

Masha Belyavski-Frank

# The Balkan Conditional in South Slavic

A Semantic and Syntactic Study

---

**Verlag Otto Sagner München · Berlin · Washington D.C.**

Digitalisiert im Rahmen der Kooperation mit dem DFG-Projekt „Digi20“  
der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek, München. OCR-Bearbeitung und Erstellung des eBooks durch  
den Verlag Otto Sagner:

<http://verlag.kubon-sagner.de>

© bei Verlag Otto Sagner. Eine Verwertung oder Weitergabe der Texte und Abbildungen,  
insbesondere durch Vervielfältigung, ist ohne vorherige schriftliche Genehmigung des Verlages  
unzulässig.

«Verlag Otto Sagner» ist ein Imprint der Kubon & Sagner GmbH.

# SLAVISTISCHE BEITRÄGE

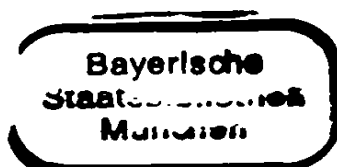
Herausgegeben von  
Peter Rehder

Beirat:

Tilman Berger · Walter Breu · Johanna Renate Döring-Smirnov  
Walter Koschmal · Ulrich Schweier · Miloš Sedmidubský · Klaus Steinke

BAND 421

VERLAG OTTO SAGNER  
MÜNCHEN 2003



Masha Belyavski-Frank  
**The Balkan Conditional in South Slavic**  
A Semantic and Syntactic Study



VERLAG OTTO SAGNER  
MÜNCHEN 2003

**PVA  
2003.  
1039**

*To the memory of  
Zbigniew Golab*

ISBN 3-87690-851-5  
© Verlag Otto Sagner, München 2003  
Abteilung der Firma Kubon & Sagner  
D-80328 München

*Gedruckt auf alterungsbeständigem Papier*

P 0 3

## Contents

List of Illustrations .....	iii
List of Tables .....	vi
Acknowledgments .....	ix
1. Introduction .....	1
The Balkan Conditional in South Slavic .....	2
How the Balkan Conditional Functions .....	5
The Problem of the Balkan Conditional in Dialectal Serbo-Croatian .....	7
Preliminary Definition of the Serbo-Croatian Balkan Conditional .....	10
Prior Investigations .....	11
2. The Balkan Conditional in Serbo-Croatian Epic Poetry, and its Comparison with <i>Bi</i> .....	19
Non-Shared Semantic Functions of <i>Bi</i> .....	20
Exclusive Semantic Functions of <i>Šćaše</i> .....	22
Shared Semantic Functions .....	31
3. Phonology, Morpho-Syntactic Analysis and Geographic Distribution .....	43
Phonology .....	43
Morphology: Loss of the Imperfect and Aorist .....	49
Morpho-Syntactic Problems and the Balkan Conditional .....	52
Infinitival Constructions vs. <i>Da</i> + the Non-Past .....	59
Morphological Comparison .....	66
4. Distribution of Semantic Functions and Parallel Modal Constructions with <i>Htjeti</i> .....	79
Introduction .....	79
Expressions with the Aorist of <i>Htjeti</i> .....	82
Expressions with the Perfect of <i>Htjeti</i> .....	88
Comparison of the Semantics of the Perfect, Aorist, and Imperfect of <i>Htjeti</i> .....	94

5. <i>Šćaše</i> Expressions in Colloquial Speech and Folk Prose .....	97
Gallipoli and Torlak Dialects .....	97
Kosovo-Resava Dialects .....	102
Zeta-Južni-Sandžak Dialects .....	109
Hercegovinian Dialects .....	120
The Semantics of the Balkan Conditional in Folk Prose .....	130
The Semantics of <i>Šćaše</i> in Belles Lettres .....	136
Migrations in the Balkan Peninsula, and Their Effect on the Serbo-Croatian Balkan Conditional .....	148
Conclusions .....	153
Addendum .....	154
6. The Macedonian Balkan Conditional .....	157
Phonology, Morphology and History .....	157
Literature on the Macedonian Balkan Conditional .....	160
<i>Keše</i> in the Literary Language .....	163
The Semantics of <i>Keše</i> in the Dialects .....	166
Comparison of the Balkan Conditional in Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian .....	180
Semantics of the Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian Balkan Conditional .....	181
7. The Bulgarian Balkan Conditional .....	185
Semantics of the Balkan Conditional in Literary Bulgarian .....	187
Semantics of the Bulgarian Balkan Conditional in the Dialects .....	190
Modal Expressions in Dialectal and Literary Bulgarian .....	202
The Functions of <i>Bi</i> and <i>Šreše</i> in the Folk Language .....	205
Conclusions .....	209
8. The Balkan Conditional and Its Comparison with Modal Expressions in North Slavic .....	211
Bulgarian, Macedonian, and Serbo-Croatian .....	211
Markedness and the Balkan Conditional in South Slavic .....	214
Comparison of the North Slavic Modal System with South Slavic .....	223
Periphrastic Modal Expressions in Polish .....	227
Periphrastic Modal Constructions in Russian .....	232
9. The Balkan Conditional in Non-Slavic Languages and its Comparison with South Slavic .....	235
The Balkan Conditional in the Tosk Dialects of Albanian .....	235
The Status of Modal Expressions in the Gheg Dialects .....	239
The Balkan Conditional in Rumanian .....	245

The Balkan Conditional in Arumanian .....	246
The Balkan Conditional in Istro-Rumanian .....	250
The Balkan Conditional in Dialectal Daco-Rumanian .....	253
The Balkan Conditional in Greek .....	262
The Development of a Secondary Balkan Conditional in a Greek Macedonian Dialect .....	266
The Balkan Conditional in Perspective .....	271
The Status of the Serbo-Croatian Balkan Conditional in Perspective ..	279
 Bibliography .....	 283
 Index .....	 301

### Figures/Illustrations

1. Distribution of the Balkan Conditional according to Type of Auxillary Verb .....	3
2. Dialects of Serbo-Croatian with the Balkan Conditional .....	18
3. Distribution of Semantic Functions for <i>Bi</i> and <i>Šćaše</i> (Outside of Montenegro) .....	35
4. Distribution of Semantic Functions of <i>Bi</i> and <i>Šćaše</i> in Montenegrin Dialects .....	36
5. Markedness for Exclusive Semantic Functions in the Outer Core Area .....	40
6. Markedness for Exclusive Semantic Functions in the Inner Core Area .....	40
7. Projected Development of Dialectal Variants of the Imperfect of <i>Htjeti</i> .....	44
8. Distribution of the <i>Šćaše</i> and <i>Ćaše</i> Variants .....	67
9. Distribution of Some Phonological Variants of the Balkan Conditional .....	68
10. Distribution of Some Phonological Variants of the Balkan Conditional .....	69
11. The Quasi-Conditional in Epic Folk Poetry .....	70

12. Distribution of Semantic Functions of the Balkan Conditional in Folk Poetry .....	71
13. Comparison of Semantic Functions with <i>Bi</i> , and with the Imperfect, Aorist, and Perfect of <i>Htjeti</i> in the Inner Core Area .....	89
14. Comparison of Semantic Functions Expressed by <i>Bi</i> , and by the Imperfect, Aorist, and Perfect of <i>Htjeti</i> Outside of the Inner Core Area .....	90
15. Distribution of Modal Semantic Functions in Moslem Dialects Near Cazin and Bihać .....	95
16. Modal Semantic Categories in the Dialect of the Gallipoli Serbs. ...	98
17. Representative Dialects with <i>Šćaše</i> Constructions in Colloquial Speech and Folk Prose .....	103
18. Semantics of <i>Šćaše</i> in Colloquial Speech and Folk Prose of the Dialects (excluding the Quasi-Conditional) .....	104
19. Semantic Functions of Modal Expressions in the Uskok Dialect .	121
20. The Semantics of <i>Šćaše</i> Expressions in Dialectal Serbo-Croatian (Late 19th and Early 20th Century) .....	131
21. Fifteenth–Seventeenth Century Migrations of Serbo-Croatian Speakers .....	150
22. The Macedonian Dialects .....	159
23. Variants of the Balkan Conditional in Late Nineteenth-Century Macedonian Dialects .....	161
24. Distribution of Modal Semantic Functions in Literary Macedonian .....	163
25. Distribution of Modal Semantic Functions in the Kumanovo Dialect .....	167
26. Distribution of Modal Semantic Functions in the Macedonian Folk Language .....	170
27. Bulgaria .....	186
28. Distribution of Modal Semantic Functions in Literary Bulgarian .....	190
29. Distribution of Modal Semantic Functions in Dialectal Bulgarian .....	202
30. Distribution of Modal Semantic Functions in Bulgarian Oral Folk Language .....	206

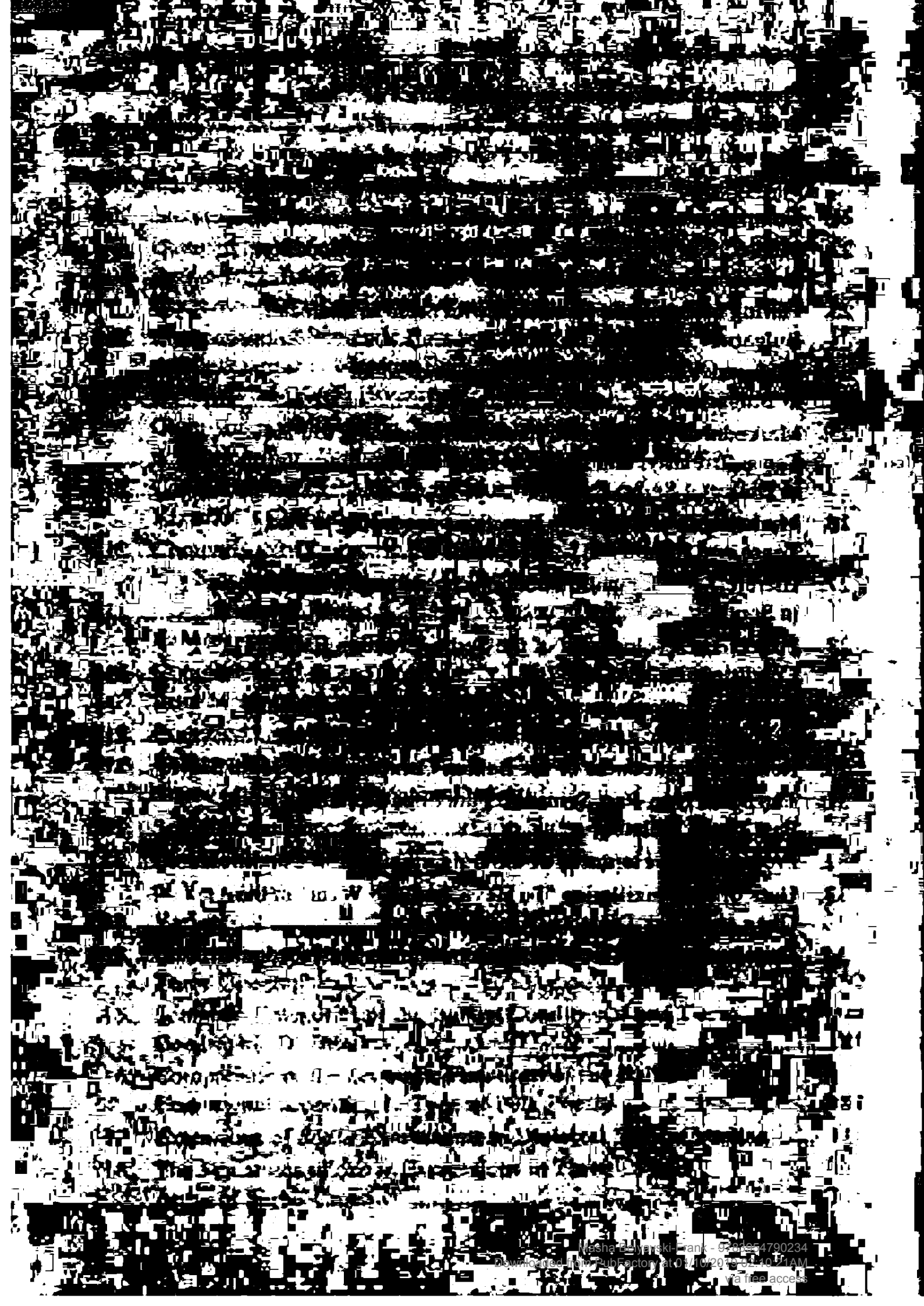


31. Comparison of the Semantic Functions for Periphrastic Modal Expressions with <i>Imati</i> , <i>Htjeti</i> , and <i>Biti</i> in Dialectal Serbo-Croatian .....	227
32. Semantic Functions of Periphrastic Modal Constructions in Polish .....	229
33. Semantic Functions of Periphrastic Modal Constructions in Russian .....	231
34. Distribution of Semantic Functions of Modals (and Non-Modals) in Standard Albanian (Tosk) .....	238
35. Distribution of Modal Semantic Functions in Gheg (Albanian) ....	240
36. Distribution of Modal Semantic Functions in Arumanian .....	247
37. Distribution of Modal Semantic Functions in the Arumanian Dialect of Krušovo .....	249
38. Distribution of Modal Semantic Functions in Istro-Rumanian .....	252
39. Daco-Rumanian Dialects with the Balkan Conditional .....	255
40. Distribution of Modal Semantic Functions in Southern Crișana and Banat (Rumanian and Yugoslav) Dialects of Daco-Rumanian. ....	257
41. Distribution of Modal Semantic Functions in Central and Northern Crișana and Western Transylvania .....	259
42. Distribution of the Modal Semantic Functions in Greek .....	263
43. The Balkan Conditional: Development from the Inner Core to the Periphery .....	272
44. Distribution of the Semantic Functions of the Balkan Conditional in Balkan Slavic and Greek .....	273
45. Distribution of the Semantic Functions of the Balkan Conditional in Greek, Albanian, and the Rumanian Dialects .....	274
46. Distribution of Minor Semantic Functions of the Balkan Conditional .....	277
47. Distribution of Semantic Functions of the Balkan Conditional .....	281

## Tables

1. The <i>Hauptbedeutung</i> of the Balkan Conditional in Serbo-Croatian .....	10
2. Comparison of Semantic Functions with <i>Bi</i> and <i>Šćaše</i> . Preliminary Totals for the Collections of Karadžić, Hörmann, Parry-Lord, and Luburić .....	26
3. Comparison of Semantic Functions with <i>Bi</i> and <i>Šćaše</i> in the Collections of Moslem Epic Poetry from Bosnia-Hercegovina (Kosta Hörmann) .....	26
4. Comparison of Semantic Functions with <i>Bi</i> and <i>Šćaše</i> in Moslem Epic Poetry from Bijelo Polje and the Sandžak .....	26
5. Comparison of Semantic Functions with <i>Bi</i> and <i>Šćaše</i> in Karadžić's Collections .....	27
6. Comparison of Semantic Functions with <i>Bi</i> and <i>Šćaše</i> in a Single Mourning Song ( <i>Tužbalica</i> ) from Montenegro .....	27
7. Comparison of <i>Bi</i> and <i>Šćaše</i> in a Moslem Epic from E. Montenegro .....	27
8. Comparison of <i>Bi</i> and <i>Šćaše</i> in the Luburić Collections from Montenegro and Hercegovina .....	28
9. Projected Development of Semantic Functions of the Balkan Conditional .....	42
10. Status of <i>h</i> in Serbo-Croatian Dialects .....	47
11. Status of the Imperfect and Aorist in Serbo-Croatian Dialects .....	53
12. Distribution of Semantic Functions according to Length of Variant .....	61
13. Variants of the Imperfect of <i>Htjeti</i> .....	66
14. Comparison of Semantic Functions in Folk Poetry from Three Geographical Areas .....	80
15. Semantic Categories of the Balkan Conditional and Their Geographic Distribution .....	81
16. Comparison of the Semantic Functions of the Balkan Conditional according to Type of Folk Poetry .....	82
17. Extensions of <i>Šćaše</i> Expressions in Dialectal Serbo-Croatian .....	116
18. The Semantics of <i>Šćaše</i> Expressions in Three Dialect Areas of Serbo-Croatian .....	118

19.	Projected Development of the Semantics of <i>Šćaše</i> in Serbo-Croatian .....	148
20.	Past and Non-Past Semantic Functions of <i>Šćaše</i> in Serbo-Croatian .....	148
21.	Competition among <i>Bi</i> , <i>Šteše</i> , and <i>-Va</i> Expressions .....	200
22.	Markedness for Tense and Contrary-to-Fact Modality in <i>Šteše</i> Expressions in Dialectal Bulgarian .....	203
23.	Pairing of Semantic Functions with <i>Šteše</i> in Dialectal Bulgarian .....	205
24.	Dialectal Variants of the Balkan Conditional in Bulgarian .....	210
25.	Markedness of Semantic Functions according to Past Tense, Irreality, and Nuances from the Auxillary Verb in Dialectal Serbo-Croatian .....	214
26.	Markedness of Semantic Functions according to Past Tense and Irreality in Macedonian .....	215
27.	Hierarchy of Semantic Functions according to Markedness in South Slavic .....	216
28.	Projected Development of the Serbo-Croatian Balkan Conditional .....	218
29.	Relative Markedness of <i>Bi</i> and the Balkan Conditional in South Slavic .....	218
30.	Relative Markedness of the Balkan Conditional in South Slavic ..	219
31.	The Main Non-Past Semantic Functions Stemming from Past Tense Meaning .....	220
32.	Projected Development of the Bulgarian Balkan Conditional .....	221
33.	Uses of the Auxillaries 'To Have' and 'To Want' in the Gheg and Tosk Dialects (Albanian) .....	243
34.	Development of Two Balkan Conditionals in Macedonian .....	268



## Acknowledgments

First of all, many thanks are owed to my mentor, Zbigniew Gołąb (1923–1994), who introduced me to the problems of modality in the Balkans, and to Kostas Kazazis (1934–2002), who was especially helpful in working with Greek and Rumanian. I would also like to thank Bill Darden, who offered many suggestions in applying general linguistics to this data.

I appreciate the help given by Eric Hamp, for his helpful comments on Albanian, and to Dorin Urişescu, for his comments on Rumanian dialects.

I am deeply grateful to the Fulbright Commission, who supported my research in Yugoslavia for the 1980–1981 academic year, and to the Yugoslav Government.

I also wish to thank my Yugoslav mentor, Bogdan Dabić, for his help.

In Sarajevo, I received many suggestions from the linguists at the Institut za jezik i književnost, from the administrative and research personnel at the Zernaljski muzej, especially from Đenana Buturović. I also wish to thank Dragomir Vujičić, of the Bosnian Academy of Sciences, who generously helped me with source materials.

The personnel at the Arhiv i Biblioteka SANU in Belgrade, and those of the Arhiv Srbije, allowed me to examine and xerox many priceless manuscripts of epic poetry.

I appreciate the assistance of the director, Cvetanka Organžieva, and of Mirjena Anastasovna, of the Institut za Folklor in Skopje. I wish to thank the administration of the Kiril i Metodij University for their help in locating the doctoral dissertation of Kiril Koneski, dealing with the modal particle *ke*.

I am grateful for the help of Albert Lord, curataor of the Milman Parry Collection of Oral Literature at Harvard University, who helped me trace copies of manuscripts for which I did not have the time to research in Yugoslavia.

I also wish to thank my typists, Joan Allman, Vladamir Djukanović, Wesley Steele, Stephen Offutt, and Linda Ragsdale, who coped with examples in nine languages and challenging graphics. I am indebted to Vladamir Djukanović for his suggestion that ‘melting’, when referring to

*rakija*, undoubtedly refers to the melting of the wax seal, preparatory to indulging.

Finally, I am indebted to George Fowler, who straightened out problems with the graphics, fonts, and general set-up of the manuscript.

## Chapter 1

### Introduction

One of the characteristic analytic verbal forms shared by the languages of the Balkan league is the Balkan conditional or the so-called 'future-in-the-past'. In the majority of these languages, the Balkan conditional has the status of a grammatical category, whose invariant components are *modality*, specifically *potentiality*, and *reference to past tense*. With such components, these expressions most frequently and naturally refer to actions which did not take place, i.e., the past, contrary-to-fact conditional. Thus, the term 'Balkan conditional' has been applied to the expression as a whole. Indeed, for Macedonian and Arumanian, the contrary-to-fact conditional is its primary semantic function. Potentiality with reference to past tense (without regard to irreality) is the basis of the future-in-the-past (as in English 'X was going to//about to happen'), and this is the primary semantic function for Bulgarian.

Before further discussion of the functions for the Balkan conditional, it is necessary to discuss its general distribution. In the South Slavic languages, the Balkan conditional is found in both the literary languages and the dialects of Macedonian and Bulgarian, and in the southern dialects of Serbo-Croatian. In the non-Slavic Balkan languages, it is found in the literary language and dialects of Greek, in the literary and southern (Tosk) dialects of Albanian, in the Arumanian and Istro-Rumanian dialects, and in the western Daco-Rumanian dialects.<sup>1</sup> The Balkan conditional is lacking in the northern (Gheg) Albanian dialects and in Megleno-Rumanian. In South Slavic, it is lacking in Slovenian and in the literary language and northern dialects of Serbo-Croatian. The Serbo-Croatian literary language has only a very few of the features found in the Balkan *Sprachbund*, such as 'to want'

---

<sup>1</sup> According to Zbigniew Gołąb (after G. Weigand), Daco-Rumanian has the formal construction of the conditional based on the Balkan conditional. It is so old a calque and so well-established that it is not seen by many linguists as having any connection with the Balkan conditional. Other linguists believe that the Daco-Rumanian auxiliary for the conditional comes from Romance 'to have'. (For more details, see Chapter 9.) The dialectal form mentioned above is a comparatively new phenomenon in western Daco-Rumanian, and is more relevant to our discussion.

as an auxiliary for the future, and often only as variants, such as verbal constructions with either the infinitive or with *da* plus the present indicative, the latter representing a Balkan feature. The southern and south-eastern dialects have more Balkan features, but fewer than in languages such as Macedonian or Greek. Thus, Serbo-Croatian is considered to be only a marginal member of the Balkan league. The status of the Balkan conditional in dialectal Serbo-Croatian is also transitional and marginal. This marginal status is the primary problem under consideration.

The Balkan conditional in all of these languages is based on the auxiliary 'to want' (and 'to have' in the negative for Bulgarian). This auxiliary is a particle in the majority of these languages, including Macedonian, Greek, Arumanian, Albanian, and the southeastern dialects of Serbo-Croatian. In the remainder of this area, the literary language and dialects of Bulgarian, the remaining Torlak (Serbo-Croatian) dialects and southwestern dialects, Istro-Rumanian and western Daco-Rumanian dialects, the auxiliary is fully conjugated for the Balkan conditional. This distribution is shown in Figure 1 opposite. Note that the Balkan conditional with a particle as auxiliary, representing a more developed state of the construction, is found in the southern and central Balkan area. The construction with a fully conjugated auxiliary, which generally represents a less developed level of semantic functions and an historically earlier stage, is found on the periphery.

### *The Balkan Conditional in South Slavic*

Historically, the Old Church Slavonic periphrastic construction of the imperfect of 'to want' plus the infinitive of the main verb illustrates the basis for constructions found in contemporary Macedonian, Bulgarian, and Serbo-Croatian. Meanings include the future-in-the-past, 'to be on the point of', and possibly the quasi-conditional. For instance, an example of the future-in-the-past from the *Codex Zographensis* and also the *Codex Marianus*, cited by Birnbaum, is:

(1) *sb bo xotěaše přědati...*<sup>2</sup>

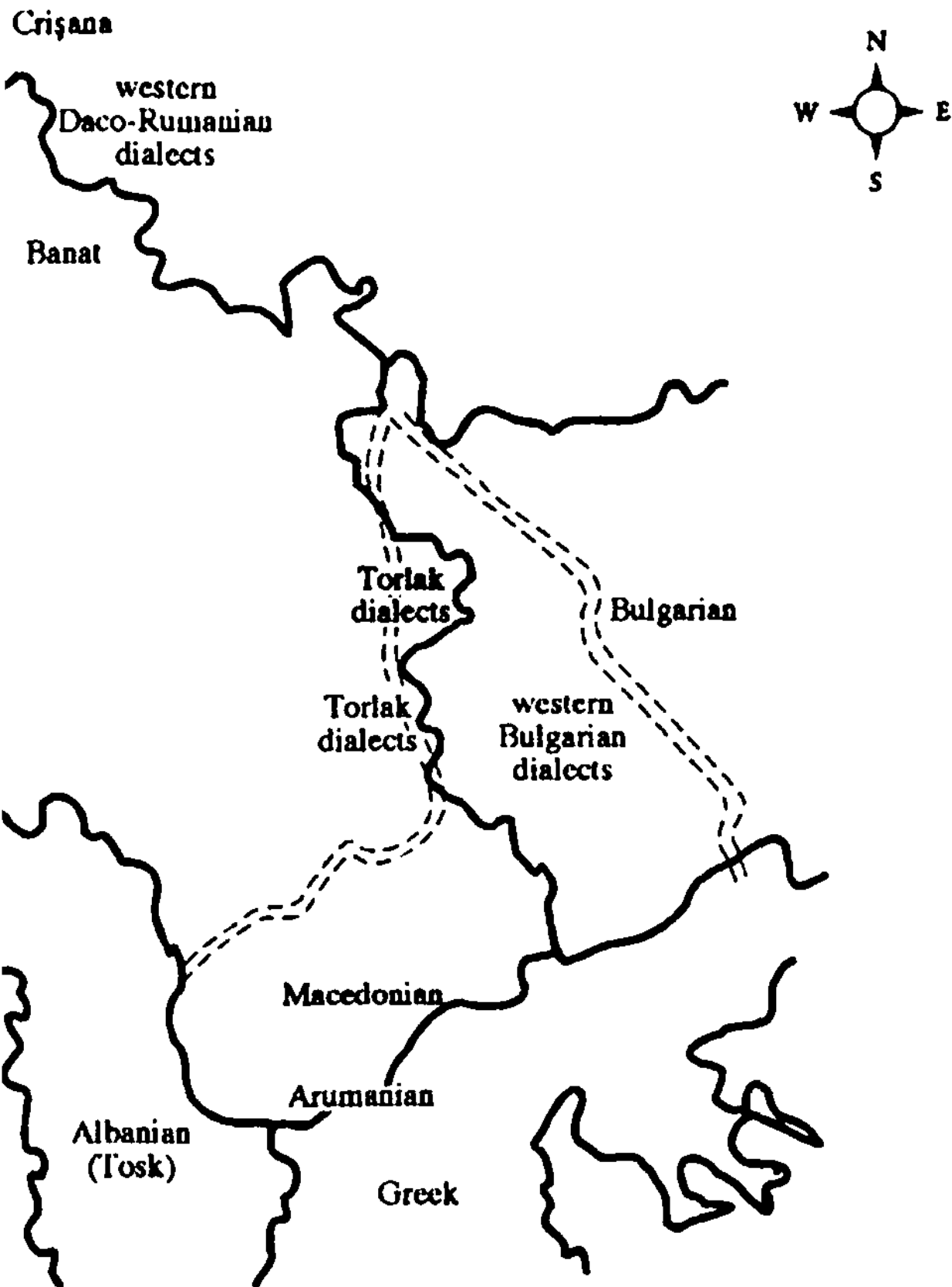
'indeed was going to betray...'

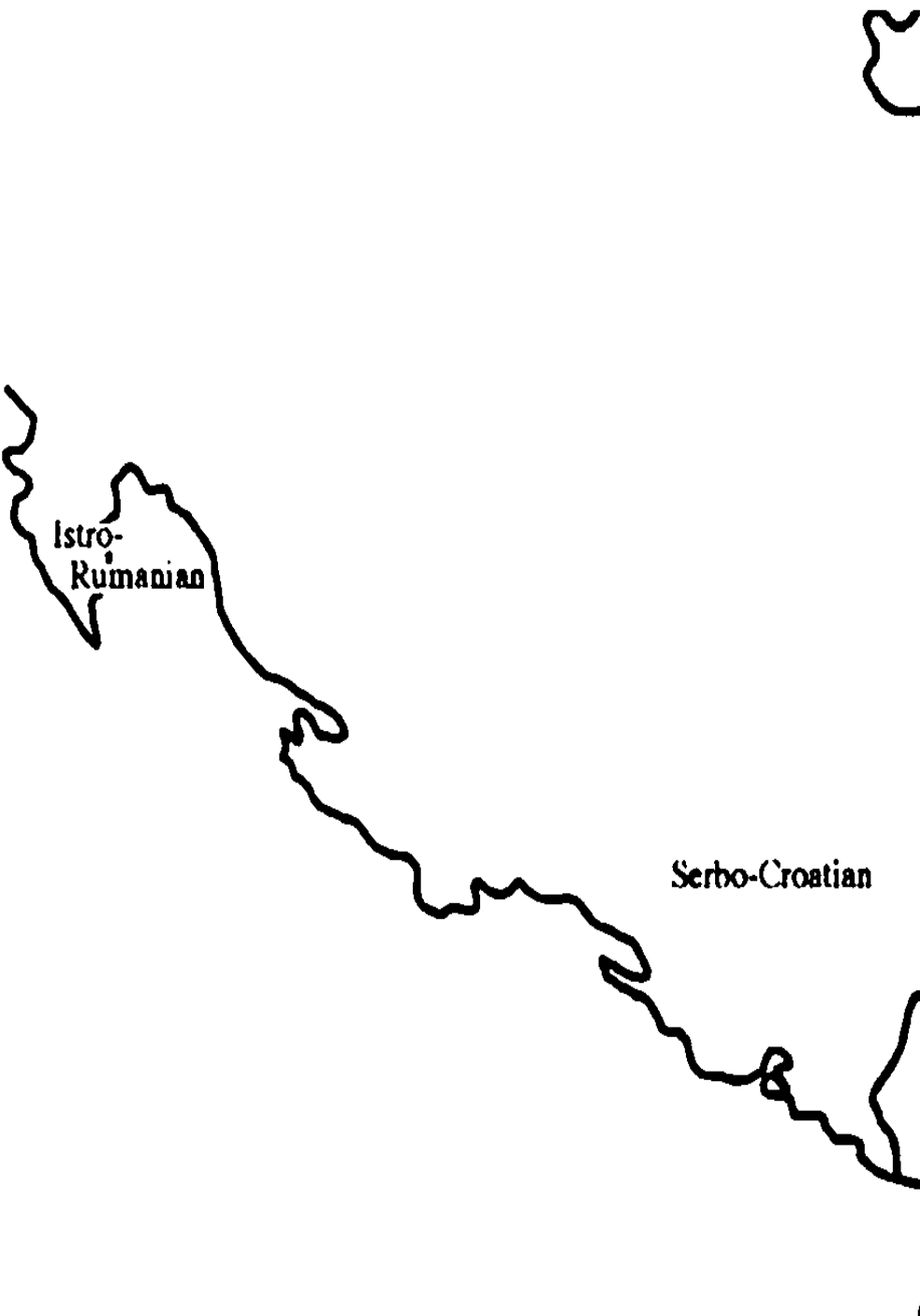
(Birnbaum 1958: 142)

---

<sup>2</sup> N.B. Unless otherwise noted, all italics are mine—MBF.







**Figure 1. Distribution of the Balkan Conditional according to Type of Auxillary Verb**

In literary Bulgarian and the eastern, central, and a few of the western dialects, we see the imperfect of 'to want' plus *da* plus the present indicative of the main verb, e.g., *štjah da četa*, *šteše da četeš*, *šteše da čete*, etc. ('I, you, he would have/was going to read') Note that the infinitive has been lost in Bulgarian and replaced by the Balkan construction of a modal particle (*da* for Slavic) plus the present indicative.

In dialectal Serbo-Croatian we have an analogous construction: *šćah da čitam*//*šćah čitati*, *šćaše da čitaš*//*šćaše čitati*, etc. In Serbo-Croatian, either the infinitive or the construction with *da* may be used.

In literary Macedonian and in the majority of its dialects, the older stage of the Balkan conditional — the uninflected imperfect *keše* (from the 2nd/3rd per.sg.) plus *da* and the present indicative, e.g., *keše da čitam*, *keše da čitaš*, etc., was replaced by a new construction. The older construction is still found in Kumanovo, a northern, transitional dialect between Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian.

The newer construction, found in the rest of Macedonia, was formed by analogy to the future construction (*ke* plus the non-past indicative): *ke* plus the imperfect, e.g., *ke čitav*, *ke čitaše*, etc. (The particle is derived from the archaic verb 'to want' (*oķe*), and since replaced by *saka*, having the full lexical meaning 'to want'. Today *ke* is used only as a grammaticalized modal particle.

Some of the western transitional Bulgarian dialects have an analogous construction, e.g., *šte čitex*, *šte čiteše*, etc. At least one of the northwestern dialects has a fixed form of the imperfect — *teše*, which is like the historically older stage in Macedonian: *teše da četa* (cf. Mace. *keše da čitam*). On the other side of the border, one of the Serbo-Croatian Torlak dialects has a virtually identical construction, e.g., *tešā da čitam*.

Thus, the Balkan Slavic conditional exhibits three levels of development: (1) the imperfect of 'to want' plus either the infinitive of the main verb or *da* plus the non-past indicative (2) a fixed form of the imperfect (always the 2nd/3rd per. sg.) plus *da* and the non-past indicative and (3) a future tense particle derived from 'to want' plus the imperfect of the main verb. The last category shows more development as a grammaticalized modal category as well.

There is another factor which has affected the development of semantic functions: the development in Macedonian and Bulgarian of a new, secondary verb meaning 'to want': *saka* in Mace. and *iska* in Blg. Since this new verb took the weight of the full lexical meaning in Macedonian, the old verb was free to become purely modal. In Bulgarian, the old verb *šta* is still

used as a stylistic variant, particularly in idiomatic expressions, e.g., *šte ti se* ('it would be nice', an ironical expression) or *ima mjesto, koliko šteš* ('there's plenty of room', literally: 'there's room, as much as [you] want'). The Bulgarian Balkan conditional is not as fully grammaticalized as in Macedonian.

In dialectal Serbo-Croatian, where an alternate verb 'to want' never developed, the Balkan conditional and its semantic functions remained at a more rudimentary level.<sup>3</sup>

### *How the Balkan Conditional Functions*

In our initial definition of the Balkan conditional, two primary semantic functions were given: the contrary-to-the-fact past conditional and the future-in-the-past. Both of these functions are found in Macedonian and Bulgarian, but the *Hauptbedeutung* for each language varies. In Bulgarian, the main, most common meaning is the future-in-the-past, whereas in Macedonian it is the past conditional.

The Bulgarian *Hauptbedeutung* of the future-in-the-past reflects the elements of potentiality and reference to past events. Thus, the future-in-the-past can refer to events which may or may not have actually taken place, since the actual construction does not imply reality or irreality. For example,

(2) *Knigata šteše da izleze ot 16–17 pečatni koli.*

'The book was to come out in sixteen to seventeen printed sheets.'

(Aronson 1977: 28)

The past conditional in Bulgarian may be seen as a subset of the future-in-the-past; it is a potential action in a past context, that was shown not to have taken place, e.g.,

(3) *Da běxǎ po-mladǎ, štexa da otida vǎ gorata da mu ulovja edno slavejče.*

'If I had been younger, I would have gone into the forest to catch a nightingale for him.'

(Andrejčin 1944: 257)

---

<sup>3</sup> In both dialectal and literary Serbo-Croatian, a system has developed with non-past enclitic forms of 'to want'. These forms are used to indicate the future, as opposed to the full lexical meaning. However this separation of grammatical modality and lexical meaning has not been extended to past contexts.

This example shows the formal structure of the Slavic conditional: *da* or *ako* ('if') plus an indicative in the protasis, and a modal periphrastic construction in the apodosis. In Northern Slavic, this periphrastic construction is found only with the particle *by* plus the *l*-participle, but in Balkan Slavic, the Balkan conditional is a variant.

In South Slavic there are examples of the Balkan conditional with the semantics, but not the structure, of the conditional. (This type of functional conditional may also be expressed with *by*.) Such examples exhibit a conditional expression in the initial clause, followed by an adversative conjunction in the second, as in English 'He would have done that, but...'. I have given the name 'functional conditional' to this type of construction. It appears to be a necessary stage in the historical development from full lexical meaning to the purely modal formal conditional. E.g., in Bulgarian folk poetry:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (4) Lu edin Karlāk ostana;<br>i toj <i>ne šteše ostana</i> ,<br>am' beše mogla utonal. | 'Only one Karlāk remained;<br>and he would not have remained,<br>but he drowned in the fog.'<br>(Osinin and Burin 1962: 71) |
|--|---|

Past potentiality can be extended to other, minor semantic functions, such as the iterative/habitual, and a past presumptive expression. This latter expression is equivalent to English 'there must have been', and is most often found in estimations of quantity or identity.

The feature of past potentiality has been extended into non-past semantic contexts in South Slavic. For instance, the non-past conditional is a later development, which is common in Macedonian and relatively rare in Bulgarian. An example in Bulgarian folk poetry is:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| (5) Momne le mari hubava<br>če ga te gledam, momne le,<br>men na sārčeno pripada.<br>Da beše blaga jabālka —<br><i>hvārli šteh, othruli šteh</i> te;<br><br>da beše koren bosilek —<br><i>drapna šteh, otkuba šteh</i> go.<br><br>da beše voda studena,<br>bāklačē <i>šteh</i> te <i>natoča</i> , | 'O girl, beautiful one,<br>When I look at you, girl,<br>it touches my heart.<br>If you were a sweet apple,<br>I would throw you, hurl you to<br>[the ground]<br>If you were a sprig of basil —<br>I would pick, I would pluck it up<br>by the roots.<br>If you were cool water,<br>I would pour you into a little flask, |
|---|--|

na konče ta *šteh okača*,

de kãde hodja, momne le,  
voda studena da pijam  
i tebe da si spominam.

I would hang you from the side of  
my horse,

So that whatever I went, girl,  
I could drink cold water  
and remember you.'

(Osinin and Burin 1962: 177)

The Balkan conditional may also be used in Bulgarian to express the speaker's doubt that an event planned in the past will occur in the future; an English equivalent would be 'But we were supposed to be doing X tomorrow!' (See Chapter 7.) It may also be used when the speaker is attempting to remember plans made in the past for the future event (English 'What was I doing tomorrow/what was I going to do tomorrow? That's right, I'm going into town.')

While Macedonian and Bulgarian show strong similarity in the range of semantic functions for the Balkan conditional, there are important differences. Bulgarian's system of modal functions is based on the future-in-the-past, with the extended future-in-the-past and past conditional as secondary functions. The iterative/habitual and non-past conditional appear rarely, while the past presumptive is even rarer. In Macedonian, however, the system is based on the past, contrary-to-fact conditional. Secondary functions are the non-past conditional and iterative/habitual, and third-ranked and less common functions are the future-in-the-past and presumptive expressions. The factor of potentiality appears to be dominant in Bulgarian, whereas in Macedonian irrealis is the main hallmark of the Balkan conditional.

### *The Problem of the Balkan Conditional in Dialectal Serbo-Croatian*

Against this background of the Balkan conditional in Macedo-Bulgarian, we are confronted with a much less clearly defined and less well-established Balkan conditional in Serbo-Croatian.

It is not found in the literary language; since the codification of the literary language in the mid-nineteenth century by Vuk Karadžić and Ljudovit Gaj, the only meaning for the imperfect of *htjeti* ('to want') in periphrastic constructions has been the full lexical meaning. Examples of the Balkan conditional are limited to colloquial speech and folk literature of several southern and southwestern dialects or to the pseudo-folk literature of these dialects. (By pseudo-folk literature, I mean belles lettres written with dialect-

tal and folk elements, e.g., Njegoš's *Gorski vijenac*, which was modelled on epic folk poetry.)

The Serbo-Croatian Balkan conditional is formed with the conjugated auxiliary 'to want', which together with the lack of a new alternative verb expressing the lexical meaning, makes it difficult to separate the ordinary lexical meaning from its modal counterpart.

First of all, it is important to establish whether dialectal Serbo-Croatian has a Balkan conditional at all; that is, whether its modal expression fits the definition given earlier. From examination of original source materials, I have reason to believe that a Balkan conditional does in fact exist in dialectal Serbo-Croatian.

A second problem then presents itself: does the Serbo-Croatian expression function as a modal grammatical category, as it does in Macedonian and Bulgarian? It appears that it does not *form* a grammatical category, but neither is it totally identified with the lexical meaning. Rather, the Balkan conditional in the various Serbo-Croatian dialects is in the *process* of becoming a grammatical category; for nearly all of its functions, mainly excepting the past conditional, the Serbo-Croatian Balkan conditional is closely tied to the lexical meaning of the auxiliary and to various nuances based on semantics rather than morphology.

Thirdly, Serbo-Croatian lacks a separate form for the future-in-the-past. Although the form is found in OCS, there are no traces in either the dialects or literary language of Serbo-Croatian since its medieval stage. It may be that a form for the future-in-the-past did exist in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Serbo-Croatian; since it is not a common semantic function, its lack in documents of that era is inconclusive. After the fifteenth century, it is definite that the Balkan conditional construction was not used for a future-in-the-past in Serbo-Croatian.

This fact could help to explain the slow and partial development of the Serbo-Croatian Balkan conditional. Both Macedonian and Bulgarian have the future-in-the-past as a continuing semantic function for the Balkan conditional throughout their history; along with the past conditional, it formed the basis of a system of grammatical modality with the Balkan conditional. In Serbo-Croatian, on the other hand, there was only a sporadic development of a semantic expression with a strong degree of potentiality, as in 'X was just about to happen', referring to an involuntary and usually inevitable action. This type of expression could be seen as a very limited future-in-the-past. A typical example in Serbo-Croatian epic folk poetry is:

- (6) Bog da znaše, zora *udarit'* hoćaše, 'God knows, dawn was just about to break,  
 Dokljen jedan viknu u Mađare: When one of them shouted to the Hungarians:  
 "A bežite, grom te pogodijo! "Run, may lightning strike you!  
 Sad će rana zora udariti, Now the dawn is going to break,  
 Sad se vrne Mujo sa planine; ..." Now Mujo will come down from the mountain; ..."  
 (Parry and Lord 1953 2: 307)

It should be noted that this semantic function is not found in either Macedonian or Bulgarian. It is found in colloquial Russian (see Chapter 8). The expression 'to be on the point of' in Serbo-Croatian exhibits nuances other than simple potentiality: the imminence of the coming event, and perhaps the speaker's emotions, making it an affective expression. (Perhaps this should be called a 'pseudo-affective' expression, as it does not represent status in the same way as an affective one. However, another semantic function, which will be discussed later, meaning 'surely that would have happened', could be called affective.)

A fourth problem in dialectal Serbo-Croatian lies in the relationship of modal expressions with *bi* to the Balkan conditional. Unlike Macedonian and Bulgarian, the status of *bi* is dominant and stylistically unmarked compared to the Balkan conditional. However, there is considerable overlapping of semantic functions for the two constructions.

Lastly, there are problems in the historical development of the Balkan conditional, in its synchronic vs. diachronic status. It is my contention that the Balkan conditional spread from the south into Dalmatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and parts of Croatia and central Serbia well before the imperfect was lost in these areas. The geographical expansion of this expression probably took place in the sixteenth to the early eighteenth centuries. The Balkan conditional flourished in the above areas until the mid- to late nineteenth century, when it began to decline, along with the gradual loss of the imperfect in these dialects. Eventually the Balkan conditional was found only as an archaism, having only a "petrified," idiomatic meaning on the order of 'X was preparing to do Y, but was prevented'. However, in the southern dialects (roughly encompassing Montenegro, southern Hercegovina, the Sandžak (SW Serbia) and the Torlak (E Serbia) dialects), the imperfect continues to be a living part of the language well into the twentieth century. It is



here that the Balkan conditional most fully developed and consolidated its position in the modal system.

*Preliminary Definition of the Serbo-Croatian Balkan Conditional*

For the majority of dialects, the *Hauptbedeutung* appears to be an affective expression referring to an unrealized past potentiality. Depending on context, such an expression may be interpreted as somewhere in the range of the full lexical meaning 'to want', i.e., 'X wanted to do Y, but was prevented' to an affective expression, e.g., 'Surely X was about to do Y, but was prevented' to the actual past conditional: 'X would have done Y, but was prevented'. For the Montenegrin dialects, the *Hauptbedeutung* is the contrary-to-fact conditional.

Thus we see a gradual shift from the full lexical meaning in the northern dialects and literary language towards the conditional mood in these major dialectal areas. (See Table 1).

Area 1 (central and northern Dalmatia, central and western Serbia) does have examples of the quasi-conditional, but the predominant usage is the full lexical meaning 'to want'. To the north of this area, only the full lexical meaning is found with this construction.

Area 2, which lies in the central area of Bosnia-Herzegovina, southern Dalmatia and the Sandžak (SW Serbia) and Torlak dialects (SE Serbia), has the *Hauptbedeutung* of the quasi-conditional described above, while area 3, Montenegro, exhibits the grammaticalized true past conditional.

**Table 1.** The *Hauptbedeutung* of the Balkan Conditional in Serbo-Croatian

<b>Dialect Area</b>	<b>Hauptbedeutung</b>
1. Central and northern Dalmatia Central and western Serbia	Full lexical meaning
2. Bosnia-Herzegovina, southern Dalmatia, the Sandžak and Torlak areas	Quasi-conditional
3. Montenegro	Past, contrary-to-fact conditional



The second view — that the Balkan conditional exhibits semantic rather than grammatical modality — is held by many linguists. Belić was one of the first to emphasize this. He also stated that this expression is in a transitional stage between semantic and grammatical modality (i.e., a fully syntactic conditional, as in Macedonian and Bulgarian.)

Belić mentions another semantic function of the Balkan conditional, a limited variant of the conditional: 'X nearly happened'. (For this latter expression, literary Serbo-Croatian uses an adverbial construction: *umalo* or *zamalo* ('nearly') plus the negated past indicative, usually the perfect.)

M. Stevanović takes Belić's definition one step further. In his *Savremeni srpskohrvatski jezik* (1979), he gives the following description: a modal construction, but with the value of different semantic colorings, depending on context. The Balkan conditional, for example, can express a past iterative/habitual. These semantic colorings, or nuances, run the gamut from certainty that the action would take place, through nuances of preparedness, possibility, and intention, to desire that an action should take place (the full lexical meaning!). Stevanović considers this expression to be outside the temporal system of the indicative; it rather reflects a personal state colored by the speaker's feeling that the event *should* have taken place, or that surely it was just about to happen. In his words:

I na kraju, opet ne znam po koji put, kao u slučaju s upotrebom pravog imperfekta, modalna imperfekatska konstrukcija služi za izražavanje individualnog stava prema radnjama označenim dopunskim delom njenim samo ukoliko je taj stav izgrađen na osnovu lično doživljenih situacija i lično dobijenih utisaka govornog lica ili, samo u pitanjima, onoga kome se govorno lice obraća s pitanjem. (...) U onim službama, međutim, u kojima su moguća oba ova modalna oblika, potencijal se upotrebljava za označavanje individualnog stava bez obzira na to na osnovu čijih utisaka je on stečen, dok se imperfekatskom konstrukcijom, kako smo napred već rekli, izražava stav izrađen sam kroz lično doživljavanje lica koja u govoru učestvuju.

(Stevanović 1953: 78–79)

As seen here, Stevanović believes that this is a type of witnessed state on the part of the speaker. It might be more clearly defined as a state of strong personal involvement with the event, in other words, as a type of affective expression. It is true that when there is a distinction between wit-

nessed and nonwitnessed in Serbo-Croatian that the imperfect (which includes the Balkan conditional) and the aorist are considered to be witnessed forms, as opposed to the perfect. Nonetheless, witnessed vs. nonwitnessed have a shaky status in Serbo-Croatian, in part because of the decline in the use of the aorist and/or imperfect in many dialects. (There are, for instance, numerous counterexamples of the aorist used in nonwitnessed contexts.)

My view of the Balkan conditional as a highly marked modal expression (as opposed to expressions with *bi*) is borne out by Stevanović's discussion. In describing the difference between this and the 'true' conditional, he mentions that a Balkan conditional refers only to a past conditional, whereas the true conditional may refer to either past or non-past contexts, and even to gnomic conditions. Thus the semantic reference for the Balkan conditional is narrower (more stylistically marked) in a temporal sense. Likewise, if we accept that the imperfect is always witnessed, the Balkan conditional is marked for that as well. Finally, Stevanović states that the range of semantic functions is narrower for the Balkan conditional, compared to the true conditional. A narrower range of semantic functions is the hallmark of a marked form.

Another Yugoslav linguist with similar views is P. Sladojević. Sladojević (1953) stresses the personal involvement of the speaker, and the nuance of certainty that the action was going to take place. *Htjeti* (rather than *bi* or the simple indicative) is used to emphasize this feeling. To Sladojević, the Balkan conditional is a dramatic, emotional expression that adds color to the narrative (in other words, semantic markedness).

He also mentions an unusual construction with the Balkan conditional for the iterative/habitual: the imperfect of *htjeti* plus the 2nd per. sg. of the imperative, e.g.,

- (8) *Šćaše* [= *imaše običaj*] *on dođi, pa sjedi i pričaj* (iz moga govora).  
 'He would [= had the custom] arrive, then sit down and talk for a while (from my dialect — [i.e., a Montenegrin dialect].)'

(Sladojević 1953: 222)

Sladojević further notes the semantic nuance of 'to be just on the point of [an inevitable, involuntary action]'. This use, which can be considered as an affective, limited future-in-the-past, is found only in Serbo-Croatian, and never with the unmodified Balkan conditional in Macedonian or Bulgarian.

A final point, with which I disagree, is that there is a semantic difference between constructions with the imperfect of *htjeti* plus the infinitive and

those with *da* plus the non-past indicative. Sladojević asserts that the former construction is used to express purely modal semantic functions, such as the past, contrary-to-fact conditional, while the construction with *da* is used with the full lexical meaning 'to want'. I have not found this to be the case in dialectal Serbo-Croatian and have found numerous counter-examples, including:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>(9) Na nesreću konjic se podsape,<br/>         Podsape se i šćeše da padne,<br/>         Ripi Rada sa konja u vodu,<br/> <br/>         Te zadrži lijepu nevestu.</p> | <p>(By misfortune the horse stumbled,<br/>         Stumbled and almost fell,<br/>         Rada jumped from the horse into<br/>         the water,<br/>         There he caught hold of the<br/>         beautiful bride.)<sup>5</sup><br/>         (Jastrebov 1886: 285)</p> |
|---|--|

Jovan Vuković was a leading specialist on syntax in Serbo-Croatian, particularly in the dialects of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Montenegro. In his book on verbal syntax (1967), he discusses the problem of the Serbo-Croatian Balkan conditional and makes some interesting comparisons with modal expressions found with other past tense forms, specifically of *imati* ('to have'), *moći* ('to be able') and *biti* ('to be'). He stresses the category of potentiality:

Sa perifrastičnom konstrukcijom u čijem sastavu imamo oblike glagola *hteti*, vidimo, stvar stoji drukčije, — ona je i po obliku i po značenju uvek preteritalnog karaktera sa manje ili više izraženim odrazom značenja i preteritalno-futurskog smisla. Manje ili više gubljenjem preteritalnog-futurskog smisla ovi oblici se u upotrebi i izjednačavaju po značenju sa potencijalom, a gde toga bliskog i dodirivanja izjednačavanja nema, ostaje u krugu modalnih značenja i oštro obeleženo vremensko značenje u smislu preteritalne, relativne budućnosti, — to smo sve videli i na to je u ovom izlaganju dosta ukazivano.

(Vuković 1967: 77)

Here Vuković is defining the Balkan conditional as a type of future-in-the-past or past potential, although he acknowledges that such a factor may

<sup>5</sup> For other counterexamples, see example (12) and examples in Chapter 3.

not be present, or present only to a weak degree. He also states the necessity of considering the modal meanings which underlie this past potentiality.

In comparing periphrastic constructions with the perfect or aorist of *htjeti* as opposed to those with the imperfect, Vuković concludes that the use of the perfect or aorist would imply the full lexical meaning. This “volitivno značenje” is contrasted with the modal meaning of the imperfect, one that often implies no nuance of volition whatsoever. The only exceptions to this generalization are constructions with the perfect or aorist with inanimate subjects, as in

(10) *Nesreća se htjela tu dogoditi.*

‘An accident could have happened here.’

(Vuković 1967: 57)

Here a *bi*-construction could be used for the truncated perfect *htjela*.

Minor semantic functions which have not been discussed by other linguists are also mentioned. One of these is the past presumptive, involving the speaker’s estimation of quantity or quality in a past context. Vuković’s example is:

(11) *Prosulo mu se stado po polju, ćaše biti dvjesta ovaca.*

‘The flock spread out over the field, there must have been two hundred sheep.’

