *Cartea o termin de **citit**.* (Pană Dindelegan 2013, ex. 387)
book.def Cl.Acc.f. finish de read.sup.
'The book, I did not finish reading'

Earlier stages of Romanian (Hill 2013, 2017)

- ▶ ce chip **ne** vrem înderepta pre noi? CC with want-futures and a-
what way us=want.1PL straighten DOM us infinitives
'in what way will we straighten ourselves?'
- ▶ (PO {156})
- ▶ nu **le** putem [**a le** cunoaște cu singur pipăitul]
- ▶ not they.ACC= can.1PL A they.ACC= know with just touch
- ▶ 'we can't know them just by touching' (Costin 1979: 121)

A is not an inflectional mark (i.e., it is divorced from the grammatical mood, the latter being marked on the verb stem) but a complementizer (p. 162)

Istro-Romanian

- ▶ The Infinitive is preserved after a) modal verbs *morei* 'must', *pute* 'can/may', and *vre* 'want/will' where CC is optional
- ▶ b) aspectual verbs: *pošne* 'start', *fini* 'finish', *provēi* 'try' where CC is obligatory.

*Io voi vo pute (vo) vede (*vo)* (Istro-Romanian, Zegrean 2012, 129)

I will.1sg {her} can-1sg {her} see-INF

'I'll be able to see her'

Albanian varieties

- ▶ Nuk kam *me mûjtë* (=Inf) me ardhë në Shqipni. (Gheg)
'I will not be able to come to Albania'
- ▶ Ai *ka për të* ju thënë diçka (Tosk)
he has INF you said something
'He will tell you something'
(Sami Frashëri, in Demiraj 1985: 840)
- ▶ No infinitives in the Alb. Dialect of Arbëresh spoken in Calabria, due to contact with Italian

Southern Italian Grecanico e Griko dialects



Greek dialects spoken in S. Italy

- ▶ Grecanico (Salento Peninsula): Infinitive is preserved only after 2 verbs: *can* and *finish*, and is slowly disappearing after *finish* (Torcolacci, Livadara 2015):
- ▶ *Sa sòzzane insultètsi* (Baldissera 2012, LMGD)
you-CL can-3pl.Past insult-INF
'They could insult you'
- ▶ *To sotzi vorasi? Ne, sotzi* (Chatzikyriakidis 2010a, ex. (43))
it-CL can-3sg buy-INF yes can-3sg
'Can he buy it? Yes, he can'
- ▶ *To spitseo tse (*to) torisi (*to) avri* (Chatzikyriakidis 2010a, ex. (10))
it-CL finish-1sg COMP see-INF tomorrow
'I will finish seeing it tomorrow'

Grecanico/Greko

- ▶ The infinitive is preserved in more contexts (Rohlf's 1958) but there's no CC
- ▶ a) the modal verb *sozo* 'can';
- ▶ b) the aspectual *spitseo* 'finish';
- ▶ c) the causatives *kanno* 'make', *afinno* 'do';
- ▶ d) the perception verbs *torò* 'see', *akuo* 'hear' (Remberger 2011).

Development of the Balkan subjunctive form

- ▶ Probably developed under Greek influence.
- ▶ Related to the loss of infinitive forms.
- ▶ Greek – 7th century: Biblical texts.
- ▶ Bulgarian – 9th/10th century: translations of Greek Biblical texts.
- ▶ Romanian – employed in the first written attestations (16th century).

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- ▶ Thank you for your attention!
 - ▶ Благодаря за вниманието!
 - ▶ Grazie dell'attenzione!
 - ▶ Merci beaucoup pour votre attention!