(Vuković 1967: 65)

In a citation from the Serbian epic poem *Početak bune protiv Dahija*, Vuković also mentions the expression ‘to be on the point of’:

(12) *Kad se ćaše po zemlji Srbiji,*

*po Srbiji zemlji da prevrne,*

*i da druga postane sudija,*

*tu knezovi nisu radi kavzi...*

‘When throughout the land of  
Serbia,

the land of Serbia it was on the  
point of change,

and on the point of new ways of  
ruling,

then the princes were not pleased  
with this quarrel...)

(Vuković 1967: 68; trans. by Morison 1942: 34)

Zbigniew Gołąb (1964a) discusses the Balkan conditional in South Slavic. An important innovation is his classification of moods for the South

Slavic languages. Slovenian is in the North Slavic camp, with a dual system split between indicative and non-indicative expressions (the latter expressed by constructions with *bi*.) Literary Serbo-Croatian has a trinary system: (1) the indicative (2) non-indicative optative-subjunctive expressions with the particle *da* and (3) non-indicative potential and conditional expressions with *bi*. Macedonian, Bulgarian, and dialectal Serbo-Croatian have the most complex system: (1) the indicative in opposition to the non-indicative verb categories (2) optative-subjunctive expressions with *da* (3) potential expressions with *bi* and (4) conditional expressions with the Balkan conditional expression (i.e., with the auxiliary 'to want').

Gołąb hypothesizes that the Serbo-Croatian Balkan conditional came into existence either through Rumanian influence in the Torlak dialects, later spreading to the Montenegrin dialects, or that it was simply an independent development. It could be that this Serbo-Croatian expression arose more-or-less spontaneously, like similar expressions in French, Turkish, etc.

In *Conditionalis typi bałkańskiego w językach południowosłowiańskich* (1964a), he investigates the origin, semantic functions, and relationship of the Balkan conditional to modal expressions in other languages. Much of his material is drawn from the Torlak dialects, mainly from colloquial speech, but also from folk prose. I found very few examples from this area in the folk literature, and their semantic functions to be more limited than in expressions from Montenegro.

His citation of Belić's comments on the Balkan conditional in Torlak dialects supports my contention that it developed from an earlier stage as an affective, highly marked expression towards the true past conditional:

Glagol *hte-ti* ima, istina, oblike imperfekta, u ostalim jako izmešane sa aoriskim, ali mu je značenje u većini slučajeva aorisko; šta više, u konstrukcijama, gde je on upotrebljen pored nekoga drugog glagola, razvilo mu se i novo značenje: *umalo*, *za malo*, *tek što*, tako da počinje dobijati adverbijalno, konjunkcionalno značenje. Slično značenje razvio je taj glagol i u crnogorskim dijalektima (...) U mnogim slučajevima ove se rečenice mogu razumeti i kao vid pogodbenih rečenica...

(Gołąb 1964a: 100)

The examples I have collected bear out these assertions; many of them could indeed be interpreted as having nuances of 'X nearly happened' (Serbo-Croatian *umalo*, *za malo*, etc.).

It should be noted that Gołąb emphasizes the Torlak (SE Serbian) dialects, and does not analyze the Balkan conditional in the Montenegrin dialects, nor yet in the dialects of Bosnia-Hercegovina, SW Serbia, or southern Dalmatia. These areas proved the richest in examples, and exhibited several innovative semantic functions which are lacking in the Torlak dialects. (See Figure 2.)

The remaining linguistic literature, primarily analysis of the Balkan conditional for specific dialect areas, as described in the *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, will be discussed in later chapters.





## štokavski dialects

ekavski:		older ijekavski type:	...
1. Kosovo-Resavski		11. Zetsko-Južnosandžački	
2. Prizrensko-Timočki			
ijekavski	====  • •	ijekavskošćakavski:	
12. Eastern Bosnia			
Heregovinian type:	====	ikavski:	
3. Northwestern Montenegro		13. Lika	
4. Dubrovnik		14. Western Herzegovina	
5. Western Bosnia			
6. Western Serbia		ikavskošćakavski:	
7. Herzegovina		15. Central Bosnia	
8. Lika		16. Western Bosnia	
9. Banija and Kordun		17. Imotski	
10. Bukovica		18. Dalmatia	

## ćakavski dialects

ikavski	■	ijekavski		ikavski-ekavski	
Split, Brač, Hvar, Korčula		Lastovo		Šibenik and points north	

**Figure 2. Dialects of Serbo-Croatian with the Balkan Conditional**

## Chapter 2

### The Balkan Conditional in Serbo-Croatian Epic Poetry, and Its Comparison with *Bi*

Periphrastic constructions with the modal particle *bi* form the basis of the modal system in both literary and dialectal Serbo-Croatian. These forms of *bi* stem from old Common Slavic aorist forms of 'to be', which were conjugated for person (e.g., *bimъ //byxъ* for the first person singular in Old Serbo-Croatian) and followed by the *l*-participle of the main verb. In modern Serbo-Croatian, this modal construction, which will be referred to as the *bi*-construction<sup>1</sup> or simply as *bi* (*bi* = 2nd/3rd sg.) may be used to express a wide variety of semantic functions. This variety contrasts sharply with the semantic scope of other modal constructions, such as those with the modal particle *da*, or the dialectal Balkan conditional.

However, in East South Slavic (Macedonian and Bulgarian), the semantic functions of *bi* have decreased dramatically in the historical development of these languages, and the Balkan conditional has become the stylistically unmarked (in comparison with *bi*) modal expression. This is one of the major differences between the Balkan conditional in Serbo-Croatian vs. E. South Slavic, and will be discussed in further chapters.

Although the *bi*-construction and the Balkan conditional share several semantic functions, *bi* is stylistically *unmarked* compared to the Balkan conditional. A comparison of the semantic functions expressed by each of these modal constructions shows the Balkan conditional to be a serious competitor for semantic scope only in the Montenegrin dialects. Elsewhere, *šćaše* and *bi* overlap very little, and it is clear that the Balkan conditional is a new, transitional, and highly marked modal expression.

Thus there are three systems under consideration: 1) the literary language and the northern dialects, which lack the Balkan conditional; 2) the dialects outside of Montenegro, where the Balkan conditional enjoys only a limited semantic expansion; and 3) the northern and central dialects of

---

<sup>1</sup> The full paradigm is *bih*, *bi*, *bi*, *bismo*, *biste*, *bi*, but in many dialects the form *bi* may be used for all persons.

Montenegro, where there is a great deal overlapping of semantic functions between the Balkan conditional and *bi*. In this area, the Balkan conditional has actually superseded a few semantic functions of *bi*; for instance, in the Nikšić area, the Balkan conditional has replaced *bi* in expressing the iterative/habitual.

### *Non-Shared Semantic Functions of Bi*

The non-shared semantic functions expressed by *bi* in dialectal Serbo-Croatian are defined here as those for which the Balkan conditional cannot substitute. Modal expressions, such as optative expressions, which may also be expressed by other constructions (in this case by the modal particle *da*) are thus counted as non-shared semantic functions of *bi* in this study.

One of the major semantic functions, as well as one of the invariant components of the *bi* expression, is potentiality. Such potentiality may refer to past or non-past semantic contexts, and is also used gnomically. All of the following examples are from epic oral folk poetry, and represent various dialects.

A typical example of *bi* in a non-past context is the following:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (13) Ja sam čula od svog ćaće bana,<br>da Turčina u Krajini nema,<br>koj' <i>bi mogô</i> na njih udariti<br>udariti na oba srdara. | ‘I heard from my daddy, the<br>governor,<br>that there isn’t a Turk in the<br>Borderland,<br>who would be able to attack them,<br>attack both sirdars.’ <sup>2</sup> |
|  | (Hörmann 1966: 24)   |

Gnomic potentials with *bi* are mostly found in Serbo-Croatian folk sayings, e.g.,

- |  |                     |
|--|---------------------|
| (14) Vrag <i>bi i glavu skinuo</i> , ali Bog ni dlake ne da.<br>‘One’s enemy would cut off one’s head, but God doesn’t give [him]<br>even a hair.’ |                     |
|  | (Karadžić 1964: 75) |

---

<sup>2</sup> *Sirdar* is a Turkish word which can refer to either a high-ranking military officer or a head servant. From the context, this example refers to officers.



- (17) Ukaza se momak na konjicu,  
po imenu Trpotić Alija,  
svak *bi rekô i bi se zakleo*,  
  
da je glava Kraljevića Marka  
  
i po licu i po brkovima.
- 'A youth appeared on a horse,  
by the name of Alija Trpotić,  
each one would have said and  
sworn,  
that he was Marko Kraljević  
[a famous Serbian hero]  
judging by his face and mustache.'  
(Hörmann 1976 1: 180)

The non-past conditional is the remaining semantic function virtually exclusively expressed by *bi*, except in some Montenegrin dialects, where *šćaše* may also be used. Here, 'non-past' encompasses the present, future, and gnomic conditional. The non-past conditional may be found with the formal conditional structure. Other non-past conditionals have the *bi*-expression in the protasis, and an adversative conjunction (such as 'but', 'however', etc.) in the apodosis. These latter constructions may function semantically as conditionals, e.g.:

- (18) O, čuješ me, Ćuprilić-vezire,  
ja *bih rado sišô u Primorje*,  
  
*pogubio od Primorja Luku,*  
*ali nemam za sebe konjica*  
*niti oštre ćorde za mejdana.*
- 'Oh, listen to me, Ćuprilić-vezir,  
I would gladly go down to the  
[Dalmatian] coast,  
and kill Luke of the coast,  
but I own neither a horse  
nor a sharp sword for duelling.'  
(Hörmann 1976 1: 184)

Thus the full spectrum of exclusive semantic functions for *bi* in Serbo-Croatian is the potential, including gnomic and non-past potentials (but not the future-in-the-past), subjunctive expressions, optative expressions, attenuated modal expressions, and the non-past conditional. There is one invariant component in the above list: potentiality.

### *Exclusive Semantic Functions of Šćaše*

The Balkan conditional, or *šćaše* expression (referring to the form for second/third person imperfect of *ht(j)eti*) has a number of semantic functions in dialectal Serbo-Croatian, only a few of which are widespread, or of any importance. One of the most common semantic functions is not a modal one, but the full lexical meaning 'to want'. This was the original meaning of the

verb, although already in Old Church Slavonic present-tense forms of *htjeti* followed by the infinitive formed one of the constructions to express the future. Furthermore, the imperfect of *htjeti* plus the infinitive has been attested in OCS with the meaning of the future-in-the-past. (By future-in-the-past we mean a grammatically modal expression with no invariant/grammatical nuances of volition, but expressing past potentiality. This is equivalent to English 'was going to'.)

Despite examples of the future-in-the-past in OCS, medieval and modern Serbo-Croatian does not exhibit such usages. Serbo-Croatian, while developing clitic forms of the verb *htjeti* used as an auxiliary of the future.<sup>3</sup> did not develop clitic forms of the imperfect of this verb for other functions. (Neither did much of Bulgarian, but in Bulgarian there was the continuing use of the Balkan conditional for the future-in-the-past, which helped to support expansion into other modal semantic functions.)

The future-in-the-past in Serbo-Croatian can be expressed by the usual future construction, even when there are past tense forms in other clauses, e.g.,

- (19) Na tri dana prije nego *će pobjeći* Moler napiše pismo srpskim starješinama.

'Three days before he was going to escape, Moler wrote a letter to the Serbian leaders.'

(Stevanović 1979 2: 672)

It can also be expressed by a construction with the present of *imati* ('to have') or by the perfective non-past of *biti* plus the infinitive, e.g.,

- (20) Tog dana konačno *bude sklopljena* nagodba i *isplaćena* odšteta.

'That day agreement was finally going to be concluded, and the idemnity paid.'

(Stevanović 1979 2: 672)

---

<sup>3</sup> Serbo-Croatian makes a distinction between full lexical meaning and grammatical modality by using the full non-past forms of *htjeti* with the meaning 'to want' (e.g., *ja hoću raditi* = 'I want to work'), while using the clitics for the future (e.g., *ja ću raditi* = 'I will work'). This opposition is neutralized only in sentence or clause-initial position, where clitic forms may not appear in Serbo-Croatian (e.g. *Hoću raditi* = 'I want to work//I will work').

The only semantic function continuing from OCS into medieval Serbo-Croatian was the meaning 'to want'. A typical example from epic poetry is:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| (21) A Jusufa sina sokolova<br>Šćaše pred njih skoćit' na nogama.<br><br>On <i>hotaše</i> , oni ne davahu,<br><br>Pa sedošē, hoždeldije daju. | 'But Jusuf, that falcon's son<br>Wanted to jump to his feet before<br>them.<br>He wanted to, they didn't allow<br>it,<br>Then they sat down, and bid<br>them welcome.'<br><br>(Parry and Lord 1980 6: 159) |
|---|--|

Note that in the above example, two different variants of the imperfect of *htjeti* appear. Most probably the variant forms are justified by the demands of the deca-syllabic line of epic poetry.

The first and statistically the most frequent of modal semantic functions for *šćaše* (see Table 2) is the *quasi-conditional*, which we have described in the introduction. Its semantics are in transition from the full lexical meaning to the past conditional, with nuances from 'to want' not found in the purely modal past conditional. The great majority of these quasi-conditionals can be interpreted with two or more semantic readings, such as 'was intending to', 'wanted to' (both emotions on the part of the subject), or 'was preparing to'. Emotions on the part of the speaker not linked to the lexical meaning of 'to want', such as '*surely* would have', also fit into the broad category of the quasi-conditional.

The quasi-conditional always suggests not only contrary-to-fact, past semantic contexts, but also nuances which 'color' the expression and set it apart from the past conditional. We have a pure past conditional in Serbo-Croatian only when the immediate semantic context is unambiguous, or when the Balkan conditional has the formal conditional structure (with the modal particle *da* or *ako* plus the indicative in the protasis, and *šćaše* (or *bi*) in the apodosis. *Da* is much more common than *ako* in past Serbo-Croatian conditionals. The tendency is for *da* to be used with all contrary-to-fact conditionals, while *ako* is used for potentially realizable conditionals.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> Conditionals with *bi* are completely syntactically conditioned. The tense of the verb in the protasis determines whether the expression is a past or non-past conditional. Secondly, the formal structure with the particle *da* or *ako* followed by *bi* in the apodosis determines the conditional meaning. In context-free position, *bi* indicates a potential expression, or possibly an optative one.





**Table 2.** Comparison of Semantic Functions with *Bi* and *Šćaše*. Preliminary Totals for the Collections of Karadžić, Hörmann, Parry-Lord, and Luburić

<i>bi</i> (893 examples)		<i>šćaše</i> (258 examples)	
Potential	48%	Quasi-conditional	40.8%
Attenuated expressions <sup>6</sup>	16%	Full lexical meaning	25.9%
Subjunctive clauses of purpose	12.5%	Past conditional	19%
Past conditional	8%	Iterative/habitual	3%
Non-past conditional	8%	'X nearly happened'	3%
Iterative/habitual	2%	'to be on the point of' [an involuntary, usually inevitable action]	1.5%
Optative	1.3%	Quasi-potential	.01%
Gnomic potential	1.3%		

**Table 3.** Comparison of Semantic Functions with *Bi* and *Šćaše* in the Collections of Moslem Epic Poetry from Bosnia-Herzegovina (Kosta Hörmann)

<i>bi</i> (102 examples)		<i>šćaše</i> (27 examples)	
Potential	52%	Quasi-conditional	44%
Attenuated expressions	17.6%	Full lexical meaning	44%
Past conditional	15.7%	Past conditional	11%
Non-past conditional	6%		
Optative	4%		
Subjunctive clauses of purpose	3%		
Iterative/habitual	2%		

**Table 4.** Comparison of Semantic Functions with *Bi* and *Šćaše* in Moslem Epic Poetry from Bijelo Polje and the Sandžak

<i>bi</i> (447 examples)		<i>šćaše</i> (50 examples)	
Potential	54.6%	Quasi-conditional	44%
Attenuated expressions	20%	Full lexical meaning	28%
Subjunctive expressions	11.2%	Past conditional	22%
Past conditional	6%	'to be on the point of' (an involuntary, usually inevitable action)	4%
Non-past conditional	4.5%	'X nearly happened'	2%
Optative expressions	8%		
Gnomic potential	.6%		
Iterative/habitual	.4%		

<sup>6</sup> Most of these attenuated expressions are the idiom *bi rekô i bi se zakleo* 'he/one would say and swear'.

**Table 5.** Comparison of Semantic Functions with *Bi* and *Šćaše* in Karadžić's Collections

<i>bi</i> (216 examples)		<i>šćaše</i> (113 examples)	
Potential	51.6%	Quasi-conditional	46.5%
Subjunctive clauses of purpose	23%	Full lexical meaning	22.7%
Non-past conditional	10.6%	Past conditional	20%
Past conditional	6.4%	'X nearly happened'	5%
Optative	4.1%	Iterative/habitual	4%
Attenuated expressions	2%	'to be on the point of'	1%
Iterative/habitual	1.4%		
Gnomic potential	1.4%		

**Table 6.** Comparison of Semantic Functions with *Bi* and *Šćaše* in a Single Mourning Song (*Tužbalica*) from Montenegro

<i>bi</i> (48 examples)		<i>šćaše</i> (17 examples)	
Non-past conditional	48%	Past conditional	50%
Potential	27%	Iterative/habitual	25%
Gnomic potential	12.5%	Quasi-potential	18.7%
Past conditional	8%	Full lexical meaning	7%
Subjunctive clauses of purpose	4%		

**Table 7.** Comparison of *Bi* and *Šćaše* in a Moslem Epic from E. Montenegro<sup>7</sup>

<i>bi</i> (151 examples)		<i>šćaše</i> (8 examples)	
Potential	65%	Quasi-conditional	25%
Attenuated expressions	20%	Past conditional	25%
Past conditional	8%	Full lexical meaning	25%
Subjunctive clauses of purpose	4%	'X nearly happened'	12.5%
Non-past conditional	3%	Reported future <sup>8</sup>	12.5%

<sup>7</sup> This poem, *Ženidba Hadži-Smailagina sina* (The Wedding of Smailagić Meho) was collected by Milan Parry and Albert Lord in 1935. It is 12,311 lines long — one of the longest Serbo-Croatian poems ever collected.

<sup>8</sup> This is the single example of a (reported) future in a past context that I have found. It is discussed in this chapter.





Vide mi ga milo biše kako  
 mojega brajena,  
 tihoga jelenka,  
 I da mi na povrate, ne bih ti  
 ga zagubio.

I was as sad for him as for my  
 own brother,  
 that meek deer,  
 And if I were to do it over  
 again, I wouldn't have killed  
 it.'

(Hektorovič 1968: 188; Trans. by Butler 1980: 263)

This is a type of epic poetry called *bugarštica*, found in southern Dalmatia and northwestern Montenegro. A later example from 20th-century Moslem poetry of the Sandžak (SW Serbia) is example (6). Another 20th-century example from southern Hercegovina is:

(28) Kada sunce *ićičdiji* čaše,

Tursko momčc večer večeraše,

U Mostaru u Maali Donjoj,

Sira, ljeba i crvena vina

I debele ribe iz Neretve.

'When the sun was about to mark  
 [the hour of] the third prayer,  
 A Turkish youth was eating his  
 dinner,

In Mostar, in the Lower District  
 Some cheese, bread, and red wine  
 And fat fish from the Neretva  
 [River].'

(Luburić CCXXII: 1)

The semantic functions exclusively expressed by the Balkan conditional, apart from the full lexical meaning, are all semantically marked compared to *bi* expressions. As expected from marked forms, they also reflect limited, specific semantic contexts as opposed to *bi*.

Only one example of a possible future-in-the-past was found in the entire corpus of Balkan conditionals, recorded in the 1930's in Bijelo Polje (E. Montenegro), and sung by a Moslem singer:

(29) Ondar šta će naša sirotinja?

Šta će raditi carstvo Suljemana?

Kad ga Bosna i Krajina prođe,

Nek' slobodno prati is Stambola,

Neka Meci i Medini,

'Then what will become of our  
 poor people?

What will Suljeman's empire do?

When he loses Bosnia and the  
 Borderland,

Let him freely watch from Istanbul,

May Mecca and Medina [have back  
 the old empire]

De su stari cari carovali.”  
Mujo mlješe to *biti ne šćaše*.

No mu malo milo sjedet’ bješe,  
I ispijat’ kondirima vino.

Where the old kings reigned.  
Mujo thought that that would not  
happen.

But he had little desire for sitting,  
And drinking his fill from goblets  
of wine.’

(Parry and Lord 1974 4: 312)

This example might be a future-in-the-past, but is an example of reported speech, with the use of imperfect *šćaše* influenced by the imperfect at the beginning of the line. It is significant that this unique example appeared in a Montenegrin dialect.

### Shared Semantic Functions

For the majority of Serbo-Croatian dialects only one semantic function is shared by *bi* and *šćaše*: the contrary-to-fact past conditional, marking the furthest development of *šćaše* towards a modal grammatical category. However, this conditional rarely exhibits the formal conditional construction (with *da* or *ako* in the protasis and a conditional construction in the apodosis). The following examples have completely interchangeable semantics:

(30) *Da je mene sreća poslužila,*  
*svu bih tvoju zemlju sarušio*  
*za Halila pobratima moga.*  
Ali ti je dobra sreća bila,  
savezao obadva junaka,  
sada radi kako ti je drago.

‘If fate has served me,  
I would have taken over your land  
For Halil, my blood-brother.  
But you had good fortune,  
You tied up both men,  
Now do as you will.’

(Hörmann 1976 1: 72)

(31) A kad dođe niz Dole Tutine,  
  
I pogleda Vukašinov Mirko  
Uočio Đura i Peršu:  
Tri puta ih građa deferdanom,  
  
*Da mogaše, oba ubit’ ćaše,*  
  
Utskoše niz Lastovu krvavu.

‘And when he came down the  
Tutina Valley,  
And Mirko the son of Vuk looked  
He caught sight of Đuro and Perša:  
Three times he aimed his rifle at  
them,  
If he could, he would have killed  
them.  
They leaped down the bloody  
Lastova Mountain.’

(Luburić LI: 7)



nije munja, vet kubura mala

vet kubura Muse od Nišića,  
sa Somić ubi Čalasan,  
na prsi mu zrno iznijela.

It was not lightning, but a small  
pistol,

The pistol of Musa from Nišić,  
With Somić he killed Čalasan,  
On his chest a bullet-hole  
appeared.'

(Hörmann 1966: 170)

A second shared semantic function is the iterative/habitual. However, this semantic function, and those that follow, are very restricted geographically; they are limited to northern and central Montenegrin dialects (i.e., the inner core area for the Serbo-Croatian Balkan conditional). Compared to the past conditional expressed by the Balkan conditional, the iterative/habitual is new: the past conditional was already recorded by the late sixteenth century, whereas the iterative/habitual with this expression seems to have developed only by the nineteenth century.

This use of the Balkan conditional is a logical development, for the iterative/habitual is also used in past tense contexts, unlike the other semantic functions of *bi*. The following examples illustrate the iterative/habitual expressed by *bi* and by the Balkan conditional:

- (34) E, Begzado, bega Ličanina, 'Hey, Begzada, child of the Bey of  
Lika,  
Znadeš dobro, nije bilo davno, You know well that it was not long  
ago,  
Kad si bila na Liku široku, When you were in the wide reaches  
of Lika,  
U dvorove bega Ličanina; In the courts of the bey of Lika;  
Pa *bi* često vrazi *nanijeli* When devils would come along ,  
escorting  
Iz Kladuše Mujina Halila, Halil Mujin from Kladuša,  
Na Malinu konju kosnatomu On Malina, the chestnut-colored  
horse,  
Ispod tvoje od kamena kule, Beneath your stone tower,  
Ti nasloniš lice na pendžera! And you would lean your head out  
of the window!  
Znaš kad *bi* Halil ti *govorio*: Remember when Halil would say  
to you:



- Rasti brzo, Begova Begzada,  
Halil će s tobom oženiti,  
Ili s tobom il' zelenom travom.
- (35) Kad sam, babo, bio u Rosiju,  
Te učio škole i jezike  
I, moj babo, pamet i mudrine  
I nauku svjetsku preveliku,  
Pa se *ćahu* gospoda *skupiti*  
Na ugrezu kod bijele crkve  
O svačemu zbore i govore.
- (36) Mare stoji više puta  
A ja, jadna, niže puta!  
Ko go putom *ćaše proći*,  
Svak se Mari javljaše,  
Jadnoj Jani niđe niko!
- “Grow up quickly, Begzada, the  
Bey’s child,  
Halil will marry you,  
Either you or the green grass!”  
(Hörmann 1966: 70)
- ‘When I was in Russia, father,  
And I studied book-learning and  
languages  
And, my father, intellect and  
wisdom  
And the study of our very big  
world,  
Then the people used to gather  
On the grassy clearing before the  
white church,  
The talk was about everything.’  
(Šaulić 1939 1: 55)
- ‘Mara was standing above the road  
And I, poor me, below the road!  
Whoever passed by along the road,  
Each one greeted Mara,  
And for poor Jana no-one  
anywhere!  
(Pavičević 1838 2: 43-44)

In some of the central Montenegrin dialects around Nikšić, there is another iterative/habitual construction: the imperfect of *htjeti* plus the second person imperative. It parallels the iterative/habitual with *bi* plus the second person imperative found in some eastern Bosnian dialects (which, however, are not adjacent to the Montenegrin dialects in question.). An example in folk poetry is:

- (37) Kad ti, Bajo, Mitrov danak dođi,  
Ti dobavi vina i rakije,  
A zakolji mesa debeloga.
- ‘When, Bajo, St. Mitar’s Day used  
to come along,  
You would add wine and rakija,  
And slaughter fat swine [meats].

'Ranjaše se od Mitrov dana	And from St. Mitar's Day, you would eat
Dok ti <i>ćaše</i> Đurdev danak <i>dodi</i> ,	Until St. George's Day came around
Sve jedaše mesa i kupusa.	Only meat and cabbage.'

(Luburić LXXXV: 2)

In the above example there are also examples of the simple imperative used as iterative/habituals; this corresponds to the use of the simple imperfect in a sequence of iterative/habituals (see discussion of Montenegrin dialects in Chapter 5). The single verb may alternate with the *bi* expression (or the Balkan conditional in the relevant dialects.) (For examples in Macedonian, see Chapter 6.)

In this particular example, there is certainly an element of potentiality; part of this nuance stems from the conjunction *dok* ('until'). However, this is still an iterative/habitual, as opposed to a future-in-the-past, as the whole context deals with repeated actions.

The third semantic function shared by *bi* and *šćaše* is the attenuated modal expression. Like the iterative/habitual, it is found only in some Montenegrin dialects (cf. Figures 3 and 4). A pair of examples are given in (88) and (89).

<i>bi</i>		
Potential		
Subjunctive <sup>12</sup>	Past conditional	<i>šćaše</i>
Optative		Full lexical meaning
Attenuated expression		Quasi-conditional
Non-past conditional		'X nearly happened'
Iterative/habitual		'to be on the point of' <sup>13</sup>

**Figure 3.** Distribution of Semantic Functions for *Bi* and *Šćaše* (Outside of Montenegro)

<sup>12</sup> This includes subjunctive clauses of purpose.

<sup>13</sup> The action is involuntary, and usually inevitable.

<i>bi</i>		
Potential	Past conditional Iterative/habitual	<i>šćaše</i>
Subjunctive <sup>14</sup>		Full lexical meaning
Optative		Quasi-conditional 'X nearly happened' 'to be on the point of' <sup>15</sup> Past presumptive Quasi-potential (‘intentional’) Quasi-non-past conditional

**Figure 4.** Distribution of Semantic Functions of *Bi* and *Šćaše* in Montenegrin Dialects

- (38) *Majka sina među oči ljubi,*  
*Pa pogleda lice na Mesina,*  
*Na Mehmeda, zmajovita sina.*  
*Kad to lice malo izgubljeno;*  
*Nikad nije ka' i što je bilo.*  
*Već bi rekô da je bolovalo.*
- ‘The mother kissed her son on the forehead,  
Then looked upon the face of Mesin,  
Of Mehmed, the dragon’s son.  
When his face looked lost [with despair].  
It had never looked like that before.  
One would say that he had fallen ill.’  
(Parry and Lord 1974 4: 99)
- (39) *Imaš, care, surijeh orlova,*  
*Hoćah reći vazdušnih galija,*  
*Što se diže nebu u oblake,*  
*Imaš, care, biljurli durbina...*
- ‘You have, o czar, gray eagles,  
I would say ships of the air  
Which rise up to the clouds in the sky,  
You have, o czar, crystal binoculars...’  
(*Balkanska pjesmarica*: 94)

<sup>14</sup> This includes subjunctive clauses of purpose.

<sup>15</sup> The action is involuntary, and usually inevitable.



<p><i>E ćah jezdit u Brda kamena;</i>  <i>i prinesi laka džeferdara”</i>  <i>[...]</i>  <i>Hitro ga je poslušala mlada,</i>  <i>Privede mu konja debeloga,</i>  <i>I prinosi laka džeferdara;</i>  <i>Otidoše niz Ostrog planinu,</i></p> <p><i>Dok dođoše u Brda Kamena,</i>  <i>Nagranicu mjesto crnogorsko.</i></p>	<p>For I would//want to go to Rocky  Hill,  And bring me my light rifles”  [...]  The bride quickly obeyed him,  Brought him the mighty horse,  And brought out the light rifles;  They set off down Ostri [Sharp]  Mt.,  Until they came to Rocky Hill  On the border of the Montenegrin  land.’</p>
--	---

(Karadžić 1862 4: 226)

These examples appear to be in a transitional stage between the ordinary lexical meaning of *htjeti* and the grammatical modal potential found with the *bi*-construction.

There is also a clear element of modality inherent in the use of a past-tense form (here, the imperfect) in a non-past context.

This stage in dialectal Serbo-Croatian is similar to an older stage in English, where ‘would’ still had very strong nuances of ‘to want’, so that expressions such as ‘I would go’ meant something on the order of ‘I strongly desire to go’ and ‘I will go’. This is not simply a pure potential, but has transitional semantics closely connected with the old lexical meaning. I have called this type of expression in dialectal Serbo-Croatian ‘quasi-potential’. Like the quasi-conditional, it marks a transitional stage between full lexical meaning and grammatical modality. (See Chapter 5 for further discussion of this expression.)

There are two more semantic functions of *šćaše* found only in colloquial speech. No examples were found in folk poetry. The first, like the quasi-conditional and quasi-potential, has transitional semantics between lexical and grammatical modality. This new semantic function exhibits both the semantics of the non-past conditional and nuances of volition. This quasi-non-past conditional is limited to a handful of dialects in north and central Montenegro, and represents a late development of the Serbo-Croatian Balkan conditional, dating from the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. (See Chapter 5 for examples and discussion of this expression.)

The remaining semantic function is also found in the inner core area of Montenegrin dialects, and in Hercegovinian dialects immediately to the

north. It is found only in colloquial speech and not in folk poetry, most probably because the language of folk literature tends to preserve archaisms, while slowly admitting innovations from colloquial speech. Its meaning is that of a past presumptive, and it is found in contexts indicating the speaker's lack of certainty in validating some fact, such as estimation of numbers or age. In literary Serbo-Croatian, *bi* cannot be used with this meaning; instead, the perfect of *moći* ('to be able') or *imati* ('to have') are used, e.g., *moglo je biti* ('there could have been').

This expression is a natural development from the invariant component, past tense reference, of *šćaše* as compared to *bi*, and evaluation of the event by the speaker, here being lack of precise affirmation. In his study of the Serbo-Croatian verb, Jovan Vuković quotes several examples of this past presumptive function, including example (11) and:

(43) Bio je na vasaru silan svijet, *šćaše biti* pet stotina duša.

'There was a huge crowd at the fair, there had to have been about five hundred people.'

(Vuković 1967: 65)

Vuković equates this expression with the verbal construction 'could have been' in literary Serbo-Croatian, and notes that a past potential is not an equivalent expression:

U ovim slučajevima *ćaše biti* znači isto što i *moglo je biti* — određuje se mogućnost brojne vrednosti, koja se može pretpostaviti. Za takvu mogućnost, vezanu za prošlost, ne bi bio podesan potencijal (da se kaže, *racimo: bilo bi* pet stotina ovaca — i sl.)

(Vuković 1967: 65)

During this comparison of *bi* and *šćaše*, two systems have emerged, one in the inner core area of Montenegro, with the greatest expansion of *šćaše*, and a much larger geographic area, where *šćaše* is less developed. In the outer area, *bi* expressions, compared to *šćaše*, exhibit potentiality and are unmarked for reference to past tense. (In conditionals, for instance, *bi* derives its tense-meaning from the tense of the verb in the protasis.) *Šćaše* expressions exhibit positive markedness for reference to past tense, irreality, and various nuances from the auxiliary 'to want'. The one shared function in this area is the past conditional, which has two components of *šćaše*: reference to past tense and irreality. The one element which has been lost in the

extension of the Balkan conditional is the lexical meaning 'to want' from the auxiliary verb.

In the inner core of Montenegro, the situation somewhat more complex. As we have seen (cf. Figures 5 and 6 opposite), the Balkan conditional has greatly expanded its range of semantic functions. Here there is separation by tense-reference: exclusive semantic functions for *bi* all refer to *non-past* contexts, while *šćaše* is *unmarked* for past tense. There are several new non-past semantic functions for *šćaše*: attenuated expressions, the quasi-potential (intentional), and the quasi-non-past conditional.

	Potentiality	Past tense	Non-past tense	Volition
<b>bi</b>	+	∅	∅	∅
<b>šćaše</b>	∅	+	–	+
	Shared semantic function (past conditional)			
	+	+	–	∅

**Figure 5.** Markedness for Exclusive Semantic Functions in the Outer Core Area

	Potentiality	Past tense	Non-past tense	Volition
<b>bi</b>	+	–	+	∅
<b>šćaše</b>	∅	∅	∅	+
	Shared semantic functions			
Past conditional	+	+	—	∅
Iterative/habitual	+	+	—	—/∅?
Attenuated expressions	+	–	+	+

**Figure 6.** Markedness for Exclusive Semantic Functions in the Inner Core Area

The remaining nuance is volition (affectivity, intention, etc.) This semantic markedness, marking an early, transitional stage towards grammatical modality, separates the quasi-potential and quasi-non-past conditional from the full modal expressions with *bi*.

Thus, we see a clear developmental pattern by underlying features. The oldest semantic function was first extended into contrary-to-fact past semantic contexts which retained nuances from the auxiliary verb. These nuances were dropped, with further expansion resulting in the past conditional.

This point marks the furthest development for the large majority of Serbo-Croatian dialects. (See Table 9 on the following page.)

This development continues in the inner core area of central and northern Montenegrin dialects; first extending past tense contexts (the iterative/habitual), and then moving into non-past ones (attenuated expressions, quasi-potential, quasi-non-past conditional.) Feature by feature, *šćaše* is moving towards an unmarked status in the Montenegrin dialects (and conversely, *bi* is becoming semantically marked in relationship to *šćaše*).

Lastly, it is important to note that the Serbo-Croatian Balkan conditional may be either semantically or syntactically conditioned. In the quasi-conditional, for example, the specific semantic context helps to determine the exact lexical nuances; the context may indicate volition or intention on the part of the subject, or affectivity on the part of the speaker. Likewise, the functional past conditional may be semantically conditioned, if the context indicates that the subject is inanimate, or the action involuntary, thus removing nuances of volition from the auxiliary verb.

Syntactic conditioning depends on the formal syntactic context, and it is here that we find grammatical modality. In Serbo-Croatian, this conditioning is found only with the past conditional exhibiting the formal conditional structure. Such a structure, however, is rare with the Balkan conditional; much more common is the functional conditional with an adversative conjunction. This is another indication of the relatively low level of development for the Balkan conditional. The most frequent examples of syntactic conditioning for the Balkan conditional occur in Montenegro, and indicate the trend towards grammatical modality there.



**Table 9. Projected Development of Semantic Functions of the Balkan Conditional**

Stage	Dialect Area	Semantic Function	Element
1	all (and literary language)	full lexical meaning	volition past tense reference
2	all, except northern Serbia and Croatia	quasi-conditional	irreality past tense reference nuances from auxiliary
		'X nearly happened'	irreality past tense reference
		'to be on the point of'	stylistically marked potentiality past tense reference
3	as in Stage 2	past conditional	irreality past tense reference
4	dialects in southern Bosnia-Hercegovina and Montenegro	past presumptive	past tense reference
5	central and northern Montenegrin dialects	iterative/habitual	past tense reference
		attenuated expressions	non-past tense reference
		quasi-potential	nuances from the auxiliary
		quasi-non-past conditional	
	<i>Lexical meaning</i>	<i>Nuances from lexical meaning</i>	<i>Grammatical modality</i>
past	full lexical meaning	quasi-conditional	past conditional
non-past	attenuated expressions	quasi-potential quasi-non-past conditional	

## Chapter 3

### Phonology, Morpho-Syntactic Analysis and Geographic Distribution

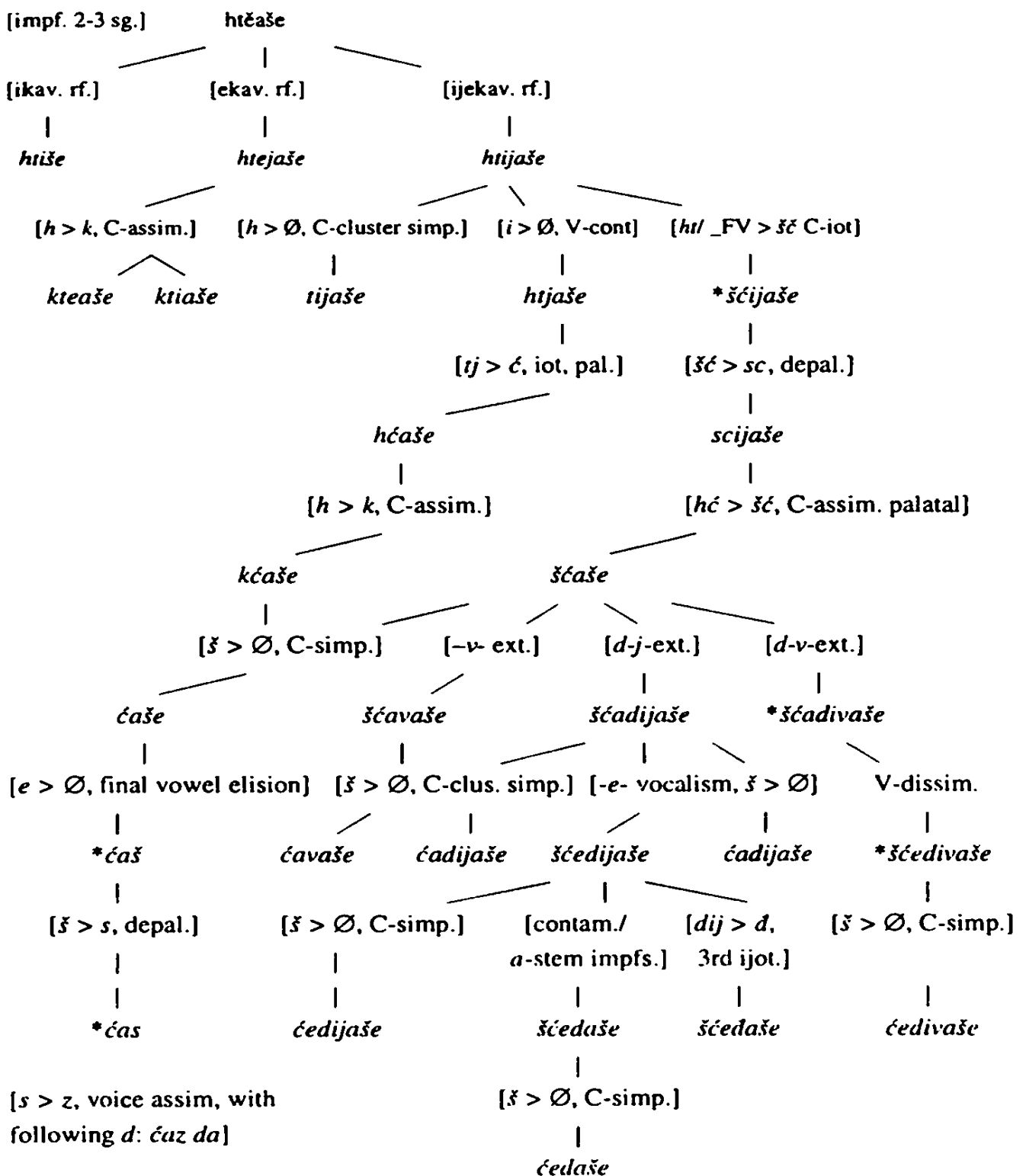
#### *Phonology*

The auxiliary of the Serbo-Croatian Balkan conditional, the imperfect of *htjeti*, is found in many variants, in part because of the various reflexes of *ě* in the štokavian and čakavian dialects. Other variants have appeared because of historical tendencies towards simplification of consonantal clusters and towards degrees of palatalization of consonants before *j*. This last phenomenon was particularly striking in the late (seventeenth-century) iotation.

In my corpus, encompassing recorded epic poetry from the mid-sixteenth to the late twentieth century, and lyric folk poetry, dialectal speech and literature modeled on the folk language, some thirty-five variants of the imperfect auxiliary were found. The *Riječnik hrvatskog ili srpskog jezika* lists another four variants, and I have postulated another three. All examples are given for the 2nd/3rd per. sg., in part because this is the most common instance of the verb.

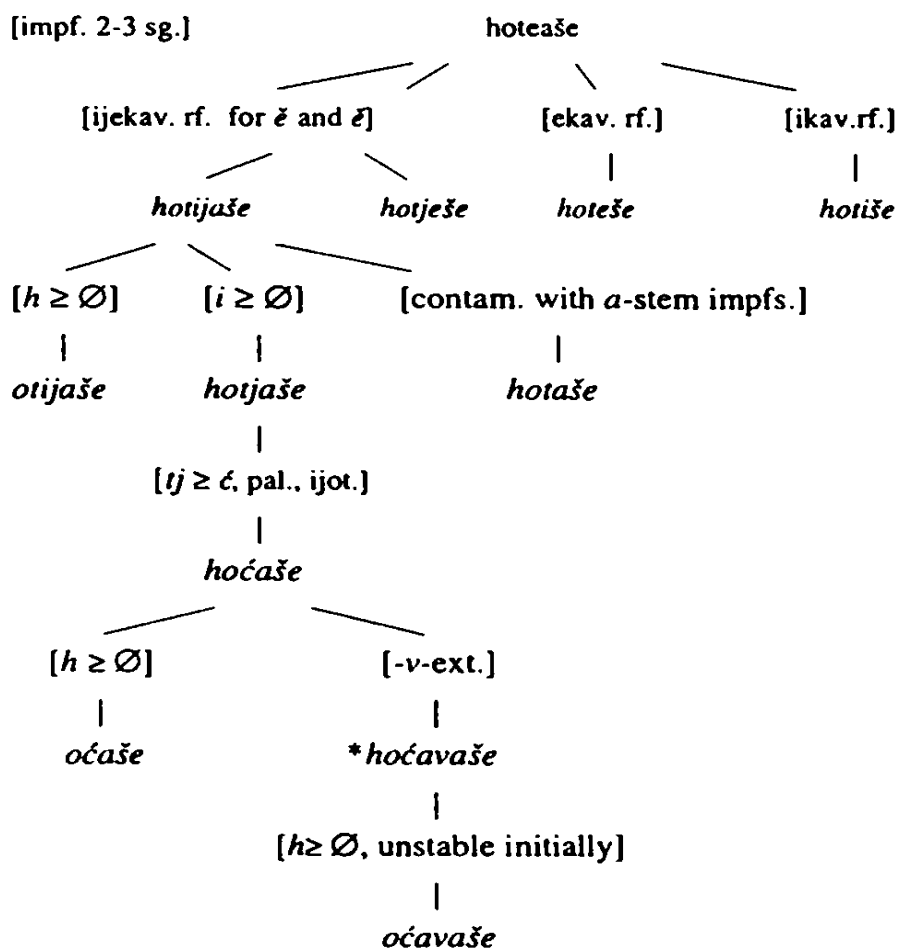
The first division is by root: OCS and Old Serbo-Croatian *hъt-* vs. *hot-* (zero vs. full vocalism). In Figure 7 (on pp. 44–45), which shows the phonological derivations, we take the zero vocalic stem *htěaše*. Since Old Serbo-Croatian often inserted *-j-* in vowel sequences, we get *ěa* > *ěja*. The orthography has not been consistent regarding *-j-*; some of the examples written as *ia* are pronounced *ija*. For instance, the variants *ktiaše* and *kteaše* come from the mid-eighteenth century Erlangenski ms., and *-ia-* and *-ea-* may have been either *ija* and *eja* or *ia* and *ea*, respectively.

In the ekavian dialects we then have *ě* > *e*, as in the example *htejaše*. The ijekavian dialects have the reflex *ě* > *ije*, and *ě* > *je*. The *ě* in *htejaše* was long, giving us *ije+a* in the imperfect, which contracts to *ija*: *htijaše*. For the ikavian dialects, the reflex of *ě* is *i* in both čakavian and štokavian. However, the one ekavian example I have (from Hvar), is a *ěa* > *ě* vowel contraction (common in the imperfect), then *ě* > *i*, giving *htiše*.

**[stem] hъt-**

**Figure 7.** Projected Development of Dialectal Variants of the Imperfect of *Htjeti*

## [stem] hot-



## Abbreviations used in Figure 7:

\* stages not found in corpus, assumed in development of resulting forms

dial.	dialectal	contr.	contraction
clus.	cluster	simp.	simplification
contam.	contamination	assim.	assimilation
ext.	extension	dissim.	dissimilation
depal.	depalatalization	impfs.	imperfects
iot.	iotation	ekav.	ekavian
C	consonant	ikav.	ikavian
V	vowel	ijekav.	ijekavian
rf.	reflex		

On the next level of derivation, we can account for five new variants. One of them comes from *htjeaše* by consonantal “strengthening.” The cluster *ht* > *kr*, the features +continuant and –delayed release of *h* are replaced by –continuant and –delayed release of *t*.<sup>1</sup>

So the variant *htejaše* > *kteaše* (lacking the *-j-* in the orthography, as noted earlier). By the same rule, the variant *htijaše* > *ktiaše* in the ijekavian dialects. In the next variant, *h* >  $\emptyset$  with two historical justifications: the simplification of consonantal clusters in Serbo-Croatian and the status of *h* in the language. *H* is unstable, and tends to disappear, especially in word-initial position. Although it is officially part of the phonological system, more than half of the dialects lack it. (See Table 10 opposite.) Moslem dialects tend to retain *h*, even in word-initial position. Thus in colloquial speech (eastern variant), *leb* is more common than *hleb* (‘bread’). Thus, *htijaše* > *tijaše*. The next variant results from contraction of the sequence *ija* > *ja*: *htijaše* > *htjaše*. In some of the manuscripts this was noted as *ht’jaše*, but by the twentieth century it was simply written *htjaše*, without noting the elision. Lastly there is a palatalization of the cluster *ht* > *šč*, e.g., *htjaše* > *šćaše*. This palatalization may truly be called iotation, which is triggered by the *-j-* and is much later (seventeenth century and later) than the common Slavic first iotation.

The third level of variants from the zero-vocalic stem has two new forms: with palatalization of the new consonant cluster *tj* > *ć*, we see iotation again: *htjaše* > *hćaše*. The second form results from the depalatalization to the dental fricative *s*, e.g., *ščijaše* > *scijaše*. This process occurs in some of the southern čakavian dialects, and is called *čakavism* from the sound *ts* (written in Serbo-Croatian as *c*).

From *hćaše* another level of variants may be constructed: *kćaše* and *šćaše*, the latter being most frequent in the corpus and also highly productive. The first change is from *hćaše* > *kćaše*, again with the strengthening of *h* > *k*. The second variant, *šćaše*, also results from regressive assimilation. The palatalization of *h* > *š* is triggered by the following *ć* (<*tj*). Thus *hćaše* > *šćaše*. All of the remaining variants from the original zero-vocalic root come from *šćaše*.

---

<sup>1</sup> This assimilation could also be considered as simply the strengthening of the articulation of *h*, which is unstable in all of Serbo-Croatian, to the stop *k*.

**Table 10. Status of *h* in Serbo-Croatian Dialects**

<b>Dialect</b>	<b>Status</b>
<b>Štokavian dialects</b>	
ekavian dialects:	
Kosovo–Resava	very rare, generally > Ø, sometimes <i>k/v/j</i> , depending on position
Prizren–Timok	does not exist, <i>k/v/j</i> in intervocalic position
ijekavian dialects:	
Hercegovinian type:	
a) central Hercegovina	exists
b) eastern Hercegovina	Moslem dialects only
c) northern Hercegovina	exists
d) northwestern Montenegro	lacking
e) Dubrovnik	exists, but rare word-initially
f) western Serbia	lacking
g) Lika	lacking
h) Banija and Kordun	exists, but not word-initially
i) Bukovica	exists, but not word-initially
Zeta and the southern Sandžak	rare
eastern Bosnia	Moslem dialects only, else rare
ikavian dialects:	
Lika	very rare
western Hercegovina	Moslem dialects only
western Bosnia	Moslem dialects only
central Bosnia	Moslem dialects only
Imotski	lacking
southern Dalmatia	lacking
<b>Čakavian dialects</b>	<b>exists</b>

On the next level of derivation, there is a simplification of the new initial consonant cluster  $\check{s}\acute{c} > \acute{c}$ .<sup>2</sup>  $\check{s}\acute{c}a\check{s}e > \acute{c}a\check{s}e$ .<sup>3</sup> Other variants are produced by extensions of glides and/or consonants.<sup>4</sup> Such extensions are common in the aorist and imperfect of imperfective verbs in Serbo-Croatian, particularly with the verbs *znati* 'to know', *imati* 'to have', and *htjeti* 'to want': *znadijah*, *znadoh*; *imadijah*; *imadah*, *imadoh*, and *šćedijah*, *šćedoh*, etc. (all examples given for the 1st per. sg.). The first of these new variants from  $\check{s}\acute{c}a\check{s}e$  has an extension with *-v-* and an inserted *-a-*:  $\check{s}\acute{c}a\check{s}e > \check{s}\acute{c}ava\check{s}e$ . The second variant has two extensions: *-d-* and *-j-*, with appropriate fill-vowels:  $\check{s}\acute{c}a\check{s}e > \check{s}\acute{c}adija\check{s}e$ .

The last is a projected variant, not found in my corpus, but assumed as one way of deriving further variants with extensions *-d-* and *-v-*:  $\check{s}\acute{c}a\check{s}e > \check{s}\acute{c}adiva\check{s}e$ .

Moving to the next level, five variants appear. The first comes from the simplification of the cluster  $\check{s}\acute{c}llh\acute{c} > \acute{c}$ , e.g.,  $\check{s}\acute{c}ava\check{s}e > \acute{c}ava\check{s}e$ . Similarly,  $\check{s}\acute{c}adija\check{s}e > \acute{c}adija\check{s}e$ . In the next variant *-e-* vocalism is substituted for the typical *-a-* vocalism of the imperfect:  $\check{s}\acute{c}adija\check{s}e > \check{s}\acute{c}edija\check{s}e$ . This may result from contamination with the aorist, where the typical vocalism is *-e-*, e.g., *šćede* (2nd.–3rd. per. sg.)

There is another parallel set of derivations; if we take  $*\check{s}\acute{c}adiva\check{s}e$  as a projection, we can derive  $\acute{c}adiva\check{s}e$  and  $*\check{s}\acute{c}ediva\check{s}e$ , with simplification of the consonant cluster and substituting *-e-* for *-a-* vocalism, respectively.

We find four variants in the next level. The first derives from  $\check{s}\acute{c}edija\check{s}e$  by simplification of  $\check{s}\acute{c} > \acute{c}$ , and by the same rule  $\check{s}\acute{c}ediva\check{s}e > \acute{c}ediva\check{s}e$ .  $\check{s}\acute{c}eda\check{s}e$  results from contamination of the *-a-* stem imperfect with  $\check{s}\acute{c}edija\check{s}e$ . In some štokavian dialects, mostly in southern Hercegovina,  $\check{s}\acute{c}edija\check{s}e > \check{s}\acute{c}eda\check{s}e$  with the third iotation.

The last level has only one form:  $\acute{c}eda\check{s}e$ , with simplification of the initial cluster.

If we take the full vocalic root for *htjeti*, *hot-*, the remaining variants in dialectal Serbo-Croatian can be derived (see Figure 7). Forms given are 2nd./3rd. per. sg. of the imperfect.

<sup>2</sup> An alternative possibility in some dialects is the simplification of the older  $h\acute{c} > \acute{c}$ .

<sup>3</sup> A further variant for  $\acute{c}a\check{s}e$  in the Gallipoli dialect is  $\acute{c}as$ , most probably from  $\acute{c}a\check{s}e$  with elision of *e*:  $> \acute{c}a\check{s}$ , then depalatization to  $\acute{c}as$ , the assimilation of voicing when followed by *da* (+ the main verb):  $\acute{c}az$ . This depalatization may be influenced by Greek.

<sup>4</sup> These extended forms may result from analogy to other extended imperfects or aorists with *-d-* or *-v-* coming from non-past forms, e.g., *davah* (imp.), *dadoh* (aor.).

Taking the OCS and Old Serbo-Croatian 2nd./3rd. per. imperfect from the full vocalic root, *hotěaše*, and contracting the vowel sequence *-ěa-*, we can produce the first four variants, since *ěa* > *ě*. The results for the ekavian and ikavian dialects are thus *hoteše* and *hotiše*. In the ijekavian dialects, *ě* > *ije*. Thus with long jat' and its reflex of *ije* contracted with the *a* of the imperfect, we get *hotije-aše*, *hotijaše*. If the jat' was short in some dialects, we get contraction of the reflex *je* with *a* > *ja*, e.g., *hotjaše*.

The only productive variant in this series is *hotijaše*. With the initial *h* >  $\emptyset$  (see previous comments on *h-* under the zero-vocalic variants), we get *otijaše*. The second variant may have come from the elision of *i* before *j*: *hotijaše* > *hotjaše*. The third variant at this level, *hotaše*, may be due to morphological contamination with *a*-stem imperfects, such as the *ščedijaše* > *ščedaše* variant in the zero-vocalic series.

The variant on the next level is one of the most common forms from the full vocalic root: *hoćaše*. It is produced when the *i* in *hotijaše* disappeared, forming a new cluster *tj*, which then proceeded to the palatalization of *tj* > *ć*. In the history of Serbo-Croatian, this palatalization resulting from a new juxtaposition of a consonant plus *j* is called the third iotation.

On the next level of derivation, with *h* >  $\emptyset$ , we obtain *oćaše*. Regarding the last variant there are two possible derivational paths: the first takes a projected *\*hoćavaše*, with a *-v-* extension as we've seen in other imperfects of *htjeti*. Then with *h* >  $\emptyset$ , we obtain *oćavaše*. The second path would be *hoćaše* > *oćaše* > *oćavaše*, with the *-v-* extension taking place after the initial *h* had disappeared.

### *Morphology: Loss of the Imperfect and Aorist*

According to Stevanović (1967), by the mid-nineteenth century, when Karadžić was codifying the Serbo-Croatian literary language and collecting folk prose and poetry, the imperfect was already beginning to disappear. Stevanović comments that in Karadžić's own early writings, the imperfect was not frequent; the influence of the folk literature he was collecting led him to stress the imperfect as part of literary Serbo-Croatian, although in Croatia and parts of northern Serbia, the imperfect was becoming an archaic and petrified form, much as it is in the twentieth-century folk language of southern Dalmatia and western Hercegovina.

There are three levels of language which should be considered: (1) the language of folk poetry and folk sayings, which is very conservative, preserving archaic lexicon and syntax (2) the colloquial folk language (for our



purposes the dialectal language of anecdotes, fairy tales, and recorded conversation) and (3) the literary language, with two relevant layers—one reflecting the folk language adapted by educated speakers such as Njegoš, and the other layer of the standard literary language, which does not reflect such folk elements. The progression from one to the second level of category three steadily becomes less archaic and conservative. Thus dialects, such as those in southern Dalmatia which had lost the imperfect and aorist, still preserved some archaic imperfects in epic songs of WWII, due to the tradition of folk formulas in epic poetry, e.g.,

- (44) Al' ne zvone zvona iz Pridvorja, 'But the bells did not toll from  
Pridvorje,  
Jer u crkvi svetitelja Srdje, For in the church of the Srd<sup>5</sup> saints  
Nestalo je sa zvona konopa... The bellrope was lost...  
Đurić-Coto i njegova družina [Here appeared] Đurić-Coto and his  
friends  
Šćaše svezat i fratra i popa He was about to//wanted to tie//  
would have tied up the friar  
and the priest  
I počiniti strašno svetogrije... And commit great sacrilege...  
Al' je Coto loše sreće bio, But Coto was ill-fated,  
Radin ih je Božo opazio, Industrious Božo caught sight of  
them,  
Potjera ih preko Dragavine Chased them across the Dragavina  
[R.]  
I Đuriću otsiječe glavu. And cut off Đurić's head.'
- (*Bojevi nakon priključenja Cavtata Konavlima*, 1940: 6)

Instead of the imperfect of *htjeti* in many epic songs, either *bi* or constructions with the perfect or historical present of *htjeti* can be found. For instance, from the end of the nineteenth century, and also from the Konavle area:

- (45) Zavadi se Ljubovića Bego, 'The bey Ljubović quarreled  
Sa svojijem bratom rodjenijem; With his own brother;  
Ide Bego da pogubi brata, The bey went to kill his brother,  
Ma mu neda svoja ljubi draga: But his dear love didn't let him:

<sup>5</sup> Srd is the mountain protecting Dubrovnik to the east.

“Nemoj Bego, dragi gospodare!  
nemoj brata pogubit tvoga!”  
*Bila bi ti od Boga grehota,*  
of God.

A od ljudi velika sramota.

“Bey, dear lord, you mustn’t!  
You must not kill your brother!”  
That would be a sin [in the eyes]

And a great shame [in the eyes]  
of people.)

(Mostahinić 1892 VII: 15)

(46) Ide Sekul i vodi djevojku,

Ide Sekul pod jelu zelenu,

I premeće od glave do glave,

I premeće od trupa do trupa

Da mu nije dundo poginuo,

Kada ide pod jelu zelenu,

Tu nahodi Iva Senjanina,  
sa dva svoja do tri mila druga,

*Hoće Ivo da gubi djevojku,*

Ali neda nejačak Sekule:

“O moj dundo Senjanin Ivane

Ti ne gubi lijepu djevojku

Ona nama ništa kriva nije.”

‘Sekul walked along and led the  
girl,

Sekul walked beneath the green  
pine,

And went from head to head,

And went from corpse to corpse

To see whether his uncle had  
perished,

When he came to beneath the green  
pine,

Here he found Ivo from Senj,

With two of his three close friends,

Ivo wanted to kill the girl,

But the stripling Sekul didn’t let  
him:

“O my uncle, Ivan from Senj

Do not kill the beautiful girl

She is not guilty of anything  
regarding us.”

(Mostahinić 1892 VI: 20)

Thus I found that the imperfect of *htjeti* was not frequent in most of Croatia, western Bosnia, and northern Serbia even as early as the mid-nineteenth century. There was a greater tendency to use the perfect or historical present. By the 1880’s and 1890’s, constructions with the imperfect of *htjeti* were even harder to find in this area, with the exception of some petrified formulas, such as the idiom *Ne htijaše, ali inače ne mogaše* (See Chapter 4 for further discussion). Furthermore, the more abstract semantic categories for *šćaše* were all but lacking in Dalmatia, inland Croatia, Serbia (excepting the Sandžak and Kosovo), and northeastern Bosnia. In Chapters 4 and 5 there is analysis of these categories, and following this chapter is a map

showing rough isoglosses for the semantic categories (other than the full lexical meaning). The reader will note that they are mostly in southern Hercegovina, Montenegro, and the Sandžak. The gradual loss of the imperfect in the second half of the nineteenth and into the twentieth century in many of the dialects of Serbo-Croatian obviously had an effect on the expansion of semantic functions. This in turn strongly influenced the modern literary language, where the imperfect of *htjeti* may only be used with the full lexical meaning.

Table 11 (opposite) shows the status of the imperfect and the aorist in Serbo-Croatian dialects where I found at least one example of *šćaše*. The status of the imperfect and the aorist is given for the mid-nineteenth century and for the late twentieth century. Already in the mid-nineteenth century the status of the imperfect was shaky in the dialects under consideration (two-thirds of the total Serbo-Croatian dialects). This situation speaks for itself.

### *Morpho-Syntactic Problems and the Balkan Conditional*

Earlier I noted that *šćaše* is sometimes expressed with the morpho-syntaxis of the Slavic conditional, i.e., with the modal particle *da* (or *ako*) ('if') plus the indicative in the protasis, and *bi* (for the Balkan conditional, *šćaše*) in the apodosis. The Balkan conditional may have *šćaše* in both clauses as a variant.

Examples where the syntactic construction for *šćaše* parallel that of *bi* represent the highest development of the Balkan conditional, for they are completely interchangeable both semantically and syntactically. Following is a typical example of *bi* in epic poetry:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (47) Prodire se lijepa banica:<br>"Da na njemu nije glave bilo,<br>ja kako <i>bi</i> sinoć <i>pio</i> vino?" | 'The pretty ban's wife interrupted:<br>'If there was no head on him,<br>Then how could he have drunk<br>wine last night?'"<br>(Hörmann 1976 I: 282) |
|--|---|

Compare with:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (48) "Da na noga peški neutekohă,<br><i>Ćaše</i> mene živa <i>ufatiti</i> ;" | "'Had I not fled on foot,<br>He would have captured me<br>alive;'"<br>(Čojković 1837: 80) |
|--|---|

**Table 11.** Status of the Imperfect and Aorist in Serbo-Croatian Dialects

Dialect	Mid-19th century		Mid-20th century	
	Aorist	Imperfect	Aorist	Imperfect
<b>Štokavian dialects</b>				
ekavian dialects:				
Kosovo–Resava	+	+	+	+
Prizren–Timok	+	+	+	+
ijekavian dialects:				
Hercegovinian type:				
a) central Hercegovina	rare	+	–	very rare
b) eastern Hercegovina	+	+	+	+
c) northern Hercegovina	rare	+	–	–
d) northwestern Montenegro	+	+	+	+
e) Dubrovnik	–	rare	–	–
f) Lika	–	rare	–	–
g) Banija and Kordun	rare	rare	–	rare
h) western Serbia	+	rare	–	–
i) Bukovica	–	rare	–	rare
j) western Bosnia	+	+	+	–
Zeta and the southern Sandžak	+	+	+	+
eastern Bosnia	+	–	+	–
ikavian dialects:				
Lika	–	rare	–	–
western Hercegovina	–	rare	–	–
central Bosnia	+	+	+	–
Imotski	+	+	+	rare
southern Dalmatia	–	rare	–	–
Čakavian dialects	–	rare	–	–

In examples with the Balkan conditional, the *da* in the protasis may be followed by the aorist, as in example (48), or by the perfect or imperfect. (Following *da, bi* constructions usually have either the perfect or imperfect, but not the aorist.) An example of *šćaše* with the imperfect is (49):

- (49) A bane se gaŕin pridesijo, 'But an unfortunate thing happened  
to the ban,  
Ne imaše kod njega kapetana, He didn't have a captain with him,  
Da mogaše, *prevariti šćaše*. If he could, he would have  
cheated.'  
(Parry and Lord 1953 2: 81)

An example with the verb in the perfect following the modal particle *da* is:

- (50) Bog to znade što još *biti šćaše* 'God knows what else would have  
happened,  
da im laza u puk ne pomoga, Had the liar not helped them in the  
regiment,  
Kad se Đuljić natrag povratijo, When Đuljić returned,  
A dozovnu Mujova Halila. He called Halil, Mujo's son.  
Ujegoše oba u odaju. Both of them entered the courtyard.  
A da vidiš bruke bana toga! You should have seen ban's shame!  
Da mogaše, *pobej' hoćaše*. ... If he could, he would have fled. ...  
(Njegoš 1980: 123)

*Šćaše* may be found in both clauses of the conditional. (While *bi* may also be found in both clauses in Serbo-Croatian, it is an archaism, reflecting the medieval epoch in the language.) The only example that was found in epic poetry, however, is questionable:

- (51) Nepomaga laža ni zakletva; 'Neither lies nor curses helped  
No da *ćahu izvadit'* ioi dušu, But had they separated//wanted to  
separate her soul from her  
body,  
Ona mlada *kazat' neoćaše*, The young bride would not have  
said,

de e byla,<sup>6</sup> i što e videla.

Where she had been and what she  
had seen.'

(Matije Ban 1889: 118)

While this is certainly a conditional, it is unclear whether *šćaše* indicates full lexical meaning or a past conditional. When *šćaše* appears only in the protasis, it conveys the full lexical meaning, e.g.,

(52) Ne, da mi *se šćaše osvetiti*,

'No, had he wanted to take revenge  
on me,

Ne bi bio već jednom u boju

He wouldn't have already once in  
battle

Spasao mi život.

Saved my life.'

(Matije Ban 1889: 118)

Regarding the formal conditional, there is a curious structure in Montenegrin and Bosnian epic poetry, with *da* in the protasis, followed by a simple imperfect in the apodosis. I have found two examples of this, one with the full lexical meaning, the other with mixed semantics of the potential and conditional.

(53) Kad to začu Obilić Milošu,  
Više Miloš ni pitati neće,  
I da *šćaše*, vakta ne bijaše.

'When Miloš Obilić heard that,  
He didn't want to question further,  
And even had he wanted to, there  
was no time left.'

(*Bosanska Vila* 1914: 119)

(54) ... Dokle dođe do crkve Gorice

... Until he came to the Gorica  
church

Koliko je sila uvatila,

Such a [military] force had  
gathered together,

odā Gorice do vode Bobuča

From Gorica to the Bobuče Water,

Da s' *oćaše* tio *naoblačit*,

That if it to quietly cloud over,

e neimaše đe koplja krunuti,

There was no space for a drop of  
rain to fall,

odā dobroga konja i junaka.

Among the good horses and men.'

(Čojković 1837: 142)

<sup>6</sup> This text is transliterated from the Cyrillic alphabet, thus *y* = *yl*.

The first example is a transformation of the past conditional, with the imperfect *ne bijaše* replacing *ne bi bilo*. The second example, from early nineteenth century Montenegro, appears to be a past conditional with strong nuances of the potential, mostly definitely an anomaly for the Balkan conditional. The semantics might be read as ‘If such a thing were to happen, then this could occur’, i.e., a non-past conditional fitted into a past-tense narration. The use of the modal particle *da* (‘if’) in the protasis precludes a reading of a true future-in-the-past.<sup>7</sup>

As mentioned earlier, the most frequent construction for the conditional is not the formal structure, but the use of an adversative conjunction, e.g.,

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>(55) On povadi dvije kumburlije,<br/>Da ubije Zotovića Bega;<br/>Odista go <i>ubiti oćaše</i>:<br/>No je Begu dobra sreća bila,<br/>Pod njim bješe vranac<br/>    megdandžija,<br/>Što je vičan kavzi i megdanu,<br/><br/>I vazda se takvoj uri nada.</p> | <p>‘He pulled out two hand-grenades,<br/>In order to kill Bey Zotović;<br/>Truly he would have killed him:<br/>But fate was kind to the bey,<br/>Beneath him was a horse fit for<br/>    battle,<br/>That was used to fighting and<br/>    duels,<br/>And could always relied upon in<br/>such an hour.’<br/><br/>(<i>Bosanska vila</i> 1901: 96)</p> |
|--|---|

Likewise, the quasi-conditional frequently appears with an adversative conjunction:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>(56) Tad’ i Rade svoju sablju trže<br/>Te izgubi dvanaesā dželatihā,<br/>I do cara dvanaesā vezirahā,<br/><br/>Ioš <i>hoćaše</i> cara izgubiti,<br/><br/>al’ uteče u kavezā caklenji<br/>sultanije zatvorie vrata,</p> | <p>‘Then Rade pulled out his sword<br/>He killed the twelve hangmen,<br/>And the twelve vezirs near the<br/>    emperor,<br/>Moreover he wanted to kill//would<br/>    have killed the emperor,<br/>But he ran into the glittering cage<br/>They closed the sultan’s door.’<br/><br/>(Čojković 1837: 291)</p> |
|---|---|

<sup>7</sup> The underlying structure is roughly similar to the previous example: *Da se oćaše iio naoblačiti, ne bi kaplja krunula/ne oćaše kaplja krunuti—e neimaše mesta za kaplju* ‘If it were to quietly cloud over, not a drop would have fallen—for there was no place for a drop to fall’.

The most common syntactic construction for the quasi-conditional used the verb 'didn't allow' in the second clause: 34% of examples (16% of the total for *šćaše*). Two representative examples, both from Montenegro, are:

- (57) *Ioša oćaše prstomă udariti* 'Still he wanted to strike//would have struck with his finger  
*Nedaše mu dvanaesă Delijahă,* The twelve Delijas<sup>8</sup> wouldn't let him,  
*Ioša oćaše čobană besediti,* Still the shepherd wanted to speak//would have spoken,  
*Nedaše mu pašine Delie.* The Delijas, the pasha's men, wouldn't let him.'  
 (Čojković 1837: 291)

- (58) *Kad videše njega Udbinjani,* 'When the men from Udbinj saw him,  
*Od njega se Turci prepanuli,* The Turks were frightened by him,  
*Mnogi čahu bježat niz planinu,* Many wanted to//would have run down the mountain,  
*Al' im ne da buljumbaša Mujo.* But Mujo, the military commander, didn't let them.'  
 (Nova Zeta 1890: 135)

Although conditionals with *bi* rarely use this construction, it has been recorded, e.g.:

- (59) *A on svoga načera putalja* 'And he urged on his horse with markings on its legs  
*Dočekaše Crnogorci mladi* The young Montenegrins met his attack  
*Nekome je osjekao glavu* He cut off someone's head  
*A grdnijeh dopanuo rana* And received many wounds,  
*On bi mog, poginuti davno* He would have long since perished  
*Ali ne da Cetinski vladika.* But the Bishop of Cetinje didn't allow it [that he be killed for having slain someone].'  
 (Luburić CCXVII: 7)

<sup>8</sup> *Delija* may mean either 'hero' or 'young man recruited by the Turks from one of the northern areas'.



While such a syntactic structure is a convenient, almost formulaic way of expressing the conditional or quasi-conditional with *šćaše*, *bi*-conditionals are almost always expressed with the formal construction of protasis and apodosis.

### *Infinitival Constructions vs. Da + the Non-Past*

Is there any difference in semantics in constructions with *šćaše* plus the infinitive vs. those plus *da* plus the non-past? Sladojević, in his analysis of the imperfect in literary and dialectal Serbo-Croatian, and Gołąb, as a tentative hypothesis, have suggested that the former construction may express modality such as the past conditional and iterative/ habitual, while the latter is used for the full lexical meaning 'to want'.

For a number of reasons, I contend that this is not so. First of all, there is the problem of syntactic structure in the various dialects: since the late nineteenth century, several dialects use only *da* plus the non-past indicative, the infinitive having been lost (as in Macedonian and Bulgarian). On the whole, these dialects are in southern and southeastern Serbia. While there is ample material from these dialects in the twentieth century, there is very little for the nineteenth century and earlier. One must assume that the infinitive was losing ground in the nineteenth century in those dialects. Supporting this, examples collected in Kosovo in the late nineteenth century have *da* plus the non-past, rather than the infinitive.

Our corpus of constructions with *da* plus the non-past is small: 52 examples from a total sample of nearly 900 with *šćaše*. Nearly all of the examples with *da* come from Montenegro, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Serbia (including Kosovo and the Sandžak). Only one song might have come from Croatia (although no place name is given, the content strongly suggests Croatia). This distribution is logical; since the western (Croatian) variant uses the infinitive, while the eastern (Serbian) variant tends to use *da* plus the non-past more than the infinitive.

Only four semantic functions were found with *da*: (1) the quasi-conditional; (2) the full lexical meaning; (3) the expression 'X nearly happened' and (4) the expression 'to be on the point of'.

Two examples with the quasi-conditional:

- |                                 |  |
|---------------------------------|--|
| (60) A uskoči blijedo Madžarče, | ‘And up jumped the pale<br>Hungarian,              |
| Kapu zguli, pod pazuhu turi,    | He pulled off his hat, shoved it<br>under his arm, |

Sedam mu se preklonio puta,  
Dok aginjoj pristupio ruci:  
*Šćadijaše da* mu knjigu *dade*,

A Halil mu naprijeko viče:  
“Madžarine, kuja te rodila,  
Ne daje se knjige na avliji,

Tek ti nosi u odaju Muji!”

He bowed seven times,  
Until he reached the aga's hand:  
He would have given//wanted to  
give him the letter,  
But Halil called across to him:  
“Hungarian, you son of a bitch,  
Letters are not delivered in the  
courtyard,  
Carry it to Mujo's rooms!”

(*Novi Behar* 1938: 19)

(61) Kad se Turci bliže primakoše

Ugleda ih dijete Jovane;

Skoči Jovan da probudi Gruja  
Al' ne *dade* Anđelija mlada,  
No Jovana šakom udarila  
Na obraz mu ranu načinila  
*Čaše* Jovan *da bježi* kod Gruja

Al' ga fata Anđelija mlada,  
U to doba naljegoše Turci.

‘When the Turks approached more  
closely

The youth Jovan caught sight of  
them;

Jovan jumped up to wake Grujo  
But young Anđelija didn't let him,  
But hit Jovan with her fist,  
Wounded him on the cheek,  
Jovan would have//wanted to run  
to Grujo

But young Anđelija seized him,  
At that moment the Turks rushed  
in.’

(*Luča* 1895: 285)

Compare these with the following example from Montenegro, which has virtually the same meaning with the infinitive:

(62) Tader skoči od zemlje na noge,

*I hoćaše izbjezat'* na vrata,

No mu ne da Tomiću Mihate,  
Već upali dvije puške male,  
I pašino srce upalio,

‘Then he jumped from the ground  
to his feet,

And wanted to//would have run to  
the door,

But Mihai Tomić wouldn't let him,  
He fired two small pistols,  
And struck the pasha's heart,’

(*Karadžić* 1846 3: 318)

A second semantic function with *da* is the full lexical meaning. Stevanović has suggested that this is the sole semantic function for the Balkan conditional with *da* rather than the infinitive. Of the 52 examples with *da*, 14 (27%) had the full lexical meaning compared with 21.6% for all Balkan conditionals from Dalmatia, 25% from Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro, and the Sandžak, and 25% overall. (See Table 14 on p. 80 for a summary.) The percentage of examples with full lexical meaning for *da* is in the same range as for those with the infinitive. Furthermore, it is certainly not the only, nor even the most frequent semantic function for either construction. Since this is not a contested function for *šćaše* expressions, we will cite only one example here:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>(63) Dok povika Mitre neimare:<br/>         “O bogami, Soko Mehmed-paša,<br/>         ti nijesi Drine darovao:<br/><br/>         već nasiplji na ćupriju blago,<br/>         pa ti uzmi srebrnu lopatu,<br/>         pa ti daruj tu premutnu Drinu.”<br/><br/> <i>Šćadijaše</i> Mitre neimare,<br/> <i>da okuša</i> Soko Mehmed-pašu,<br/>         žali l’ paša to toliko blago.<br/><br/>         što je tol’ko potrošio blago.<br/>         Kad to čuo Soko Mehmed-paša,<br/><br/>         on odnese nekoliko blaga,<br/>         Pa nasiplje na ćupriju blago,</p> | <p>‘Until Mitar the architect called out:<br/>         “O really, Soko Mehmed-paša,<br/>         You haven’t given gifts to the<br/>             Drina [R.]:<br/>         Scatter treasure on the bridge,<br/>         Then take a silver spade,<br/>         Then give [the treasure] to the<br/>             muddy Drina.”<br/>         Mitar the architect wanted<br/>         To test Soko Mehmed-pasha,<br/>         To see if the pasha would regret so<br/>             much treasure.<br/>         That he had wasted so much treasure.<br/>         When Soko Mehmed-pasha heard<br/>             that,<br/>         He brought some treasure,<br/>         And scattered the treasure on the<br/>             bridge.’<br/>         (Hörmann 1976 1: 71)</p> |
|--|--|

A third semantic function with the *da* construction is a subset of the quasi-conditional: the expression ‘X nearly happened’. Two out of the total 53 examples exhibited these semantics, or 3.8%. Compared with overall examples of the Balkan conditional, we see a similar percentage—3.1%—for Montenegro, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the Sandžak, while in Dalmatia it occurred in 1% of the examples with *da*, and in 1.7% of the total examples. (See Table 12 opposite.)

**Table 12.** Distribution of Semantic Functions  
according to Length of Variant

Semantic function	two syllables		three syllables		four syllables	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Full lexical meaning	76	15.6	92	31	14	18
Quasi-conditional	315	64.8	135	45.4	56	72
Past conditional	61	12.6	20	6.7	4	5.2
Iterative/habitual	13	2.7	1	0.3	0	0
'X nearly happened'	11	2.3	2	0.7	0	0
'to be on the point of'	6	1.2	5	1.7	2	2.6
Quasi-potential	1	0.2	5	1.7	0	0
<b>Totals</b>	<b>486</b>		<b>297</b>		<b>77</b>	

One example with *da* plus the indicative is from Kosovo, from an area where the infinitive has been lost; the other is from Montenegro, from an area where both constructions are used.

- (9) Kad bijahu do polovin' reke,  
Na nesreću konjic se podsape,  
Podsape se i šćeše *da* padne.  
Ripi Rada sa konja u vodu,  
Te zadrži lijepu nevestu.
- 'When they were halfway across  
the river,  
By misfortune the horse stumbled,  
Stumbled, and almost fell.  
Rada jumped from the horse into  
the water,  
There he caught hold of the  
beautiful bride.'
- (Jastrebov 1886: 285)
- (64) A kad bilo o petku drugome,  
Ne stade mu na istoku sunce,  
Veće pusti veliku vrućinu,  
Sva mu šćaše *da* pogori vojska;  
Protekoše vode šedrvani  
Po Stambola mutni i krvavi,
- 'And when it was the second  
Friday,  
The sun had barely risen in the east,  
Already it sent forth such a great  
heat,  
That the whole army nearly burnt  
up;  
Troubled and bloody fountains of  
water  
Began to flow in Istanbul,

A udari Šarac voda ladna Po Stambolu da potopi grada.	And Šarac let the cold waters flow Through Istanbul to deluge the city.'
--	--

(Karadžić 1846 3: 52)

The final function for constructions with *da* is the expression 'to be on the point of'. The examples I found tended to refer to time, as in

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (65) Al' se tavana nojca primicaše,<br>Taman šćaše da počine sunce,<br><br>Al' evo ti pasare od zlata,<br><br>U koju će knjaže putovati. <sup>9</sup> | 'But dark night was approaching,<br>Just then the sun was about to<br>begin to set,<br>But here appeared a small boat of<br>gold,<br>In which the prince would travel.' |
|---|---|

(Karadžić 1865 5: 427)

Compare this with its infinitival equivalent:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (6) Bog da znaše, zora udarit<br>hoćaše,<br>Dokljen jedan viknu u Mađare:<br><br>'A bežite, grom ve pogodijo!<br><br>Sad će rana zora udariti,<br>Sad se vrne Mujo sa planine; | 'And God knows, dawn was<br>about to break,<br>When one of them shouted to the<br>Hungarians:<br>'Run, may lightning thunder strike<br>you!<br>Now the early dawn will break,<br>Now Mujo will return from the<br>mountain;' |
|--|--|

(Parry and Lord 1953 2: 307)

The remaining two examples use the imperfect, with the main verb being understood:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (28) Kada sunce ićindiji ćaše<br><br>Tursko momče večer večeraše,<br><br>U Mostaru u Maali Donjoj, | 'When the sun was about to mark<br>noon<br>A Turkish youth was eating his<br>dinner,<br>In Mostar, in the Lower District |
|--|--|

<sup>9</sup> Note the future-in-the-past, which is expressed here by the future construction.

Sira, ljeba i crvena vina  
I debele ribe iz Neretve.

Some cheese, bread, and red wine  
And fat fish from the Neretva [R.]'  
(Luburić CCXXII: 1)

(66) Pa kara akšam čatisao.  
Kara akšam *šćaš*-, '*sturat*' se  
*šćahu*  
'*ćahu* *ići* svaki dvoru svome.

'Then black dusk burst in,  
Black dusk was just about to burst  
in, they wanted to leave  
They wanted to leave//would have  
left, each to his own home.

A to ne da Delibegoviću.

But Delibegović wouldn't let  
them.'

(Parry and Lord 1980 6: 159)

All four examples express the same semantic formula—just as a certain time of day was about to start, another event took precedence. This, of course, is a variation on the use of the imperfect as background, with the foregrounding of another event, be it a simultaneous one (examples (28) and (66)) or one which interrupts (example (65)).

To continue our comparison of *da* constructions and infinitival ones, the four categories we have seen with *da* are the same categories which are exclusive to the Serbo-Croatian Balkan conditional with the imperfect. The first two of these categories—the full lexical meaning and the quasi-conditional—are obvious, for they are intimately linked to the lexical meaning of the auxiliary. The third category—the expression 'X nearly happened'—is the next logical step towards the loss of lexical meaning and the establishment of grammatical modality. Like the quasi-conditional, the context is that of an event that nearly happened, but here, since these are all involuntary actions, the lexical meaning of the auxiliary is removed. The final semantic category—'X was about to happen', is another step away from lexical modality, for here the event actually happens, and we have a limited future-in-the-past.

While all of these expressions are marked for past tense, only the first three are marked for mood (non-indicative). However, all of these categories, including the time expression, affirm other general uses of the imperfect: it describes a background event ('dawn was about to break'), with a main event taking precedence, e.g., 'when one of them shouted out...'. The expected narrative relationship of the imperfect vs. the aorist is maintained.

One more syntactic construction must be examined for *šćaše*: expressions where only the imperfect of *htjeti* is found, and the meaning of the

main verb is inferred. For the most part, the meaning is either for the time expression just discussed or for the full lexical meaning. In some instances the unstated verb is a verb of motion, which we could read as a quasi-conditional. For instance,

- (67) To vrijeme nije dugo bilo,  
Stade jeka ozgor niz planinu,  
  
Dok ispade Mujović Haljile  
Na maljina bez nide nikoga.  
Kako stasa, te [h] im seljam  
dade,  
Seljam dade, *razminut' hoćaše*;  
  
Pravo vodi ka Sitnici *šćaše*.  
  
Ne da Haso za to pomenuti,  
  
[...]  
Opet jeka niz planinu side,  
  
Dok ispade Nuka bajraktare  
  
Na zekana konja debeloga.  
seljam dade, *razminut' hoćaše*;  
  
Niz planinu kod Sitnice *šćaše*.  
  
Ne da Haso za to pomenuti,  
  
[...]  
“Nećeš, Nuka, dalje pomeriti,  
  
Dok ne stigne Talje i serdare!  
Bez nji' dalje polazenja nema.”
- ‘It wasn’t long before  
A loud sound came echoing down  
the mountain,  
And in came Haljil Mujović  
On a roan horse, all alone.  
As soon as he appeared, he greeted  
them,  
Greeted them, and wanted to  
pass//would have passed by;  
Straight to the waters of Sitnca he  
wanted to go//would have  
gone.  
Haso wouldn’t even let him  
mention it,  
[...]  
Again a loud sound echoed down  
the mountain,  
And Nuka the standard-bearer  
appeared  
On a big, dappled horse.  
He made his salutations, would  
have passed//wanted to pass on  
by;  
He wanted to go//would have gone  
down the mountain to Sitnica.  
Haso wouldn’t even let him  
mention it,  
[...]  
“You won’t, Nuka, move any  
further,  
Until Talje and the serdars arrive!  
There is no setting out without  
them.”

(Parry and Lord 1953 2: 650)

All of these examples with the imperfect of *htjeti* fall into the category of quasi-conditional. If anything, those expressions where the main verb is not given appear to be closer to past conditionals than those with the infinitive.

Thus, with the exception of expressions referring to time, expressions with the simple imperfect of *htjeti* remain at the bottom of the semantic hierarchy for *htjeti*, with the lexical meaning still strongly attached.

### *Morphological Comparison*

In the first part of this chapter, thirty-five variants for the imperfect of *htjeti* were found, of which six types accounted for 89 percent of the total: *šćaše*, *ćaše*, *hoćaše*, *oćaše*, *htijaše*, and *hotijaše*. Taking the 3rd. per. sg. as the representative form, the number of syllables is between one and four. Gołąb has proposed that the three and four-syllable variants express the full lexical meaning of the verb, while the two-syllable variants express later, and more semantically extended categories, including the past conditional and the iterative/habitual. (See Table 13 on the following page.)

In the examples found in my corpus of folk poetry, and analyzing them by form and semantic category, I have found the following. One thing that must be taken into account is the distribution of forms. For instance, an area where a two-syllable variant such as *šćaše* is found, may not show longer variants, such as *ščavaše* or *ščadijaše*. See Figures 8–12 on pages 67–71, where rough isoglosses for this material are given, and the map of dialects on p. 18 (Figure 2).

Taking the two-syllable variants first, we find that *šćaše* and *ćaše* are geographically the most widespread, from northwestern Bosnia through central Bosnia and eastern Hercegovina, eastern Bosnia, to the Sandžak and central Montenegro. (See Figure 8.) *Hoćaše* was found in a triangular area between Sarajevo southward into central and eastern Montenegro, and into the Sandžak. The remaining variants were found in relatively small areas; *kćaše* was found in an area between Perast and Rijeka Crnojevića, and *htijaše* in Lika, and southwestward along the Dalmatian coast as far as Dubrovnik and Cavtat. Finally, *šćeše* was found in Kosovo.

For three-syllabic variants, *hoćaše* and *oćaše* were found mainly in Montenegro and southern Hercegovina, with an extended area for *hoćaše* along the Dalmatian coast and inland as far as Knin. *Htijaše* and *tijaše* are also documented on the Dalmatian coast down to the Boka Kotorska, with



**Table 13.** Variants of the Imperfect of *Htjeti*<sup>10</sup>

One syllable	Two syllables	Three syllables	Four syllables
ćaz	šćaše	hoćaše	hotijaše
	ćaše	oćaše	otijaše
	hćaše	hotaše	oćavaše
	kćaše	hotiše	ščadijaše
	htjaše	hotješe	ćadijaše
	htiše	hotjaše	ščedijaše
	htješe	htijaše	ćedijaše
	šćeše	tijaše	ćadivaše
		ktiaše	ćedivaše
		kteaše	
		ščedaše	
		ćedaše	
		ščedaše	
		scijaše	
		ščavaše	
		ćavaše	
		teaše	

the *tijaše* variant found only as far north as Imotski. *Šćavaše* was found in a triangular area south from Rogatica (eastern Bosnia) to eastern Montenegro and the Sandžak. The remaining variants were few in number and localized in geographical distribution (see Figures 9 and 10 for isoglosses).

Of the four-syllable variants, the two most widespread were *hotijaše* and *ščadijaše*, found in central and eastern Bosnia, and eastern and southern Hercegovina. I found one four-syllable variant—*otijaše*—in Bijelo Polje, northeastern Montenegro. The remaining examples were found in very circumscribed areas. Finally, some examples, such as those from the Erlangenski Ms. from the mid-eighteenth century, had only general source locations, such as “Bosnia,” and are marked as such on the maps following the chapter.

Of the more than 800 examples with the imperfect auxiliary, 453 were two-syllable variants. *Htiše* was found only on Hvar, *kćaše* only in the Boka

<sup>10</sup> The above variants are in the 2nd/3rd person sg. form.

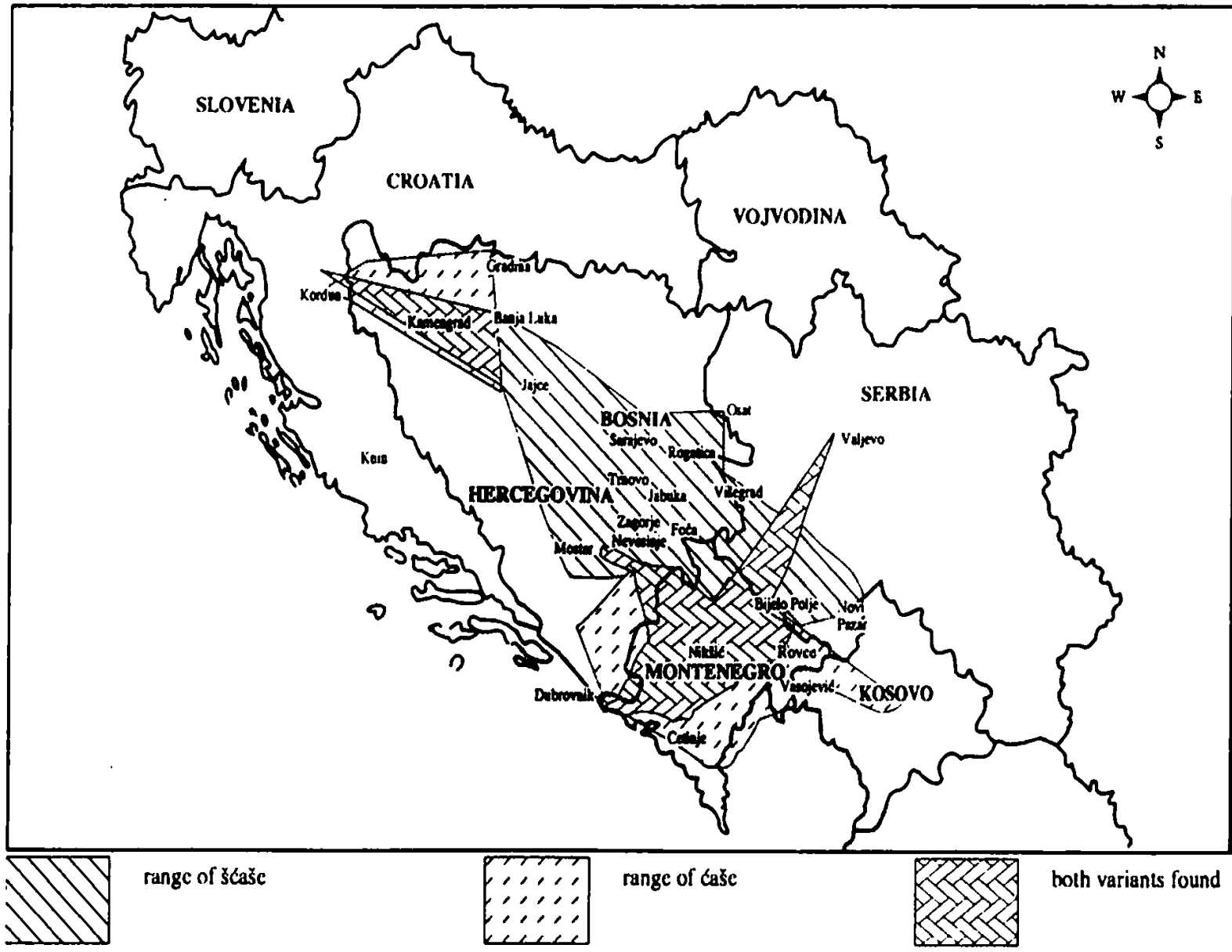


Figure 8. Distribution of Šćaše and Čaše Variants

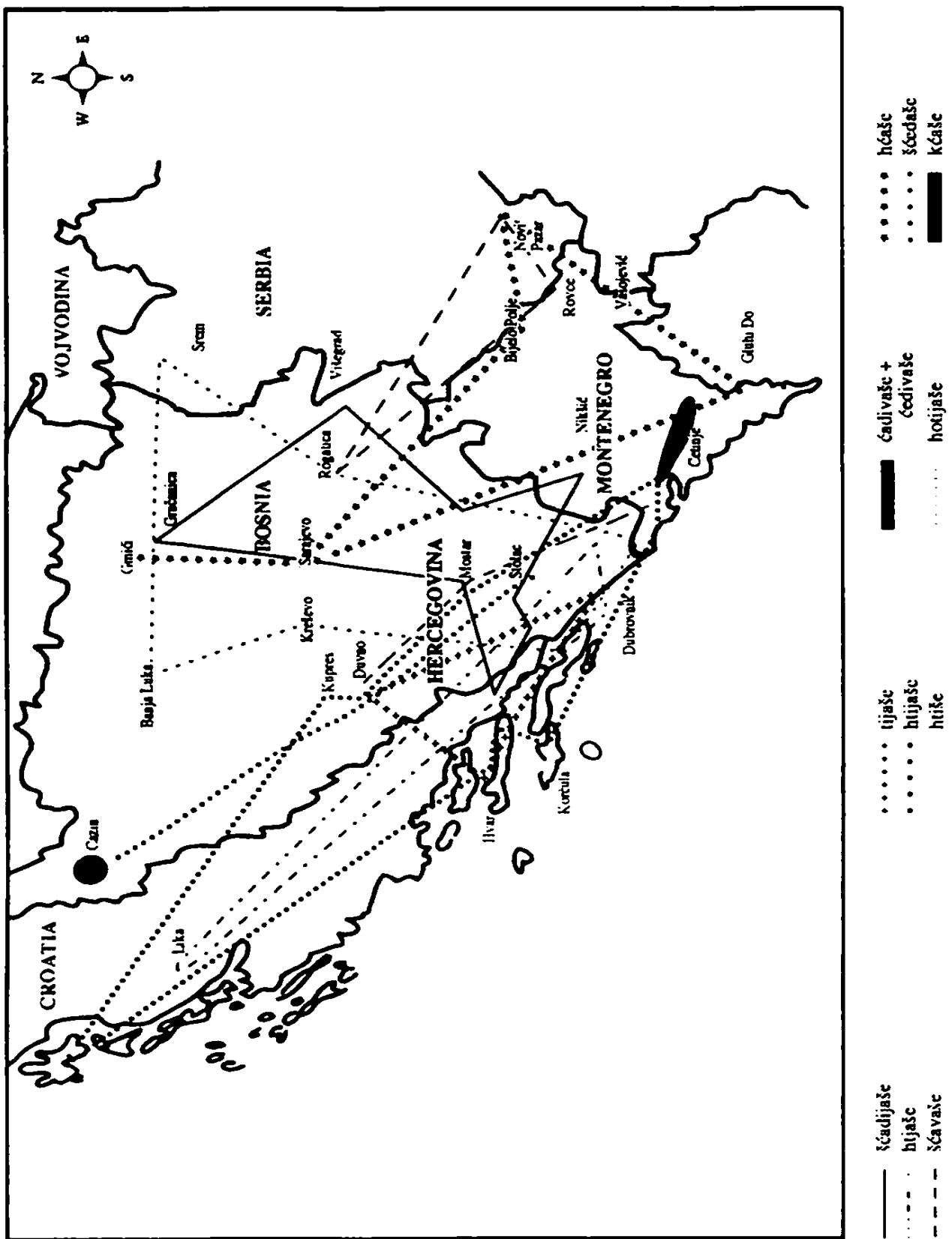


Figure 9. Distribution of Some Phonological Variants of the Balkan Conditional

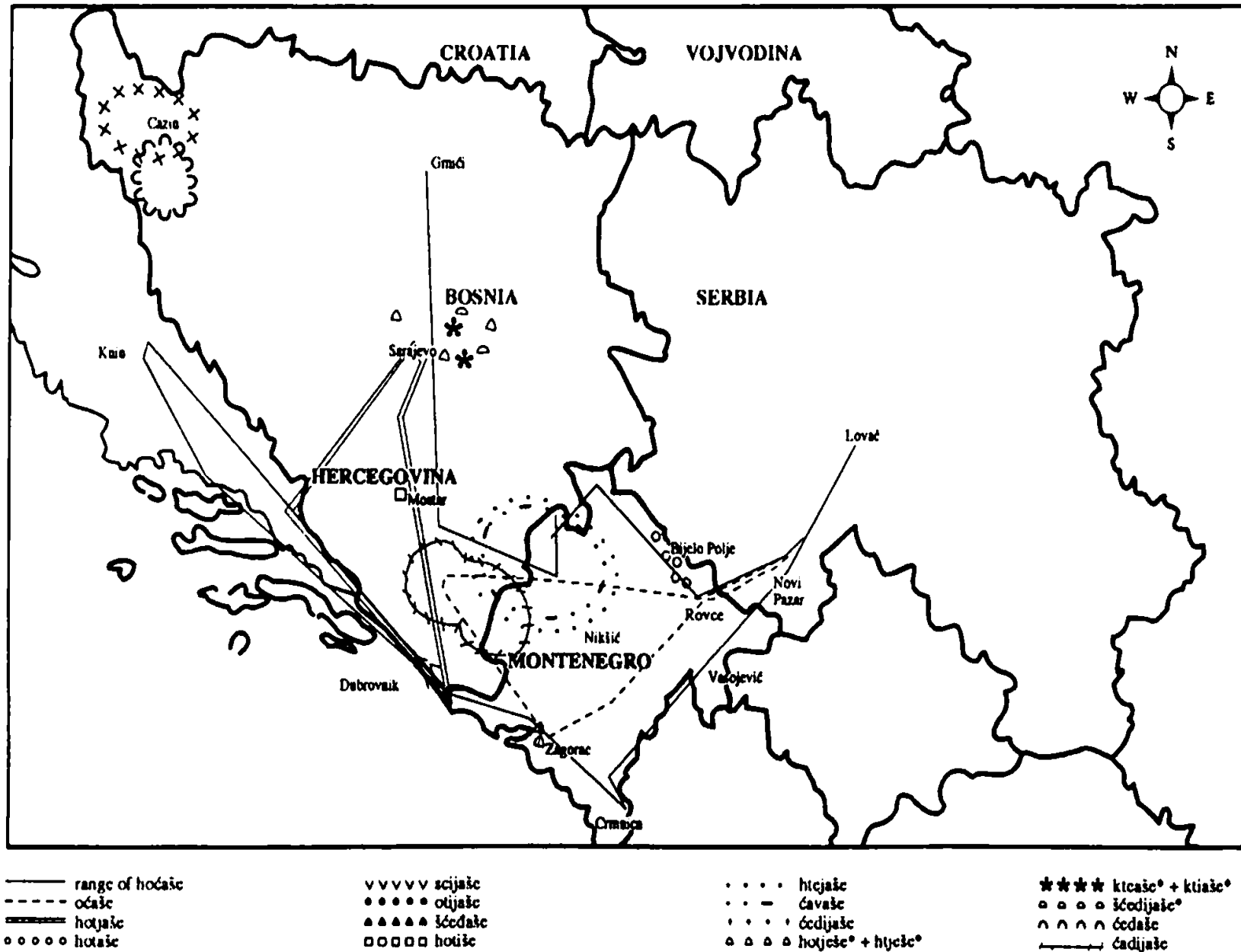
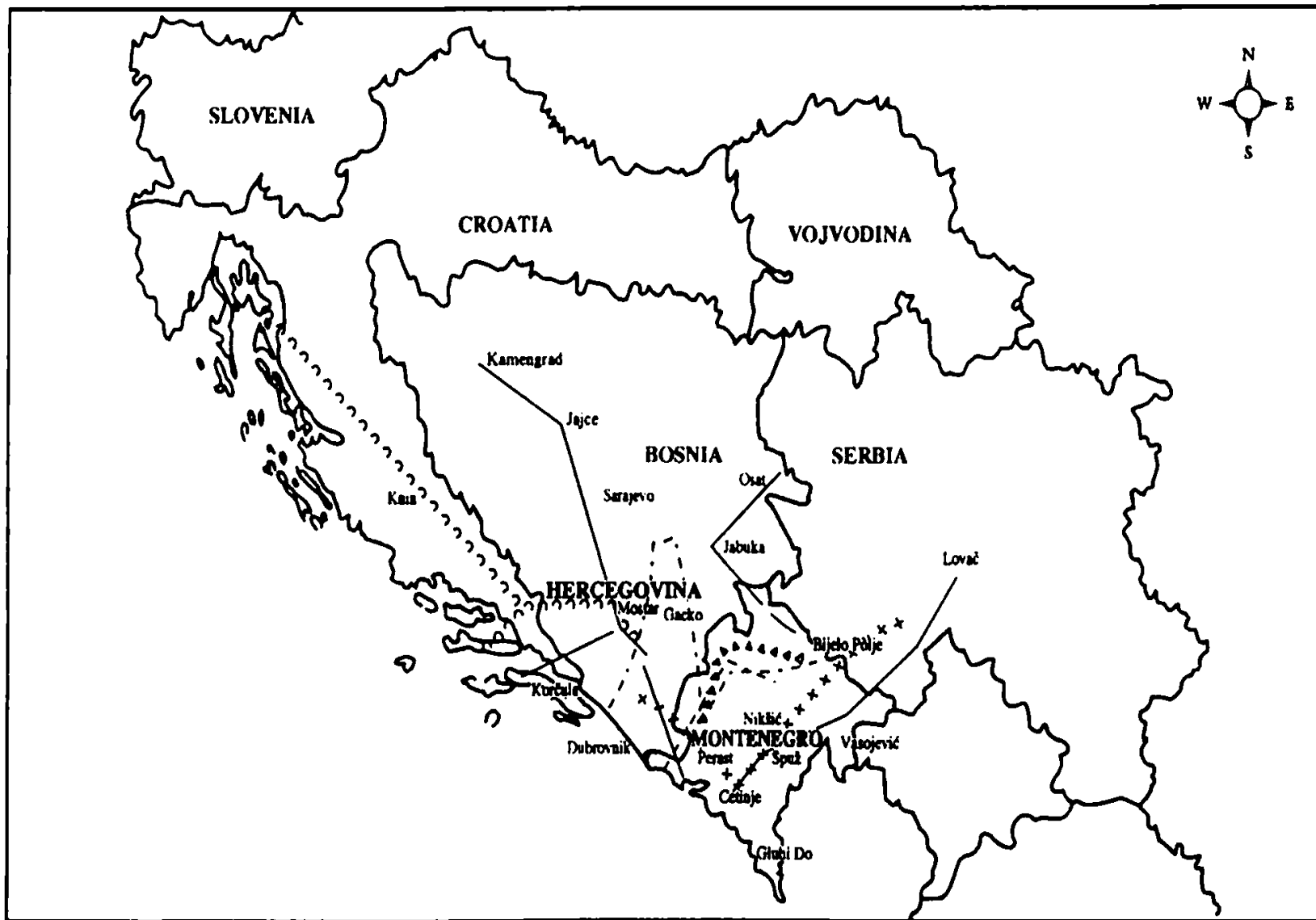


Figure 10. Distribution of Some Phonological Variants of the Balkan Conditional



Each dot equals one example recorded in the area given.

**Figure 11. The Quasi-Conditional in Epic Folk Poetry**



- past conditional
- - - - - iterative/habitual
- · - · - · 'X nearly happened' (subset of quasi-conditional)
- o o o o o o o o 'To be on the point of death, departure'
- xxxxxxx 'To be on the point of an event' with impersonal subject (e.g., 'dawn was about to break')
- ▲▲▲▲▲▲▲▲ attenuated expressions

Figure 12. Distribution of Semantic Functions of the Balkan Conditional in Folk Poetry

Kotorska are (NW Montenegro), and *hćaše* in central and eastern Montenegro, with a few scattered examples in central Bosnia, near Sarajevo. Thus the most fruitful comparisons were with the common forms of *šćaše* and *ćaše*. (See Figures 11 and 12.)

For instance, in the area of Banjani, in NW Montenegro, we find:

- (68) *Šćaše* beže ostaviti Vuka,  
 Al' bezã Vuka ne Begu puta,  
 [...]
 *A ćadijahã poginuti ludo,*  
 Svukoliko izgubiti voisku,  
 No eto ti Baborina tvoja.
- 'The bey wanted to leave//would have left Vuk,  
 But without Vuk there was no way ahead for the bey,  
 [...]
 But I would have perished senselessly,  
 And nonetheless lost the army,  
 But here is your inheritance.'
- (Čojkovič 1837: 63)

Here the two-syllable variant expresses the quasi-conditional, while the three-syllable variant expresses a clear conditional, contradicting the thesis stated above.

- (69) Kad videše njega Udbinjani,  
 Od njega se Turci prepanuli,  
 Mnogi *ćahu bježat* niz planinu,  
 Al' in ne da buljumbaša Mujo;  
 Na Turke je hršum učinijo:  
 "Bog te ubio, udbinjani Turci!"
- 'When the men from Udbinj saw him,  
 The Turks were frightened by him,  
 Many of them wanted to flee down the mountain,  
 But commander Mujo wouldn't let them;  
 He yelled at the Turks:  
 "May God kill you, Turks from Udbinj!"'
- (*Nova Zeta* 1890: 135)

- (70) Na đogina počra varnčića,  
 Čeraju se poljem širokijem,  
 Pogoni ga Vido Maričiću,  
 Odista ga *izgubiti ćaše*,
- 'On the white horse he chased the black horse,  
 They raced along the wide field,  
 Vido Maričić chased after him,  
 Truly he would have killed//was about to kill him,

Dijete je gojeni Alija  
Sprema silna Vida Maričićo,  
Al' to vide Zakari serdare,  
éa' serdaru Bogom pobratima,

Ranjen skoči na konja dorina,

A sablju je povadio britku,  
Na Vidaka zagon učinio,  
Te pomaga gojenom Halilu,  
Navališe te ga osvojiše,

I Vidove ruke savazaše, ...

Fat Alija was a child  
Compared to strong Vido Maričić,  
But Zakari the sirdar saw that,  
The sirdar was sorry for his blood  
brothers,

The wounded man jumped onto a  
white horse,

He pulled out a sharp sword,  
He chased Vido,  
And helped fat Halil,  
They attacked, then overpowered  
him,

And tied Vido's hands, ...'

(*Nova Zeta* 1890: 135)

(71) Tebe evo treći tovar blaga,  
Pa ti pristaj il' kako ti drago,  
Ali Mujo *pristat ne očaše*  
Skoči Hale ka da se pomami, ...

'Here's a third load of treasure for  
you,  
So you agree or whatever you like,  
But Mujo didn't want to agree,  
Hala<sup>11</sup> jumped up as though he was  
maddened, ...'

(*Nova Zeta* 1890: 135)

(72) Pa potrže dvije puške male,  
Na Mujagu obje okrenuo,  
Obije nu vatru prifatiše,  
Odista ga *ubiti očaše*,  
Al ne dade Zakari serdare,  
Ugrabi mu dvije puške male,  
Preko Muja zrna udariše.  
Kad to vide buljumbaše Mujo,  
Da bi lako moga poginuti,

'Then he pulled out two little  
pistols,  
Turned both of them on Mujago,  
Fired both of them at him,  
Surely he would have killed//was  
about to kill him,  
But Zakari the sirdar didn't let him,  
He seized both of his little pistols,  
The bullets went over Mujo.  
When the commander Mujo saw  
that,  
That he could have easily perished,

<sup>11</sup> *Halil* is the full name, *Alija* and *Hala* are nicknames; likewise, *Mujago*, *Mujo*, stem from *Mustafa* and *Vidako*, *Vido*, etc. As noted earlier, the vocative is frequently used in epic poetry to fill the deca-syllabic line.



On prostaje što mu blaga daju. He agreed to let them give his  
treasure.'

(*Nova Zeta* 1890: 135)

Of these examples, three seem to be quasi-conditionals, and one has the full lexical meaning. Two of the quasi-conditionals (69, 70) are two-syllable variants: *ćahu* and *ćaše*, while the example with full lexical meaning (71) has three syllables: *oćaše*. However, the fourth example (72), with a three-syllable variant (*oćaše*) is most surely a quasi-conditional, with a semantic context very similar to (70): “*Odista ga izgubiti ćaše*” vs. “*Odista ga ubiti oćaše*.” They appear to be variants chosen by the singer of this song to fit the syllabic line, rather than variants by lexical meaning.

A final series of examples, all from the same singer in Bijelo Polje (E. Montenegro):

- (73) Kad me, brate. opremljenu nade, 'When, brother, he found me  
grown-up and ready for  
marriage,  
Sevdisa me i begenisa me, He yearned for me, took a fancy to  
me,  
I ovako reče sa dorata: And spoke thus from his bay horse:  
“Dobro jutro, okićena Ružo!” “Good morning, fair Ruža!”  
Odma' dečko pade od dorata. The youth immediately jumped  
down [lit.: 'fell'] from his bay  
horse.  
Ja 'otijah prifatia' dorata I was about to//wanted to catch  
hold//would have caught hold  
of the bay's bridle  
Ka i što i sam vazda naučila, As I had always done before,  
A on mene za bijelu ruku; But he [caught hold] of my white  
hand;  
Povede me z dorom u podrume. Let me with the bay horse into the  
cellar stables.  
Šćaš' od mene bruku učinjeti. He wanted//was about to//would  
have brought shame on me.  
Ja sam njega Bogom zakumila: I implored him in God's name:  
“Bogom brate, od danas do veka! “By God, brother, from today until  
eternity!

Nemoj mene u 'rz <sup>12</sup> udariti!"	Don't attack my honor [lit.: 'don't strike my cheek']!"
Pjan bijaše, al' soko bjaše.	He was drunk, but he was a hero [lit.: 'falcon']
Namah mene za sestinstvo primi,	At once he accepted me as a blood-sister,
I reče mi: "Moja sestro mila, Do danas si ka robinja bila, A od danas po Bogu sestrice."	And said to me: "My dear sister, Until today you were like a servant, But from today you are my sister in God's sight."
	(Parry and Lord 1980 6: 39)

We have a long variant, *'otijah*, which would be four syllables in the 3rd. per. sg., and a two-syllable variant—*šćaš'*, and both of them are quasi-conditionals.

The following four-syllable variant is a conditional:

(74) Tam Zeti vodi dolazio,	'He came just to the water's edge, of the Zeta River,
A pogleda dolje u lužinu, Dok ugleda kapu Crnogorsku,	And looked down into the bushes, Until he caught sight of a Montenegrin's cap,
Pozna kapu Stajičića Vuka,	He recognized the cap of Vuk Stajičić,
Po pobježe ostala ga kurva,	Then he began to run, that son of a bitch.,
Da uteče u bijela Spuža; Odista mu <i>uteć' šćadijaše</i> , No zavika iz grla bijela:	To flee to the white [city of] Spuž; Truly he would have fled from him, But he called out from his white throat:
"Stani kurvo, Ćesarović Mujo,	"Stop, you coward, Mujo Ćesarović,
Sramota je tebi pobjegnuti Od jednoga gola Crnogorca;"	Shame on you for running From one naked Montenegrin;"
	(Luburić XLIV: 6)

<sup>12</sup> This is used in the phrase *rz i poštenje*, signifying 'honor'.

Finally we have three examples with roughly the same semantic context and the same syntactic structure:

- (75) Dok evo ti Drnde na putalju,  
 Muji suje i ćaću i majku  
 Što on dade vjeru za nevjeru.  
 I potego posjeklicu krivu,  
 Šćadijaše posjeći đeveru.  
 Al da vidiš Lopatice Vuka!  
 On podmače sebe i dogata,  
 Pa po njemu Drndo udario,  
 Al zaludu, fajde ne imade,  
 Jer zamahnu svojom sabljom  
 Vuče  
 Pa udari Drndu na putalju.
- ‘Until here Drnde appeared on a horse with markings on its forelegs,  
 He cursed Mujo’s father and mother  
 That he had exchanged faith for faithlessness.  
 He pulled out a curved sword,  
 Would have//wanted to cut up his brother-in-law.  
 But see Vuk from Lopatica!  
 He moved closer with his bay horse,  
 Then Drndo struck him,  
 But in vain, to no purpose,  
 For Vuk swung his sharp sword  
 And struck Drnde on his horse with markings on its legs.’  
 (Hrvatske narodne pjesme 1940 9: 96)
- (76) Pa se skoči na noge od tala,  
 Viš nje stoji gola posjeklica,  
 pa za sablju rukam prihvatila.  
 A bog znaše, *posjeć’* ga *šćaše*,  
 al pobježe iz odaje Meho, ...
- ‘Then she jumped from the ground to her feet,  
 Above her hung the bare sword,  
 Then she grabbed the sword with her hands,  
 And God knows, she would have//wanted to cut him up.  
 But Meho ran out of the inner room, ...  
 (Buturović 1976 ms.: 3)
- (77) Sabljom mahnu, *ht’jaše odsjeć*  
 glavu  
 al se hitar Mijo dogodio:
- ‘He brandished the sword, wanted to//would have cut off his head,  
 But Mijo acted cleverly:

skokom skače, za šaru se hvata;	He jumped up, seized the ornamented rifle;
puče šara, pogodi Murata	The ormanental rifle fired, hit Murat
U zlo mesto, gdje mu srce kuca.	In an ill[-omened] place, where his heart beat.'

(*Pjesmarica odabrane Kačićeve i narodne junačke*: 176)

In all three examples the main verb is essentially the same, followed by an adversative conjunction *al'* ('but'). There is no correspondence between the length of the auxiliary and its semantics.

As stated earlier, four-syllable variants were concentrated in central and eastern Bosnia, eastern Hercegovina, and some pockets in NW Bosnia and N Montenegro. But the areas where the greatest semantic innovations occurred were to the south, in central Montenegro and the Sandžak. These latter areas lacked four-syllable variants, which certainly could account for the lack of extended semantic categories (beyond the conditional) among the four-syllable variants I found. (See Table 13 on p. 66 for the distribution of semantic categories according to morphology.) Thus we must stress the geographical distribution of forms rather than their morphology in discussing semantic categories.

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60  
61  
62  
63  
64  
65  
66  
67  
68  
69  
70  
71  
72  
73  
74  
75  
76  
77  
78  
79  
80  
81  
82  
83  
84  
85  
86  
87  
88  
89  
90  
91  
92  
93  
94  
95  
96  
97  
98  
99  
100

## Chapter 4

### Distribution of Semantic Functions and Parallel Modal Constructions with *Htjeti*

#### *Introduction*

The reader will have noticed that there is a definite geographic distribution of semantic functions, phonological variants, and morpho-syntactic structures (infinitive vs. *da* plus the non-past indicative).

There are at least three main areas according to type of semantic function. Firstly, there is an inner core area, a group of dialects in central and northern Montenegro, where the greatest number of semantic innovations are found. The dialects on their immediate periphery, in southern and western Montenegro, and southern Hercegovina, form the outer core area for the first group. Here the Balkan conditional is well-established, and, as in the inner core area, still used well into the twentieth century. The second major area, comprising much of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the extreme eastern and southeastern areas of Serbia, has the Balkan conditional documented in colloquial speech, but not in folk literature (where only *bi* is recorded). The third area lies in Croatia (mainly in central and southern Dalmatia, and the islands south of Split), as well as northwestern coastal Montenegro. Here there are significantly fewer semantic functions compared to the first two areas. (See Table 14 on the following page.) The Balkan conditional in this area has very limited semantics, mostly still closely linked to the lexical meaning of the auxiliary.

In these areas the most common semantic function, both overall, and for groups 1 and 2, is the quasi-conditional. In a total sampling from folk poetry of 935 examples, 439 (49.6%) were quasi-conditionals. In the third area, the main semantic function was an idiom with the full lexical meaning 'to want': *Ne htijaše (to raditi), ali ne smijaše//inače ne mogaše* = 'He didn't want (to do that), but he didn't dare to do otherwise//he couldn't do otherwise.' This latter function accounted for 32 of the 97 examples from the third area (Dalmatia/Boka Kotorska), or 33%. The quasi-conditional was the next most frequent function, at 31.9%. These two functions thus count for 55% of the Dalmatian examples, compared to 26% of the inner core area, and 32%

**Table 14.** Comparison of Semantic Functions in Folk Poetry from Three Geographical Areas

Semantic function	Area I		II		III		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Quasi-conditional	109	42.4	299	51.5	31	31.9	439	46.6
Full lexical meaning	65	25.3	149	25.6	21	21.6	235	25.1
idiom <sup>1</sup>	2	.8	38	6.7	32	33.0	73	7.8
Past conditional	57	22.2	79	13.3	12	12.4	148	15.8
'X nearly happened'	8	3.1	6	1.0	1	1.2	15	1.6
Iterative/habitual	9	3.5	6	1.0	–	–	15	1.6
'To be on the point of (an involuntary, usually inevitable action)'	4	1.6	1	.2	–	–	5	.5
Quasi-potential// attenuated expressions	3	1.2	2	.3	–	–	5	.5
	257		581		97		935	

Area I    Montenegro, the Sandžak, and southern Hercegovina

Area II    Bosnia-Hercegovina, some examples from area I, and a few from Dalmatia

Area III    Dalmatia, inland Croatia, Boka Kotorska, and the Dalmatian islands

of the outer core area. Clearly full lexical meaning is highly significant in Dalmatia, and indicates that there has been very little extension of the Balkan conditional's semantics there.

The next most common function is the past conditional: 148 examples of the total 935, or 15.8%. For most areas, this function is the most significant development toward a grammatical modal category for the Balkan conditional; with the exception of Montenegro, the iterative/habitual function.

<sup>1</sup> This represents the idiom *ne htijaše, ali inače ne mogaše//ne smijaše*, a subset of the full lexical meaning.

Although 15 examples of 'X nearly happened,' a subset of the quasi-conditional, were found in folk poetry, it is more common in colloquial speech (see Chapter 5). The remaining semantic functions, which are found mostly in Montenegro are rare, but represent important semantic innovations.

Table 15 below shows a rough distribution of semantic functions by geographic area and by ethnic culture: Moslem vs. non-Moslem. The full lexical meaning, quasi-conditional, and past conditional are found in all groups, although the latter is rare in Dalmatia. The iterative/habitual, attenuated expressions and the quasi-potential are limited to the non-Moslem dialects of Montenegro. The difference in semantic functions for the Moslem and non-Moslem folk poetry reflects mainly geographic distribution rather than ethnic differences. Moslem dialects are found in the Sandžak, in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and in parts of Montenegro and Serbia, but not in Dalmatia or the inner core area of Montenegro. Thus they exhibit the middle range of semantic functions, which lacks the more extended functions of the inner core area.

**Table 15.** Semantic Categories of the Balkan Conditional and Their Geographic Distribution

Semantic Function	Montenegro, the Sandžak	Bosnia- Hercegovina	Dalmatia	Moslem	Non- Moslem
Full lexical meaning	+	+	+	+	+
Idiom <sup>2</sup>	-	*	+	-	+
Quasi-conditional	+	+	+	+	+
'X nearly happened'	+	+	*	+	+
Past conditional	+	+	*	+	+
'To be on the point of [an involuntary, usually inevitable action]'	+	-	*	+	+
Iterative/habitual	+	-	-	+	+
Attenuated expressions	*	-	-	-	*
Quasi-potential	*	-	-	-	*

Symbols: + Present; \* Rare; - Absent

<sup>2</sup> A subset of the full lexical meaning



Table 16 below indicates the semantic functions of *šćaše* in different types of folk poetry. Epic poetry is the richest, with the broadest range of semantic functions. Since epics are a type of extended narration, this makes sense. *Tužbalice*, or laments, often recount details of the deceased's life, and thus naturally present a higher possibility for the iterative/habitual function.

**Table 16.** Comparison of the Semantic Functions of the Balkan Conditional According to Type of Folk Poetry

Semantic Function	Epic (deca-syllabic)	<i>Bugarštice</i> <sup>3</sup>	Lyric	<i>Tužbalice</i>
Full lexical meaning	+	+	+	+
Idiom <sup>4</sup>	+	+	+	–
Quasi-conditional	+	*	*	*
'X nearly happened'	+	–	–	–
Past conditional	+	*	*	+
'To be on the point of [an involuntary, usually inevitable action]'	+	*	–	–
Iterative/habitual	+	–	*	+
Attenuated expressions	*	–	–	–
Quasi-potential	*	–	–	–

Symbols: + Present; \* Rare; – Absent

### *Expressions with the Aorist of Htjeti*

Compared to the basic modal expressions with *bi* in Serbo-Croatian, expressions with the aorist of *htjeti* were much rarer in the dialects and showed more similarity with the semantic contexts of *šćaše*. The real rival to *bi* expressions, of course, is the Balkan conditional, with the imperfect of *htjeti*.

<sup>3</sup> *Bugarštice* are fifteen-syllable epic poems, found in Dalmatia and the Boka Kotorska, and are considered by some scholars to be much older than the deca-syllabic poetry.

<sup>4</sup> A subset of the full lexical meaning.

First of all, there is the expected full lexical meaning. However, the use of the aorist rather than the imperfect implies a consideration of the event as a brief block of time—as a momentary decision whether or not to do something, as opposed to general desire or intention expressed by the imperfect.

According to Jovan Vuković,

U svim ovim, i koliko bi se god moglo navesti ovakvih slučajeva, značenje aorista od glagola *htjeti* i *smjeti* svodi se na jedan momenat trajanja stanja subjektova, u kome se rešava odlučenosť ili neodlučenost za vršenje (izvršenje) radnje drugoga glagola u rečenici; nikakvo trajanje glagolskoga stanja u kome se odlučuje subjektova volja za vršenje ili izvršenje radnje za koju je u rečenici vezano značenje glagola *htjeti* ili *smjeti* ovde se ne može pretpostaviti; i ovde se aorist (ono što njemu nije svojstveno inače kad je od imperfektivnih glagola) svodi na puktualnost, a tim samim na svršenost glagolskog značenja. Nema razlike u tom smislu između slučajeva kad uz glagole *htjeti*, *smjeti* dolaze imperfektivni glagoli... I ovde se značenje aorista odnosi na jedan momenat subjektivnog stanja, subjektivnog raspoloženja u kome ima da se odluči vršenje radnje imperfektivnog glagola, za koju je aorist od *htjeti* ili *smjeti* vezan kao glagol, kako se to kaže, nepotpuna značenja (Vuković 1967: 322–323).

Vuković stresses here the similarities between the aorist and the imperfect of *htjeti* in these constructions: they both express a single moment of subjective feeling on the part of the subject. When it is a question of full lexical meaning, the aorist has nuances of decision, whereas the imperfect has nuances of desire. Vuković gives a typical example of the aorist with the full lexical meaning, here expressing a decision over a single, long block of time: “Deset godina *ne htjede* on meni *raditi* ono što sam ja željela.” (For ten years he did not want to do what I wished.) (Vuković 1967: 324)

An extremely interesting function shared by the aorist and imperfect constructions is a subset of the quasi-conditional: ‘X nearly happened.’ According to Benson’s Serbo-Croatian dictionary, we find under the entry *hteti*: (3) (usually in aorist) to miss narrowly; *htedoh* juče *da poginem*; pukla mi je guma. (I almost got killed yesterday; I had a blowout.)

In epic poetry, only one example of this was found:



An idiom that is a subset of the full lexical meaning is used in Serbo-Croatian to indicate change of direction. It may be found with a verb of motion following the aorist auxiliary, or the aorist may appear alone. Two typical examples from Bosnia:

- (81) *Pase*<sup>6</sup> Ilija malo domislijo,  
 Pana sluge hršum učinijo:  
 “Brže moga spremajte putalja,  
 Daja<sup>7</sup> [sic] idem doli niz  
 Primorje  
 Do visoke kule Golubove,  
 Imam šnjime nješto govoriti.”  
 Brzo sluge konja opremiše,  
 Odma’ Ile pojaha putalja.  
 Bože mili, kud će okrenuti?  
 Nešće putem pravo niz Primorje,  
 Već po priko Ile okrenuo,
- ‘Then Ilija thought it over a little  
 while,  
 Then he shouted to his servants:  
 “Prepare my horse with markings  
 on its legs as soon as possible,  
 So that I can go down to the Coast  
 To Golub’s tall towers,  
 I have something to talk over with  
 him.”  
 The servants quickly prepared his  
 horse,  
 At once Ilija mounted the horse.  
 Good gracious, which way would  
 he go?  
 He decided not to go directly down  
 the Coast,  
 But Ilija turned [to travel] cross-  
 country,’  
 (Parry and Lord 1979 14: 234)
- (82) Polećela dva vrana gavrana,  
 Od Ozije, ispod Moskovije;  
 Prelećeše četiri države:  
 Karavlašku i Karabogdansku,  
 Srijem zemlju i svu Šumadiju.  
 Ne šćedoše na Bosnu ponosnu,
- ‘Two ravens flew off  
 From Ozija, near Moscow,  
 They flew across four countries:  
 The black Vlachs’ country and black  
 Bogdan’s country,<sup>8</sup>  
 The land of Srijem and all of  
 Šumadija.  
 They didn’t want//decided not to  
 [go] to proud Bosnia,

<sup>6</sup> In this recording enclitics are often used together, thus *pa se* becomes *pase*.

<sup>7</sup> Wallachia.

<sup>8</sup> Moldavia.

<p>Okrenuše na Hercegovinu. Dolećeše pravo na rataje, Do konaka Bećir paše carskog i padoše na pašine dvore.</p>	<p>But turned in the direction of Hercegovina. They flew right up to Rataja, To the castle of Bećir, the emperor's pasha, And landed in the pasha's courtyard.'</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Kašiković 1927 2: 80)</p>
--	--

The use of the aorist here rather than the imperfect is logical given the semantic context: a concrete decision to go in one direction, rather than other, instead of the process of desiring to do something, or the expression of a thwarted action.

The other idiom with the full lexical meaning is the expression *ne htijaše//ne htedel//nije htio, ali ne smijaše//inače ne mogaše* ('He didn't want [using the imperfect, aorist, or perfect] [to do it], but he didn't dare//could not do otherwise').

I also found one example of the idiom 'to be on the point of' with the aorist as auxiliary. Here the departure is a voluntary, and non-inevitable action, unlike most of the examples with the imperfect:

<p>(83) Kad isprati Ružicu devojku, I kad šćeše da se razdvajaju, Pita sestra brata rodenoga, Kad će njojzi u pohode<sup>9</sup> doći.</p>	<p>'When he said good-bye to the girl Rose, And when they were on the point of parting from each other, The sister asked her [natural] brother, When he would come to visit her.'</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Šaulić 1929 1: 34)</p>
--	---

Again, this appears to be a very limited future-in-the-past, with emphasis on the immediacy of the impending event.

<p>(84) Ahmed-beg se na vojsku spremaše, Svojoj ljubi ni mukajet nije,</p>	<p>'Ahmed-Bey was getting ready to leave for the army, He didn't pay any attention to his wife,</p>
--	---

<sup>9</sup> *Pohode* is the 'visit by relatives to a newly married woman'. Benson (*Serbo-Croatian-English Dictionary*: 436)

<p>Sigura se za tri bjela dana. Kad <i>hotiše</i> beže odlaziti,</p> <p>Ljuba mu se o vratu višaše, I ovako njemu govaraše: “Ahmed-beže, mlad gospodinu! S kim ćeš mene mladu ostaviti?”</p>	<p>For three whole days he prepared. When he was just on the point of departure, His wife clung to his neck, And spoke to him thus: “Ahmed-bey, young lord! With whom will you leave me, [your] young bride?””</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(<i>Hrvatske narodne pesme</i> 6: 122–123)</p>
--	---

In these two examples, both collected in the early twentieth century, we see a new extension of the idiom, from an involuntary, usually inevitable action (i.e. time, death, etc.) to a voluntary, non-inevitable action. So far the only type of this latter action has been departure. It seems most likely that the historical progression was from involuntary, inevitable actions (e.g., ‘dawn was about to break’), documented from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, through the basic idiom of usually inevitable actions to voluntary ones. In all of the examples, nuances of ‘just on the point of’ limit the expression, and prevent it from simply being a future-in-the-past. The future-in-the-past in Serbo-Croatian is most often expressed by the future, e.g., *će doći* (‘will come//was going to come’).

In Serbo-Croatian, the Balkan conditional in this context is always an impending action in the background, overshadowed by another, major event which is in harmony with the classic definition of the imperfect. In Macedonian and Bulgarian, however, the future-in-the-past is not limited to such nuances, and may express a major event, as opposed to background events. (See Chapters 6 and 7.)

There is one final semantic function with the aorist in Serbo-Croatian: the quasi-conditional. Only some of the possible semantic readings (such as full lexical meaning, intention and preparedness) are appropriate with the aorist here. The past conditional mood doesn’t fit in. From the evidence of the few examples found in Bosnian folk poetry, I would say that these examples show the status of the aorist as modal auxiliary in dialects where the imperfect has been lost, and the aorist has taken over some of the functions of the imperfect:

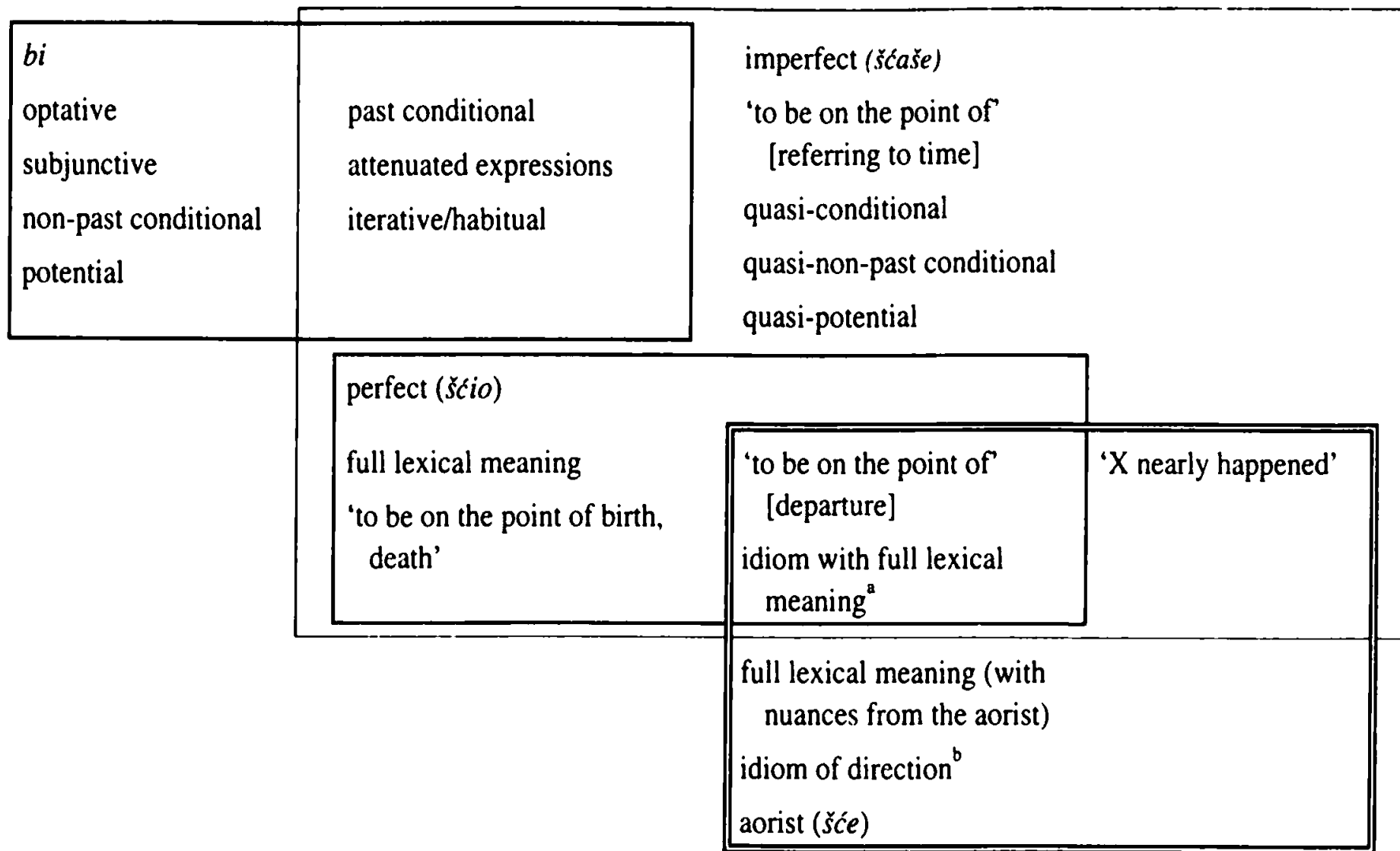
Two typical examples of this are:

- (85) *Stade dreka Maljković-Stipana,* 'Maljković-Stipan began to shout,  
*Ujagmi joj rusu pletenicu,* He seized her fair braid,  
*A sijnu mu sablju golotrba,* And his bare sword flashed,  
*Ćide Ani odrizati glavu,* He wanted to//intended to cut off  
 Ana's head,  
*A brani je Dizdarević Meho:* But Meho Dizdarevič protected  
 her:  
 "Nemoj joj, pobro, glavi kidisati!" "Don't, blood-brother, cut off her  
 head!  
*Pušti je, brate, Dizdarević-Mehi,* Let her go, brother, to Dizdarević-  
 Meho,  
*Da divojci ja ods'ječem glavu,* That I might cut off the girl's head,  
*Vrlo me je kahar učinila."* She has brought great grief to me."  
 [They quarrel for a while, and  
 eventually let her go.]  
 (*Hrvatske narodne pesme* 4: 49)
- (86) *A kad vidje baš begova majka,* And when the bey's mother saw  
 [that],  
*Htjede bježat kuli uz škaline,* She wanted//intended//prepared to  
 run to the tower by the cliff,  
*Al ne dade mali Marijane,* But little Marijan didn't let her,  
*Marijane joj odsiječe glavu.* Marijan cut off her head.'  
 (*Narodne pesme o Mijatu Tomiću,* 99)

These semantic functions with the aorist indicate a parallel direction for semantic expansion of the aorist, but to a much lesser degree than for expressions with the imperfect. I suspect that much of this limited semantic development for the aorist springs from the loss of the imperfect in some Bosnian dialects, and the substitution of the aorist for some of the semantic functions are more closely linked to the lexical meaning compared to the imperfect.

### *Expressions with the Perfect of Htjeti*

In areas where either or both the aorist and imperfect are used, expressions with the perfect of *htjeti* act as stylistically unmarked, non-modal expressions with the full lexical meaning. (See Figures 13 and 14 on pages 89–90.)

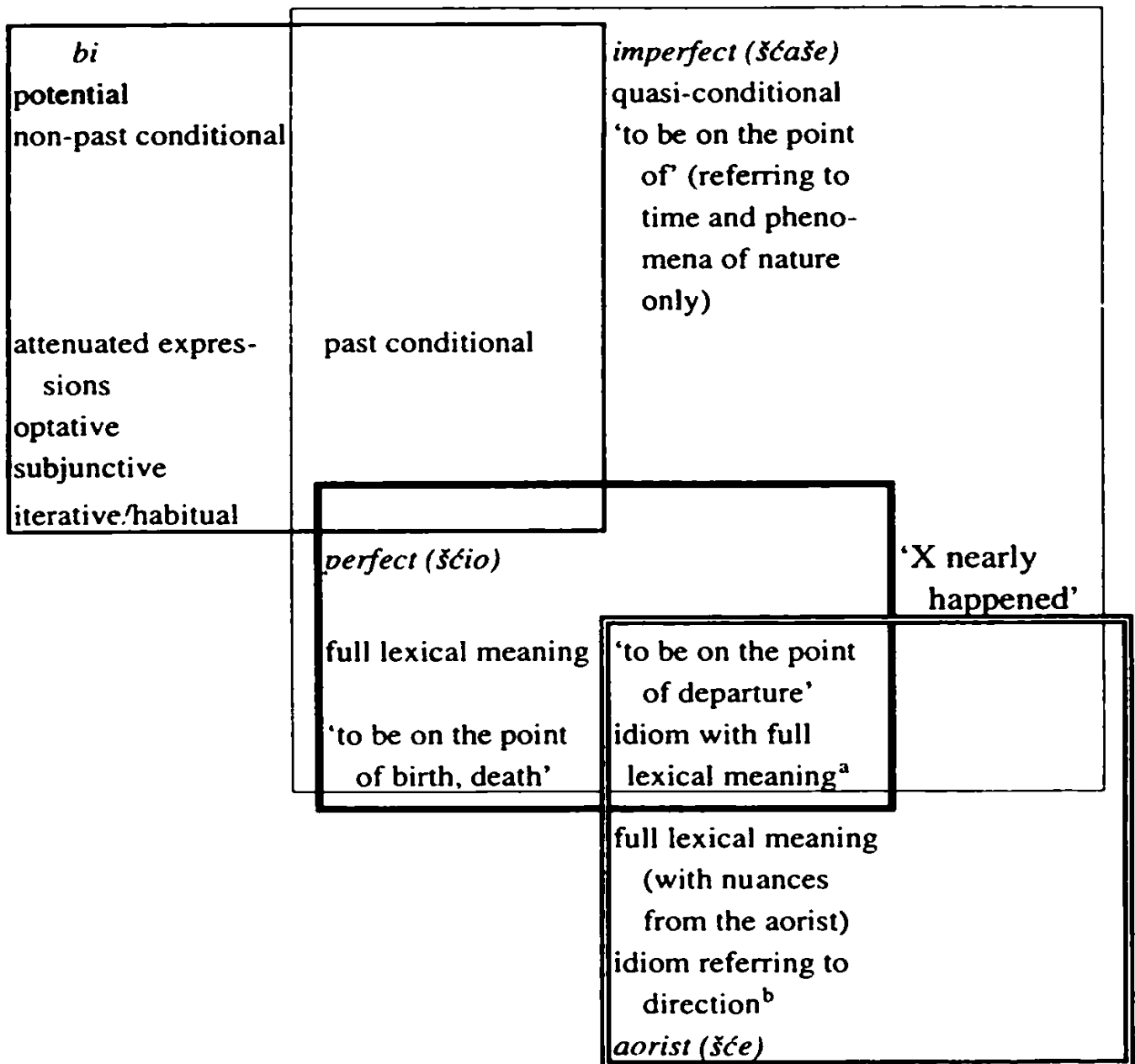


<sup>a</sup> This idiom is of the type *ne htijaše//ne šće//ne šćio, ali inače ne mogaše*.

<sup>b</sup> A typical example of this idiom is *ne šće u kuli, već otide kući* ('he didn't want to//he decided not to go to the tower, but set off home').

**Figure 13.** Comparison of Semantic Functions with *Bi*, and with the Imperfect, Aorist, and Perfect of *Htjeti* in the Inner Core Area





<sup>a</sup> This idiom is of the type *ne htijašel/nije šćio/ne htede, ali inače ne mogaše*.

<sup>b</sup> An example of this would be *ne šće u kuli, već otide kući* ('he didn't want to/he decided not to go to the tower, but set off home').

**Figure 14.** Comparison of Semantic Functions Expressed by *Bi*, and by the Imperfect, Aorist, and Perfect of *Htjeti* Outside of the Inner Core Area

The main, and for many areas, the exclusive semantic function for the perfect is this meaning 'to want.' This includes the idiom already mentioned *ne htijaše//ne htede//nije htio, ali ne smijaše//inače ne mogaše* 'he didn't want to do it, but didn't dare to// could not do otherwise'.

For instance:

- (87) Pa je Andro Jeli govorio: "Hod' mo, Jele, dvoru bijelome."  
 Ali njemu Jele odgovara: "A ne ludju, moj mili djevere!  
 Kad ja dođem dvoru bijelome, Pogubit će i mene i tebe."  
 Opet Andro Jeli odgovara: "O Jelice, moja neve draga! Mi hajdemo dvoru bijelome, Ne će Marko pogubiti tebe, Kad si malo čedo porodila."  
 A kad ga je mlada razumjela, *Nije htjela, od manje ne mogla,*  
 Nego ide dvoru bijelome.
- 'Then Andro said to Jela: "Let us go, Jela, to the white palace."  
 But Jela answered him: "Don't be crazy, my dear brother-in-law!  
 When I reach the white palace, He will kill both you and me."  
 Then Andro answered Jela again: "O dear Jela, my dear sister-in-law! We are going to the white palace, Marko will not kill you, Since you have borne a little child."  
 When the bride understood, She didn't want to, but had naught else to do,  
 But to go to the white palace.'  
 (*Hrvatske narodne pesme* 2: 94)

These semantics seem to be a common use for past tense forms of *htjeti* in Serbo-Croatian periphrastic expressions (for Russian examples, see Chapter 8). So far we have only two semantic functions for the perfect as opposed to a whole range of functions with the imperfect. In Serbo-Croatian dialects where the imperfect has been lost, however, there are some interesting substitutions for those functions with the Balkan conditional.

In much of Croatia, especially in the south, and the Boka Kotorska, where the Balkan conditional was recorded in the medieval *bugarštice* and in the later deca-syllable epics, examples of the quasi-conditional were later expressed either with the perfect of *htjeti* alone or by *bi* plus the *I*-participle of *htjeti*.

An early nineteenth century example from the Boka Kotorska with the Balkan conditional:

- (88) Pa ioš *čaše govoriti Vuče* 'And Vuk would have//wanted to  
speak further,  
Ma iz nega duša ispanula. But his soul left him [lit., 'fell  
out'].'  
(Ćojkovič 1837: 185)

Compare this with a virtually identical semantic context in an example from the early twentieth century:

- (89) Još bi junak *govoriti tio* 'The hero would have spoken//  
would have wanted to speak  
further  
Ali se je s dušom razdelio. But he parted with his soul.'  
(Blažinčić 1920: 120)

Note that the imperfect is not simply replaced by the perfect, but by the modal particle *bi* + the *-l* participle, which may carry some modal nuances similar to the quasi-conditional.

In some instances it appears that the imperfect has been replaced by the historical present for dialects where the imperfect had disappeared. E.g., from the island of Šipan, near Dubrovnik:

- (90) Sluša dragi, pa s' prepade,  
*hoc' da pobjegne,* 'The boyfriend listened, then he got  
frightened, he wanted to//  
prepared to flee  
Ne dade mu mlada moma,  
neg mu besjedi: But the young girl didn't let him,  
But said to him:  
"Ne ćeš, dragi, poc' iz dvora  
"Dear one, you won't leave my  
house,  
mog ni pedi!" Even on foot!"'  
(*Hrvatske narodne pjesme* 6: 231)

Compared to the Balkan conditional, there is a much narrower range of semantic functions.

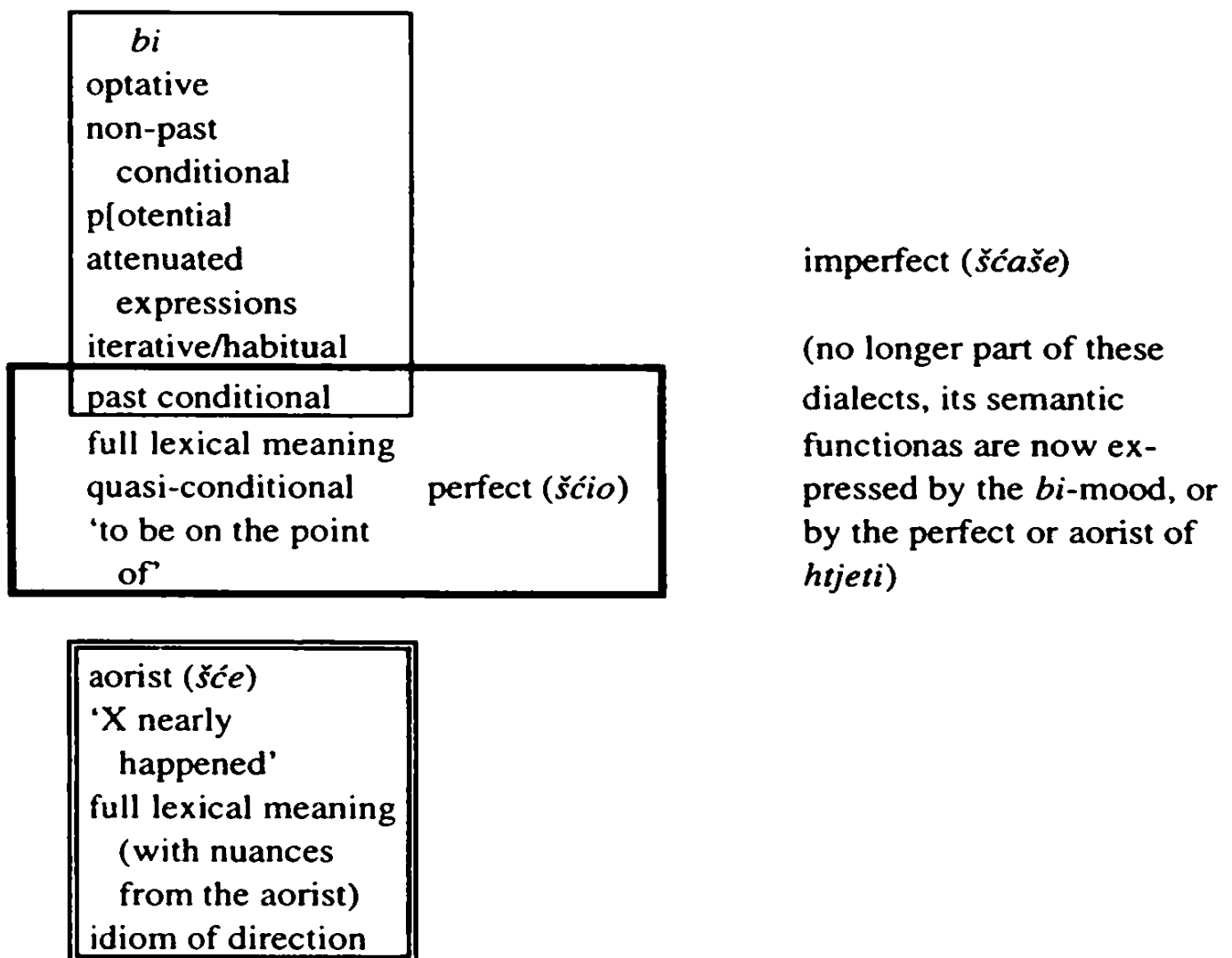
Further evidence can be found in epic poetry from northwestern Bosnia, in a group of Moslem dialects where the imperfect died out in the late nineteenth/early twentieth century. Here there are clear examples of the perfect used with quasi-conditional semantics:

- (91) I ovako meni govorili:  
 ‘Omer-beže gazi Hasanage,  
 Kako ’š, brate dževab učiniti,  
 A danaske budimskom veziru  
 Za njegovi’ trijes’ pašalija,  
 Što i’ jesi ti isik’o, beže,  
 Na rudina’ kod Undurevine.  
 Pa bi to mala šala bila:  
 Kad si gradu doš’o na kapiju,  
 Posik’o si Osman kapidžiju  
 I s njimeka trijes’ pašalija,  
 Pašalija budimskog vezira.  
 Otiće ti sa ramena glava.’  
 Kad sam, babo, riči razumijo,  
 Ja se fati’ golotrbe ćorde,  
 Šćevo sam i’ *da isičem*, babo,  
 Al’ se hitri jesu dogodili,  
 Pa na glavi nis kulu sletili,
- ‘And they said to me thusly:  
 ‘Omer-bey, you hero, Hasanaga  
 How will you, brother, reply,  
 Today to the vezir of Budapest,  
 For his thirteen men who served the  
 pasha,  
 Whom, bey, you hacked to pieces,  
 In the meadows near Undurevina.  
 You can hardly call that a little jest:  
 When you came to the city gates,  
 Hacked to death Osman the  
 gatekeeper  
 And thirteen men in the pasha’s  
 service along with him,  
 In the service of the vezir of  
 Budapest.  
 Your head will not long stay on  
 your shoulders.’  
 When, father, I understood their  
 words,  
 I pulled out my bare sword,  
 I wanted to//prepared to hack//  
 would have hacked them to  
 pieces, father,  
 But they acted cunningly,  
 And came rushing down from the  
 tower,’  
 (Parry and Lord 1979 14: 201)
- (92) Ja je pon’jo niz Undurovinu,  
 Roditelju, do Budima bilog,  
 Da je dadnem budimskom  
 veziru.  
 Na rudinu društvo zastavijo,  
 Zastavijo, pa ga vodmorijo,  
 I malo ga pića napojijo.
- ‘I carried it down along the  
 Undurovina,  
 Father, to the white city of  
 Budapest,  
 To give it to the vezir of Budapest.  
 At the meadow I ordered my  
 companions to halt,  
 Stopped them and had them rest,  
 And let them drink a little.

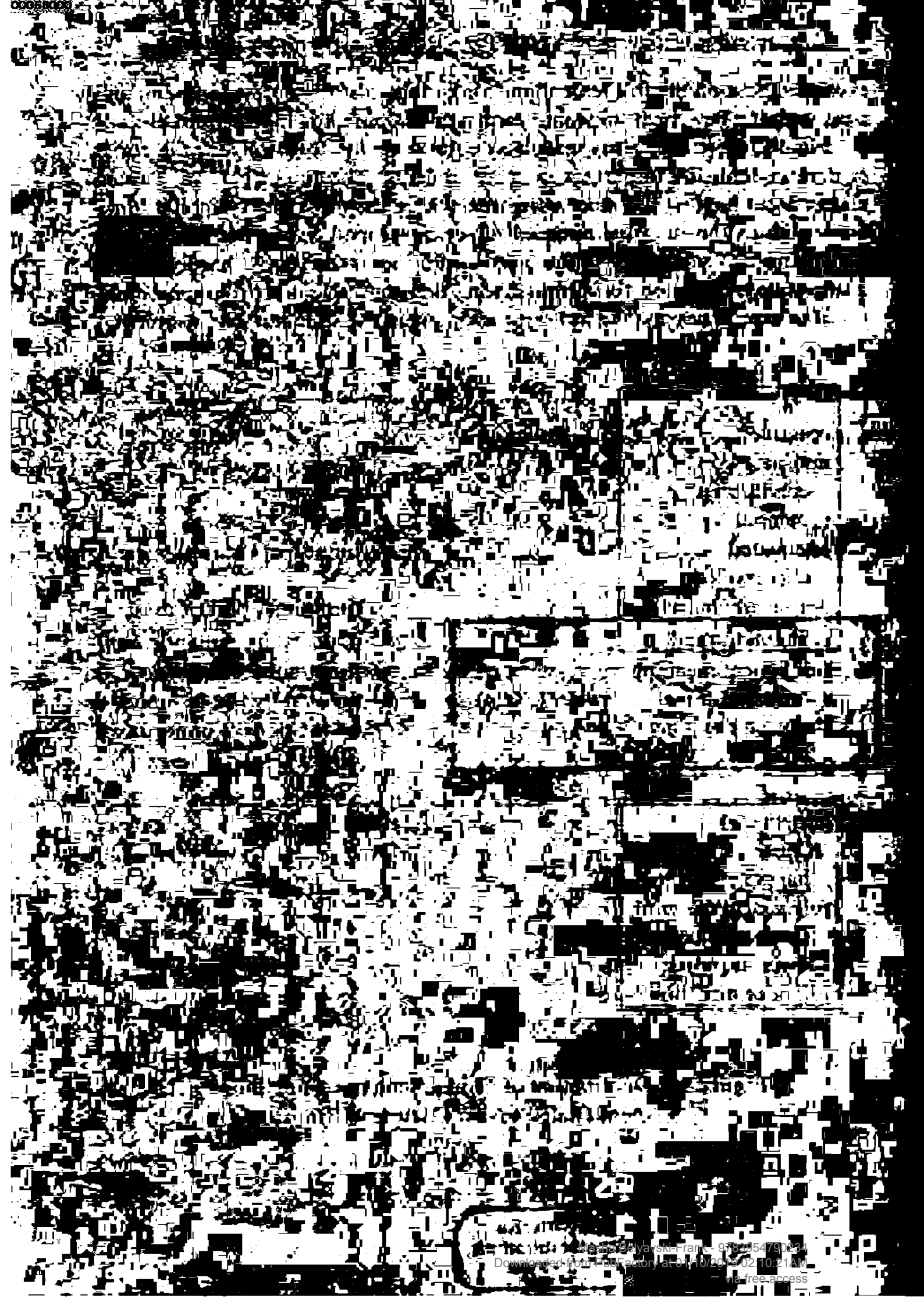


expanded beyond the full lexical meaning in the historical development, and now, with the new verb 'to want,' such a development is highly unlikely.

Finally, there is another reason why the semantic functions for the aorist or perfect echo the imperfect in other dialects. The imperfect was lost in dialect areas beyond the inner core area, where the most purely modal functions such as the iterative/habitual never developed. Even the past conditional here was secondary to the quasi-conditional. One could hardly expect a substitute expression for a transitional, ungrammaticalized Balkan conditional to extend beyond the old semantics, given the semantic environment.



**Figure 15.** Distribution of Modal Semantic Functions in Moslem Dialects Near Cazin and Bihać



## Chapter 5

### *Šćaše* Expressions in Colloquial Speech and Folk Prose

#### *Gallipoli and Torlak Dialects*

While the last two chapters have investigated *šćaše* expressions in Serbo-Croatian folk poetry, the remaining dialectal material from folk prose and colloquial speech also provides examples of the Balkan conditional, with semantics and frequency differing to a small, yet significant degree from folk poetry.

One of the most striking divergences in the two genres can be found in the dialects of the Gallipoli Serbs and the Torlak dialects. The Gallipoli dialect is based on the old, conservative dialects of eastern Serbia, from the same area as the Torlak dialects. The Gallipoli group has been separated from the parent dialect for roughly three centuries—from the early seventeenth century to the period after World War I—and returned to Yugoslav territory only in the twentieth century. As a result of extended contacts with Greek and Turkish speakers, the Gallipoli dialect is being “Balkanized.” Very little literature can be found on this dialect; nearly all the texts and linguistic commentary are from Pavle Ivić (1957). His material is taken from earlier folk prose or from colloquial speech; material from folk poetry is lacking.

The first difference in semantic functions compared to other dialects is that there is no overlapping of semantic functions with *bi* and *šćaše* (in this dialect, the 2nd/3rd per. = *ćaz*). (See Figure 16 on the following page.) Like the other “Balkanized” South Slavic languages, Macedonian and Bulgarian, *bi* has lost a great deal of semantic territory. According to Pavle Ivić (1957), only the iterative/habitual and the attenuated expressions of politeness are expressed by *bi*. The category of the past conditional has been taken over entirely by the Balkan conditional. In a division of semantics similar to the witnessed/non-witnessed category of Bulgarian (or affirmative/non-affirmative in Macedonian), past conditionals which involve the speaker as participant or witness use *ćaz*. Those events outside the speaker’s experience are expressed with the perfect (*ćao* for 2nd/3rd m. sg.). These conditionals are often found with the formal construction of apodosis and protasis. The



<i>bi</i> iterative/habitual attenuated expressions	<i>ćaz</i> quasi-conditional past conditional (involving the speaker as participant in or witness of the event)
[modal] <i>da</i> + <i>indicative</i> optative	<i>ćao</i> (2-3 m. sg. perfect) past conditional (outside of speaker's experience) full lexical meaning
N.B. Constructions for the non- past conditional are not given, nor are those for 'to be on the point of', gnomic potentials, etc.	<i>kti</i> or <i>hti</i> (2-3 sg. aorist; note different form) full lexical meaning (with nuances from aorist)

**Figure 16.** Modal Semantic Categories in the Dialect of the Gallipoli Serbs.

*ćaz* expression may appear in either clause (although it is very rare in the protasis alone) or in both clauses, similar to *bi* expressions in old Serbo-Croatian. (Note: In medieval Serbo-Croatian, and in a few archaic examples of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, *bi* could appear in both clauses of a conditional. In the twentieth-century literary language, *bi* is found only in the apodosis.)

- (94) a. Ja sam bivo [prisutan], ja *ćav* pravo *da* kažem.  
'Had I been [present], I would have told the truth.'
- b. *Da ni ćamo se pomaknićemo*, ne<sup>i</sup>maše me<sup>i</sup>sta za tibe.  
'If we hadn't moved, there wouldn't have been room for you.'
- c. *Da ćav ga nađem*, *ćav da ga naučim* pameti.  
'If I had found him, I would have set him straight.'
- (Ivić 1957: 381)

And an example of a non-witnessed conditional:

- (95) Pe<sup>i</sup>ta da nije zapojao, [on je] *ćao da pukne*. (Ivić 1957: 382)  
'If Pe<sup>i</sup>ta hadn't begun to sing, he would have burst.'

Other semantics with *ćaz* are the expression 'X nearly happened', and according to Ivić, also quasi-conditionals:

Ponegde se oseća još uvek sveže značenje samog glagola *hteti*, tako da smo kod nekih primera u nedoumici kako da shvatimo *ćas*, kao sastavni deo opisne potencijalne konstrukcije ili kao običan oblik glagola *hteti*. (Ivić 1957: 382)

Like Macedonian and Bulgarian, a good deal of the semantic territory of *bi* has been lost; in addition to the past conditional, and it seems, the non-past conditional and perhaps even the gnomic potential, the semantic category of optative expressions has been taken over by the modal particle *da* + the indicative:

- (96) a. Da ti otpadne jezik!  
 'May your tongue fall out!'  
 b. U crnu zemju d-'ideš!  
 'May you go into the black earth! [i.e., be dead and buried.]'  
 (Ivić 1957: 462–463)

(Note: Ivić does not give examples of either the non-past conditional or the gnomic potential in his description of the Gallipoli dialect, although he states that they are not expressed with *bi*. Since none of the *ćaz* examples he gives exhibit these semantics either, we are faced with a gap in our knowledge.)

The modal system in this dialect appears to be yet another transitional stage in the formation of the "Balkan conditional," one lacking the full lexical meaning, and having taken over the past conditional from *bi*, a step further along the path towards abstract modality compared to other Serbo-Croatian dialects. The influence of other Balkan languages, such as Greek, was obviously a contributing factor in this development. The isolation of the Gallipoli dialect undoubtedly contributed to the complete separation of functions for *bi* and *ćaz*, since the influence of the Serbo-Croatian literary language with almost exclusive modal expressions with *bi* probably prevented the complete separation of *bi* and *šćaše* semantic territories in non-isolated dialects.

The Torlak or Shop dialect area occupies roughly the same geographic area as the original Gallipoli dialect, extending over eastern Serbia along the Bulgarian border and southward to Macedonia. The Gallipoli dialect

originated in the southern Morava valley, in the southwestern part of the Torlak area, and bordering on today's southern Morava-Resava dialects.

The Torlak dialects are fairly conservative, especially the phonological system. The morphological system is also conservative (i.e., retaining the imperfect and aorist), but the old *štokavian* system has been overlaid with various 'Balkanisms' in morphology and syntax (such as the postpositive article, loss of the infinitive, and partial loss of cases). One of these 'Balkanisms' is indeed the Balkan conditional. Like the *ćaz* construction in the Gallipoli dialect, this expression is found in folk prose and colloquial speech rather than in the folk poetry. In the entire corpus of lyric and epic poetry from this dialect, I did not find a single example of the Balkan conditional, only the *bi* expression.

There could be several reasons for this: as in the northern Macedonian dialects of Kumanovo (see Chapter 6), folk poetry preserved archaic morphology and syntax, while colloquial speech and folk prose were more innovative. Unlike Montenegro and the Sandžak, where epic poetry was strongest and most innovative in topic and idiom, in both the Torlak and Kumanovo areas, epic poetry was not common. Thus it may be that it was therefore more difficult for syntactic innovations in speech to appear in folk poetry.

Secondly, the timing of the syntactic innovation in the Torlak area is uncertain; it may have appeared quite early through the influence of the Vlachs (Rumanian speakers), a theory proposed by Zbigniew Gołąb (1964a). Perhaps, as is more likely, influenced by Macedonian and Rumanian, this innovation appeared in the south of the Torlak area. Migration from that area to the west and north then effectively removed dialects with the Balkan conditional from that geographic area for some time.<sup>1</sup> If the first theory is valid, it is interesting that the Balkan conditional has not appeared in folk poetry, and that, while it does appear in colloquial speech, it is not as common as in either the Gallipoli dialect, or in the Montenegrin dialects. However, if the second theory is valid, then the fact that the Balkan conditional is lacking in the more conservative folk poetry is understandable. A third possibility could also account for this: the Balkan conditional appeared very early in the Torlak area, spread to other dialects, was lost here for some unknown reason, and then reintroduced in the mid-nineteenth century. Lack

---

<sup>1</sup> Discussion of migrations and reverse migrations, which accounts for much of the distribution of the Balkan conditional, is at the end of this chapter.

of material before the late nineteenth century is a major barrier to clarifying the chronology.

To return to the morphological system of modals, we find that most of the relatively small corpus for the Torlak dialects is in the series *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*. Belić published a two-volume survey at the beginning of the twentieth century, and Stanojević a study of the northern Timok dialect in 1911. An early twentieth-century study by Broch had no relevant examples.

The forms (in the second and third person singular) include: *teaše*, *teše* (the latter a contracted form: these dialects are ekavian; thus, the contraction in the imperfect *ěa > ě > e*) and *ćaše*. The semantic functions seem to be the past conditional and the quasi-conditional (as in the dialect of the Gallipoli Serbs). The second category is most often used in the sense “zamalo// u malo” (‘nearly, almost’) such as in involuntary actions (‘nearly fell’, etc.). Belić gives an example for the general sense ‘nearly’ in *teše da bude* (‘[that] nearly happened’) (Belić 1905: 643). In general, Belic considers much of the semantics for the imperfect of *htjeti* to overlap with that of the aorist for this verb:

Glagol hteti ima, istina, oblike imperfekta, u ostalom jako izmešane sa aoriskim, ali mu je značenje u vecini slučajeva aorisko; šta više, u konstrukcijama, gde je on upotrebljen pored nekoga drugog glagola, razvilo mu se i novo značenje: *umalo*, *za malo*, *tek što*, taka da počinje dobijati adverbijalno, konjukcionalno značenje. (Belić 1905: 555–556)

One infers that the first meaning he refers to is the full lexical meaning of the verb—it is interesting, though, that in the folk language (and in the colloquial speech as well) of some dialects the aorist is also used to express the near occurrence of some disaster (see Chapter 4 on the semantics of the aorist of *htjeti* in the folk language). Belić does not give any examples of the aorist of *htjeti* in the Timok dialects, so this aorist used in a way similar to the imperfect in the meaning *umalo*, *za malo*, etc. may or may not be applicable to the Timok dialects.

Belic’s examples of the quasi-conditional with this meaning include: *teše da umre* (‘he almost died’) and *teše da padne* (‘he almost fell’) (Belić 1905: 556) Since semantic context is not given, for examples apart from these two, one must accept his one category given above (e.g., *ćaše da ostane* (Belić 1905: 643), which might mean ‘he nearly remained’ but more

probably is a quasi-conditional: ‘he wanted to remain//would have remained//was preparing to remain’, etc.)

Regarding the Timok dialects, Belić mentions modal constructions with *bi* only in passing, without analysing their functions. From the few, context-free examples cited, as least three semantic functions may be deduced: the general potential, the potential in clauses of purpose, and the non-past conditional. For instance, *mogla li bi da ga poznaješ* (Belić 1905: 649) (‘could you recognize him’).

I did find one example of the non-past conditional in the texts from a village in the area of Ljutež:

- (97) Posle došćeja (vuk) u jesen, ta kude ovce, pa vikaja: “patila! patila!”  
Ona kaže: “da sãam patila, *ja ne bi bila* u sred ovce.”

‘Then the wolf came in the fall, there were the sheep were, and called: “You’ve suffered! You’ve suffered!” She said: “If I had suffered, I wouldn’t be among the sheep.”’

(Ivić 1905: 670)

#### *Kosovo-Resava Dialects*

The Kosovo-Resava dialects, to the west of the Torlak dialects, are less conservative; some of them have essentially lost the imperfect and aorist. This dialectal group extending through central and south-central Serbia into the eastern half of Kosovo exhibits a morphological system closer to the literary language, and is not as ‘Balkanized’ as the Torlak dialects. I have found monographs and/or texts for four dialects in this group: Resava, Janjevo (Kosovo), Trstenik, and Levač. (see Figures 17 and 18 on the following two pages.)

As in the Torlak dialects, folk poetry is poorly represented here; in the entire area I found three or four examples of the *šćaše* expression in lyric or epic poetry. More examples may be found in folk prose, but again, like the Torlak dialects, are not as frequent as in the Sandžak or Montenegro.

The first dialect, in the area of Trstenik, was analyzed by Jović (1968). In his description of the dialect, there are only two semantic categories: the past conditional and an ‘attenuated’ expression of intention or desire by the speaker for a future action, similar to example (39) from a poem collected in Montenegro by Karadžić: (‘Eh, *ćah sići* u Brda kamena’).

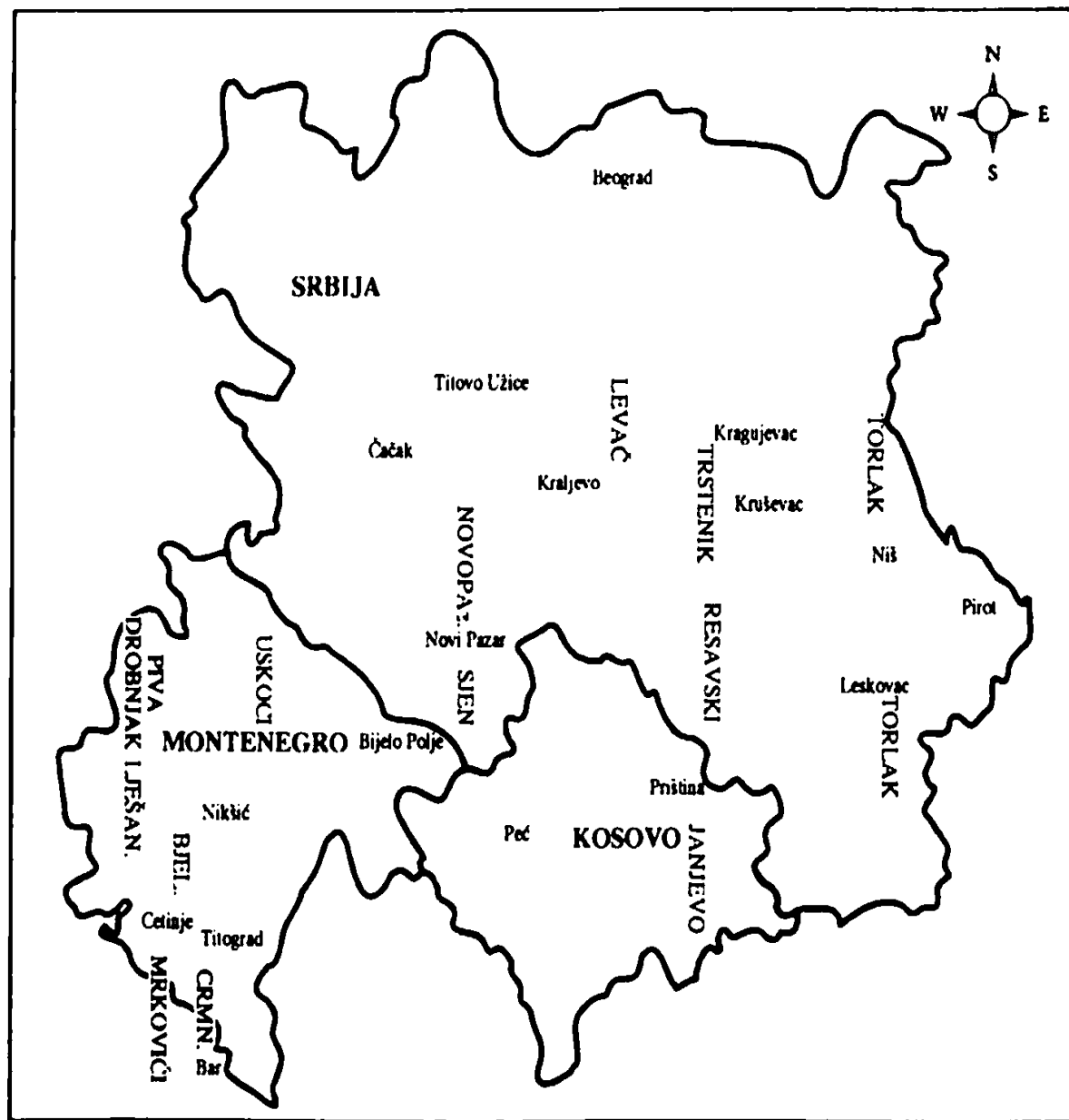
His examples:

DIALECT TYPE

- I. Prizren-Timok
  - 1. Timok - Južno-Morava
- II. Kosovo-Resava
  - 2. Janjevo (E. Kosovo)
  - 3. Trstenik
  - 4. Levač
  - 5. Resava
- III. Zeta-Juznosandžak
  - 6. Novopazarsko-sjenički
  - 7. Bar
  - 8. Bjelopavlići
  - 9. Cetinje (Crmnica)
  - 10. Lješan
- IV. Hercegovina (ijekavski)
  - 11. Uskok
  - 12. Piva + Drobniak

LISTING

- Torlak
- Mrkovići
- Bjel.
- Crn.



**Figure 17. Representative Dialects with *šćáše* Constructions in Colloquial Speech and Folk Prose**

I. Prizrensko-Timok (Ekavski)	II. Kosovo-Resava (Ekavski)	
<p><i>Torlak</i> 'X nearly happened' past conditional</p>	<p><i>Levač</i> 'X nearly happened' past conditional quasi-potential</p>	<p><i>Trstenik</i> 'X nearly happened' past conditional quasi-potential</p>
<p><i>Gallipoli</i> past conditional</p>	<p><i>Resava</i> 'X nearly happened' (with perfect only; imperfect has been lost)</p>	<p><i>Janjevo</i> 'X nearly happened'</p>
III. Zetsko-Južnosandžački Type (Ijekavski)		IV. Hercegovinian Type (Ijekavski)
<p><i>Srednjokat. + Lješan</i> past conditional iterative/habitual attenuated</p>	<p><i>Janjevo</i> 'X nearly happened' past conditional</p>	<p><i>Piva + Drobnjaci</i> attenuated quasi-potential quasi-non-past conditional</p>
<p><i>Bjelopavlići</i> past conditional attenuated quasi-potential quasi-non-past conditional</p>	<p><i>Mrkovići</i> past conditional attenuated</p>	<p><i>Uskok</i> past conditional iterative/habitual attenuated quasi-potential</p>
	<p><i>Crmnica</i> past conditional attenuated quasi-non-past conditional</p>	

**Figure 18.** Semantics of *Šćaće* in Colloquial Speech and Folk Prose of the Dialects (excluding the Quasi-Conditional)

- (98) *Ća u Globoder* (odgovor na pitanje—'de ćeš?)  
'I think I'll go//I'd like to go to Globoder' [answer to the question "where are you going?"]
- (99) *Ćamo d'okopamo* ono malo.  
'We are going to//we'd like to//we're about to dig that little [field].'

(100) *Ćadiamo u rod.*

'We're going to visit/we're planning on visiting relatives ([*ići u rod* = the visiting of married woman's parents.]'

(Jović 1968: 205)

Jović's explanation for these semantics is that they originated in an earlier time when future actions were less sure of being accomplished, and this attenuated expression warded off the evil eye (i.e., resulting from the common superstition that talking about an action will prevent it from happening). The fact that *šćaše* (rather than a non-past form) could express doubt regarding a future action supports his theory. Like *bi*, the imperfect (*šćaše*) indicates a lower degree of certainty for a potential action, in other words, a typical modal expression. The corresponding construction of the future, which is less semantically marked and less modal, would express an action that was less in doubt.

However, the use of *šćaše* for attenuated expressions appears to be recent in the dialects, following the development of categories such as the past conditional and the iterative/habitual, which undercuts his argument.

According to Jović, the imperfect of most verbs is very rare in the Trstenik dialect, with the exception of a few verbs such as *htjeti*. In fact, he gives several examples with the perfect with very similar semantics compared to *šćaše*.

Okolnost što je perfekt vidski nevezan još je jedan faktor više koji omogućava njegovu sinonimičnost s drugim oblicima za prošlost, posebno s vidski vezanim. Ove napomene bile su neophodne da bi se razumeo odnos prema dijalekatskom materijalu udaljem radu. Sinonimičnost se jasno vidi iz sledećih primera: (1) *ćao da mi da*, al ona njegova ne dade. (Mij.) (2) *ćaše da dođe*, al mora d'ide u Medvedu. (Mij.) (3) *ćali da se uznu*, al nisu dali njozini. (Med.) (4) *ćadiiu da prepisu sve posinku*, al sud niie dao. (Med.) (Jović 1968: 187–188)

(1) 'He would have given it to me, but she wouldn't let him.' (2) 'He would have gone, but he had to go to Medveda.' (3) 'They would have gotten married, but her relatives didn't allow it.' (4) 'They would have bequeathed everything to their foster son, but the court wouldn't let them.'



Compare these examples with which he states are past conditionals:

(1) *Ćamo da prenesemo, al ne dade kiša.* (2) *ćaše da propadneš, da ne beše Radivoja.* (3) *ćau da e udadu u Veluče, al je ukradoše.* Ovi i ovakvi primeri su u značenju *irealnog kondicionala*. Postoji vrlo velika frekvencija ovakve upotrebe. (Jović 1968: 205)

(1) 'We would have moved (it), but the rain prevented us.' (2) 'You would have perished, if it hadn't been for Radivoj.' (3) 'They would have married her to Veluče, but she was stolen [by another man].'

These may indeed be past conditionals, but it is highly possible that they carry other nuances from *htjeti*, with the exception of (2). Example (1), for instance, could also mean 'We were preparing to move (it), but...' or 'We were intending to move (it), but...'

Certainly the perfect and imperfect of *htjeti* have much in common, as Jović's first set of examples shows. With the imperfect rarely used in at least part of the dialect area, it is possible that at least some uses of the perfect could match the quasi-conditional or perhaps the conditional (as in NW Bosnian dialects). I considered all of the examples, with the exception of (2) in the first set to be good candidates for quasi-conditionals. Note also the formal syntactic structure of the conditional in this example compared to the syntax in the others. They all have the adversative conjunction *al (ali)* = 'but'. This second structure may be used for what I have called the 'functional conditional' in Serbo-Croatian, but may equally well be used for the quasi-conditional.

The neighboring dialect of Levač, also of the Kosovo-Resava type, has a similar semantic range of the Balkan conditional, and is discussed in the *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik* (Vol. 19: 1972) by Simić. I located some texts of folk-tales in manuscript form from the archives of SANU (Belgrade).

In the above material I found several semantic functions: the past conditional, the quasi-conditional and attenuated expressions.

(101) *U drugom selu beše se čoveku zapalila kuća mu, te da ne viknu, hoćaše izgoreti i on i čeljad mu.*

'In the second village a man's house had caught fire, so if I hadn't shouted, both he and his child would have burned up.'

(Mijatović LXXXIX: 232)

In the same story there is an example of what is most probably a quasi-conditional:

- (102) U osmom selu odbranih slabijeg od jačeg koji ga *hoćaše ubiti*.  
 ‘In the eight village I defended a weaker man from a stronger one who wanted//was about to kill//would have killed him.’

(Mijatović LXXXIX: 232)

Simić does not analyze examples with *šćaše*, he simply lists them with examples of other imperfects. Under the category of ‘potential’, he gives examples of final clauses of purpose, optative expressions, and the past conditional, all with *bi*. Among his examples with *šćaše*, however, can be found examples of the quasi-conditional, attenuated expressions, and, of course, the full lexical meaning.

- (103) a. *Ća’*, kaže, *da donesem*.  
 ‘“I was going//was intending//wanted to bring//would have brought it,” he said.’
- b. E, u Vranju *ća da naletim*.  
 ‘Hey, I’m going to//I’d like to fly to Vranje.’
- c. *Ćaše me sin ubiše*.  
 ‘My son wanted to kill/almost killed me.’
- d. *Ćaše me udavi*.  
 ‘He wanted to/almost drowned me’
- e. *Ćaše crkneš*.  
 ‘You almost collapsed.’ (Simić 1972: 395)

The examples appear to be quasi-conditionals or to have the meaning ‘X nearly happened’, with the exception of 103b, for which an attenuated expression of potentiality is the best description (cf. Vuk Karadžić’s example 41). Thus in this area we have at least some expansion of the Balkan conditional into the past conditional and the attenuated expression.

The Resava dialect is spread over an area to the southeast of the Levač and Trstenik dialects, throughout the valley of the Resava River. A. Peco and R. Milanović analyse this particular dialect in the *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik* Vol. 17 (1968). In contrast to the Levač and Trstenik dialects, the imperfect of most verbs, including *htjeti*, has been lost here, and the perfect has taken over most of the functions of the imperfect. The perfect of *htjeti* may express the quasi-conditional and the semantics ‘X nearly happened’.

Recall in the previous chapter that this situation was also found in the folk poetry, with overlapping of semantic functions between the perfect and imperfect as modal auxiliary.

It is interesting that in the Resava dialect there are two variants of the perfect auxiliary from *htjeti*: *teo* and *ćao* (both for the m. 2nd/3rd per. sg.). The second variant results from contamination with the old imperfect: *ćaše*. Here the authors compare the variants with those in the dialect immediately to the north of the Resava dialect:

(Npr. u Kruševačkom kraju su sasvim obični: *ćā* da dođem, *ćaše* da padne, kao i: [(in the Resava area)] *ćao* da dođe, i *ćali* smo da vršemo. Odavde proizlazi sledeći zaključak: resavski oblici *ćao*, *ćali* mogli su nastati i na tlu Resave u vezi sa oblicima imperfekta ovoga glagola koji su imali na početku afrikatu *ć*, a koji su docnije mogli i nestati iz upotrebe. (Milanović 1972: 116)

These variants might also be influenced by a variant of the perfect, *ćeo*, (of which one example was given from the dialect).

In the list of examples from the Resava dialect, there is one example with the semantics of the quasi-conditional:

- (104) *Ćao si da pogineš.*  
 'You nearly died.' (Milanović 1972: 116)

Other examples with *ćao*, such as

- (105) *Ćao da me udari.*  
 'He would have//wanted to//almost hit me.' (Milanović 1972: 116)

have a greater chance of having the full lexical meaning or its nuances.

In the texts in the Resava dialects, there are no examples with the perfect of *htjeti*. Examples with *bi* express the past and non-past conditionals, or optatives.

The Janjevo dialect, from eastern Kosovo, belongs to the same group of dialects as the three groups just discussed. Other than the full lexical meaning, two other possible semantic functions may be inferred from Pavlović's description:

Pomoćni glagol "hteti" nema "oćaše," a znaćenje "htede" zabeležio sam kao šća, jedanput kao ća: Ja ća da ga ufatim (Z.), dalje šćasmo, šćaste, oni šćau, a ne "oćaše"; zabeležio oblike jednine kao šćaše, "imadaše nameru" a taj oblik je normalan, i odgovara r. gl. pridevu m. roda, koji sam takođe zabeležio—šćaja (Šćaja sьm nešto dati rekнем, M.Gl.) (Pavlović 1970: 105)

In his first example, Pavlović equates the semantics of *ća* with the aorist *htede*, which would mean 'to decide, make up one's mind'. This could indicate overlapping semantics between the imperfect and aorist; it is also normal semantics for my definition of the quasi-conditional. His second example: (*Imadaše nameru*— 'to have the intention of doing something'), is certainly a quasi-conditional. The final example, with the perfect—*šćaja*—might be either a quasi-conditional or an attenuated expression.

### *Zeta-Južni-Sandžak Dialects*

The group of dialects to the west of this group, the old, ijekavian Zeta-Južni-Sandžak group, cover much of the Sandžak and eastern and southern Montenegro. Dialects under discussion will include: 1) Novi Pazar-Sjenica 2) Bjelopavlići 3) Lješan and Srednji Katun 4) Crmnica and 5) Mrkovići.

The dialect closest to the Kosovo-Resava group is the Novi Pazar-Sjenica dialect, covering most of the Sandžak (SW Serbia). Barjaktarević (1966) analyses it in the SDZ, and finds only two basic semantic functions for *šćaše*: the quasi-conditional with the nuance of 'to have the intention to do something', and the idiom 'nearly':

Novopazarsko-sjenički govori poznaju konstrukciju od imperfekta glagola *hteti* i infinitiva drugog glagola koja se upotrebljava da pokaže nešto što se gotovo dogodilo, a može i označavati i neku nameru. (Barjaktarević 1966: 127)

His examples, however, suggest the high probability of the past conditional as well:

(1) Da e još malo trčo, šćaše g' ufatit. (2) Da im ne dadosmo, oćaju puć [sic] (3) Oćaše poginut da ne stigosmo. (Barjaktarević 127–128)

- (1) 'Had he run just a little faster, he would have caught him.' (2) 'Had we not given it to them, they would have burst.' (3) 'You/he would have perished if he hadn't arrived.'

I would not consider any of these a quasi-conditional.

Some of Barjaktarević's other examples could be read as quasi-conditionals, e.g., or even in some instances as conditionals, e.g.,

- (106) a. *Ja ti šća dat no ti ode.*  
'I intended//wanted to give it to you, but you had gone.'
- b. *Šća kupit ovoga konja, a nemam para.*  
'I intended to//wanted to buy this horse, but I don't have the money.'
- c. *Da ne pade ova kiša, šćasmo prižnjet.* (Barjaktarević 127–128)  
'If this rain hadn't fallen, we would done the reaping//we intended to do the reaping.'

Except for the third example, the formal structure of the conditional was not used, rather these are "functional" conditionals, with an adversative conjunction.

Regarding examples with the semantics of 'nearly', some of his examples (e.g. 2) might be read as such. Yet the structure of the conditional mitigates against this; the sense of 'nearly' might be an added nuance here, but the main sense is clearly that of the past conditional expression. I would say that his examples would be better described as quasi-conditionals and past conditionals.

The second dialect for this group, Bjelopavlići (in south-central Montenegro) is at the heart of the area which generates epic poetry and also many of the extended semantic functions (see Chapters 3 and 4).

Ćupić (1977) discusses the status of this dialect in the mid-twentieth century. In his examples of colloquial speech and folk prose, he discusses only the "extended" semantics of two rare functions: the (future) potential and the attenuated modal expression. In his words:

I mada je osnovno značenje imperfekta u ovom govoru da označi radnje koje su se dešavale u prošlosti, naporedo sa drugom nekom radnjom ili samostalno, ipak se ovim oblikom mogu izražavati i druge radnje. Tako se u primjerima: *Au nuodi, ća ti nešto reć* (Gz), *Oća nešto da ti napomenem* i sl.—iznose potencijalne radnje, dakle

uslovne, koje imaju modalni karakter. Inače, glagol *htjeti* u imperfektu može označavati kako prošlost, tako i sadašnjost i budućnost: *Ćau da i pobiju* (Gz), *Oća da idem u Grad, no mi dođoše, eo, čeljad* (sa primjesom modalnosti, (Slk), *Oća sutra orat, bi li mi da, vola* (Pkr.) U tom pogledu ovaj govor se slaže sa crmničkom i nekim drugim govorima Crne Gore. (Ćupić 1977: 168) [*Italics his.*]

The first two examples “Au nuodi, *ća* ti nešto reć” (‘Hey, come here, I’d like to tell you something’) and “*Oća* nešto da ti napomenem” (‘I’d like to remind you of something’) are clearly examples of the attenuated modal expression described earlier.

His next two examples “*Ćau* da i pobiu” (‘They almost killed//were about to kill//intended to kill them’) and “*Oća* da idem u Grad, no mi dođoše, eo, čeljad” (‘I was intending//wanted//was about to go//would have gone to the city but my children came’) are quasi-conditionals with possibilities of various lexical nuances given in my translation.

Ćupić’s final example is a potential, referring to the future: “*Oća* sutra orat, bi li mi da vola” (‘I will//would like to plow tomorrow, if he gives me the oxen’).

This is a rare example and an interesting construction, with *bi* in the protasis, and *šćaše* substituting for *bi* in the apodosis, perhaps a non-past conditional. One can argue that it is also colored by nuances of the lexical meaning, much like attenuated expressions above. Judging from this single example, I would say that the latter reading is a better possibility.

Beyond the categories of the attenuated modality and the potential, one can find other semantic functions in this dialect. Ćupić notes one of these: the iterative/habitual, which unlike the examples just discussed, may not be replaced by either the perfect or the aorist of *htjeti*.<sup>2</sup> Note also the particular morpho-syntactic structure of the iterative here: the imperfect of *htjeti* plus the 2nd per. sg. imperative of the main verb, a structure found only in the dialects of central Montenegro. (Cf. Chapter 2, example (37)) for an instance in twentieth-century epic poetry from the Nikšić area.)

Nowhere does Ćupić mention the quasi-conditional, the full lexical meaning, or the past conditional. However, all of these semantic categories have been found in folk poetry from this area, and surely exist in the colloquial speech. In his section on the imperfect, Ćupić lists several examples with *šćaše*, all in context-free position and without analysis:

<sup>2</sup> For all examples with the imperfect (of any verb), he successfully substituted the perfect for the aorist, including expressions with *htjeti* as the auxiliary verb.

- (107) a. *Ćaše Hitler da pobije sve.*  
 'Hitler wanted//intended to kill//would have killed everyone.'
- b. *Ćagu još do granice da ig ćeraju.*  
 'They wanted to//were about to chase//would have chased them as far as the border.'
- c. *Ćagu da naprave onu vodu.*  
 'They wanted to//intended to direct the water [to irrigate the garden].'

(Ćupić 1977: 167)

Note that most of the examples given by Ćupić exhibit a syntactic structure of the imperfect of *htjeti* plus the particle *da* followed by the present indicative, rather than the infinitive of the main verb. According to Ćupić, this construction is much more frequent than the infinitival construction, especially where the semantic context expresses a lack, as in expressions with *treba* ('it is necessary') and in other modal expressions.

To the west of the Bjelopavlići dialect area are found the dialects of Lješan and Srednji Katun, old and relatively conservative dialects in comparison with the younger ijekavian dialects of Bosnia and western Serbia. Pešikan (1965) briefly describes modal expressions in these dialects.

First of all, he cites the semantic category of the past conditional with the example:

- (108) *Ćaš-umrijet da ne dođe doktor.*  
 'You would have died if the doctor hadn't come.'

(Pešikan 1965: 206)

Secondly, there is the iterative/habitual, formed with either the infinitive of the main verb or with the sg. per. sg. of the imperative (cf. Bjelopavlići and Nikšić dialects). Pešikan's examples are with imperfective verbs of motion; they are exceptions to the rule that in this dialect iterative/habituals are formed with perfective verbs:

- (109) a. *Ćaše idi.*  
 'You/he used to go.'
- b. *Ćaše donosi.*  
 'You/he used to carry.'

(Pešikan 1965: 206)

The third semantic category is of attenuated modal expressions, e.g.:

(110) Pripaz-ovoga maloga *ćak poć* u Prodo. (= jer ja nameravam da pođem u Prodo)

‘Watch this child [little one], I’d like//intend to go to Prodo.’

(Pešikan 1965: 206)

Pekišan sees this type of expression as one of intention: “namerno-uzročni” (‘intentional-causative’), since he believes that it is most frequently used following an imperative, i.e., ‘Do this, for I intend to do that’).

Pešikan also claims that the short form *ćak* rather than the full form *oćak* indicates the speaker’s surety that the action will indeed be performed. If the longer form were used, the speaker would express more doubt that the action would occur, giving us the full lexical meaning: ‘I would like//want to do X’. This supposition arises partly from a false parallel with the future in Serbo-Croatian, where the clitic forms of the auxiliary *htjeti* (except in clause- or sentence-initial position) express the purely modal future, while the full form of the auxiliary expresses the full lexical meaning ‘to want’. I have not found this to be the case with the imperfect of *htjeti* in other dialects; the long forms may express ‘pure’ modal semantics, as in the past conditional or the iterative/habitual, while the short forms may express the full lexical meaning. (See Chapters 2 and 3 for a more detailed discussion of this hypothesis.)

Another modal category, which describes involuntary actions in situations where some calamity nearly happened, is expressed in literary Serbo-Croatian with the adverbial phrase *umalo (što)* or *zamalo (što)*, and in many dialects with the *šćaše* construction. In the Lješan and Srednji Katun dialects, the auxiliary is from the verb *imati* (‘to have’) followed by the infinitive of the main verb. Vuković (1967) analyses this latter construction; in his opinion, they are equivalent to expressions with *umalo*. Pešikan adds that the semantic context here is for involuntary actions only:

Možda bi Vukovićevu definiciju trebalo dopuniti u tom smislu što se ovim oblikom kazuje *zamalo*, jedva izbegnuta *nepovoljna* prošla radnja (nepovoljna bilo sa stanovišta govornog lica, bilo sa stanovišta subjekta): *ima me ubit ona pogan; ima on nać što je tražio*. (Pešikan 1965: 205)

Examples: ‘That dirty scum almost killed me’; ‘He almost found what he was looking for.’



Pešikan considers this category as broader than in my definition; his second example is more neutral in emotional tone than the avoidance of calamity. However, this extended definition may apply only to expressions with *imati*, and not with *šćaše*. Furthermore, typically expressions with *šćaše* are often followed by a clause explaining the impediment which averted the action, e.g.,:

- (111) A dok pope stade drijemati, 'And when the priest began to  
daydream,  
*Taman panuť* sa kulasa *šćaše*, Just then he nearly fell off the  
horse,  
Ne dade mu ČengiĆ Smajil- ČengiĆ Smajil-aga didn't let him—  
aga—  
Trže sablju, osječe mu glavu. He drew his sword, cut off his  
head.'
- (*Gajret* 1925: 263)

- (24) "... Šćer ti Fatu zarobili živu!" "... Your daughter Fata was  
enslaved alive!"  
Ja se nagnuh na konju đogatu, I slumped on the bay horse,  
*Šćavah pasti* u zelenu travu, I almost fell onto the green grass,  
Ne dade mi kavedžija Ibro: Coffeehouse owner Ibro didn't let  
me:  
"Ne prepan' se, to nije istina!" "Don't be frightened, it isn't true!"
- (*Šaulić* 1929 1: 528)

The Crmnica dialect area is southeast of the Bjelopavlići area, immediately south of Rijeka Crnojevića, on the northwest border of Lake Skadar. It belongs to the same group of dialects as the three discussed earlier. Miletić (1940) divides the semantic functions for *šćaše* into two groups: the full lexical meaning or its nuances (i.e., the quasi-conditional) and the 'potential', mostly frequently realized as the past conditional.

Miletić defines the former category in reference to past, present, and future actions. In past contexts, *šćaše* is used with the full lexical meaning or nuances stemming from it, such as intention, preparation, being on the point of the action. However, the examples Miletić gives for present contexts appear to me to be attenuated modal expressions. For instance:

- (112) a. *Ćak-te* molid za [j]e[d]nu stvar.  
'I'd like to request something of you.'

- (112) b. *Ćak-vi reć nešto, ma-mi nećete vljero[v]at: nadok u-sre[d]—*  
*Bijograda crmničkoga vina.*  
 ‘I’d like to tell you something, but you won’t believe me: in the  
 middle of Belgrade I found some wine from Crmnica.’
- c. *Oćak-te zamoli[d] za-nječem.*  
 ‘I’d like to ask you for something.’ (Miletić 1940: 552)

Similarly, examples with *šćaše* in future contexts given by Miletić are not merely the full lexical meaning or the quasi-conditional, but the potential (with nuances of lexical meaning). This type of expression is rare in dialectal Serbo-Croatian; aside from two examples in epic poetry from Lješan area (Montenegro) and some examples cited from dialects of Montenegro (citations above), it does not exist.

As we have seen, the overwhelming majority of *šćaše* expressions refer to past contexts. Non-past contexts, where it functions as an attenuated expression and/or a quasi-potential are limited in distribution, and with the loss of the positive marking of past tense, are more marked semantically than the past conditionals and quasi-conditionals (see Table 17 on the next page).

While I agree with Miletić that there is some degree of lexical meaning in these *šćaše* expressions, I would divide his categories into the quasi-conditional or full lexical meaning for past actions, attenuated for present (actually actions in the near future, e.g., ‘I’d like to tell you something’), and a quasi-potential (having nuances from the lexical meaning) for a future. Judging by the semantic contexts, the change in tense marks a change in modality: the lexical meaning does not have the same “weight” in all three/four contexts. The potential expression is tending toward a future, as in

- (113) a. *Oćasmo- [j]e udat ove jeseni, ako imadosmo koju paru.*  
 ‘We’ll//we’d like to marry her off this fall, if we have//had  
 some money.’
- b. *Šćak sutra (poć) na Vir-sutra, ako bude vedro.*  
 ‘I’ll//I’d like to go to Vir tomorrow, if it’s clear.’  
 (Miletić 1940: 553)

These expressions can be read several ways: as potentials, as quasi-potentials, with nuances of the lexical meaning, and as even as non-past conditionals, or perhaps quasi-non-past conditionals, contaminated with lexical meaning from the auxiliary. The latter reading appears to be the closest; I

**Table 17.** Extensions of *Šćaše* Expressions in Dialectal Serbo-Croatian

Dialectal area	Semantic Function	
Piva and Drobunjaci, Uskok, Bjelopavići	quasi-potential	quasi-non-past conditional
Piva and Drobnjaći, Bjelopavići, Mrkovići, Uskok, Lješan, Crmnica	attenuated expressions	
Montenegro	'to be on the point of [referring to time]' iterative/habitual	
Bosnia-Hercegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, southern Dalmatia	'X nearly happened' past conditional	'to be on the point of [death, birth]'
Bosnia-Hercegovina, Serbia, central and southern Croatia, Montenegro, Gallipoli Serbs	quasi-conditional	
Literary language, all dialects with the imperfect	full lexical meaning	

don't read them as pure conditionals, but rather in a transitional stage still marked by lexical nuances.

Furthermore, these transitional stages show further degrees of surety that the action will take place. Example (112a) displays a lower degree of certainty, indicated by the past tense form of the verb in the dependent clause. Compare this with an example from the Bjelopavlići dialect:

(114) *Oća sutra orat, bi li mi da vola.*

'I'd like//I intend to plow tomorrow, if they'll//they'd give me the oxen.'  
(Ćupić 1977: 168)

The use of *bi* in the protasis indicates a lesser degree of certainty, while in example (112b), use of a non-past form in the protasis indicates a stronger degree of certainty.

Miletić's second semantic category is the 'potential', which is essentially the conditional mood, with its syntactic structure. E.g.,

- (115) a. Da-besmo prodali ribu dok-je-freška, *ćasmo uze[t]* koju paru više.  
 'If we had sold the fish while it was fresh, we would have gotten a lot more money.'
- b. *Oćaše zlo bi[d]*, da-ne-srete.  
 'Something bad would have happened, if he hadn't met [x].'  
 (Miletić 1940: 553)

There are also a few examples without the formal conditional structure, e.g.:

- (116) *Ćak-je ima[d]* zaldo liepo, no o[v]a prokleta boliest osuši. (Miletić 1940: 553)  
 'I would have had a great profit [from the harvest], but this cursed [plant] sickness dried things up.'
- (117) Dok-sam-bila ne[v]ijesta *ćag z-dobre volja odit* na svakog petka.  
 'When I was newly married I used to go each Friday, when I was in a good mood.'  
 (Miletić 1940: 553)

To the southeast of the Crmnica dialect is the Mrkovići dialect, which falls into the Zeta-Južni-Sandžak group. Vujović (1969) in analyzing the *šćaše* expression here, finds two semantic functions: the past conditional and attenuated modal expressions. It is interesting that this past conditional semantic function does not overlap with the semantic functions of *bi*. (See Table 18 on the following page for comparison of *šćaše* in three dialect areas.) *Bi* is used only in non-past contexts:

Već smo vidjeli da potencijal ima dva oblika: *bik poše<sup>a</sup>* sadašnjost i *ćak poč*—za prošlost. To ipak ne znači da potencijal za sadašnjost ima određeno vremensko značenje kao *modus*, nego samo da se upotrebljava u vremenskoj situaciji za sadašnjost, a sama radnja naginje ka budućnosti. Međutim, *ćak poč* i sl. je doista *modus* za prošlost, jer se ni u jednom svojstvu ne može upotrijebiti za sadašnjost.<sup>296</sup>

**Table 18.** The Semantics of *Šćaše* Expressions in Three Dialect Areas of Serbo-Croatian

Dialect area	Semantic Function
East Serbian dialects	full lexical meaning quasi-conditional 'X nearly happened' past conditional
Dialects of the Sandžak, Hercegovina and eastern Montenegro (outer "core" area)	full lexical meaning quasi-conditional 'X nearly happened' 'to be on the point of' past conditional
Dialects of central and southern Montenegro (inner "core" area)	full lexical meaning quasi-conditional 'to be on the point of' past conditional iterative/habitual attenuated expressions quasi-potential quasi-non-past conditional

[Vujović's fn. 296:] Drukčije stoji stvar u *crmničkom govoru* gdje ovaj oblik znači "želju ili namjeru kako u sadašnjosti tako i u prošlosti i budućnosti." "Ista konstrukcija služi za izricanje potencijala." (Miletić, o.s. str. 552–555) (Vujović 1979: 346)

Some of the examples of the past conditional with *šćaše*:

- (118) a. Da nije pobro (tamo), *ćaše* njeko *doć*. (MG)  
'If my blood-brother hadn't been [there], someone would have come.'
- b. Da-si viđo tu decu, babo, *ćaše* *plakat*. (Aj)  
'If you had seen that child, father, you would have cried.'

- (118) c. Da-su tu stojali, *ćau* muke *videt*.  
 ‘If they had been standing here, they would have seen awful things [lit.: ‘tortures].’ (Vujović 1979: 346–347)

Note that all of Vujović’s examples exhibit the formal conditional syntactic structure. In his footnote comparing the Crmnica dialect with the Mrkovići one, one can infer that the quasi-conditional was not recorded by Vujović in the Mrkovići dialect, and thus may well be unknown.

However, there is one unusual use of the imperfect in non-past contexts, including *htjeti*:

U nekoliko primjera upotrijebljen je imperfekat u vremenskoj situaciji za sadašnjost, pa bi mjesto njega mogao stajati prezent. Takav imperfekat je najobičniji od modalnog glagola *htjeti*, zatim od *imati* i *ići*, a ponekad i od drugih glagola: *varati*, *pitati*, *gorjeti*. Primjeri: 1. Očeš da topiš? *Ćak*. 2. O Šaboice! Očeš na svadu? Ja *oćak*. (Vujović 1979: 332)

Examples: 1. Do you want to drink? [lit.: ‘to melt’<sup>3</sup>] Yes, I would.’  
 2. ‘Hey, Šaboica! Do you want to [go] to the wedding? I would [like to].’

This expression might be classified as a type of attenuated expression, with the “softening” resulting from the use of the imperfect instead of the non-past. The above examples appear to be an extension of the lexical meaning, in a slightly different context from the other examples from Montenegrin dialects.

Vujović does not mention the quasi-conditional, but I found an example which might be classified as one:

- (119) Vidim jenu jerebicu na sedenje [= *čući*] i ja pole<sup>a</sup>ko micak kapicu [= *fes*] i lišanik-jo dobro, no oni belav od one kapsulače grde priseče-mi, ne uždi i boga-mi ne mo[g]ak- je ubit; diže-se otle i minu u iede<sup>a</sup>[n] lit. *Oćak da napunim* pušku ope[t], ke<sup>a</sup> gledam—nema-mi čarka [= *udarač*] na-nju, te-ja pođok ge-kuća, uzek jene klešti, jenu peču *klinca*, limu i poček opet da napralam jenu vidu. ‘I see [hist. present] a partridge crouched down and I slowly take off my cap [lit.: ‘fez’] and aimed it [the gun] well, but that damned

<sup>3</sup> The context here most likely refers to the melting of the wax seal on a bottle of *rakija* (brandy).

metal piece by the trigger cut me, and my God, I couldn't kill it; it moved away and flew off. I was about to//wanted to load//would have loaded my gun again, when I see—there is no trigger on it, so I set off home, took some pliers, some nails, and tin and began again to make a firing-pin.'

(Vujović 1979: 368)

Although this example might be a past conditional, it is more likely that it is a quasi-conditional conveying nuances of 'was preparing to load' or 'was just about to load.' Thus we can tentatively add the category of the quasi-conditional to the Mrkovići dialect.

### *Hercegovinian Dialects*

The remaining group of dialects belong to the neoštokavian Hercegovinian group. There are several dialects outside of Hercegovina which fall into this group, including most of the dialects of northern and north-central Montenegro (cf. Figure 19 opposite). The Uskok dialect is in north-central Montenegro, to the northeast of the Bjelopavlići dialect, and to the southeast of Durmitor Mt. In *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik* (Vol. 20, 21), Milija Stanić gives a detailed analysis of the Uskok dialect. It is a relatively new dialect for several reasons: 1) it belongs to the neoštokavian group (compared to all of the older štokavian dialects mentioned earlier); 2) in itself it is a young dialect. According to Stanić, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries people from the Sandžak, the Nikšić area, and from central-southern Montenegro (e.g., Bjelopavlići and Srednje Katun) moved into this nearly deserted area. Unlike the other Montenegrin dialects, which developed in a stable area over a long period of time, the Uskok dialect developed since the late seventeenth/early eighteenth century among people of diverse backgrounds.

One indication of these diverse influences is the number of variants for the imperfect of *htjeti* in the dialect. Compared to the one or two variants in most of the other dialects, here we see in the second-third person singular: *šćaše*, *ćaše*, *ščavaše*, *oćaše*, *ćavaše*, *stijaše*.

Among the semantic functions given for *šćaše* is the past conditional:

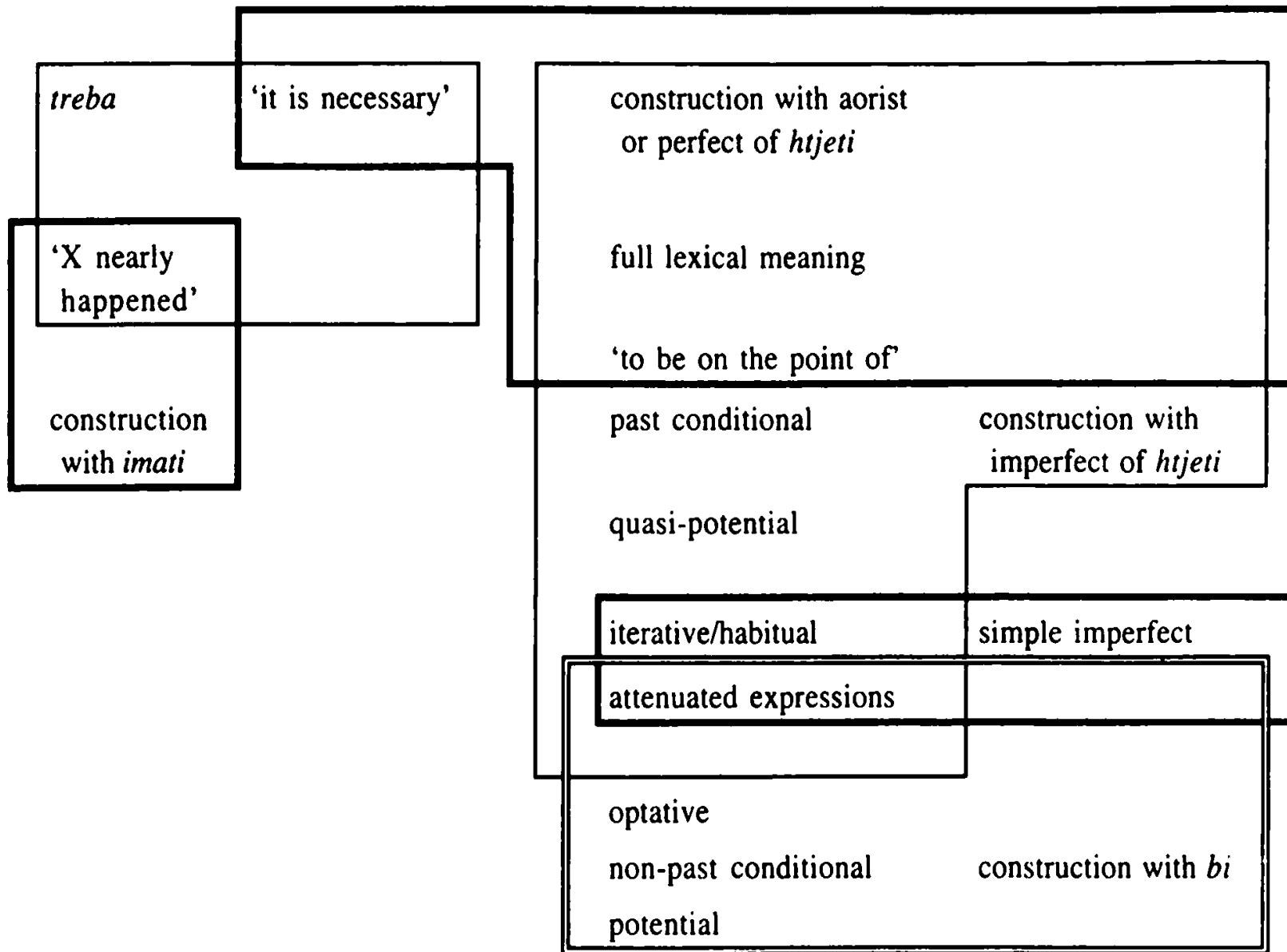


Figure 19. Semantic Functions of Modal Expressions in the Uskok Dialect



Drukčija je situacija sa konstrukcijom *oćag* (*ćag*, *šćag*) + infinitiv u primerima kakav je *Da se ne dovati na ruku, oćaše glavu razbiti*. Kao što se vidi, ona tu, u kondicionalnoj atmosferi, ima značenje potencijala za prošlost (... razbio bi glavu). Slično je i u primjeru *Ćagu doći pa ig nešto spriječi*, samo u adverbzativnoj situaciji (došli bi, ali ih spreči nešto). (Stanić 1977: 105)

His examples: 1) 'If he hadn't caught his arm, he would have broken his head' and 2) 'They would have come, but something stopped them', reflect my discoveries in other dialects. There are two structures for the past conditional: the formal syntactic structure and an alternate structure with an adversative conjunction, which may be used either for the conditional or for other semantic functions. Stanić notes this in the above passage.

A second semantic category in this dialect is the iterative/habitual, which may be expressed with the imperfect of *htjeti* and the infinitive of the main verb, with the imperfect of *moći* and the infinitive, or with just the imperfect of the main verb:

Evo nekoliko primera i za kvalifikativni imperfekat: *Šćavaše on rano početi kositi.—Mogaše on ostrići tri ovce dok ja jednu.—Ućaše dijete prilično, bogami.—Radaše dobro.—Ona ćaše po kilo pićucnuti (...)*

Kao što se vidi, ovaj imperfekat znači: imao je običaj, njegova odlika bila je i sl. (Stanić 1977: 106)

Examples: 1) 'He would begin to reap early.' 2) 'He used to be able to shear three sheep while I [would be able to shear] one.' 3) 'The child studied very well, really.' 4) 'He/She worked well.' 5) 'She used to drink by the kilo.'

So in this dialect we have the imperfect used in various constructions to express the iterative/habitual; constructions with *bi* are not used with this meaning.

The third semantic category is, as in the other Montenegrin dialects, the attenuated modal expression. Unlike the other dialects, however, in the Uskok dialect such semantics may be expressed by the imperfect of other verbs in addition to *htjeti*. Here, however, the formal construction is with the imperfect alone, unaccompanied by the infinitive (or *da* + the non-past).

Stanić comments:

Imperfekat se ovde često upotrebljava mesto prezenta radi blažeg, “mekšeg” saopštenja (isp. J. Vuković GPD, 88): Šćasmo pod ovu [zgradu] izbe malo.—A. Ima litrave u one bregove? B. Imaše.—Kakono [= kako ono] se on zovijaše?—Koliko brojašmo [= računasm]o] jedan tovar? ... (Stanić 1977: 104)

Examples: ‘We would like to build a hut next to this building.’ A. ‘Is there grass on those hills?’ B. ‘There is.’ 3 ‘What is/was his name?’ 4 ‘How much are we charging for one piece of merchandise?’

Another semantic category in this dialect is the quasi-potential, which has been discussed earlier. It might also be placed in the general semantic category of “attenuated” expressions, but certainly differs from the other attenuated expressions in being an attenuated future with more certainty expressed by the speaker compared to other attenuated expressions. In his description of the Lješan and Srednji Katun dialects, Pešikan (1965: 206) describes it as “intentional-causative,” since in those dialects it follows the imperative in the context of ‘do this, for I intend to//shall do that.’ The semantic context for the Uskok dialect is identical:

Ovakve rečenice obično dolaze kao odgovor na pitanje: šta radiš, šta činiš, što to gradite i sl. ili uz kakav drugi kontekst: Da mi što da jedem, ćag da kosim.—Donesi mi koju ljusku, oćag ugrićati koto vode. (Stanić 1977: 105)

Examples: 1. ‘Give me something to eat, for I’m going to//intend to reap.’ 2. ‘Bring me a shell (?), I’m going to//intend to boil a kettle of water.’ (N.B. Here ‘shell’ most probably means the outer shell or rind of vegetables used for fuel.)

Stanić also mentions the function of the full lexical meaning for *šćaše*, and cites one example:

(120) *Ne ćavag piti, no me naćeraše.* (Stanić 1977: 104)  
‘I didn’t want to drink, but they forced me.’

The reader will recall that in Chapter 4 one type of the quasi-conditional, the expression ‘to be on the point of’ was discussed.

This construction is also found with the aorist and perfect of *htjeti*. (Cf. Figure 13 for the semantic distribution.)

Examples may be found in the Uskok dialect with the present perfect and the imperfect of *htjeti* as auxiliaries. However, the example given by Stanić appears to be a past conditional rather than a quasi-conditional:

- (121) Da se ne dovati [= dočeka na ruku], *oćaše* glavu *razbiti*.  
 'Had he not caught his arm, he would have smashed his head.'  
 (Stanić 1977: 105)

One would have to stretch a point to make this: 'He would have been on the point of smashing his head'. Furthermore, the syntactic structure is that of the conditional.

I found examples of 'to be on the point of' with both the perfect and the non-past of *htjeti* in this dialect:

- (122) a. *Oće li se ovce očemariti?*  
 'Is the sheep about to die of plant poisoning?'  
 b. *Oće da umre.*  
 'He/she is about to die.'  
 c. *Radijo sam cijeloga vijeka pa evo oću da umrem o [= od] gladi.*  
 'I have worked for a whole century, and here I am, about to die of starvation.'  
 (Stanić 1977: 86)

In Stanić's words:

... glagol *hteti* ne znači htenje ili želju, već ima sasvim drugo značenje: biti na putu izvršenja nečega, biti gotov za nešto, stići, prispeti, itd. (*Oće da umre* = Došlo mu vreme da umre, ubrzo će umreti.) (Stanić 1977: 86)

Similarly, with impersonal subjects:

- (123) a. *Oće kiša.*  
 'It's about to rain.'  
 b. *Oće snijeg, svetoga mi Petra!*  
 'It's about to snow, by Saint Peter!' (Stanić 1977: 86)

Taking this one step further, Stanić cites examples with the semantic of *treba* ('it is necessary'), e.g.,

- (124) a. *Oće li se glava osijecat ovom jagnjetu?*  
 'It is necessary to cut off the head of this lamb?'  
 b. *Ako se šćene plaćati, platićeš.*  
 'If you have to pay [lit.: 'one had to pay'], you'll pay.'  
 (Stanić 1977: 86)

As in the Bjelopavlići dialect, the semantics of *umalo* ('nearly, almost') are expressed with an auxiliary from the verb *imati*, rather than *htjeti*:

- (125) a. *Imag umrijeti.*  
 'I almost died.'  
 b. *Ima me ubiti.*  
 'He nearly killed me.'  
 c. *Vidi, imag slomit nogu.*  
 'Look, I nearly broke my leg.'  
 d. *Imala šanse [= sam se] pomamiti ondaj.*  
 'I almost flew into a temper then.'  
 (Stanić 1977: 86)

The overlapping of semantic functions among the modal verbs *htjeti*, *imati*, and *biti* (i.e., potential expressions with *bi*), which has been shown to a certain degree earlier (e.g., constructions with *imati* in the meaning of 'nearly') occurs in another expression in this dialect. This is the "attenuated" use of *bi* with the meaning 'Do you want?' substituting for *šćaše*:

- (126) a. *Bi li vode?*  
 'Would you like some water?'  
 b. *Bi li malo mlijeka?*  
 'Would you like a little milk?'  
 c. A. *Biste li mi pomogli u kosidbi?*—B. Bismo.  
 'A. Would you help//like to help with the hay making? B. Yes, we would.'  
 (Stanić 1977: 86)

Thus the Uskok dialect presents a complex system of modal expressions with substantial overlapping of semantic functions with the aorist and perfect of *htjeti*, with *bi*, or with *imati* as auxiliaries, and finally with the simple imperfect of the main verb. Overlapping with the aorist or perfect of *htjeti*,

and with *bi* has been noted in the dialectal folk poetry. Overlapping with *imati* as an auxiliary has also been noted in the Bjelopavlići dialect.

New functions which overlap, and which are found in the Uskok dialect are 1) the use of the perfect or aorist of *htjeti* in the meaning 'it is necessary' with *imati* expressions 2) expressions of the iterative/habitual with either *šćaše* or the simple imperfect, but not with *bi*; and 3) the three-way overlapping among *šćaše*, *bi*, and the simple imperfect for attenuated expressions.

It appears as though in this dialect the transformation of *šćaše* has gone a stage further than in other dialects (with the possible exception of Bjelopavlići). In the system of modal constructions described in Chapter 4, and in the colloquial speech of the Kosovo-Resava, Torlak, and most of the Montenegrin dialects, *šćaše* expresses full lexical meaning, the quasi-conditional, and the past conditional. The Montenegrin dialects also express the iterative/habitual and attenuated modals with *šćaše*. In a few dialects, there is also the quasi-potential, which together with the attenuated expressions leads *šćaše* away from the markedness for past tense which is so apparent for the majority of Serbo-Croatian dialects.

Furthermore, the quasi-potential and attenuated expressions are closely connected to the standard system of functions for *bi* in the literary language (and in most of the dialects).

In the Uskok dialect the semantic scope for *bi* has been sharply reduced, for *šćaše* (or the simple imperfect) has replaced it in expressing the iterative/habitual, and *šćaše* alone is used for the past conditional (see Figure 19). Here *bi* and *šćaše* are competing for the *non-past* modal functions: attenuation and the potential (although *šćaše*, strictly speaking, still expresses only a quasi-potential, with traces of lexical meaning. Thus, having taken over the past tense modals from *bi*, *šćaše* in the Uskok dialect has begun to invade the non-past modal territory.

This is a situation roughly similar to that in the northern Macedonian dialects. Although differing in specific distribution, *bi* is lost piece by piece to the Balkan conditional (in northern Macedonian, to the *ke.še* expression). In literary Macedonian, the Balkan conditional and the modal particle *ke* are the dominant modal structures, and semantic markedness has shifted to the *bi* expression. (See Chapter 6 for further discussion.) Returning to Serbo-Croatian, we see that the shift is not complete, but that it has progressed a great deal further than in the rest of Serbo-Croatian.

To the northwest of the Uskok dialect is the dialect of Piva and Drobniak, also belonging to the neoštokavian Hercegovinian group. Jovan Vuković (1938–1939) analyses the modal expressions in this area, citing the

following variants: *ščadijak*, *ščak*, and *ćak*. He mentions only one semantic function, conflating the quasi-potential and other attenuated expressions:

Glagoli: *šćeti* (hteti), *trebati*, *moći*, *morati*, *biti* (esse), *imati*, *voljeti*, *raditi*, *misliti*, *namjeravati* (u značenju *hteti* učiniti), imaju pored obične i posebnu upotrebu imperfekta u ovom govoru—u značenju neke *vrste prezenta* u nekom modalnom značenju, ili u značenju želnog potencijala. Zato se uvek u tom slučaju mogu i zameniti prezentom ili kondicijalom. Ja ću navesti nekoliko primera upotrebe ovog imperfekta za sadašnjost, kakvi se mogu i svaki dan ćuti u ovom kraju: 1. *ščak* danas u Voču (Foču); *ščak* sad *pokositi* ono mal[o] u Polju, no mi ne more kosa; *ščak* prodati (prodao bih) dvoe-troe jadjadi; *ščak* da te viđu... bješe me zrelo žito, pa *ščak* sutra da žnjem; bješe još malo para, pa *ščak* da se namirim za zime; *imak* još dosta, da Bog udrži. (Vuković 1938: 88)

Examples: 1. 'I'd like to//intend to go today to Foča.' 2. 'I'm going to //intend to//would like to reap that little field now in Polje, but my scythe doesn't work.' 3. 'I would//I'd like to//I'm ready to sell two or three lambs.' 4. 'I'd like//I want to see you.' 5. 'If the grain is ripe, then I'd like//I intend//I'm going to harvest tomorrow.' 6. 'If I had//if I get just a little more money, then I'll be able to provide for the winter.' 7. 'I've got//I'll have enough, if God provides.'

Examples five and six have modals with both *biti* and *htjeti*, and example seven uses *imati*. Vuković cites several examples with other verbs, such as *raditi* and *misliti*, but they are beyond the scope of this work.

Vuković defines the semantics of this expression as "some sort of present with modal meaning or potential with nuances of desire," which accords with my theory that such expressions are quasi-potentials, with nuances of lexical meaning. Regarding other semantic functions for attenuated expressions, I believe that the quasi-potentials overlap to some degree with attenuated expressions. Examples such as *ščak da te viđu* ('I'd like//I want to see you') should be called attenuated expressions rather than quasi-potentials.

Vuković's fifth and sixth examples might also be read as quasi-non-past conditionals. With nuances of lexical meaning from *htjeti*, they cannot be "pure" modals, but are rather transitional forms, in the same way as quasi-conditional and quasi-potentials. Examples similar to these two are found in the Bjelopavlići and Crmnica dialects, e.g.,

- (127) *Šćak* sutra (poć) na-Vir, ako bude vedro.  
 ‘I’ll/I’d like to go to Vir tomorrow, if it’s clear.’

(Miletić 1940: 553)

Examples in these three dialects, while clearly marginal and infrequent, do indicate a tendency towards the extension of *šćaše* into the category of the non-past conditional. Other semantic functions for *šćaše* are not given by Vuković. From the evidence of folk poetry from this area, however, I would add the past conditional, the iterative/habitual, probably the quasi-conditional, and, of course, the full lexical meaning.

The following example of an iterative/habitual is typical for the Piva and Drobnjak dialect, and is found in an epic poem collected by Luburić:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>(128) A to paši vrlo milo bilo,<br/><br/>         Pa joj ‘vako riječ govorio:<br/>         “O da Anđo, vojvodina ljubo!<br/>         Ti si mlada za vojvodom bila<br/>         I srpski si ‘adet naučila,<br/>         Kako ‘ćaše leći sa vojvodom,<br/><br/>         Sa vojvodom na jednom<br/>         dušku?”</p> | <p>‘And the pasha was very pleased by<br/>         that,<br/>         And spoke to her thus:<br/>         “O Anđa, the vojevod’s wife!<br/>         You were the vojvod’s bride<br/>         And learned the Serbian custom,<br/>         How did you used to lie with the<br/>         vojevod,<br/>         With the vojevod on one pillow?”’</p> |
|---|---|

(Luburić CXXXIX: 50)

During the discussion of *šćaše* in Serbo-Croatian dialects, the reader will have noticed an expansion of functions, culminating in the Uskok dialect, with a total of six semantic functions. Ignoring for the moment the full lexical meaning and the quasi-conditional, and concentrating on more extended semantic functions, we find an interesting progression: 1. “involuntary” constructions with the meaning of ‘X nearly happened’; 2. the past conditional; 3. the expression ‘to be on the point of’; 4. the iterative/habitual; 5. attenuated expressions; 6. the quasi-potential; 7. the quasi-non-past conditional. This progression moves gradually from the full lexical meaning (although not consistently, since the last three functions do have lexical nuances from *htjeti*). In addition to the loss of lexical meaning, the loss of positive markedness for past tense (5, 6, 7), merging of *šćaše* with the functions of *bi* (2, 4, 5, 6, 7), and the new adverbial use of *šćaše* (1, 3).

(Note: the Gallipoli dialect has only the past conditional, but not the idiom of 'X nearly happened' for *šćaše*.)

The Resava dialect has lost the use of the imperfect, but does have an expression with the perfect of *htjeti* equivalent to the *šćaše* expression 'X nearly happened', while the Janjevo dialect has only this first semantic category. The Levač, Trstenik, Torlak, and Novi Pazar-Sjenica dialects all have the first two categories, as do some dialects in southern Hercegovina and Dalmatia. I found examples of the third category in folk poetry in the Bjelopavlići and Piva and Drobnjaci dialects.

From this point on, the progression is spotty: various extended semantic functions appear in some dialects, but not in others. In this intermediate stage are the Mrkovići and Crmnica dialects from southern Montenegro. The past conditional and attenuated expressions are in both dialects (Crmnica also has the quasi-non-past conditional), but the iterative/habitual and quasi-potential are lacking.

The dialects with the highest level of progression are in central Montenegro (Bjelopavlići and Uskok) and in northern Montenegro (Piva and Drobnjak). This latter dialect has only the extended semantic functions, and none of the transitional functions, such as the past conditional or the iterative/habitual. The three extended semantic functions in this dialect all express future actions modified by nuances of lexical meaning: attenuated expressions, the quasi-non-past conditional, and the quasi-potential. So we see a development of *šćaše* which differs from the other Serbo-Croatian dialects, where markedness for past tense is the hallmark of *šćaše*.

The tendency is for dialects throughout Serbia (from the Torlak area to the Sandžak) to have only the categories of the full lexical meaning, the quasi-conditional, the expression 'X nearly happened', and the past conditional. All of these functions, apart from the full lexical meaning, express non-real past actions.

In the Montenegrin dialects, generally speaking, the category of 'X nearly happened' is not present. The past conditional and the iterative/habitual aside, the main tendency is the conditional extension of *šćaše* into the non-past semantic domain. This is particularly clear in the northern Piva and Drobnjak dialect where, as I have stated, the iterative/habitual and past conditional are not expressed by *šćaše*.

There are several differences in the usage of *šćaše* in folk prose and colloquial speech compared to folk poetry. The first of these is the rarity of the attenuated expression in folk poetry (three examples found) and of the quasi-potential (example (29)). This is quite natural for attenuated expres-



sions, for the semantic contexts appropriate to these are typically everyday situations, as opposed to the formulaic battles, war conferences and other events in epic poetry. The quasi-potential is fairly limited in the number of dialects; with more representation of epic poems from these dialects, it is possible that I might have found more than a single example.

Furthermore, the quasi-potential and quasi-non-past conditional are practically non-existent in dialectal folk poetry. This is because of the time-lag for new expressions entering folk poetry from colloquial speech. These two semantic functions are the latest extensions of *šćaše* and as such would be found less frequently in the more conservative language of epic folk poetry.





On the other hand, there may be a better representation of certain types of *šćaše* expressions. For instance, the idiomatic phrase 'to be on the point of' has been found in folk poetry from Dalmatia, Hercegovina, and Montenegro, but is not mentioned in the monographs for those dialects. This is an intriguing omission, especially considering the most common forms of the idiom, such as 'dawn was about to break,...' or 'he was on the point of departure...' If they are in the folk poetry, they are or must have been in the colloquial speech at one time or another. (See Figure 20 opposite.)

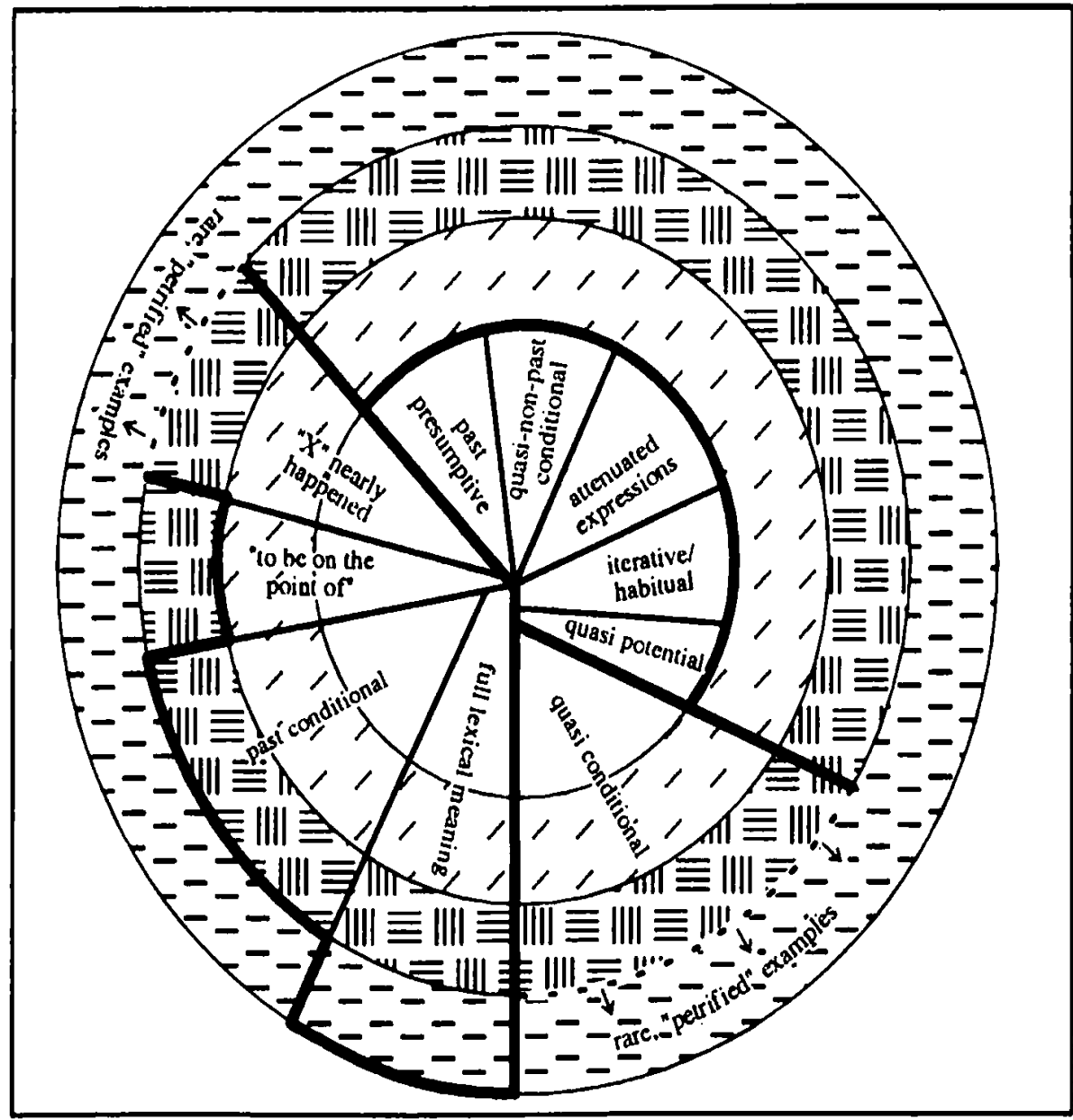
The language of folk poetry is a stage behind colloquial speech in the dialects; there is a dichotomy between the inner core area with the semantics of the iterative/habitual, 'to be on the point of' idiom, the past and quasi-conditionals, and the outer core area with mainly the quasi-conditional and the expression 'X nearly happened'. Compare this with the colloquial speech from the inner and outer core areas with the expanded semantics just described.

### *The Semantics of the Balkan Conditional in Folk Prose*

Compared to the fairly large corpus of folk poetry, the body of folk prose is relatively small. Apart from a few texts of folk tales in the monographs of the *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*, and literary magazines such as *Bosanska vila*, the main source is Karadžić's collection from the mid-nineteenth century.

In Karadžić's collection, there is minimal source documentation. When sources are given, they are typically for a large region, rather than for an administrative district (*nahija*) such as Bosnia or for a village. Thus we can give only broad generalizations regarding functions for *šćaše* in this section.

-  Inner "core" area (central and southern Montenegro)
  
-  Outer "core" area (southern and eastern Hercegovina, eastern Montenegro, the Sandžak, Boka Kotorska)
  
-  Torlak and Kosovo-Resavski dialects (southern and eastern Serbia, south-central Serbia)
  
-  Southern Dalmatia, Bosnia, northern Hercegovina, western Serbia (N.B. By the 20th century, the imperfect of *hijeti* was used only with full lexical meaning, except for folk poetry with a few "petrified" examples of the quasi-conditional or the expression 'X nearly happened'. By mid-20th century, the imperfect had died out in this area.)



**Figure 20.** The Semantics of *šćaće* Expressions in Dialectal Serbo-Croatian (Late 19th and Early 20th Century)

In these collections *šćaše* is used for only three functions: 1) the full lexical meaning; 2) the quasi-conditional and 3) the past conditional. Typical examples of the quasi-conditional are:

- (129) Kad on to vide, prepade se i *hoćaše* natrag *da bježi*, no ga dočeka nekakav čoek [sic] vas u krvave haljine obučen, krilat i s jednijem okom u glavi, koji zavika: ‘Stan, kuda ćeš? natrag! jere si poginuo!’ (Karadžić 1937: 86)  
 ‘When he saw that, he became frightened, and was about to//wanted to//prepared to flee [lit.: ‘run back’], but some kind of man was awaiting him, all dressed in bloody garments, with wings, and with one eye in his head, who shouted: “Stop, where are you going? Back! For you will perish [lit.: ‘you have perished’]!”’
- (130) ... Kad bi neko doba noći, zaljulja se sve jezero i izade troglava aždaha i *šćaše* nas *da proždere*, onda ja povadim sablju i glave joj sve tri odsiječem: ako ne verujete, evo šest uveta od aždahe.  
 ‘... When it was a certain hour of the night, the whole lake made a moaning noise, and out came a three-headed dragon and would have devoured//was about to//wanted to devour us, but I pull [hist. pres.] out my sword, and cut off all its three heads: if you don’t believe me, here are six ears of the dragon.’  
 (Karadžić 1937: 162)

Examples of the past conditional are naturally less frequent than the quasi-conditional; although none were found in Karadžić’s collection, a few were found in other sources:

- (131) “Ciganske ti vjere, da se oglav ne nađe, što *hoćaše* činiti?”  
 “Ja, ciganske me vjere i mjere, ništa drugo nego se povratiti u grad pa kupiti novi oglav.”  
 “By your gypsy faith, if you hadn’t found the headstall [part of a horse halter] what would you have done?”  
 “By my gypsy faith and law [lit.: ‘measure’] nothing else for it but to return to the city and buy a new headstall.”  
 (*Narodna proza* 1976: 268)

- (132) “E u kakvi naš strah utira, pasja vira, svojom ustrom i svojim škarama!”

“Da ne bi tvoje bistre glave *ćaše* nas *otirat* u bili svet!”

“‘Hey, my God! [lit.: ‘dog’s faith!'] to what state our fear brought us, with our razor and its tricks! If it hadn’t been for your quick mind, it would have cast us out into the wide world!’”

(*Narodna proza* 1976: 241)

There are more examples with the perfect of verbs (including *htjeti*), than with the aorist or imperfect. This is chiefly because folk prose uses the perfect for the main narrative form, compared to folk poetry, especially epic poetry of historical events, where the aorist and imperfect are the main verbal forms. In some dialects the perfect expresses unwitnessed or non-affirmed events, making it the appropriate vehicle for folktales.

Several of the semantic functions expressed by *šćaše* may also be expressed by the perfect, for instance the idiom ‘to be on the point of’:

- (133) Ovo je dijete živjelo Bog zna koliko i dokle, i kad je već pod starost *htio da umre*, pokaže mu se opet ona ista riba, i tek što se šnjime oprost, on umre, a ribe nestane s te stope da niko ko se tu namjerio, ne vide kud se dede i što se od nje učini.

‘This young man lived God knows how long until, when he was already very old and on the point of death, that same fish appeared before him, and just as soon as he had made up with it, he died; and the fish vanished from that very spot so that no-one noticed, nor saw where it went and what became of it.’ (Karadžić 1937: 179)

- (134) Oni isti dan kad je mlada carica *šćela roditi*, pođe joj muž u lov, i u tome ona rodi dva sina zlatnijeh ruka i treću đevojku zlatne zvijezde na čelu.

‘And on the very day when the young queen was about to give birth, her husband went off hunting, and during that time she gave birth to two sons, each with a golden hand, and a third child—a daughter—with a golden star on her forehead.’

(Karadžić 1937: 192)

The aorist and historical present of *htjeti* share roughly the same semantic territory with *šćaše*: the full lexical meaning, the idiom ‘to be on the point of’, the idiom ‘X nearly happened’, impersonal constructions beyond

the control of the speaker, i.e., ‘bullets could not stop him’, and the quasi-conditional.

Following are some typical examples from nineteenth-century folk prose:

- (135) ... pa počne lava milovati i hraniti pogačom, dok u jedan put čuje zveku od oružja, i *htede* od straha *pasti*, dok eto ti u sobu uđe nekako stvorenje u medvedoj koži; petao, vaška, mačka i lav otrče odmah predanj, i stanu se oko njega umiljavati i cičati od radosti. ‘... and she began to caress the lion and feed it with pieces of bread [*pogača* is a type of round bread] until the moment when she heard the rattle of weapons, and she nearly fell down from fright, when some sort of creature in a bear’s skin came into the room; the rooster, dog, cat, and lion immediately rushed devotedly over, and began to fawn over him and squeal with delight.’  
(Karadžić 1937: 113)
- (136) Kad ga đavo ugleda, uplaši se i *šćedne da pobjegne*, ali ne mogne, pa se sada sretnu na putu. ‘When the devil looked at him, he became frightened, and wanted to//intended to//would have run, but he couldn’t, and then they met on the road.’  
(Karadžić 1937: 229)
- (137) Kad već zemlja protuži bogu, da *hoće sva da izgori* od sunca, onda bog poslje svetog Arandela. ‘When the earth had already complained to God that everything was almost burnt up by the sun, then God sent down the holy Archangel.’  
(Zima 1887: 298)
- (138) Siječe jednu veliku granu, a stoji nogama na onoj strani grane, koja *hoće da pane*. ‘He cut one large branch, and stood with his feet on the other side of the branch, which was on the point of falling.’  
(Zima 1887: 298)

Example (135) is identical to the *šćaše* expression with the meaning of ‘nearly’. (136) could be classified as a quasi-conditional. Examples (137)

and (138) involve impersonal constructions, the former having the meaning of 'nearly', and the latter 'to be on the point of'. As for folk sayings, typically modal functions are expressed by *bi*. I found one example with *šćaše*:

- (139) *Ćaše u top da me baci.* (Gledaj: Malo me u top ne baci.)  
(Karadžić 1964: 290)

According to Karadžić, this is equivalent to another folk saying:

- (140) *Malo me u top ne baci.* = *Iskara me vrlo, malo sam živ ostao.*  
'He scolded me so severely, I barely remained alive [or lit.: He nearly threw me into the cannon].'  
(Karadžić 1964: 177)

This single example of *šćaše* comes from the most innovative area, Montenegro, and in contrast to the hundreds of *bi* examples, indicates the conservative nature of Serbo-Croatian folk sayings. This is also a good example of the semantics of *šćaše* in context-free position: 'X nearly happened'.

Thus we see a much more limited range of functions for *šćaše* in folk prose. As stated earlier, one reason for this may be that in presenting events of epic poetry as though they were witnessed by the speaker lends itself to using the aorist and imperfect for the main narrative line, while folktales by their nature often reflect mythological and other nonwitnessed events. Secondly, epic poetry was often on new themes, descriptions of historical events which were created by the singer, and thus reflected the morphological and even syntactic innovations of his dialect. Since the core area for epic poetry is southern Hercegovina, Bosnia, and especially Montenegro, such innovations would appear in the poetry. Folktales are often told over and over again for centuries, without substantially changing the morphology or the lexicon. In this way folk prose is much more conservative than epic poetry.

### *The Semantics of šćaše in Belles Lettres*

*Šćaše* appeared in the Serbo-Croatian literary language up through the early nineteenth century, as well as in literary epics modelled on folk poetry, such as later nineteenth-century epics by Njegoš.

The beginning of the great period of Dalmatian literature was in the early sixteenth century, with Marko Marulić's epic poems "Judita" and

“Susana.” Much of the literature under consideration is in the čakavian dialect, where the imperfect was common until the late eighteenth century. Some of the literature is in the štokavian dialect, or in the mixed štokavian dialect with čakavian elements of Dubrovnik proper.

In these historical epic poems, the main function of *šćaše* is the full lexical meaning, e.g.:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>(141) Prista ona u toj, zgrišit a ne<br/>zgubit<br/>počten glas, i za to se sama hti<br/>ubit.</p> <p>Susana <i>zagrubit</i> bogu <i>ne</i><br/><i>htijaše</i>,<br/>za to ni glas zgubit, ni život<br/>hajaše.</p> | <p>‘She agreed with the fact of<br/>sinning, but not of losing<br/>her good reputation, and for that<br/>reason she wanted to commit<br/>suicide.</p> <p>Susanna had not wanted to sin<br/>before God,<br/>for that reason she did not care<br/>either to lose her reputation or<br/>her life.’</p> |
|---|---|

(*Stari pisci hrvatski: Pjesme Marka Marulića*, 1869: 93)

Several examples of the quasi-conditional are found in Marulić’s poems, such as:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>(142) Tako ti ovi puk, tako t’ svi<br/>govore,<br/>metaše u klobuk, da sudom<br/>pritvore;<br/>pritvoriv da stvore tim dvima<br/>smrt pravo,<br/>ki <i>htihu da umore</i> Susanu<br/>nepravo.</p> <p>o božja upravo, moć tvoje<br/>istine<br/>ča brani, jest zdravo, ča<br/>nebrani, gine.</p> | <p>‘Thus these people, all of them say<br/>so,<br/>they voted for the court to arrest<br/>them;<br/>having arrested them, that they put<br/>those two to a justifiable death,<br/>who wanted to//intended to kill<br/>would have unjustly killed<br/>Susana.</p> <p>O justice of God, might of thy truth<br/>whatever it protects is well,<br/>whatever it doesn’t protect,<br/>perishes.’</p> |
|---|--|

(*Stari pisci hrvatski: Pjesme Marka Marulića*, 1869: 91)

- (143) Neka se očituje laža, himba, zloba,  
kako potribuje vrlost i hudoba,  
kom *htihu* taj oba krv njeje  
*proliti*,  
a svu u toj doba sramotu  
*proliti*;  
a to t' ne će biti, jer će laž  
istašćat,  
bog će to hotiti, istina čista  
ostat.
- 'Let lies, deceit, and wrongdoing  
show themselves,  
as required by good and evil,  
as both wanted//were preparing to  
spill//would have spilled her  
blood,  
and at that time wanted to  
hide//would have hidden their  
shame;  
but that will not happen, for the lie  
will disappear from sight,  
God shall will it so, the pure truth  
will remain.'

(*Stari pisci hrvatski: Pjesme Marka Marulića*, 1869: 83)

By the mid-sixteenth century, other semantic functions can be found for *šćaše* in Dalmatian literature. In Hektorović's narrative poem *Ribanje i ribarsko prigovaranje* ('Fishing and fisherman's talk'), in addition to the full lexical meaning and the quasi-conditional, there is an example of 'to be on the point of'. This example is found in the *bugarštice*, epic folk poems sung by the fishermen. The text involves a man compared to a deer that has been shot and is lying on the road on the point of death (example (27)) While this example is not in part of the actual text of Hektorović's own epic poem, it is an example of the folk language rather than belles lettres.

Other sixteenth-century literature, such as the plays of Marin Držić, and the anonymous prose, and the poetry of *Dubrovčani* (Dubrovnik citizens) such as Dinko Ranjina, show only the full lexical meaning and the quasi-conditional for *šćaše*, e.g.:

- (144) Spomenuješ li se kad ga ti navede da staromu gosparu ukradete  
dvije tisuće cekina, i kad ih pak podvrgoste kao vruću opeku?  
*Ktijaše* nekoga vraga *proždrijet* onada, povrati se juha!  
'Do you remember when you induced him to steal with you two  
thousand *cekina* (unit of Dalmatian money) from the old man and  
when you then had to drop them like a hot brick? You  
wanted//intended to devour//would have devoured a devil then,—the  
soup or enemy was regurgitated [i.e., the plot failed]!'

(Držić 1974: 42)



- (145) U oganj tuj gdi sjaše nemnec se oparlit,  
*Skočiti htijaše za moć ga zagrlit,*  
 Ter joste ljubiti; nu pastir taj znani  
 Tuj satvar stvoriti veleć mu zabrani;  
 “Izvarni tvoj stupaj, ter ke ognju neharli”;  
 ‘Into the fire which glowed, not thinking that he might burn up,  
 He wanted//was preparing to jump//would have jumped by force to  
 embrace him,  
 And even more to kiss him, but that famous shepherd  
 Forbade him to do that thing, saying:  
 “Turn your steps aside, do not fling yourself towards the fire;”  
 (Ranjina 1876: 299)

The only semantic functions for *šćaše* are the full lexical meaning, quasi-conditional, and ‘to be on the point of’. Additional confirmation for this is found in a collection of Croatian and Bosnian sixteenth-century texts, e.g.,

- (146) I tako, Aleksandar tiraje sa vsim macedonijskim [sic] pukom, i do velikoga Persipolja dojde. I došavši do grada, vidi Darija na putu ležeći: malo živ biše, jedva dihaše, i *hotiše zaminiti* život svoj smrtju.)  
 ‘And thus Alexander moved along with the whole Macedonian regiment, and he came to the great city of Persepolis. And having come to the city, he saw Darius lying in the road; he was barely alive, barely breathing, and was about to exchange his life for his death.’  
 (Dizdar 1971: 312)

The seventeenth-century status of *šćaše* is very similar to the previous century. In Gundulić’s two epic poems, “Osman” and “Dubravka,” only one example was found, a quasi-conditional:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>(147) “... Ali nidje nije nikoga<br/>         ko bi mene pomoć htio!<br/>         Čaćo, ufanje srca moga,<br/>         i ti li me si ostavio?”<br/> <i>Htijaše slidit</i> plač svoj ljuti</p> | <p>“... But nowhere is there anyone<br/>         who would want to help me!<br/>         Father, hope of my heart,<br/>         and have even you left me?”<br/>         She would have continued//<br/>         wanted//intended to continue<br/>         her angry lament</p> |
|--|---|

Sunčanica još naprijeda,  
kad se oštri crnac smuti  
crčno na nju ter pogleda:  
“O djevojko, vapeć, mlada  
dosta si se plakat čula!”;

Sunčanica still continued,  
When the stern Negro grew wroth  
angrily looked at her:  
crying out “O girl, bride  
enough lamenting has been heard  
from you!”

(Gundulić *Osman*: 1.721)

The eighteenth century is known for several epic poems based on the idiom, meter and content of folk language, but whose other elements of form and style belong to *belles lettres*, such as Kanižlić's “Sveta Rožalija” (1780), and the epic poems of Kačić-Miošić based on eighteenth-century historical events.

In Kanižlić's “Sveta Rožalija,” there are several examples of *šćaše*, not to mention ones with the aorist of *htjeti* with similar semantics, e.g.:

- (148) Ali toj ludosti služiti ne htijući    ‘But not wanting to go along with  
that madness  
*hotih* od ljutosti na sto strana    I nearly burst apart in a hundred  
*pući.*    directions.’  
(*Stari pisci hrvatski, Knj. 26, 1940: 79*)

This is clearly an example of the idiom ‘nearly’.

In the collection of epic poems and short prose pieces by Kačić-Miošić, *Razgovor ugodni naroda slovinskoga* (1756), at least ten examples of *šćaše* can be found. A typical example is the following quasi-conditional:

- (149) Ne može se izreći, koliku žalost tada imade siromah Miloš; *tijaše se pravdati*, ali mu Lazar govoriti ne dade, nego ga čini sisti i s mirom blagovati.  
‘One cannot express what sorrow poor Miloš felt then; he wanted//intended to justify//would have justified himself, but Lazar wouldn't let him speak, but made him sit down and eat in peace.’  
(Miošić 1942: 167)

Thus, for the eighteenth century, the semantic function of ‘nearly’ can be added to the list of functions for *šćaše*. In the *bugarštice* of the same period from Boka Kotorska and southern Dalmatia, the past conditional is also found. The new semantic functions probably first appeared in the dialects,

then in folk poetry, subsequently in poems based on folk poetry (such as Gundulić's "Osman"), and finally in lyric poetry and prose.

Up to this point, the development of *šćaše* has been fairly gradual, both in folk poetry and in belles lettres. *Šćaše* seems to be more common in the *bugarštice* and the deca-syllabic epic folk poetry. Nineteenth-century literature of Croatia, Bosnia and Montenegro show many functions for *šćaše*. As was noted in Chapter 2, the imperfect was then beginning to decline in both the štokavian and čakavian Croatian dialects. Thus *šćaše* ceased development of new functions and became "petrified" with the semantics of the quasi-conditional or its relative, the idiom 'X nearly happened'. This process of petrification had already started in Croatian by the mid-nineteenth century, while in Bosnia it began somewhat later, certainly by the end of the nineteenth century.

In Croatian literature the decline of the imperfect meant that the perfect of *htjeti* was more and more frequently substituted for the imperfect as a modal auxiliary, and the remaining *šćaše* expressions became more and more isolated. Thus it is not surprising that neither Demeter's epic poem "Grobničko polje" (1842) nor Mažuranić's well-known "Smrt Smail-age Čengića" (1845) contain examples of *šćaše*.

In another work of the same period, Otočanin's "Lazarice" (1847), *šćaše* expressions are used only as quasi-conditionals or with the full lexical meaning, e.g.,

- (150) *Hotijaše* Grbljanović Lazo, 'Lazo Grbljanović wanted//was  
preparing  
*Da se i on kako izgovara* to speak//would have spoken out  
No ne dadu šure Jugovići. But his brothers-in-law, the  
Jugovići, didn't let him.  
(*Književna hrestomatija iz kulturne baštine  
srpskog naroda u Hrvatskoj*: 148)<sup>4</sup>

In Ban's historical play *Car Lazar* (1858), there are several examples of *šćaše*, such as:

<sup>4</sup> As can be seen in the footnote, this is from a collection of folk poetry of Serbs in Croatia. Until the nineteenth century, Croatian literature was better established and well-known than Serbian literature. For that reason most of the examples discussed here are Croatian.



In his magnum opus, the epic poem “Srbijanka” (1826), *šćaše* expresses the past conditional, as well as the quasi-conditional and other similar functions. For instance:

- (153) *I neščahu klonuti do mraka,* ‘And they would not have become  
discouraged before dark,  
No kad’ Vožde razigraše But when they encouraged the  
srcem, Vožde,  
Te dosmotri, i razumije pos’o, Then he saw and understood the  
task,  
da pobieda i iošče usumisava. That a victory was still in doubt.’  
(Milutinović-Sarajlija 1826: 60)

It should be noted that Milutinović-Sarajlija is also noted for his collections of epic folk poetry. His collection *Pevanija cernogorska i hercegovačka*, published in Leipzig in 1837 under the pseudonym of Čubro Čojković, contained a whole range of functions for *šćaše*, including the past conditional, and quasi-potential. His pupil, Petar Petrović-Njegoš, who was ruler of Montenegro as well as a writer, also collected the epic folk poetry of that region (found in his *Ogledalo srpsko*, 1845).

Njegoš, a native Montenegrin, used many expressions from his own dialect. In his lyric and epic poems (which were based on folk poetry he collected), *šćaše* expressions are quite frequent, in fact, more frequent than in the original folk poetry. In the typical Montenegrin epic poem in the first half of the nineteenth century, *šćaše* expressions averaged one to two examples (for a poem of four hundred to seven hundred lines). In Njegoš’s epic *Gorski Vijenac*, in the 2,817 lines are found not the expected 5 examples, but 17. Of these seventeen examples, only one expresses the full lexical meaning, and one the quasi-conditional. The great majority of examples have functions ranging from the past conditional and the iterative/habitual to the quasi-potential and attenuated expressions. This variety of functions is also atypical for an epic poem. The full lexical meaning notwithstanding, there would be at most two semantic functions per poem (one for each example), the most frequent being the past conditional.

The more marginal functions used by Njegoš in his works were only beginning to appear in folk poetry of that time. Therefore his “Gorski Vijenac” is not an exact rendering of the language in folk epics, but rather a

reflection of the colloquial speech of his dialect<sup>6</sup> and a result of poetic license. The following examples are taken from “Gorski Vijenac”:

- (154) E predivan bješe, jad ga naš! ‘He was too handsome, a curse  
found him!  
Kad se *šćaše ođest* kud da ide, When he used to dress for an  
expedition,  
pa obuci one puste toke, when he put on his silver  
breastplates,  
šal crveni sveži oko glave, red silk tied around his head,  
a pani mu perčin niz ramena, and long hair [lit.: ‘pigtailed’] down  
over his shoulders,  
[...] [...] and he took his rifle in his hands,  
a u ruke uzmi džeferdara, His beautiful face, tall as a lance,—  
krasna lica, visok kao koplje,— When I think of how he was,  
kad pomislim i ja kakav bješe, flames are struck in my heart!’  
raspale se uz mene plamovi!  
(Petrović-Njegoš 1979: 124)

- (155) I čujte me dobro, Crnogorci: ‘But listen to me well,  
Montenegrins:  
trag po tragu meni poginuo, may all my relatives perish,  
da je bješe Srbin ugrabio, if any Serb had run off with her,  
ako *hoćah* glave obratiti, If I had even glanced their way  
ta nevolja kako me boljela! however much such a sorrow  
would have grieved me!  
Ema kad čuh e ode u Turke, But when I heard that she had run  
off to the Turks,  
već kad kamo ne bi razmicanja, then there was no time at all to stop  
and think,  
no za njima u potoč podosmo. but we set off after them straight  
away.’  
(Petrović-Njegoš 1979: 64)

<sup>6</sup> Njegoš’s dialect in the twentieth century has all the semantic functions described above in his poetry. From the evidence of folk poetry in the second half of the nineteenth century, they had appeared in the “inner core” area no later than the 1860’s. It may be that in Njegoš’s time (1820’s–1850), these functions were just beginning to appear in the colloquial speech there. Since we lack dialectal studies from the mid-nineteenth century, it is also possible that these represent innovations of his time which have since lost ground.

- (156) Zaprijeti kad od njega krenuh: ‘He threatened me when I left him:  
 “Ne smuti li, babo, Crnogorce, “If you don’t stir up the  
 kunem ti se turskom vjerom Montenegrins, woman,  
 tvrdom: I swear to you by my firm Moslem  
 imaš doma deset unučadi faith:  
 At home you have ten  
 i tri sina, sva tri oženjena,— grandchildren  
 and three sons, all three married,—  
 sve ću ti ih zatvorit u kuću I’ll shut them up in your house  
 pa u živi oganj izgorjeti!” then burn them to death in living  
 fire!”  
 Ta me sila, braćo, načerala it was that threat [lit.: ‘force’]  
 brothers, which drove me  
 te pomutit hoćah Crnogorce. so that I would stir up the  
 Montenegrins.’  
 (Petrović-Njegoš 1979: 132)

These three examples are, in order, an iterative/habitual, a past conditional, and a potential expression of purpose which is expressed by *šćaše* instead of the expected *bi*. The last expression is quite rare; and a indication of another possible semantic expansion of *šćaše*.

Two other functions found in dialectal speech, the attenuated expression and the quasi-non-past conditional, are very rare in folk poetry. In all of the folk epic poetry I found only two examples of the former and none of the latter. Njegoš, however, uses both, e.g.:

- (157) Ja izodoh pred njim s ‘I went before him with Grbičić,  
 Grbičićem,  
 poklonih se kako mi rekoše: bowed as I was ordered to:  
 put mene se poosmjehnu the Doge smiled in my direction,  
 princip,  
 raspita me za naše krajeve, asked me about our country,  
 i šćah reći ljubi Crnogorce, and I would say that he likes the  
 Montenegrins,  
 jer spomenu sve redom bojeve for he recalled in order all the  
 battles  
 de su naši pomogli Mletkama. where our (soldiers) helped the  
 men of Venice.  
 (Petrović-Njegoš 1979: 107)

Here where the phrase *šćah reći = bi rekao* ('I would say'), semantic overlapping between *htjeti* and *bi* is complete.

The second new expression—the quasi-non-past conditional—seems in Njegoš's opinion to have already completed the transition to the full non-past conditional. Considering its lack in the dialectal evidence we have been examining, this is a very unusual situation. The non-past conditional without nuances from *htjeti* may have been part of his dialect (and not recorded elsewhere), or it may have been a peculiarity of Njegoš's idiolect.

- (158) Bješe čovjek te od srednje ruke;  
da ne bješe pod onim imenom,  
*ne šćaše se bojati* od uroka.
- 'He [the Doge, who is alive at the time of this conversation] was a man of average height;  
If he didn't have the title,  
he would have no cause to fear spells.'
- (Petrović-Njegoš 1979: 106)

- (159) Najgore im pak bjehu tavnice  
pod dvorove đe dužde stojaše;  
u najdubliju jamu koju znadeš  
nije gore no u njih stojati:  
konj *hoćaše* u njima crknuti  
čovjek pašće tu *svezati ne šćaše*,  
akamoli čojka nesretnjega;
- 'The worst thing was their dungeons  
which were located beneath the Doge's palace;  
in the deepest pit which you could imagine  
there is nothing worse than to be in them:  
a horse would die in them  
a man wouldn't want to tie up his dog there,  
much less an unfortunate man;'
- (Petrović-Njegoš 1979: 101–102)

Example (158) has the formal structure of a conditional. In example (159) we find two examples of *šćaše*: the first is a conditional with an implied protasis<sup>7</sup> ('If you put a horse in those dungeons, he would die in them'), followed by a phrase with the full lexical meaning.

One final example from one of Njegoš's lyric poems:

<sup>7</sup> There is always the possibility that this could be a gnomic potential: an anomaly for the Serbo-Croatian Balkan conditional.



- (160) Slatko li mi *šćaše* jednom, Pavle, biti,  
ustreljena strelom velike žalosti,  
da me san *oćaše* vječni *obuzeti*,  
da prebolim ranu koju si mi dao!  
‘One thing, Pavle, would be sweet for me  
to be struck by the arrow of a great misfortune,  
if an eternal sleep were to take hold of me,  
so that I would get over the wound which you dealt me!’  
(Petrović-Njegoš 1980: 152)

This is remarkably similar to the non-past conditional with *bi*, although the presence of *šćaše* (or *bi*) in both clauses is extremely rare in the dialectal language, and had died out by the middle of the nineteenth century. I found one example in folk poetry.

Njegoš, while presumably reflecting the colloquial speech of his dialect, seems to have extended *šćaše* functions beyond even the Montenegrin dialects we have examined with the non-past conditional and the potential of purpose. It is clear from these examples and from the transitional stages of the quasi-non-past conditional and the quasi-potential in twentieth-century Montenegrin dialects that *šćaše* might have followed the same path as *keše* in Macedonian: towards a nearly complete overlapping with the semantic functions of *bi*.

Thus in Serbo-Croatian literature, the semantics of *šćaše* lag somewhat behind the semantics of folk poetry, while those of folk poetry lag behind the semantics of colloquial, dialectal speech. The one exception, we have noted, lies in Njegoš’s poetry.

In the belles lettres of Croatia and Serbia the gradual loss of the imperfect and the isolation and petrification of *šćaše* as the quasi-conditional or the idiom ‘nearly’ prevented any further expansion of their semantics.

Many more examples with the perfect of *htjeti* (as opposed to the imperfect) are found in folk prose, including the functions of ‘nearly’, and ‘to be on the point of’. This, I believe, results from the narrative style of folk prose, which uses the perfect in preference to the aorist and imperfect. The narrative style of epic poetry uses the imperfect in preference to the perfect, except in areas where imperfect was already lost (cf. the late nineteenth-century Croatian epic poems).

The colloquial speech of the “inner core” dialects in Montenegro show a great deal of innovation in the expansion of *šćaše* functions. Some of these functions, the (quasi) potential, the iterative/habitual, and the (quasi) non-

past conditional are found in other Balkan Slavic languages, where the potential and non-past conditional have completed the transition to purely modal functions. (See Chapters 6 and 7.)

The attenuated modal expression in the inner core area is one function not shared with Macedonian; this could be because even attenuated expressions with *bi* have a marginal nuance of desire. *Šćah reći = Ja bih rekao* ('I would say'), with the underlying meaning 'I would like to say'. The use of *bi* or *šćaše* "softens" the statement (to express politeness, among other reasons); at some level this "softness" is connected with desire. Thus this expression would naturally develop from *šćaše*, all the more because in Serbo-Croatian so many of the functions are still clearly linked to the lexical meaning.

The historical development of semantics for *šćaše* in Serbo-Croatian has not been a linear progression away from the lexical meaning, but a zig-zag progression moving at different speeds in different dialects. (See Table 19 on the following page.) This progression has moved towards two goals: 1) idiomatic expressions with lexical nuances from *htjeti* and 2) pure modality, as in the past conditional and iterative/habitual. For most of the Serbo-Croatian dialects, the dominant path has been towards the first goal, and we have seen functions such as the quasi-conditional, the idiom 'nearly', the attenuated expression and the quasi-potential. Thus in dialectal Serbo-Croatian *šćaše* has generally remained connected to one degree or another with the lexical meaning 'to want'. (See Table 20 on the following page.)

### *Migrations in the Balkan Peninsula, and Their Effect on the Serbo-Croatian Balkan Conditional*

Why is the Balkan conditional found in such diverse areas as central Montenegro, Lika (northern Dalmatia), northwestern Bosnia, Srem, and the Torlak dialects (SE Serbia), but not in the neighboring dialects of the Zadar area south of Lika, northeastern Bosnia or Serbia?

Part of the answer has already been given: the imperfect is still alive in the first, but not in the second dialectal group. Since the Balkan conditional is based on the imperfect, the loss of the imperfect indicates the loss or at least the petrification as isolated idiom for *šćaše*.

The other part of the answer can be found in the migrations of Serbo-Croatian speaking peoples during the Turkish domination of the Balkan peninsula. The pattern of these migrations from what is now west-central

**Table 19.** Projected Development of the Semantics of *Šćaće* in Serbo-Croatian\*

Semantic Function	Century:					
	14–15th	16th	17th	18th	early 19th	late 19th
full lexical meaning	_____					
future-in-the-past	_____					
quasi-conditional	_____					
'to be on the point of' (limited future-in-the-past)	_____					
'X nearly happened'	_____					
past conditional	_____					
iterative/habitual	_____					
past presumptive	_____					
attenuated expressions	_____					
quasi-potential	_____					
quasi-non-past conditional	_____					

\* The last six semantic functions have been found only in some dialects of Montenegro, most commonly in the colloquial speech, and more rarely in folk poetry.

**Table 20.** Past and Non-Past Semantic Functions of *Šćaće* in Serbo-Croatian

Marked for past tense	Marked for Non-Past Tense
1. full lexical meaning 'to want'	8. attenuated expressions
2. quasi-conditional	9. quasi-potential
3. 'on the point of'	10. quasi-non-past conditional
4. 'X nearly happened'	
5. past conditional	
6. iterative/habitual	
7. past presumptive	

\* The development of the semantics of the *šćaće* expression in dialectal and early literary Serbo-Croatian progressed chronologically from the semantic functions marked with the lowest numbers to those with the highest. The first five semantic functions, all of which had appeared in the language by the end of the eighteenth century at the latest, appear in most of the Serbo-Croatian dialects. The semantic functions from numbers six to seven are found in most of the dialects of Montenegro. The last three semantic functions (all marked for non-past tense) were the last to develop, and are found only in a few dialects in Montenegro.

Macedonia to southern Serbia also partially explains the appearance of *šćaše* in Serbo-Croatian (see Chapter 9). These migrations took place mainly between the early fifteenth century and the late seventeenth century, with a secondary “reverse” set of migrations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. (See Figure 21 on the following page.)

Following the major battles with the Turks in the late fourteenth century, Serbian speakers from the southernmost parts of the former Yugoslavia—central and western Macedonia and southern Kosovo—migrated north and northwestward into what is today southern Serbia. From this latter area, a new series of migrations took place in the next century; one group moved into what is now the Torlak dialectal area (southeastern Serbia), another group moved northward into northern Albania and Sandžak (southwestern Serbia). Their speech influenced the dialects of Montenegro through contact with Montenegrin merchants and pilgrims in Peć and Sandžak.

From this point on, the pattern of migrations becomes much more complex. The main population movement was to the north and northwest over the course of three centuries. For example, from Montenegro there were migrations into today’s southern Dalmatia and the islands, and north along the Dalmatian coast as far north as Krk and Istria. There were migrations into Bosnia-Hercegovina, and later migrations northwest from central Bosnia into Lika, Bihać and Kordun. The natural boundary, beyond which there was little movement after its appearance in the late fifteenth–early sixteenth centuries, was the military frontier between Bosnia and Croatia. This was actually a series of frontiers, (i.e., “Frontier of Ban,” “Croatian frontier,” etc.) before the establishment of the official Croatian Military Frontier in the early seventeenth century. It is worth noting that the spread of the *šćaše* expression with semantics other than the full lexical meaning did not extend beyond this borderland, which encompassed areas of Croatia bordering on Bosnia such as Kordun and Lika. Lika and the Kordun area of Croatia mark the furthest extension of the Balkan conditional (with the possible exception of one example from Krk). There are no examples of the Balkan conditional north of this frontier. This would indicate that the appearance of semantic functions other than the full lexical meaning must have appeared in northwestern Bosnia *later* than the end of the fifteenth century/beginning of the sixteenth century, when the border area slowed down the migrations from the south. Evidence from Bosnian documents from the fourteenth through seventeenth centuries confirms the lack of semantics apart from the full lexical meaning before the mid-sixteenth century.

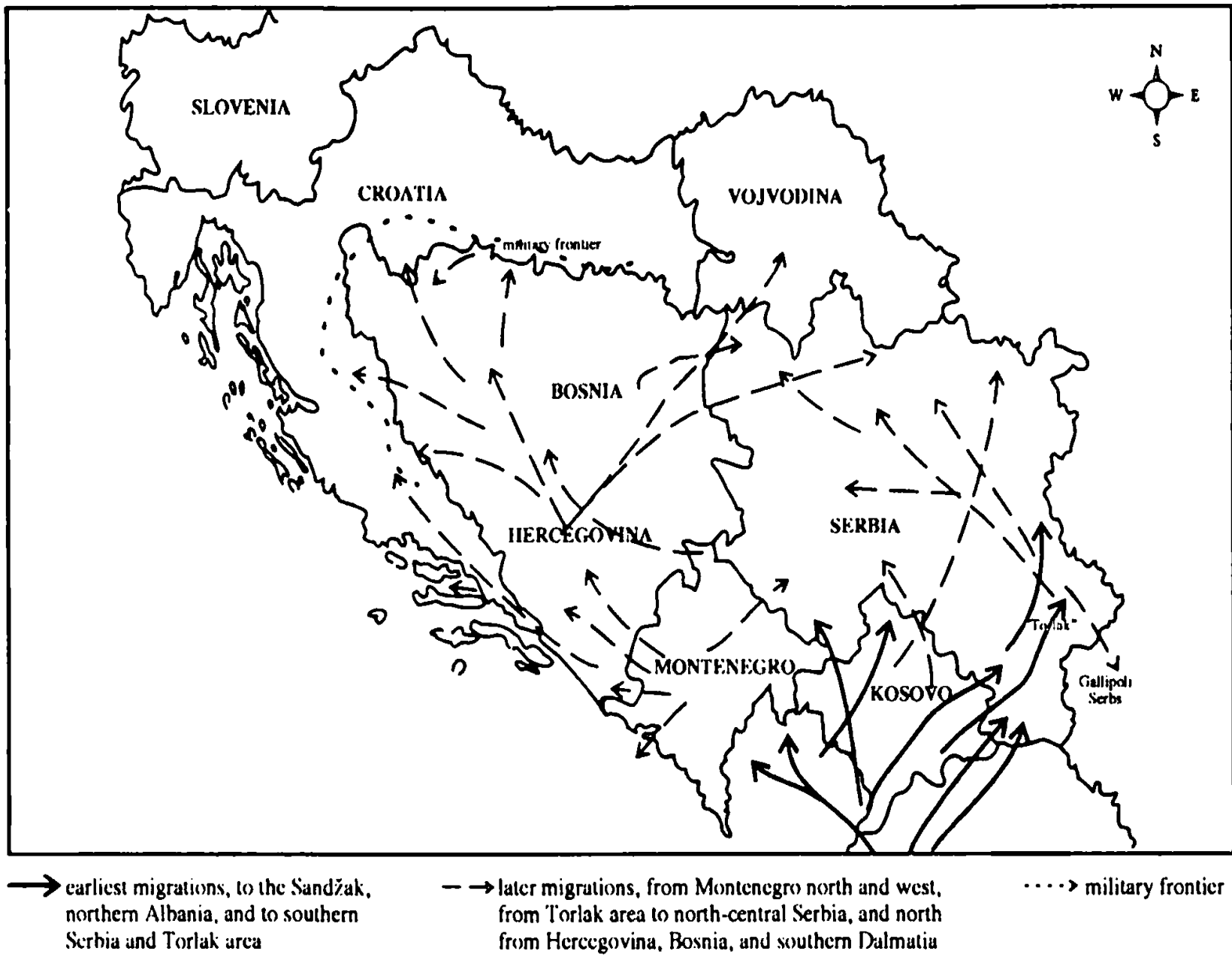


Figure 21. Fifteenth-Seventeenth Century Migrations of Serbo-Croatian Speakers

To the south of this area the boundary is not as clear-cut as between northern (inland) Croatia and Bosnia, but Dubrovnik and the Dalmatian islands plus a narrow strip of coast were set apart from contacts with the innovative dialectal area of Montenegro at some point in this period. Judging from the pattern of migrations from Montenegro to Boka Kotorska and from there to southern Dalmatia, I would hypothesize that these migrations took place before the development of functions such as the iterative/habituals and other extended semantic functions. Southern Dalmatia, the islands and the Boka Kotorska show evidence of the past conditional, but not of any of the extended semantic functions. Furthermore, the past conditional is infrequent compared to the quasi-conditional here.

Migrations which were centered in Serbia are of particular interest in explaining the modest degree of semantic development of *šćaše* in the Torlak dialects. The initial migration of both Macedonians and Serbs from southern Macedonia into southern Serbia would seem to indicate a highly developed Balkan conditional in southern and southeastern Serbia. As was noted in the beginning of this chapter, such is not the case. Only the functions of the quasi-conditional, 'X nearly happened', and the past conditional are found in the colloquial speech, and are lacking in folk poetry from that area.

The answer to this problem again lies in the pattern of migration. After the migrations into the Torlak area with (presumably) the seeds of the Balkan conditional, a new wave of migrations (caused by Turkish advances and later by the failure of revolts against the Turks) moved from this area to the north and northwest. The Gallipoli Serbs left the Torlak area in the seventeenth century with a well-established Balkan conditional and then in an area that was isolated from other Serbo-Croatian speakers developed a distinction between "witnessed" vs. "non-witnessed" past conditionals with this conditional.

Other migrations from the Torlak area went to areas such as Srem, where there is some weak evidence of a Balkan conditional (I found three or four examples). Much of Serbia is in this category; counter-migrations into central and northern Serbia from other areas such as eastern Bosnia did not encourage either the preservation or the development of the Balkan conditional.

Set apart from these waves of migration is central Montenegro. While there may have been initial migration from Kosovo, and while there were mercantile and religious contacts with the south at any early stage (thus providing the impetus for the development of the Balkan conditional) as

well as limited migration northward (Hercegovina) and northwestward (Dalmatia), for much of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and even early nineteenth centuries Montenegro was isolated.

At that time it was an outpost, with fighting against the Turks when they made forays into the mountains. The Montenegrins stayed in their own geographic area (unlike the Bosnians and Serbs and their successive migrations). During this time the Balkan conditional began to develop its more extended semantic functions.

There was at least one minor migration from central Montenegro into the Sandžak during this period, which may explain the fact that the Balkan conditional is highly developed there, although not to the extent of the Montenegrin “inner core” area. (After the early migrations from the south into the Sandžak, there were further migrations northward, leaving the area unpopulated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.)

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries there was a secondary series of “reverse” migrations following Turkish defeats on Serbian territory. In one of these migrations, the people originally from the Torlak area returned there from northern Serbia. But the Balkan conditional having never really developed in northern Serbia, their return did not strengthen its position in the Torlak dialects.

There will be a discussion in Chapter 9 of the early development of the Balkan conditional to the south of the former Yugoslavia, specifically in Greece and of linguistic borrowing by Arumanian and then by Macedonian, which then led to its borrowing by some of the dialects which migrated into southern Serbia. The actual mechanics of this borrowing is, I think, closely connected with the general pattern of migrations in the Balkan peninsula which took place before the migrations into northern Serbia and Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Well before the fifteenth century, there was a great deal of contact between the Arumanians and the Greeks, and between the Arumanians and the Macedonians. There were also some mainly commercial contacts between the Greeks and Macedonians in southern Macedonia. The Arumanian-Greek contacts were extensive, taking place over much of today’s central and northern Greece, extending into southern Yugoslavia. Cvijić refers to these contacts as “commercial migrations.” There may also have been migrations of Arumanians northward from Greece into southern Yugoslavia.

The Arumanians formed a linguistic calque on the Greek Balkan conditional, substituting imperfect forms of their own verb ‘to want’. Then, I hypothesize that with bi-lingual trading contacts between the Arumanians and

the Macedonians, the Arumanians formed a calque in Slavic (Macedonian), and thus the Balkan conditional came into Macedonian through Slavicized Arumanians, with the presence in Greek as well as Arumanian further strengthening the influence on Macedonian in certain areas.

According to Ivič's and Cvijić's descriptions of the "Vardar-Južno-Morava migration," the Balkan conditional must have been found in dialects which were a mixture of Prizren-dialectal Serbian (in southern Serbia) with elements of northern, central, and possibly western Macedonian dialects. People speaking this dialectal mixture made up the wave of migration which moved into southern Serbia, and into a second wave, into northern Albania and the Sandžak, and from there the Balkan conditional spread into central and southwestern Montenegro.

And thus we have a presumed route for the borrowings which produced the Serbo-Croatian Balkan conditional. The exact semantics and syntactic constructions for the Greek, Arumanian, and Macedonian Balkan conditional will be discussed in the following chapters.

### *Conclusions*

Analysis of the colloquial speech and folk prose collected from the štokavian and čakavian dialects and of *belle lettres*, including literature modeled on folk poetry leads to several conclusions.

First of all, this material has helped to produce a clearer picture of the development of the Serbo-Croatian Balkan conditional. Colloquial speech is the most innovative in language development; it is here that functions such as attenuated expressions, quasi-potentials and quasi-non-past conditionals appear in the Montenegrin dialects. The new semantics of the Balkan conditional spread from colloquial speech to folk prose and poetry, then into literature modeled on folk speech, and then (to a limited extent) into *belles lettres*.

It is clear that this development radiated from a core area in Montenegro, and was also found quite early in a second area—SE Serbia. This secondary area was relatively isolated; only the dialect of the Gallipoli Serbs, who migrated from the Torlak area, is of any importance.

Much of the explanation for the uneven development of the Balkan conditional stems from the patterns of migration. These early migrations from the south, where a Balkan conditional began to develop early, moved in two directions. Firstly, into the Torlak area, where subsequent migrations weakened the development of the Balkan conditional, and secondly, into the



Sandžak, and from there into Montenegro. In this latter area the Balkan conditional developed its own peculiar system of semantic functions, with emphasis on nuances of the primary lexical meaning (such as the most recent innovations of attenuated expressions and quasi-non-past conditionals).

### *Addendum*

In this chapter are several findings almost entirely limited to the Montenegrin dialects, which suggest some trends in the later development of *šćaše*.

(1) The increase in overlapping among the several functions of the imperfect of *htjeti*, *imati* and the *bi* expressions is very evident in Montenegro, and to a lesser extent in the outer core area of southern Hercegovina, the Sandžak, etc. Sometimes, as in the Uskok dialect, the semantic functions expressed by the Balkan conditional in other dialects are taken over by an expression with the imperfect of *imati*. In other dialects such functions are shared by both *htjeti* and *imati*.

(2) The simple imperfect of any verb may be used modally, for example as an attenuated expression or as an iterative/habitual. This particularly applies to simple *šćaše* expressions (i.e., not followed by the infinitive or equivalent expression with *da*) used as attenuated expressions. Often the understood main verb is one of motion, e.g.,

(113) b. “*Šćak* sutra (poć) na-Vir, ako bude vedro.”

‘I’ll go//would like to go to Vir tomorrow, if it’s clear.’

(Miletić 1940: 553)

or:

(161) *Šćasmo* pod ovo zgradu izbe male.

‘We’d like to (build/have) a hut next to this building.’

(Stanić 1977: 104)

This phenomenon is known in at least two Montenegrin dialects, and may help to explain why *šćaše* expressions with the main verb also came to be used for attenuated expressions. It might also account for the development of the iterative/habitual with *šćaše*. If the simple imperfect of any verb was already being used for the iterative/habitual, as it is in north-central Montenegro, then the widespread use of modal imperfections may have paved the way for the imperfect from *htjeti* (followed by an infinitive) to be used

as an iterative/habitual. Certainly the *šćaše* construction is modeled on *bi*, but the semantic functions of the iterative/habitual and attenuated modal expressions with the Balkan conditional are found *only* in Montenegro, where it so happens that simple imperfects of any verb with their wide semantic domain may also be used in these two functions. Note that in some dialects the Balkan conditional is used exclusively with these functions; in others, the Balkan conditional and *bi* are in free variation.

(3) There is a tendency for the semantic domain of *bi* constructions to be reduced. Of course, this is not to the same extent as in Macedonian and Bulgarian, but a few categories have been lost either to *šćaše* and/or to the simple imperfect for any verb. This is indicative of the development on a small scale towards the balance of power between *bi* and *šćaše* which occurs in Macedonian and Bulgarian. This is particularly apparent in the expansion of *šćaše* into non-past semantic contexts. While other Serbo-Croatian dialects are limited to overlapping only in past-tense contexts, the overlapping of *bi* and *šćaše* is thus limited to only a few functions: the past conditional, estimation of numbers, etc. Until the overlapping extended to non-past semantic functions, there was little chance of *šćaše* reducing the semantic domain of *bi*.



## Chapter 6

### The Macedonian Balkan Conditional

Unlike *šćaše* expressions, the Balkan conditional in Macedonian has a solid base in both colloquial speech (including folklore) and the literary language. The Macedonian literary language was officially codified in 1945, nearly a century later than Serbo-Croatian. Another vital factor in this comparison is that the grammatical structure of Macedonian is much closer to Bulgarian than to Serbo-Croatian, in the dyad of Macedo-Bulgarian as opposed to Serbo-Croatian-Slovenian. As a member of E. South Slavic, Macedonian has undergone greater Balkanization, especially syntactically, compared to Serbo-Croatian.

Thus it is quite logical that the Macedonian Balkan conditional should develop further. Furthermore, the Macedonian infinitive was lost relatively early, so the old construction with the imperfect of 'to want' plus the infinitive was replaced by the imperfect auxiliary plus *da* and the non-past. By the mid-nineteenth century, this construction had been replaced by the particle *ke* plus the imperfect of the main verb by analogy to the future (formed with *ke* plus the non-past). Both the older and newer constructions were found in my corpus of folk poetry.

One last factor to be taken into consideration is the paucity of material, especially in folk poetry compared to Serbo-Croatian. The earliest Macedonian collections are from the nineteenth century, compared to the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries for Serbo-Croatian. In Serbo-Croatian we can see the language at an earlier stage, and thus see its development and later petrification over a longer period of time. For Macedonian, we have only approximately one hundred years, and earlier variants must be deduced. There are, of course, medieval ms. in Macedonian, but the stages between the late sixteenth century and the mid-nineteenth century are not well documented.

#### *Phonology, Morphology and History*

The older construction for the Macedonian Balkan conditional, with the imperfect of 'to want' as auxiliary (*keše* in the 2nd/3rd sg.) was an exact parallel to the Serbo-Croatian Balkan conditional with *šćaše* which we have been

examining. The OCS zero-root form *htěaše* (2nd./3rd per. sg.) in its contracted form, *htěše* where (*ěa* > *ě*), gave *hteše* (*ě* > *e*). *H* has been lost in all Macedonian dialects, with the exception of the SE dialects (in the area of G'evg'elija and Strumica). In some areas *h* was replaced by *v*, *f*, or *j*. However, in the case of word-initial position, it was generally lost, giving us *hteše* > *teše*. This latter form is still found in the dialect of Kumanovo (NE of Skopje) in the late twentieth century.

The most common form of the Macedonian imperfect of 'to want' was *keše*. It is possible that this form resulted from analogy with the present tense forms such as *okellke*, or perhaps from palatalization of *tj* > *kj* from a projected *htješe* > *keše*. By the late nineteenth century, however, this paradigm had been leveled through influence of the future to the particle *ke* plus the imperfect for most Macedonian dialects.

Another variant, *kah* (1st per. sg.), recorded in Debar, results from the same phonological rule, but with *a*-vocalism resulting from the contraction of *ěa* > *a*, instead of *e* as above. (The most common imperfect forms in Macedonia had a contraction of *ěa* > *e*, compared to *a* as in Serbo-Croatian.)

Another variant results from the contamination of the old imperfect (*keše da* + the non-past) with the new construction coming from the analogical shift which parallels the future: *ke* + the imperfect. The former construction was well established by the late nineteenth century in the Kumanovo dialect (northern Macedonia). The latter construction appeared in the southwestern dialects. A contamination of the two—*keše da* + the imperfect—can be found in Skopje, which is in a transitional area between the two dialectal groups.

A further variant—*ki*—possibly resulted from a reduction of unstressed *e* to *i*. It is found in southeastern Macedonian, in the area of Strumica, G'evg'elija, and Lake Dojran, and is described in *L'Évangélique de Kulakia: un parler slave du Bas-Vardar* (Mazon and Vaillant 1938).

In the Galičnik region of western Macedonia another form results from contamination of the particle *ća* (*ke* in literary Macedonian) with the imperfect *keše* of the central-western dialects which border on Galičnik: *ća* | *keše* > *češa* + *da* + the non-past indicative. (See Figure 22 opposite.)

By the late nineteenth century, these older variants were dying out, and were replaced by a different morphology: *ke* + the imperfect (in non-affirmative contexts *ke* + the *-l* participle). Thus, 'he/she would do'—*keše da pravi* > *ke praveše* (*ke pravel* for non-affirmative contexts). This leveling of the tense paradigm, by analogy to the future, strengthens its parallel semantic function of future-in-the-past, compared to Serbo-Croatian.

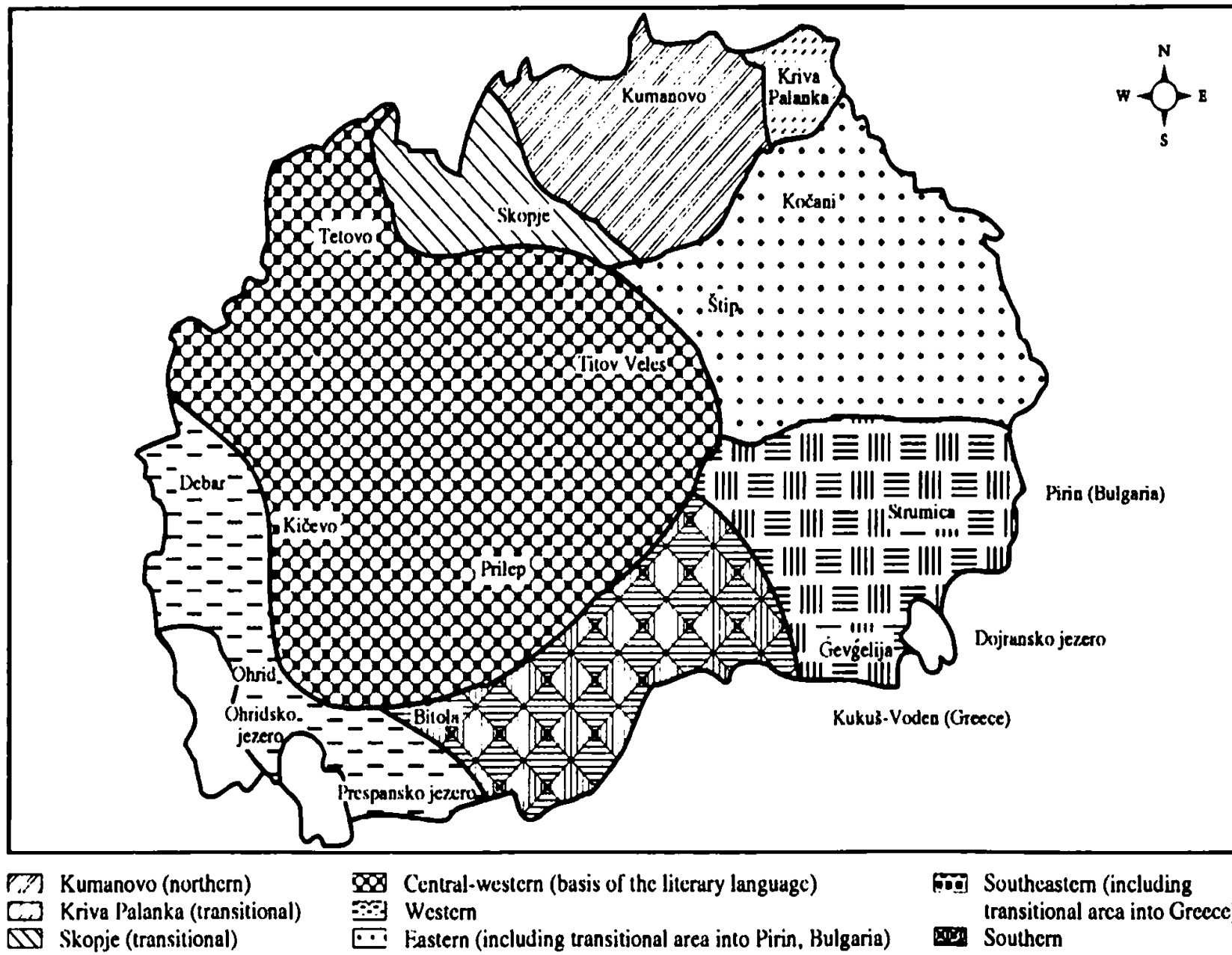


Figure 22. The Macedonian Dialects

This leveling of the Macedonian Balkan conditional construction followed leveling of the clitic forms of 'to want' to the *ke* particle, and may have begun as early as the eighteenth century. By the early twentieth century it was clearly more frequent than the old imperfect plus *da* and the non-past, with the exception of a few dialects, notably Kumanovo. With the codification of Macedonian literary language in the mid-twentieth century, this new variant was standardized, since it was found in the central dialects which served as the basis of the literary language. (See Figure 23 opposite.)

### *Literature on the Macedonian Balkan Conditional*

Blaže Koneski in his *Gramatika na makedonskiot literaturni jazik* (1976), discusses this construction in the literary and folk languages, stating that the most commonly found contexts are the (past) conditional and the iterative/habitual. In the folk language, iterative/habituals are only expressed with the Balkan conditional construction, while *bi* is used as a variant for the iterative/habitual in the literary language. Koneski maintains that this latter situation results from Serbo-Croatian influence.

In general, the semantic scope of *bi* is restricted in Macedonian compared to Serbo-Croatian, and even more restricted in the folk language. In the late nineteenth century, *bi* and *keše* shared many semantic functions, and were roughly equal variants. Now the dominant construction for most of these semantic functions—in other words, the unmarked and most common expression—is *keše*. (N.B. Throughout this chapter the Macedonian Balkan conditional will generally be referred to by the historically older form of *keše*, paralleling the use of *šćaše* earlier in the text.)

(162) *Ke da imaše* edno osumnaeset godini.

'He had to have been about eighteen years old.'

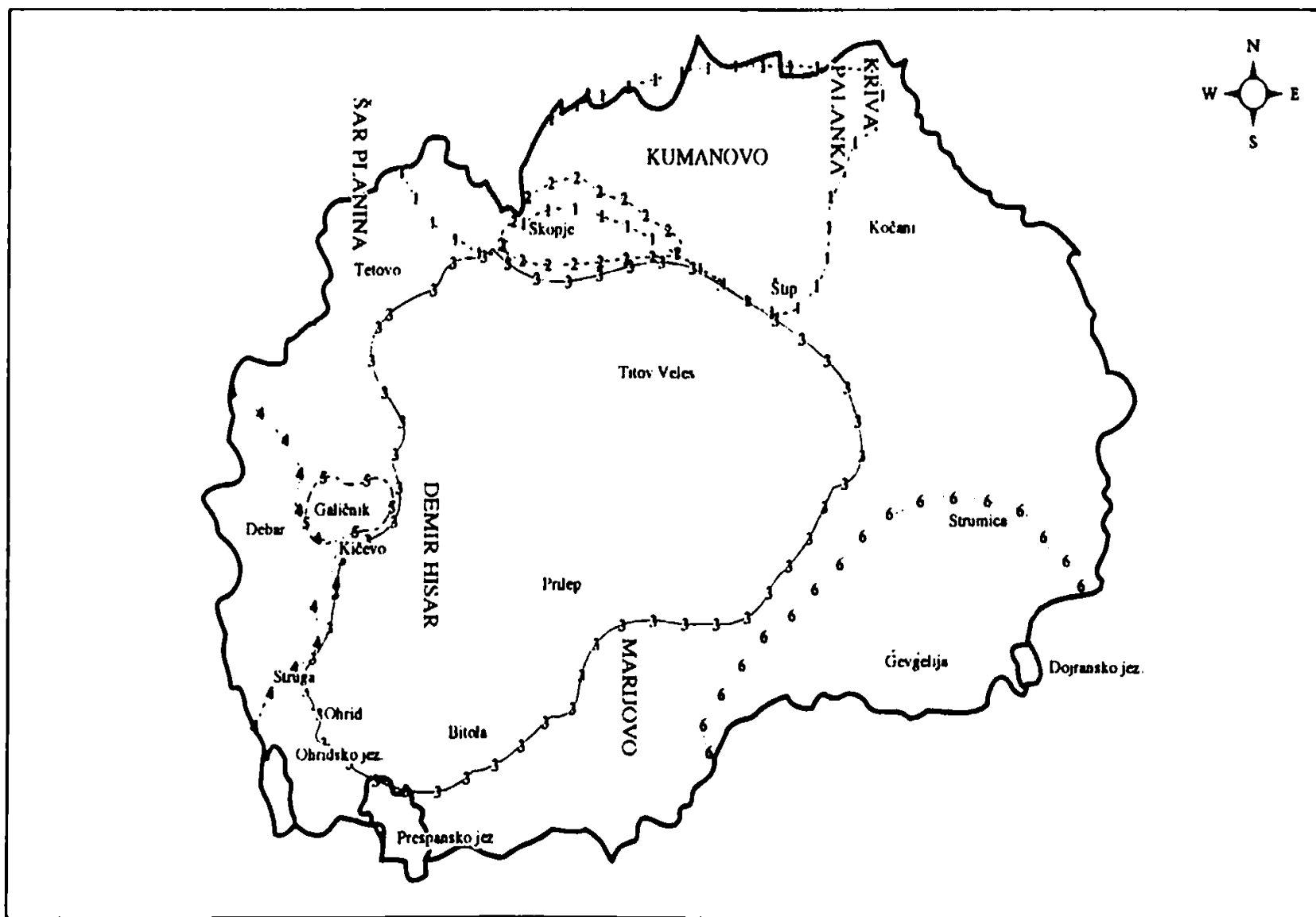
(Koneski 1976: 493)

(163) Mladičot, što ne *ke imaše* poveke od šesnaeset godini, koga ču deka nekoj po ime go vika, fati zbuneto da go bara.

'The youth, who couldn't have been more than sixteen, on hearing someone call him by name, turned confusedly to seek him.'

(Koneski 1976: 493)

Note that the first example uses the modal particle *da*, while the second has the same morphological construction as for the iterative/habitual or past conditional.



1. *keše da* + present / *lteše da* + present

2. *keše da* + imperfect

3. *ke* + imperfect (standard form for the literary language)

4. *ka* + present

5. *češa (da)* + imperfect

6. *ki* + imperfect

jez. = jezero (lake)

**Figure 23.** Variants of the Balkan Conditional in Late Nineteenth-Century Macedonian Dialects



Gołąb (1964a), examines the *keše* construction using material collected by Cepenkov, Šapkarev, Mazon, Belić, and Koneski. Gołąb states that context-free *keše* is essentially modal, and not temporal in nature. Most of his examples involve the past conditional. Expressions which are temporal in nature, such as the future-in-the-past or iterative/habituals are context-dependent, and are most commonly defined by adverbial clauses of time (Gołąb 1964a: 80)

Another important point in his analysis is the chronology of development from an original OCS future-in-the-past as the primary semantic function to the function of the past conditional in modern Macedonian. This switch-over took place at some point after medieval Macedonian, but before modern Macedonian of the mid-twentieth century. While Gołąb describes this process, he does not give a more specific time-frame for the change; it may well have occurred in the nineteenth century, judging by the example I have found in folk literature.

Lunt (1952) considers *keše* to be more a marker of relative tense, than of modality:

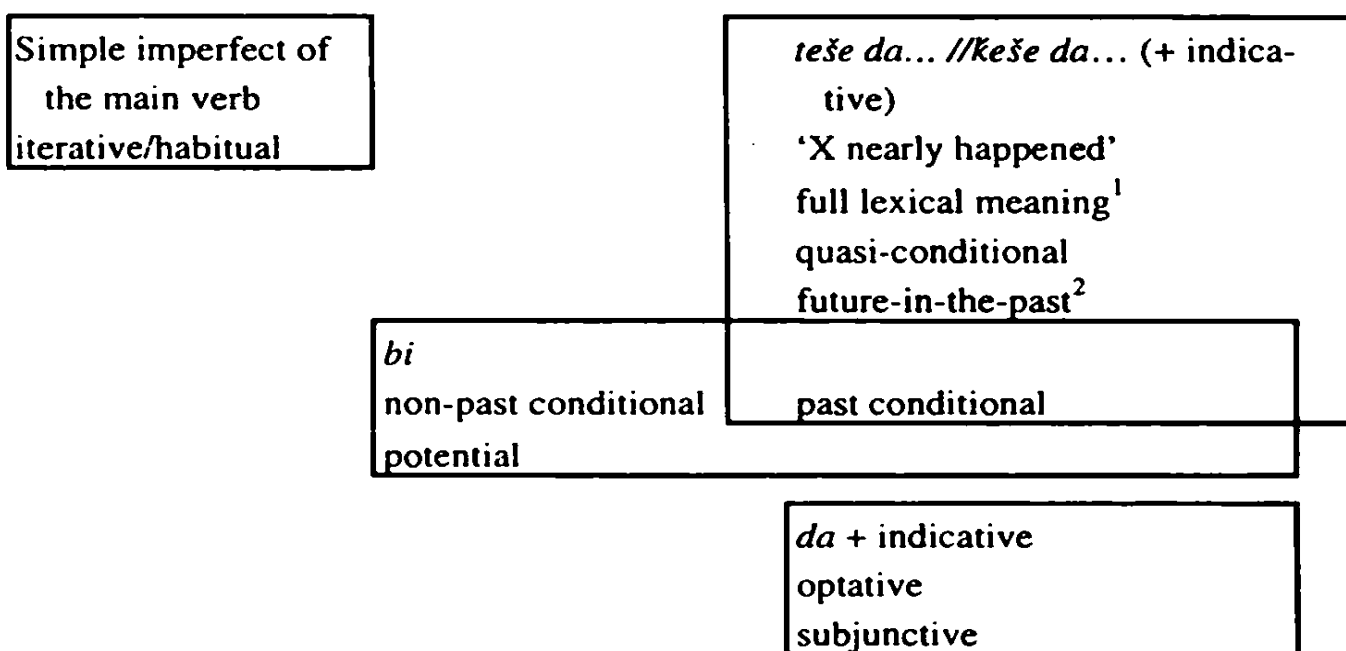
The projective mood is expressed by the modal particle *ke* + present, imperfect, or imperfect 1-forms... The general meaning is: action viewed as manifest, that is, as real or highly probable, but not immediately present. With the forms of the present it takes on the specific meaning of a confidently expected future or an habitual action. With the imperfect, these two meanings remain, with the specification of pastness; the projection is viewed from a moment prior to the time of utterance. (Lunt 1952: 101)

My examples of literary *keše* were collected from Blaže Koneski's grammar of Macedonian, from Gołąb's book on the Balkan conditional, and from the unpublished doctoral dissertation of Kiril Koneski, *Glagolskite konstrukcii so ke vo makedonskiot jazik* (Skopje, 1979). Regarding folk language, some of the material came from the sources listed above, while the majority came from folk tales in various dialects, folk sayings, and folk poetry. I found examples in both lyric and epic folk poetry, with a preponderance of examples in lyric poetry. The epic poetry ranged from eight-syllabic to deca-syllabic (the norm in Serbo-Croatian), and most was collected in the area around Skopje, and some from the Kumanovo area. Some material was from unpublished manuscripts in the SANU archive in Belgrade, including epic poetry and *tažački* (mourning songs sung during burial, equivalent to Serbo-Croatian *tužbalice*).

### Ķeše in the Literary Language

*Ķeše* in modern Macedonian is found in many semantic categories: past and non-past conditionals, iterative/habituals, and the future-in-the-past. None of these have traces of lexical meaning from the particle *ke* (from *keše* in older Macedonian). The lexical meaning ‘to want’ was leached from *keše*, and eventually the expression ‘to want’ was replaced by the verb *saka*. Thus in both the modern literary language and the dialects, neither *ke* nor *keše* (in all dialects but one) have nuances of lexical meaning from the auxiliary verb. Therefore, semantic categories such as the full lexical meaning or the quasi-conditional are naturally absent; the modality lies not in the lexical meaning, but rather in the construction itself.

There are other, more marginal functions for *keše* in the literary language: ‘X almost happened’, the gnomic potential, and the past presumptive. *Bi* is also used in literary Macedonian for many of these semantic categories. Despite the large area of overlapping—the past conditional, non-past conditional, iterative/habitual, and gnomic potential—the weight is towards *keše*, and not towards *bi*. *Ķeše* expressions are the favored variant, however compared to *bi*, the opposite of the situation we have seen in Serbo-Croatian. (See Figure 24 below.)



**Figure 24.** Distribution of Modal Semantic Functions in Literary Macedonian

<sup>1</sup> This is equivalent to *sakaše da ...* in the literary language. *Saka* is used in this dialect, but is much rarer than in the literary language.

<sup>2</sup> This function is rarely expressed by this construction in the Kumanovo dialect.

An example of this reversal of markedness is given by Koneski (1976): when the iterative/habitual is expressed by *bi* in the literary language, it is rare, and results from Serbo-Croatian influence. The older iterative/habitual with *bi* in Macedonian lost out to the *keše* construction, and reappeared under pressure of the politically dominant language of the country in bilingual speakers of Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian. The past and non-past conditional are less commonly expressed by *bi* than by *keše*, but are more frequent than iteratives with *bi*.

Other indications that the semantic territory of *bi* in literary Macedonian has contracted can be seen in older stages of the language. One of these is the more frequent use of *da* + the indicative for optative expressions such as wishes and curses compared to older expressions with *bi* or the combination *da bi*. Another is the category of subjunctive clauses of purpose (i.e., to do X in order to do Y). At an earlier stage Macedonian used *bi* for this; now a construction with the particle(s) (*za*) *da* + the indicative is the standard in literary Macedonian.

For example, in Koneski's grammar, we find the following prescriptive statement:

Treba da se gleda da ne se preteruva vo upotrebata na formite so *bi*, pa da se zemaat tie i tamu kad što nikako ne mu odgovara na našiot jazik, na primer vo finalni rečenici. Progrešno e: *Toj dojde vo Skopje da bi se videl so mene*, ami treba: *Toj dojde vo Skopje (za) da se vidi so mene*. (Koneski 1976: 502)

One must be careful not to overdo *bi* forms, to put them where it is not appropriate for our language, for example in final clauses. This is incorrect: 'He came to Skopje to see me,' but it is necessary (to say): 'He came to Skopje to see me.'

Returning to *keše* constructions, one will note in Figure 24 three categories which do not overlap with *bi*. Two of them—'X nearly happened' and the past presumptive—are minor in importance and frequency, the third—the future-in-the-past is more important.

'X nearly happened' gives us a micro-encapsulation of the development of the Balkan conditional. As we have seen in Serbo-Croatian, it may be expressed by *šćaše* alone or by the adverbial phrase *za malo* + the indicative. In Macedonian, the lexical meaning of the auxiliary verb has been lost, resulting in a pure morpho-syntactic modality. Thus, to say 'X

nearly happened' in Macedonian, *both* the adverbial phrase *za malku* and *keše* are necessary to express these nuances. Similarly, the nuances of emotion found in the Serbo-Croatian quasi-conditional are expressed in Macedonian with expressions modifying the pure modality. For instance, from Koneski (1976):

Vrskata so obuslovenosta se nasetuva i vo slučaita koga se izrazuva nijansa na neostvarenost na dejstvoto: 'Se seti za onaa teška borba vo Debarca vo koja za malku i taa ke zagineše' (P. Petkovski). (Koneski 1976: 496)

The connection with causation is realized in those cases when nuances of emotion on the part of the speaker are expressed: 'He remembered that terrible battle in the Debar area in which even she nearly perished.' (P. Petkovski)

The second semantic category, the past presumptive, has been discussed earlier in this chapter.

The remaining category expressed exclusively by *ke* + the imperfect in literary Macedonian is the future-in-the-past. As stated earlier, the construction in modern Macedonian parallels the future: (*ke pravi* ('he/she will do'))// *ke praveše* (he/she was going to do). The line between the future-in-the-past and the past conditional is a thin one; when an event expected in the past does not take place, and negation is expressed in the immediate context with either an adversative conjunction or with the classic syntax of the conditional with a protasis and apodosis, we have a past conditional.

As Gołąb has stated, the past conditional was a secondary development from the future-in-the-past in South Slavic. There has been a polarization of semantic categories here into temporal vs. modal: the future-in-the-past and iterative/habitual vs. past and non-past conditional (and other minor semantic functions such as the past presumptive). The modal axis is where *keše* expressions have greatly expanded in Macedonian; indeed, there has been such an expansion that *bi* has been made largely redundant. Clearly a similar expansion could not have occurred with the temporal axis, for both the future-in-the-past and the iterative/habitual are limited by their markedness for past tense, compared to the non-past, which being unmarked in several respects, could and did expand into categories such as the historical present or gnomic expressions.

### *The Semantics of *Keše* in the Dialects*

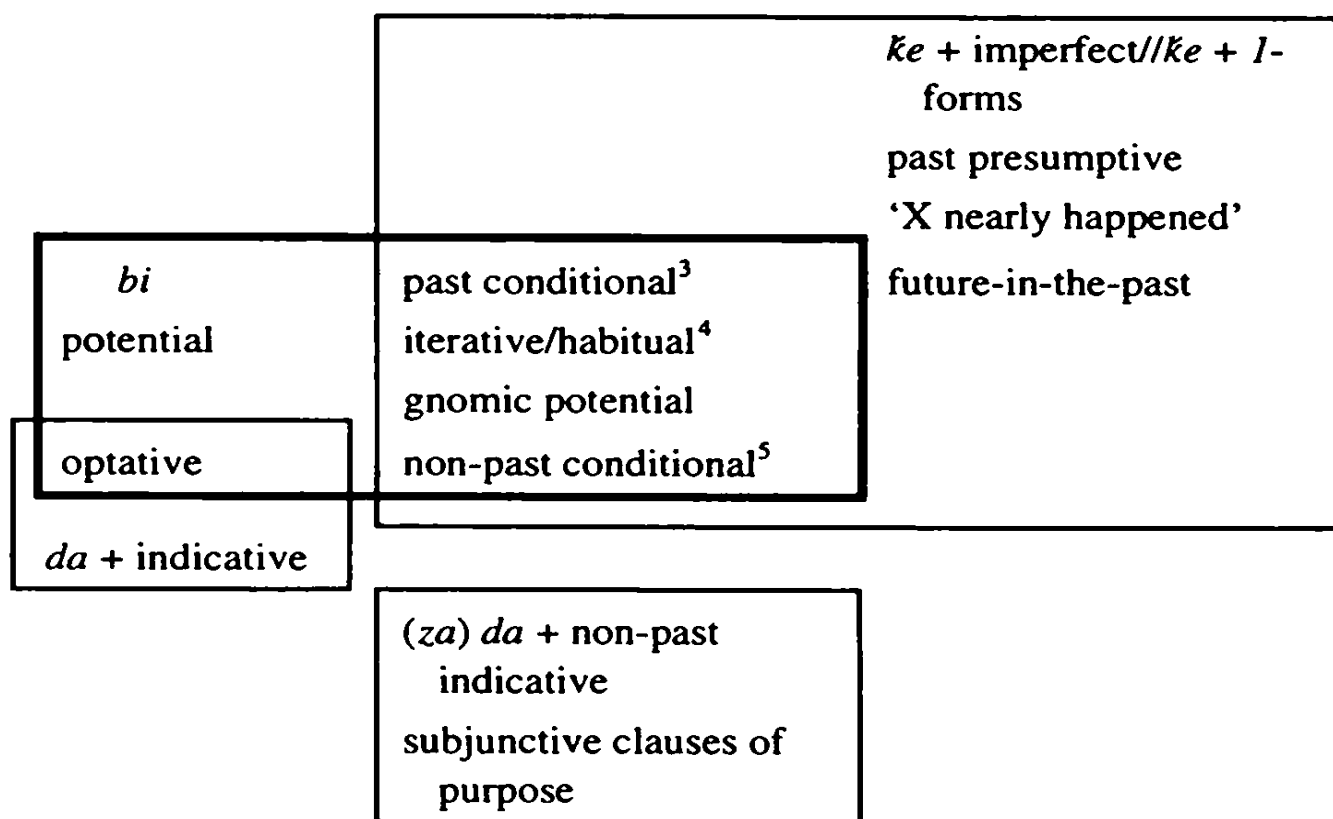
It would be difficult to analyze in depth the situation in each of the Macedonian dialects, for the handful of Macedonian studies on this subject tends to summarize the functions of this construction in a paragraph or two, if at all, with the exception of Vidoeski's study of the Kumanovo dialectal area (1962).

Works such as Koneski's grammar and Gołąb's book on the Balkan conditional discuss the semantics of *keše* in the general context of dialectal vs. literary language, and not in specific contexts of separate dialects. Thus, while acknowledging differences in semantic functions as dependent on dialects of the central-western group (on which the literary language is based) vs. western, southern, northern, south-eastern, the dialects will be treated as a block. The Pirin Macedonian dialects will be discussed in Chapter 7.

The Kumanovo dialect area, in northern Macedonia, is separated from other Macedonian dialects by both form and function of the Balkan conditional. The morpho-syntactic construction is the imperfect *keše + da* and the non-past indicative. Another variant is the form *teše* (at an earlier stage of phonological derivation, as discussed earlier in this chapter). The standard literary form of *ke* + the imperfect has also been recorded here by Vidoeski; undoubtedly this results from the influence of neighboring dialects.

As the reader will discover in following the distribution of semantic functions in Figure 25 opposite, the semantic functions for *keše* in Kumanovo differ from those in the literary language and other dialects. Both the Kumanovo dialect and the literary language use *keše* to express the past conditional. This is essentially the only semantic category to overlap with *bi*. *Keše* may be used for the future-in-the-past, but it is quite rare in this dialect.

As in the literary language, *keše* may express 'X nearly happened', but only with an adverbial construction to emphasize nuances of surprise. Thus the phrase 'he would have fallen', expressed in dialectal Serbo-Croatian by *on šćaše pasti*, is expressed in Macedonian as *za malko teše da padne*. This example encapsulates one of the most important differences between Serbo-Croatian and Macedonian: in Serbo-Croatian *šćaše* represents highly marked modal expressions, with nuances from the lexical meaning of the verb. In Macedonian, in context-free position, *keše* represents the modal expression of the past conditional. The nuances in the example above comes from the adverbial phrase.



**Figure 25.** Distribution of Modal Semantic Functions in the Kumanovo Dialect

Where the Kumanovo dialects differ from the literary language and the other dialects is in the use of two semantic categories we have described for Serbo-Croatian: the full lexical meaning and the quasi-conditional. According to Vidoeski:

Od privedenive primeri se gleda deka formite so glagolot “teše,” odn. “Keše” kako pomošen izrazuvaat modalno ili vremensko značenje. No vo kumanovski ot govor ova konstrukcija može da se sretne i so volitivno značenje, kako vo srpskohrvatskite dijalekti, a koe drugite makedonski govori se iskazuva obično so formite na glagolot “saka.” SP. : Jutre *teše da idu* u Kumanovo Čet (= sakav da odam). Ja tam *teše da ga dam* Ags. (= sakav da go dam). On *teše da me ostavi* Mal. (= sakaše da me ostavi). Ostina vodata, *keše da peru*

<sup>3</sup> This function is rarer with *bi* expressions.

<sup>4</sup> This is very rare with *bi*, and results from the influence of literary Serbo-Croatian on literary Macedonian.

<sup>5</sup> This may be either past or non-past indicative.

za Milevu Grad (= sakav da peram). Oni *keja da dojde*, ama skršija gi se kola Rom. (= sakaa da dojdāt). (Vidoeski 1962: 234–235)

Examples: (1) ‘Tomorrow I wanted to go to Kumanovo.’<sup>6</sup> (2) ‘I wanted to give it there.’ (3) ‘He wanted to leave me.’ (4) ‘The water got cold, [and] I had wanted to do laundry for Mileva.’ (5) [They wanted to go, but their car broke down.]

Some of these examples, such as the last one, could also be called quasi-conditionals, for there are nuances such as ‘intending/preparing to do X, but...’

As Vidoeski states, the imperfect of *saka* is used with the full lexical meaning in addition to the imperfect *teše/keše* described above. It is important to note, however, that *saka* is a relatively new verb in the Kumanovo area compared to the rest of Macedonia, and results here from the influence of the Skopje dialects to the southwest. *Sakaše* does not have the status of a grammatical modal category, whereas *keše* has a transitional status (a situation similar to dialectal Serbo-Croatian). Both verbs in the Kumanovo dialect are used with the full lexical meaning, and *keše* also in contexts such as the conditional and the future-in-the-past.

The final impetus to separation of the lexical semantic categories from the syntactic modal categories in Macedonian was the substitution of the new verb for full lexical meaning, making the use of *keše* in this context redundant. In the next stage of development, the analogical shift from *keše da* + the present indicative *ke* + the imperfect (paralleling the construction for the future) further separated the semantics of this construction from the old lexical meaning of the verb.

There is another difference from the rest of Macedonian in the distribution of semantic categories: the iterative/habitual. In literary Macedonian, *ke* + the imperfect is used; more rarely, under the influence of Serbo-Croatian, the *bi* construction may be used. But in the Kumanovo dialect, the simple imperfect is used for the iterative/habitual.

The semantic scope of *bi* is not large in this dialect, although according to Vidoeski, it is still more frequent compared to the central and southern dialects. As in other Macedonian dialects, optative expressions such as wishes and curses are expressed by *da* + the present indicative, instead of by

<sup>6</sup> In the Kumanovo area *teše* (*keše*) is generalized for the sg., but not pl. personal forms.

*bi* as we have seen in Serbo-Croatian. This is one indication of the weakening of the semantic scope for *bi*. *Bi* is used in the Kumanovo dialect for the non-past conditional and the potential, including 'attenuated' expressions of politeness.

The other Macedonian dialects show no major differences in the semantics of *bi* compared with the literary language. Indeed, since the central dialects of Prilep and Bitola are the basis of the literary language, the semantics of *bi* are naturally in accordance with the standard.

For instance, in Tošev's study of the Struga dialect (SW Macedonia), based on materials from the nineteenth century, and edited by Koneski in 1977, we find examples such as this future-in-the-past:

(164) *Ke mu nosef trista kila čenica.*

'I was going to bring him three hundred kilos of wheat.'

(Tošev 1977: 73) [Italics his]

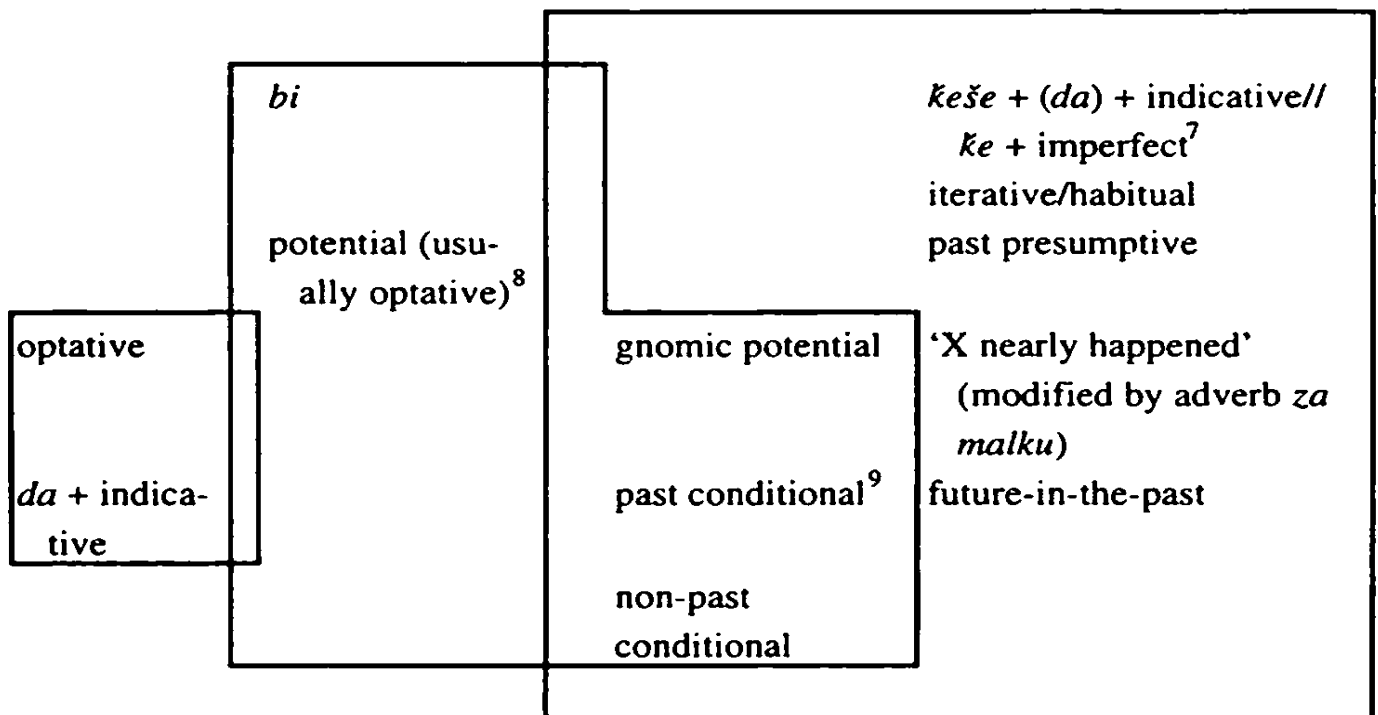
Note that the semantics of 'X nearly happened' is expressed by the Balkan conditional modified by the adverbial phrase *bez malu*.

(165) *Bez malu ke ja potopieha.*

'They almost flooded/drowned it/her.' (Tošev 1977: 73) [Italics his]

In Figure 26 opposite the reader will note that the semantic scope of *bi* is the most restricted in the dialects (excepting Kumanovo), whereas the semantic scope of *keše* is greater than in the literary language. The tendency for *keše* to expand at the expense of *bi* has actually lost some ground in the literary language because of Serbo-Croatian influence after WWII. Before WWII, both Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian politically dominated (or were a strong influence on) Macedonian; it is probable that the frequent use of *bi* and its corresponding favored status in modal semantic categories was canceled by the influence of Bulgarian, where *bi* lost ground in a similar manner to Macedonian. After 1945, when the republic of Macedonia was steadily influenced linguistically (through bilingual, educated speakers) by Serbo-Croatian, *bi* expressions had a stronger foothold in Macedonian, even to the extent of expressing subjunctive clauses of purpose. Koneski (1976) states that this usage is incorrect in literary Macedonian; (*za da* + the indicative should be used instead. Furthermore, as described earlier, literary Macedonian uses *bi* as a variant for expressing the iterative/habitual.





**Figure 26.** Distribution of Modal Semantic Functions in the Macedonian Folk Language

In contrast to the literary language, the dialects show a smaller semantic scope for *bi*. This scope varies from dialect to dialect, particularly in the amount of overlapping with *keše*. In general, the further south the dialect, the less frequent the use of *bi*, and the smaller its semantic scope.

The following examples of folk language are taken from colloquial speech, folk tales and folk poetry. This is necessary because the language of folk poetry is more conservative than the literary language, and *keše* is much less common compared to *bi*. This is particularly true of nineteenth-century folk poetry.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Two of the constructions common in the dialects are given here. See part I of this chapter for others.

<sup>8</sup> *Bi* is used for some potentials; often they are attenuated or "optative" potentials, e.g., *Zar jas ne bi možel ušte mnogu da dam?* or *Bi sakal da poživem ušte malku...* (B. Koneski 1976: 501).

<sup>9</sup> *Bi* constructions are not as common for these functions as the Balkan conditional.

<sup>10</sup> *Šćaše* expressions were preserved in Serbo-Croatian nineteenth-century folk poetry, but were generally lost in colloquial speech and folk prose (outside of Montenegro). In Macedonian, the spread of semantic scope for *keše* probably took place earlier than in Serbo-Croatian, and the folk poetry at the most conservative level of language preserved *bi* expressions in the nineteenth century. By the

In lyric poetry, there are more examples of *keše* in *tažacki* (mourning songs of the same type as Serbo-Croatian *tužbalice*) compared to more formulaic songs, such as songs of the *lazarke* or songs for other holidays. The even stricter formulaic structure of epic poetry encouraged the preservation of set phrases (including those with *bi*) in Macedonian until the beginning of the twentieth century. At that point, as *keše* became more and more common in the colloquial language, it gradually became more frequent in epic poetry. Furthermore, the corpus of (recorded) epic poetry is much smaller in Macedonian compared to Serbo-Croatian; thus in addition to the time-lag for the appearance of *keše* in epic poetry, statistically fewer examples can be found for analysis.

The areas of overlapping between *keše* and *bi* are the past and non-past conditionals and, more rarely, the future-in-the-past.

The following is a past conditional in an epic poem from Krušovo:

- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| (166) Toi si ideše otā tugena        | ‘He was coming from a foreign<br>land             |
| Včera so zorā go zedofme             | Yesterday with worry we<br>apprehended him        |
| Ako ne ideše, <i>ke</i> go otepefme. | If he had not come, we would have<br>killed him.’ |
|                                      | (Tahov 1895: 112)                                 |

A second example is from an epic about the famous hero Krale Marko:

- |                                      |  |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| (167) Koga vidov pusto lice crno,    | ‘When I saw [her] empty black<br>face,               |
| lice crno, pusti zabi beli,          | [Her] black face, empty white<br>teeth,              |
| I mi dojde grozno i nearno;          | Then a terrible and ugly feeling<br>came over me;    |
| Trgnav sablja, i’ presekov<br>glava. | I grabbed my sword, cut off her<br>head.             |
| Tie mi se golemi greovi.             | These are my great sins.                             |
| keški nea da ne ja zagubev,          | It would have been better if I<br>hadn’t killed her, |

twentieth century, *keše* expressions were dominating Macedonian, whereas *šćaše* expressions had lost ground in the majority of Serbo-Croatian dialects (along with the loss of the imperfect).

da donesev vo mojova kuća,  
 pri mojova stara mila majka,  
 da ja držev kako mila sestra,  
*ke i' najdev* drugar sproti nea,  
 da ne storev golemi greovi.

If I had taken her to my house,  
 To my old, dear mother,  
 If I had kept her as my dear sister,  
 I would have found a mate worthy  
 of her,  
 If I had not committed these great  
 sins.

(Boškovski 1948: 163–164)

A series of past conditionals may be found in a *tažačka* (mourning song) from Prilep:

(168) Lele tago mila Zlatao!  
 Kéški da beše ležala  
 vo postela mnogu bolna,  
 Ama da ne mi umreše.  
 Maika lek *ke* to *baraše*,  
 Seta zemná *ke prevratev*,  
 Po site gledarki *ke odev*,  
 Ké ti *kušav*, *ke* ti *baev*,  
 Belkim *ke* ti *se kažeše*,  
 Voda za da mi te izmiev,  
 I lekot da ti go naidav!  
 Po carkvi i manastiri,  
 Sveki vošteni *ke pratev*,  
 Tebe čupe, da odmolev;  
 Tatka ti *ke* go *naterav*,  
 I tatko ti *ke pišeše*  
 Osmak žito i iagnence

'O sorrow, woe is me, dear Zlata!  
 Better that you had lain  
 In bed very ill,  
 But not that you died.  
 Your mother would have looked  
 for medicine for you,  
 I would have gone the whole earth  
 over,  
 I would have gone to all the folk  
 healers,  
 I would have practiced sorcery, I  
 would have cast spells,  
 Maybe [the casting of spells] would  
 have indicated [lit: 'told']  
 Which water for me to wash you,  
 And the medicine which I would  
 find for you!  
 To churches and monasteries,  
 I would have sent wax candles,  
 To pray for you, daughter;  
 I would have compelled your father  
 to act,  
 And your father would have  
 promised [lit.: 'written']  
 An *osmak*<sup>11</sup> of grain and a lamb,

<sup>11</sup> A measure containing 50 kilos.

Za tvoeto zdrave Zlato.

For your health, Zlato.'

(Cepenkov 1890 3: 70)

*Keše* was used more frequently in *tažački* than in other folk songs, for in *tažački*, the circumstances of the deceased's life were often described, and the poignant past conditional also a common expression, as in the above example.

An example of a non-past conditional, with *bi* in the protasis, and *keše* in the apodosis may be found in a lyric song from Marijovo (SE Macedonia):

(169) Ah, *da bi znala*  
 Toj što mi peje  
 Rano što peje  
 Za večeranje:  
 Jaz *će go ranav*  
 So topen šećer!  
 Ah, *da bi znala*  
 Toj što mi peje,  
 Rano što peje  
 Za legnuvanje:  
 Jaz *će go ranav*  
 So suvo grozje!  
 Ah, *da bi znala*  
 Toj što mi peje  
 Rano što peje  
 Za stanuvanje:  
 Jaz *će go ranav*  
 S otrov i katran!

'Ah, if I knew  
 The one sings  
 Who sings early  
 For suppertime:  
 I would feed him  
 With carmelized sugar!  
 Ah, if I knew  
 The one who sings  
 Who sings early,  
 For bedtime:  
 I would feed him  
 With raisins!  
 Ah, if I knew  
 The one who sings  
 Who sings early  
 For getting up in the morning:  
 I would feed him  
 With poison and tar!'

(Radovanović 1931: 69)

Note the variant *će* for *ke* here, which is found in many Macedonian dialects. Another variant, *ka*, may be found in the Krušovo dialect (W Macedonia):

(170) Kaži me, mome ščo plačiš,  
 Ščo si, mome, uba'a,  
 Ušče da nebeše evreika  
*kã* te *zemařã* nevesta,

'Tell me, girl, why are you crying,  
 For, girl, you are beautiful,  
 Moreover, if you weren't Jewish  
 I would take you for my bride,

Pokrasti se, momice,  
Da bidešš moja nevesta!

Convert to Christianity, little girl,  
So you can become my bride!

(Tahov 1895: 146)

The remaining semantic category which overlaps with *bi*, although *bi* is used rarely in this sense, is the future-in-the-past. The following examples are taken from Kiril Koneski's dissertation on *ke*, and found in Cepenkov's collection of Macedonian folk tales from the Prilep area:

- (171) Go odnese doma i mu kaža site izmeti što *ke* mu 'i čineše...  
'He led him home and told him all the favors that he was going to do for him...'  
(K. Koneski 223)
- (172) Vo denot što *ke* trneše mačoro na adžil'k, go vikna sina si na edna strana i počna da go uči kako da se odnesuva so vardenjeto mesoto i so gluvcite.  
'On the day that the tomcat was to set out on his pilgrimage, he called his son off to one side and began to teach him how to deal with preserved meat and with mice.'  
(K. Koneski 223)

Very few examples of the future-in-the-past with *keše* were found in folk poetry. The overwhelming majority of expressions were either conditionals or the iterative/habitual. Here is a typical example of the latter from a *tažačka* from Prilep:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>(173) So duša ti mi čekaše,<br/>Da se stemni, sladok tate,<br/>Da ti doidet tvoi sinoi,<br/>Da i prašaš za v čaršia,<br/><br/>Za v čaršia na dukjan<br/><br/>I za tvoite priateli.<br/>Na vrata oči daržeše,<br/><br/>Dor deca da videš,<br/>Ti <i>ke</i> si se raduvaše.</p> | <p>'Eagerly you would wait,<br/>For dusk to fall, dear papa,<br/>For your sons to come,<br/>To ask about [events] in the<br/>marketplace,<br/>About [events] in the marketplace,<br/>about [things] in the store<br/>And about your friends.<br/>You would keep your eyes on the<br/>door,<br/>Until you could see the children,<br/>Then you would be filled with joy.</p> |
|--|---|

“Dobro večer,” *ke rečea*  
I do tebe *ke sednea*,

Tie *ke* mi te *prašaa*:  
“Da li si po-aren, tate?  
Da li mi te e po-lesno?”

“Good evening,” they would say  
And they would sit down next to  
you,

They would ask you:  
“Are you better, papa?  
Are things easier for you?”

(Cepenkov 1890: 63)

In the first sequence of iterative/habituals, forming the background of the narrative, is expressed with a single imperfect: *ti čekaše* (‘you would wait’). This is followed by a series of iterative/habituals expressed by the Balkan conditional.

A second series of iterative/habituals comes from another *tažacka* from Prilep:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>(174) Priateli te arnisaa,<br/>Si izgubi česta tfoia.<br/>Po nekoaš ti odeše,<br/>Koga žal tebe ideše,<br/>Čaršiiata da ia vidiš,<br/>So priatelj da se staviš;<br/>Duri ti da si poideše,<br/>Na pet mesta <i>kje sedeše</i>,<br/>Dome ti koga si ideše,<br/>Na deset mesta <i>kje sedeše</i>;</p> <p>Dušata <i>kje</i> ti <i>izlezeše</i>;<br/>Duri doma <i>kje doideše</i>;<br/>Pot so okji <i>kje istureše</i>,</p> <p>Dome koga <i>kje doideše</i>.<br/>Na praga <i>kje padneše</i>,</p> <p>So voda se polevaše...</p> | <p>‘Your friends left you,<br/>You lost your honor.<br/>Sometimes you would go,<br/>When you felt bad,<br/>To see the marketplace,<br/>To meet with your friend;<br/>By the time you got there,<br/>You’d sit for a while in five places,<br/>When you were going home,<br/>You would sit for a while in ten<br/>places,<br/>Your soul would leave you (?);<br/>By the time you came home;<br/>You would wipe the sweat from<br/>your eyes,<br/>When you arrived home.<br/>You would fall across the<br/>threshold,<br/>Pour water over yourself...’</p> <p>(Cepenkov 1890 3: 105)</p> |
|--|--|

Here the use of *ke* + the imperfect underscores the relative tense between two past actions, e.g., ‘Duri ti da si poideše,/Na pet mesta *kje sedeše*’ (‘By the time you got there,/You’d sit for a while in five places’).

Another category which is shared with *bi* is the gnomic potential. This category is very common in folk sayings, e.g.,

(175) So prstite očite *ke* mi izvaeše.

‘With his fingers he will/could pluck out his eyes.’

(*Makedonski narodni umotvorbi: Poslovice*: 182)

(176) *Ke* go jadeše kako leb i sol.

‘He will/would eat it like bread and salt.’

(*Makedonski narodni umotvorbi: Poslovice*: 196)

Since folk sayings are fairly conservative regarding archaic linguistic forms, it is natural that some of the older *bi* constructions are still used. Most of the examples I found, however, used *keše*.

One semantic category expressed exclusively by *keše* is ‘X nearly happened,’ which is, as we have seen, modified in Macedonian by adverbial phrases meaning ‘nearly,’ such as *za malku*, *ušte malku*, *ušte troa*, etc. Kiril Koneski cites many examples in his dissertation on *ke*, including:

(177) a. *Za malku ke zaboravev.*

‘I nearly forgot.’

b. *Tihon ušte za malku ke se rasplačeše.*

‘Tihon nearly burst into tears.’

c. *Lamarinieniot pod od balkanot se beše razligavil, ta za malku Kočak ke se premetneše nadolu.*

‘The sheet-metal floor of the balcony had come loose, so that Kočak nearly fell head-over-heels below.’

d. *Ke padnev za malku.*

‘I nearly fell.’

e. *Me izlagaa, ta ušta troa ke me otepa.*

‘They laid me flat, they nearly killed me.’

f. *Za malku germanskata patrola ke mi gi skineše koncite.*

‘The German patrol nearly got me [lit.: ‘broke my threads’].’

(K. Koneski 263)

The last semantic category is the past presumptive. The lack of affirmation or the doubt expressed in this construction with *keše* is similar to the softening of attenuated expressions with *bi*, as we have observed in Serbo-Croatian with *šćaše*. The following examples are also from Koneski’s dissertation:

(178) Nabrgu ne ostana niedno prazno stolce i potem se ispolnija i patekite, se vramija iz dzidovite i se zakolka vratata. *Ke imaše* iljada duši!

'Suddenly not one empty chair remained, and then the paths filled up, the walls were lined, and the doorways crammed full. There must have been a thousand people there!'

(K. Koneski 278)

(179) No deteto dišeše i, dišejki, ja turivaše vodata nasobrana po diplite na košulčeto. *Ne ke imaše* poveke od dve godini.

'But the child breathed, and breathing, spilled the water collected in the folds of his shirt. He couldn't have been more than two years old.'

(K. Koneski 278)

According to K. Koneski, an even more common construction for this expression in Macedonian has an inserted *da*, which emphasizes the modality:

Kako poseban znak za obeležuvanje na modalnoto značenje na pret-postavka i ovdeka, kako i pri soodvetnata upotreba na idnoto vreme, može da se javi svrznikot *da* vo konstrukcijata na minatoidno vreme...

(K. Koneski 278–279)

His examples include:

(180) a. *Ke da beše* polnoč koga se vrakaše Tihon od poletu.

'It must have been midnight when Tihon returned from the field.'

b. Nad glavata im zamavtaa ezerski ptici: norovi *ke da bea*.

'Above their heads rose lake-birds: they must have been waterfowl.'<sup>12</sup>

c. Gore, do vratata za vo zgradata vojnicate imaa namesteno masa, polkriena so crvena basma. Ili *ke da beše* kadife.

'Higher, next to the door of the building, the soldiers had placed a table, covered with red chintz. Or it could have been velvet.'

(K. Koneski 278–279)

<sup>12</sup> *Nor* simply means 'waterfowl'.



The modality in these instances is in the attenuation of the statement; the speaker estimates, assumes, or equivocates on the information offered.

One last point on *keše* expressions in general: they also appear in the pluperfect and in non-affirmative contexts. An example of the former is from Struga (SW Macedonia):

- |       |  |   |
|-------|--|---|
| (181) | A egidi rusa Stano!<br>Da befã brala bëlo ruvo,<br><i>ke befã dãbie izoblëkla;</i><br>Tuku stani da me darvišã<br>Za tvoe-to bëlo gãrlo! | ‘Hey, blonde Stana!<br>Had I picked out white garments,<br>I would have dressed the oaks,<br>But give me a gift<br>For your white throat! [i.e., in<br>exchange for your life.]<br>(Miladinovici 1861: 5) |
|-------|--|---|

An example of non-affirmative *keše* was found in an epic poem from Prilep:

- |       |  |  |
|-------|--|--|
| (182) | Rekla mu Dimkoica: “Slušaj<br>Šefki, kačak ti!<br>Dimko snošti leb jadeše i<br>za tebe dumaše<br>Ančeto <i>će</i> mi ti go <i>zemel</i><br><br>za da ni biti slugina.” | ‘Dimkoica said to him: “Listen,<br>Šefki, you renegade!<br>Last night Dimko ate bread and<br>spoke about you<br>He would take your Anča [lit.: ‘was<br>going to take’]<br>To be our servant.”’<br>(Rusić 1940: 68) |
|-------|--|--|

Blaže Koneski cites an example of the non-affirmative non-past conditional in his grammar:

- |       |  |
|-------|--|
| (183) | Vistina ne ubil nikogo, ama <i>ke ubiel</i> ako moral.<br>‘In truth he hadn’t killed anyone, but he would kill if he had to.’<br>(Koneski 1976: 498) |
|-------|--|

One of the most productive genres for non-affirmative constructions was in fairy tales, especially since the story-teller often chooses to place the entire narrative into non-affirmative mode for obvious reasons. A typical series of examples is in a story from Prilep:

- (184) Čorbažijata si sedel pokraj ognište na edno novo velence i si piel so čibuko tutun. Sekoja večer argatino vlegual v' kuki pri stario čorbadžija da mu davat g'undel'kot. *Ke potkrenal* čorbažijata velenceto i *ke izvael* pari, ta *ke* mu *platel* na argatino g'unlukot. 'The rich man would sit by the fire on a new, little rug and would smoke from a long-stemmed pipe. Every evening the day laborer would come into the house to the old rich man, so that he would give him his daily wages. The rich man would lift up the rug, and would pull out the money, which he would pay the laborer as his daily wage.'

(Cepenkov 1959 2: 153)

Dialects outside of the Kumanovo region sometimes yield older historic forms such as *keše*, *ćeše*, *kaše*, particularly in the folk sayings, which are very conservative linguistically. For instance, from the area of Štip (NE Macedonia, south of Kumanovo):

- (185) a. Da be učil takam *ne keše da kaže*.  
'Had he learned it that way, he wouldn't have said it.'  
b. Da beše tvoe, *keše da e u tebe*.  
'If it were yours, you'd have it.'

(*Makedonski narodni umotvorbi* 4: 40)

In Cepenkov's collections of folk tales, there was at least one example of the older form *keše* from Prilep (one of the western dialects on which the literary language is based). By the late nineteenth century in that area *ke* + the imperfect was already standard usage.

- (186) —Ami ne pominaa ovde nešto kaug'eri?—mu reče egumeno.  
—Pominaa, kao ne pominaa, edno i site i pomolif da mi pomožit, arno amo seko me veleše ako beše imal konj *keše da mi pomoži*.

"'But didn't some monks pass by this way?" the prior asked him.

"Passed by, of course they passed by, but the strange thing was that I asked all of them in turn to help me, but each one told me that if he had a horse, he would have helped me."

(Cepenkov 1959 2: 170)

In Skopje area dialects (which border on Kumanovo), there was contamination of the new construction—*ke* + the imperfect—with the older construction *keše* + *da* and the non-past, resulting in such forms as *keše da beše*, with two imperfects.

All of these dialectal variants are ultimately marginal to the standard, literary *ke* + the imperfect, but they have been discussed here to give some indication of alternative paths *keše* might have taken, had dialects other than the central-western ones been made the basis of the new literary language.

### *Comparison of the Balkan Conditional in Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian*

While originally quite similar in form, the Serbo-Croatian and Macedonian Balkan conditionals began to diverge in the late nineteenth century. As we have noted, when Serbo-Croatian was codified in the mid-nineteenth century by Karadžić, *šćaše* was considered a marginal, dialectal feature, not part of the literary language.

One reason for this was that the dialects from Bosnia-Hercegovina, as the basis of the literary language, had at that time a more limited and petrified usage of *šćaše*, compared to dialects in Sandžak, Montenegro, and the Boka Kotorska. In these latter areas, semantic categories for *šćaše* were still expanding, while in Bosnia-Hercegovina and even more in Serbia, they were already considered formulas in the folk language. Thus, *šćaše* was not really considered as viable in the literary language.

When Macedonian was codified, following WWII, *keše* was already a dominant expression in many of its dialects, especially in the western ones. As we have noted, *keše* was also in a strong position in the northern dialects, where the more archaic morphology and more archaic semantic categories were common. However, the western dialects were made the foundation of the literary language, and we have the newer construction of *ke* + the imperfect.

A second factor which helped to separate the Balkan conditional in Serbo-Croatian and Macedonian was the separation in Macedonian of the lexical meaning 'to want' from the modality of *keše*. This was accomplished by the emergence of a new verb—*saka*, which originally meant 'to seek' (i.e., in the Miladinovci brothers' collection of Macedonian folk poems (1861: 536), it is glossed as *sakam = ištem, tražim* ('to seek')). *Saka* later replaced the older Macedonian verb *ože* (corresponding to Serbo-Croatian *hoće*) for the lexical meaning 'to want.' This separation of lexical meaning from modality had a strong influence on the semantic categories for *keše*: the

full lexical meaning and quasi-conditional were no longer relevant. Only in Kumanovo, where *keše* retained its lexical meaning, were these categories still viable. In the next stage of development, the substitution of the modal particle *ke* + the imperfect for *keše* further separated this expression from the old lexical meaning. (Before the nineteenth century, *keše* was conjugated in the imperfect, although the singular paradigm had syncretized in some dialects.)

The third factor one should consider is the relative degree of Balkanization in Macedonian vs. Serbo-Croatian. The shift in functions from primarily future-in-the-past to the conditional, iterative/habitual, etc., reflects this Balkanization in both languages, for according to Gołąb (1964b), both form and function were heavily influenced by the corresponding forms in Arumanian and Greek. Since the Serbo-Croatian speaking area is on the fringes of the Balkan *Sprachbund*, only the most southern and southeastern areas had any strong degree of Balkanization. And it is in this area—Montenegro, southern Serbia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina—that *šćaše* is strongest. It is there that one finds conditionals and the iterative/habitual as the dominant function of *šćaše*, whereas the further north one goes, into Bosnia-Hercegovina and southern Dalmatia, the more one finds the quasi-conditional or even the full lexical meaning as the dominant function.

Macedonian-speaking territory, on the other hand, is clearly within the isoglosses of Balkan features. This position is reflected in the expansion of the Balkan conditional through the literary language as well as the dialects, and in its broad semantic scope which is not tied to the lexical meaning of the verb (as it is, to a greater or lesser degree, in the Serbo-Croatian dialects).

### *Semantics of the Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian Balkan Conditional*

The first—and most obvious—difference in the semantics is the lack of the future-in-the-past in Serbo-Croatian, and its presence in Macedonian. While both literary and dialectal Macedonian use this construction for the future-in-the-past (the earliest semantic category in OCS), Serbo-Croatian has lost this entire axis of potentiality uncontaminated with lexical meaning.

A second, and related difference, lies in the different aspects of potentiality: Macedonian uses the Balkan conditional to express gnomic potentiality (e.g., in folk sayings), Serbo-Croatian uses only *bi*.

Thirdly, the non-past conditional may be expressed in Macedonian by either *keše* or *bi*, and *keše* is the more frequent choice. In Serbo-Croatian, *bi*

is again the only choice, although in some Montenegrin dialects there are examples of quasi-non-past conditionals (i.e., with contamination from the lexical meaning.) Essentially, the Serbo-Croatian Balkan conditional is marked for past tense, and thus can reliably only express the past conditional.

For instance, the classic formula of a non-past conditional from folk poetry, we see in Macedonian:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| (187) Ščo mi se běleitā, leleitā?<br>Eli mi je běli šatorā?<br>Elā mi je grutka snežovca?<br>Elā mi je sokolovo pile?<br>Eli mi je bělo platno?<br>Eli mi je rudi ovenā?<br>Da je grutka snežovica,<br>Otā saŋce <i>ke skopneše</i> ;<br>Dā da mi je belo platno,<br>Lelā ke go devoika zberitā;<br><br>Da je sokolovo pile,<br>Dalā <i>ke pile otletaše</i> ;<br>Dā da mi je ovenā rudi,<br>Da leli ke vo pole slezitā;<br><br>Tuku bilo běli šatorā;<br>A potā nego Bolenā Doičinā; | ‘What shines white, swaying there?<br>Can it be a white tent?<br>Or is it a snowball?<br>Or is it a young falcon?<br>Or is it white linen?<br>Or is it a curly-haired ram?<br>If it were a snowball,<br>It would have melted from the sun;<br>And if it were white linen,<br>A maiden will/would be gathering<br>it up;<br>If it were a young falcon,<br>The bird would have flown away;<br>If it were a curly-haired ram,<br>Then it will/would go down into<br>the field;<br>But it was a white tent;<br>And beneath it Sick Doičin;’<br><br>(Miladinovci 1861: 363) |
|---|--|

And Serbo-Croatian in a similar context:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (188) Šta se b’jeli u gori zelenoj?<br><br>Al’ je snijeg, al’ su labudovi?<br>Da je snijeg, već <i>bi okopnio</i> ,<br><br>Labudovi već <i>bi poletjeli</i> ;<br><br>Nit je snijeg, nit su labudovi,<br>Nego šator age Hasan-age. | ‘What shines white in the green<br>wood?<br><br>Can it be snow, or is it swans?<br>If it were snow, it would have<br>already melted.<br>Swans would already have flown<br>away;<br><br>It is neither snow, nor swans<br>But the tent of the aga Hasan-aga.’ |
|---|---|

On boluje od ljutih rana,            He lies ill from fierce wounds,  
   (*Biserje: Izbor iz muslimanske književnosti*, 1972)

Here the non-past conditional reflects a situation in the present, in which the conditions have been fulfilled in the past, compared to the past conditional, where both the situation and conditions are in the past.

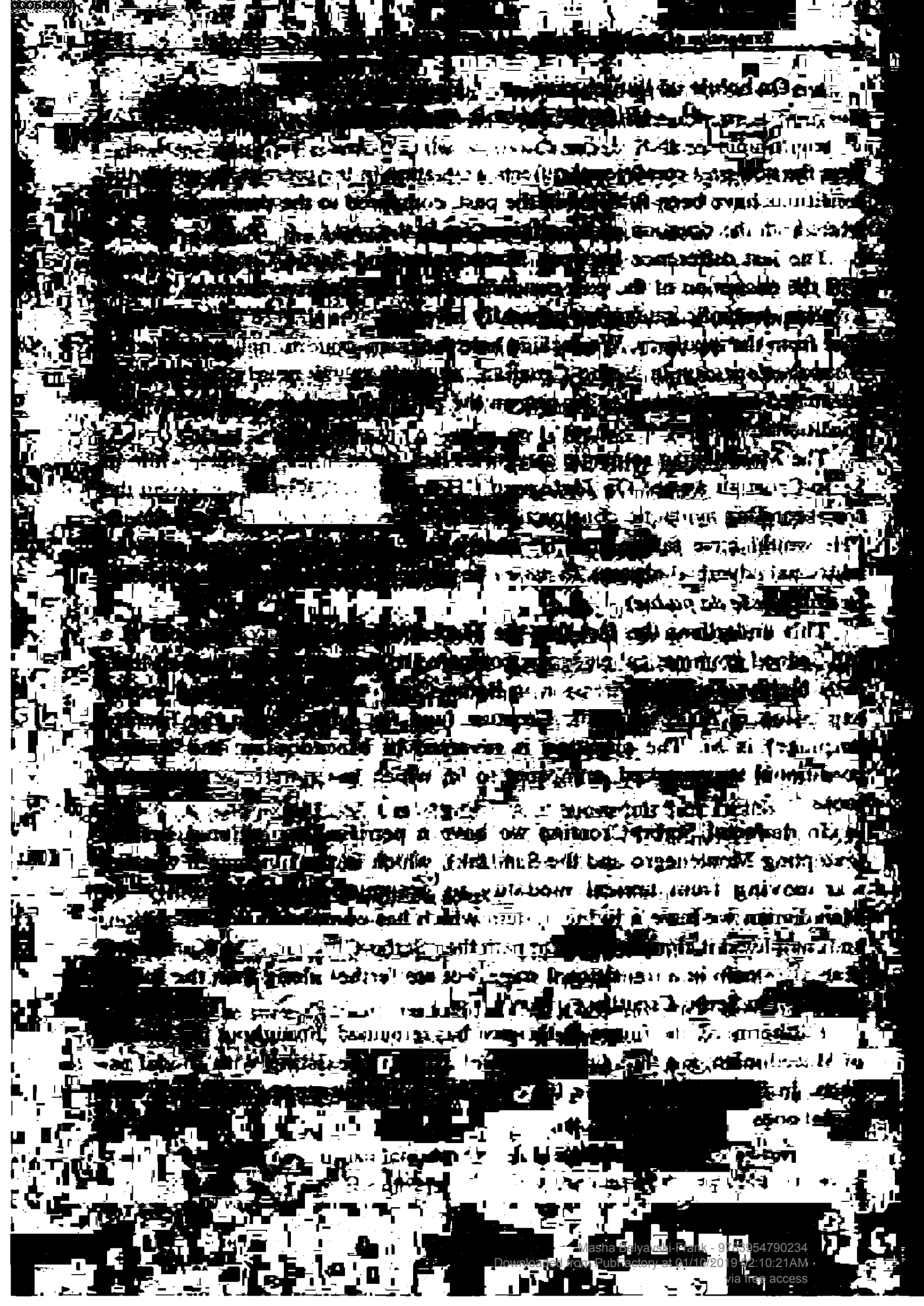
The last difference between Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian is that, with the exception of the past conditional and the iterative/habitual, Serbo-Croatian semantic categories generally involve some degree of lexical nuance from the auxiliary. We include here the quasi-conditional, which is the *Hauptbedeutung* in Serbo-Croatian, as well as ‘X nearly happened,’ attenuated expressions, ‘to be just on the point of,’ and the quasi-non-past conditional.

The Macedonian semantic categories lack these nuances; thus, while in Serbo-Croatian we see *On šćaše pasti* (‘He nearly fell’), in Macedonian the corresponding syntactic construction is a past conditional: *Toj ke padneše* (‘He would have fallen,...). ‘He nearly fell’ must be expressed with an additional adverbial phrase: *Za malku ke padneše* (in the Kumanovo dialects *za malku keše da padne*).

This underlines the fact that the Macedonian Balkan conditional is a full-fledged grammatical category, compared to the transitional and stylistically highly marked expression in Serbo-Croatian. The unmarked modal expression in dialectal Serbo-Croatian (and the only one in the literary language) is *bi*. The situation is reversed in Macedonian: the Balkan conditional is unmarked, compared to *bi*, which has a narrower semantic scope.

In dialectal Serbo-Croatian we have a petrified transitional system (excepting Montenegro and the Sandžak), which in the nineteenth century was moving from lexical modality to grammaticalized modality. In Macedonian we have a living system which has completed this transition, and completed it along a different path than Serbo-Croatian. The Kumanovo dialects remain in a transitional stage, but are further along than the fullest extension in Serbo-Croatian.

Furthermore, the future-in-the-past has remained throughout the history of Macedonian; we thus have temporal aspects coexisting with modal aspects. In Serbo-Croatian we have lexical modal nuances coexisting with modal ones.



## Chapter 7

### The Bulgarian Balkan Conditional

Both the Bulgarian literary language and the dialects have a Balkan conditional, with semantics and morphology very similar to the Macedonian Balkan conditional.

The actual form, however, parallels the older stage of Macedonian: the imperfect of the verb 'to want' followed by *da* + the non-past. This is true for all of Bulgarian, except a handful of western dialects, which are transitional to Macedonian. Thus, 'I, you, he, etc. would read' becomes *štjah da četǎ, šteše da četeš*, etc.<sup>1</sup> In the western dialects, in the Kjustendil area as far east as Sofia, a construction with the particle *šte* + the imperfect exists, which parallels the Bulgarian future: *šte* + the non-past. This, of course, is like the system we have seen in Macedonian.

In some of the extreme northwestern dialects (Vidin area), which are transitional to the Serbo-Croatian Torlak dialects, there is another variant with *i' > č*: *češe* (2nd/3rd per.sg.). All of the western dialects, by definition to the west of the *jat'*-line,<sup>2</sup> have the reflex *ě > e* in all phonological positions, whether under stress or not. The situation described earlier, with *e* before consonants immediately preceding front vowels, and also in any unstressed position vs. *ja* elsewhere, is the norm in literary Bulgarian and the eastern dialects (from which this feature was chosen during the codification of the literary language). Variants which appear only in a single dialect, such as the invariant form *tešǎ*, will be discussed in the section on individual dialects. (See Figure 27 on the following page.)

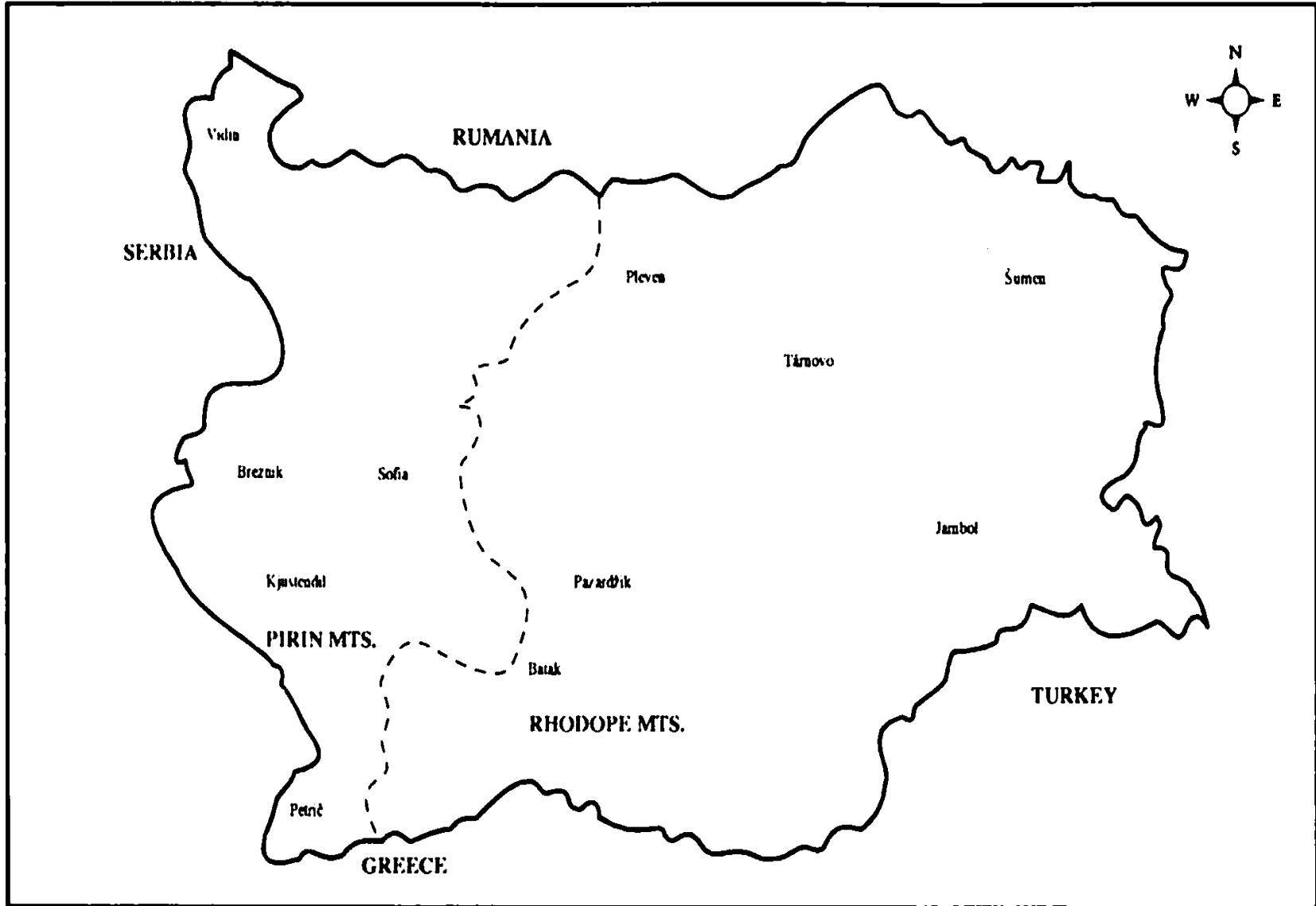
One more comment must be made on the forms for the Bulgarian Balkan conditional. As in the rest of the verbal system, there is a dichotomy between markedness or lack thereof for witnessing. In general, "witnessed"

---

<sup>1</sup> These are the forms in the literary language, where *ě > ja* under stress, and before C + BV/C /CC +FV or BV. Before C + FV, *ě > e*, if not stressed. Other forms cited here come from older Bulgarian: *štehǎ, šteše, štehme*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> The *jat'*-line is a generally north-south isogloss to the west of Nikopol and just east of Plevan, Čepino, and Petrič. To the east of this isogloss, there are various reflexes for *jat'* (the dominant one being *ja* in the positions described above, and *e* elsewhere, others are *ae* or *ja*). To the west of this isogloss, the reflex is simply *e*.





----- jat'-line (dividing western from eastern dialects by reflexes of jat')

Figure 27. Bulgaria

forms (such as those just cited), express either what the speaker himself has directly witnessed or what he is prepared to vouch for. "Non-witnessed" forms express what he has not seen or what he is not prepared to vouch for. The paradigm for non-witnessed forms of the Balkan conditional in Bulgarian is: *štjal sām da* + present indicative, *štjal si da ...*, *štjal da...*, *šteli sme da...*, *šteli ste da...*, *šteli da...*. Alternative dialectal forms are *šte sam* + the *l*-participle, *šte si...*, *šte...*, etc.

Finally, there is a pluperfect construction, for both the witnessed and non-witnessed axes. The witnessed form is: *štjah da sām* + the *l*-participle, *šteše da si* + *l*-participle, etc. A typical example in literary Bulgarian is:

- (189) *Včera v 5 časa štjahme da sme privāršili rabotata, ako ne beše se povredila mašinata.*  
 'We would have finished work by five yesterday, if the machine hadn't broken down.'

(Andrejčin 1944: 383)

The non-witnessed (or "reported") construction is *štjal sām da sām* + *l*-participle, *štjal si da si* + *l*-participle, etc.

### *Semantics of the Balkan Conditional in Literary Bulgarian*

According to the grammars of Andrejčin (1944) and Stojanov (1971), the semantics of *šteše* express only a few functions in literary Bulgarian: (1) the future-in-the-past; (2) the past, contrary-to-fact conditional and (3) the expression 'X nearly happened', coupled with an adverbial phrase *nasmalko* or *bez malko* (cf. Macedonian *za malko* + *keše*).

The future-in-the-past has been continued from middle Bulgarian into the contemporary language. As a relative tense, the future-in-the-past has a dominant element of temporality, with a lesser element of modality. For instance, in Andrejčin's grammar:

- (190) *Grozdan stigma do nivata i se spre na onja kraj, odeto šteše da počne da kosi.*  
 'Grozdan reached the field, and stopped at that end from which he was going to begin reaping.'

(Andrejčin 1944: 256)

Here there is no indication whether or not the reaping actually took place.

Here is another example, also cited in Andrejčin:

- (191) Dve černi gorjašti oči čakaha da dolovjată tajnata, kojata *šteše da razbuli* dedo Geno.)

‘Two black, burning eyes waited to catch the secret which grandfather Geno was going to reveal.’

(Andrejčin 1944: 256)

The other main function of the Bulgarian Balkan conditional—the past conditional—often has the formal conditional syntactic structure: (i.e. *akollda...*, *šteše da...*) For example,

- (192) I ako toj ne beše tolkova zamislena i se obärneše, *šteše da vidi*, če te beha se sabrali večē na kup.

‘And if he hadn’t been so lost in thought and had turned around, he would have seen that they had already gathered together in a crowd.’

(Andrejčin 1944: 257)

- (3) Da behä po-mladä, *šehä da otida* va gorata da mu ulovja edno slavejče.

‘If I were younger, I would have gone into the forest to catch a nightingale for him.’

(Andrejčin 1944: 257)

The third semantic function, ‘X nearly happened’, can be seen as a modification of the past conditional. There is a transformation from the expression ‘He would have fallen’ to one focusing how close the event came to happening—‘He nearly fell’. The use of the adverb reflects these nuances of surprise. Again, in Andrejčin:

- (193) Čumakät izgubi tärpēnie, jadosa se i täi silno dräpna Monkata, če *nasmalko šteše da go sabori* otä stolä mu.

‘Čumakät lost patience, became angry, and pulled Monkata by force, nearly knocking him off his chair.’

(Andrejčin 1944: 258)

Neither of these linguists mention the Balkan conditional in iterative/habitual contexts, a fact recognized by both Aronson (1964a: 29) and Gołab

(1964: 95). The historical present of perfective verbs and imperfects (in particular perfective imperfects) is also used in this context. According to Trifonov, this use is rarely found in the literary language, and is more frequent in the dialects. Following is an example cited in Aronson:

(194) Lesno be da se pozae, koga bašta im e izljazal i koga se očkava da se vārne. Predi da se vārne, najstaroto momiče *šteše da se obleče* i go čakaše v priemnata staja ili na balkona... Podir tova Florensa viždaše, kak tja *šteše da go pregārne* prez šijata a da se razgovarja s nego.

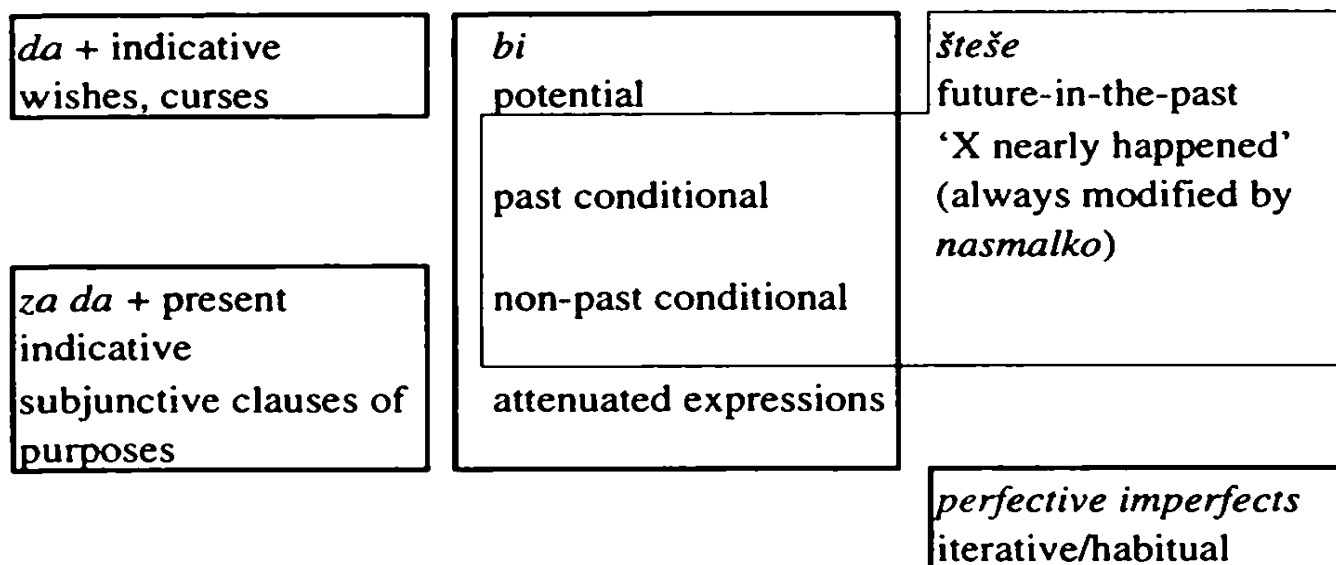
'It was easy to recognize when their father had gone out and when it was expected that he return. Before he returned, the oldest girl would dress and wait for him in the entry hall or on the balcony... After that Florence saw how she would embrace him around the neck and talk with him.'

(Aronson 1977: 29–30)

Another function in the literary language is the past presumptive. The use of the imperfect form *šteše* reflects doubt on the part of the speaker as to the exact number (or other attribute). (See Figure 28 on the following page.)

In an examination of the literature on the Bulgarian Balkan conditional, it appears that the most frequent usage is the future-in-the-past. The second most frequent function is the past conditional; the other semantic functions described above are more rare. Most Bulgarian linguists (Andrejčin, Trifonov, Stojanov, etc.) believe that the future-in-the-past represents the invariant meaning (*Gesamtbedeutung*). In other words, the primary meaning (*Hauptbedeutung*) is one manifestation of the invariant meaning of *past potentiality*. This element, of course, is virtually identical with the future-in-the-past, one difference being that the future-in-the-past is a relative tense. The future-in-the-past does not express one isolated (projected) event, but rather the relationship of one projected event to another in the past. Past potentiality can also be used to express the past conditional, which has the additional marking of irreality. And there are nuances of potentiality in the iterative/habitual expression. (See Figure 28.)

Other linguists, such as Gołab and Beaulieux, contend that the invariant meaning in Bulgarian is the (past) conditional. For them the primary meaning is the past conditional, and the invariant meaning is a contrary-to-fact



**Figure 28.** Distribution of Modal Semantic Functions in Literary Bulgarian

modality in the past. (Indeed, this is the situation in Macedonian, where the Balkan conditional in context-free position is the conditional.)<sup>3</sup>

I believe that the Bulgarian Balkan conditional represents past potentiality, judging from the evidence in the linguistic literature and from the examples found in the literary language.

### *Semantics of the Bulgarian Balkan Conditional in the Dialects*

As in Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian, the Bulgarian dialects exhibit more extensive semantic functions for modal expressions compared to the literary language. In general, the iterative/habitual and the past presumptive expressed by the Balkan conditional are more frequent in the dialects.

In the corpus of folk poetry and prose I examined, the most frequent use was the past conditional, followed by the future-in-the-past. The non-past conditional was also found in the folk literature, e.g.,

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (5) Momne le mari hubava,<br>[...]<br>če da te gledam, momne le,<br>men na sǎrceno pripada.<br>Da beše blaga jabǎlka— | 'O girl, beautiful one,<br>[...]<br>When I look at you, girl,<br>it touches my heart.<br>If you were a sweet apple— |
|---|---|

<sup>3</sup> In a broad semantic context, the Macedonian Balkan conditional also expresses the iterative/habitual or future-in-the-past, but they are rarer than the past conditional.

<i>hvārli šteh, otbruhli šteh te;</i>	I would hurl you to the ground, I would pluck you from the tree;
da beše koren bosilek—	If you were a spring of basil—
<i>drāpna šteh, otkuba šteh go;</i>	I would pick, I would pull it up by the roots;
da beše voda studena,	If you were cool water,
bāklāče <i>šteh te natoča,</i>	I would pour you into a little flask,
na konče ta šteh okača,	I would hang you from the side of my horse,
de kāde hodja, momne le,	So that wherever I went, girl,
voda studena da pijam	I could drink cold water
i tebe da si spominam;	and remember you;’
	(Osinin and Burin 1962: 177)

An example with similar semantics comes from Mladenov’s 1939 grammar:

- (195) *Krila, krila da imahā!—ta štehā da begamā azi*  
*Otā tui borbište šumno na strasti i omrazi,*  
*De moja duhā podā skārbi pregāva se katā robā;*  
*Ta štehā kāmā vaša da hvrākna, Rodopi gordelivi, ...*  
 ‘If I had wings, wings!—I would flee  
 From this noisy battle of passion and hatred,  
 Where my soul bends beneath grievances like a slave;  
 I would fly off to you, proud Rhodope (Mountains), ...’  
 (Mladenov 1939: 296) [Italics his.]

The likelihood of the girl metamorphosing into a sprig of basil (drink of cold water, etc.) or of the poet becoming a winged creature is extremely remote. Perhaps it is for this reason *šteše* (almost always used for past events) is used here instead of *bi*. In his article on verbal moods in Slavic, Gołab (1964b) cites an Serbo-Croatian example with both the indicative and *bi* and construction in clauses of purpose. The use of *bi* following a clause with the indicative indicates the “lower degree of certainty” (Gołab 1964b: 11) that the event will actually happen. Likewise, it is possible that the use of *šteše* in the context of a non-past conditional also indicates a lowered degree of certainty. (This also may indicate the recent development of a non-past conditional with the Balkan conditional, in that these semantics are more limited than with *bi*.)

The use of *šteše* for non-past conditionals is quite rare in Bulgarian. The majority of examples found were in folk prose or colloquial speech. They generally describe improbable (though not always impossible) situations, e.g.,

- (196) Eh, zašto mi bea biserni lista! Na men mi trebat ubavi, ama jaki lista, a ne takiva, deka i edni momi možat da berat. Eh, kolko šťastlivo dārvo *šteh da bāda*, aku imah zlatni lista! I edvam izdumala tva trānkata, i vednaga i izrasnali zlatni šumki na mestoto na bisernite. I nali bilo čisto zlato,...
- ‘Eh, why do I have leaves of pearl! I need on me beautiful, but strong leaves, and not such ones, so that girls can gather them. Eh, what a happy tree I would be, if I had golden leaves! And barely had the blackthorn spoken, and at once golden branches grew in place of the pearl ones. And they were pure gold,...’

(Džurenov 1980: 25)

Here the conditions are actually met: the tree grows golden leaves.

One final example in the same vein:

- (197) Ednāž Itār Mitār si zagradil nova kāšta. I tamān e izgradil do sredata, minal edin ot sāsedite mu i rekāl:—Ubava kāšta, Mitre, si zafanal, ama da beše obārnata na iztok, po-arno *šteše da bāde*, oti štom kat izgree slunceto i naj-pešin neg sa ogrejjava! I Mitār sa sāglasil i zimal, ta razturil kāštata i e počnal otnovo, da gleda sega pa na iztok, na iznik slunce.
- ‘Once clever Mitar began to build a new house. And just when he had built half of it, one of his neighbors passed by and said:—A beautiful house you’ve begun, Mitar, but if it were turned to face east, it would be better, for when the sun shines it will warm the frontmost part of the house! And Mitar agreed and took his friend’s advice, and tore down the house and begun anew, toward the rising sun.’

(Džurenov 1980: 368)

Here it is impossible for the house to face east as it is; it is torn down, and a new house built in its place. If *bi* were used here instead of *šteše*, it would indicate a greater degree of probability that the condition could be met. However, in this particular example, it was impossible for the house to

change direction without its being torn down and rebuilt as a new house. And the use of *šteše* may reflect this virtual impossibility.

As we have noted, the past conditional is the most common modal expression in dialectal Bulgarian; in folk poetry and prose it accounted for nearly 80% of the examples. A typical example in epic poetry:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>(198) Edva s duša arap izgovori;<br/>—Bog te ubil, Malino<br/>    nevesto,<br/>ja da znaeh da će taka da e<br/><i>nečeh</i> tebe noži <i>da krvavim</i>,<br/><br/>sos dva nohta duša <i>čeh da</i><br/>    <i>vadim!</i></p> | <p>The Arab spoke, barely alive;<br/>“May God kill you, Malina, you<br/>    bride,<br/>If I had known how it would be<br/>I wouldn’t have bloodied my knife<br/>    on you,<br/>I would have pulled out your soul<br/>    with my two nails!”</p> |
|---|---|
- (*Sbornik za narodni umotvorenija i narodopis* 53: 262)

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>(4) Bela sām, bela, junače,<br/>cela sām sveta ogrela,<br/>lu edin Karlāk ostana;<br/>i toj <i>ne šteše ostana</i>,<br/>am’ beše v mogla utonal,<br/>V moglana ništo nemaše,<br/>lu edna rusa devojka<br/>i edno vaklo ovčarče.</p> | <p>‘I am white, white, you hero,<br/>I have lit up the whole world,<br/>Only one Karlāk remained;<br/>And he would not have remained,<br/>But he drowned in the fog,<br/>There was nothing in the fog,<br/>But a blonde girl<br/>And a blackfaced shepherd.’</p> |
|--|--|
- (Osinin and Burin 1962: 71)

In this example an archaic construction with a truncated infinitive (*ostana*) appears, instead of *da* + the non-past.

From a folk tale:

- (199) I konja edva togava sa savzel i rekal:—Dobre, će dode da ma oslobodiš ot cärevmata skala, oti inak *šteh da zagina* za ednata ubost. Ot iljada godin i poveke ni beh pinal kapčica vodica, ni beh apval strākce trevica! I beh sa veke tolkova sgoreštil, će i samie *šteh* veke *da izgoram!* Ti ma spasi i zatva otsega natam ti mi si gospodarin!  
‘And the horse barely controlled itself and said:—It is good that you came to free me from the red dragon for else I would have perished



for one beauty. For a thousand years and more I have not drunk a drop of water, nor have I eaten even a single stalk of grass! And I had already gotten so hot that I practically burned up! You saved me and therefore from now on you will be my master!

(Džurenov 1980: 93)

The use of *šteše* for the future-in-the-past is not as common in the dialects as in the literary language. It is extremely rare in folk poetry, including epics, perhaps because there is a condensing of events because of the demands of the poetic line. Thus, if an event did not take place as expected, the reason is given immediately, and we have a past conditional. In folk prose, however, with its different style, the future-in-the-past is more frequent, e.g.,

(200) V starata bitva, kojato stavala ili *štjala da stane*, kogato turcite bili obikolili Tărnovo, edna sutrin rano bălgarskijat car sam, predrešen, izljazăl ot Tărnovo s edin kon bežanec.

'In the old battle which took place, or which was going to take place, when the Turks had surrounded Trnovo, early one morning the Bulgarian tsar alone, disguised, left Trnovo with one poor horse.'

(Romanska and Ognyanova 1963: 49)

In a family narrative from Batak:

(201) Prez Kalăča cjaloto semejstvo ot šesnajse duši—sinove, snahi i vnuci—se ukrili v taz izba. Adno ot vnuceta ta zelo da džika, djado Kolju go hăvanal za grăčomanja i tāj go stisnal da ne rika, če *štjal da go uduši*, da ne gi izdade cjaloto semejstvo.

—Deto šte ni izadade sički da ni izkolet, ja šte go uduše i udave!

Čana mu Vašelekie go hvanala za rākata i go vāsprjala. Djeteto v čudo mlăknało. I tāj ot cjal Batak se zapazil samo djado Kolju Klimentov sās sinove, snahi i vnuci v izbata, pod vodeničata si. Samo bašta mu na djado Kolju, djado Dojko Klimentov, na sto i dvajse godini, ostanal vān ot ropata i turcite go zaklali.

'Throughout Kalăča the whole family of sixty people—sons, daughters-in-law, and grandchildren—hid in that hole. One of the grandchildren began to cry, grandfather Kolju seized him by the

throat and squeezed him so he wouldn't cry, he was going to suffocate him and kill him!

"The child will betray us all to be slaughtered, I'm going to suffocate him and kill him!"

His aunt Vašelekie seized him by the arm and stopped him. In amazement, the child fell silent. And so of all Batak, there survived only grandfather Kolju Klimentov with his sons, daughters-in-law and grandchildren in the cellar below the mill. Only Kolju's father, grandfather Dojko Klimentov, one hundred and twenty years old, remained outside of the hole, and the Turks slaughtered him.'

(Romanska and Ognyanova 1963: 68)

In this example, only later in the story is there an indication of whether he eventually suffocates the child.

The expression 'X nearly happened' is found in the dialects, and is expressed by the adverb *nasmalko* or *bez malko*. For example, in a folk poem where the heroine, Magdalena, pretends that she has died to deceive Petăr:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>(202) A majkja i potio govori:<br/>—Lele, šterko, Deli<br/>Magdelinke,<br/>[...]<br/>tize, šterko, legni da si umreš,<br/><br/>napravi se živa na umrela.<br/>Ke zapalim svešti voščenicu,<br/>ta ke legna, šterko, da te<br/>plača.<br/>Kato dojdāt kiteni svatove,<br/><br/>kato vidat zere si umrela,<br/><br/>tija, šterko, nadzad ke se<br/>vrnat!—<br/>Posluša ja Deli Magdelinka,<br/>napravi se živa na umrela.<br/><br/>Nadojdoa kiteni svatove,</p> | <p>'And the mother said softly:<br/>"Oh woe, daughter, Deli<br/>Magdelinka,<br/>[...]<br/>You daughter, lie down as though<br/>you're dying,<br/>Living, pretend that you're dead.<br/>I will light wax candles,<br/>Then I will lie down, daughter, to<br/>mourn you.<br/>When the wedding guests will<br/>arrive,<br/>When they finally see that you've<br/>died,<br/>Daughter, they will go back<br/>(home)!—"<br/>Deli Magdelinka obeyed her,<br/>Living, pretended that she was<br/>dead.<br/>The wedding guests found,</p> |
|--|--|

<p>ka vidoa zere e umrela  i vidoa svešti voščenicu,  i vidoa majkja da ja plače—    se svatove vera gi fanala.  Petăr libe vera go ne lovi,  pa se kači na visoki čardak,    pa i brākna u desna pazua—    Magdelina bare i  ne čue.  I Petăr se nadzade povrna,  ojdoa si kiteni svatove,  Petăr libe sās nih si otide.  Pa stanala Deli Magdelina,  pa na majkja potiho govori:  —Lele, male, lele, stara male,  ga mi Petăr u pazua brkna    <i>bez malo se šteh da se  nadsmeja!</i></p>	<p>When they finally saw that she had  died  And they saw the wax candles,  And they saw her mother mourning  her—  The bridal guests believed this.  Dear Petăr didn't believe it,  Then he climbed up to the second-  story room,  Then he prodded her in the right  armpit—  Magdelina acted as though she  didn't feel it.  And Petăr at last turned around,  The wedding guests set off,  Dear Petăr left with them.  Then Deli Magdelina got up,  and softly said to her mother:  "O! woe, mother, woe, old mother,  When Petăr prodded me in the  armpit  I nearly burst out laughing!"</p>
---	--

(*Bălgarski junaški epos 466*)

An example from a folk-tale (Pazardžik) area:

- (203) Ama momčeto namesto da se uplaši, kat se izvilo, pa mu lepnalo eda plešnica, na onee izkoknali sādzi ot očite. I dori *nasmalko štijala da* mu *padne* koronata. Ama cara ič ni se rasārdil, ami rekāl:—Vižda sa, če ti si junak!  
'But the boy, instead of becoming frightened, turned suddenly, then struck him a blow on the cheek, which made tears spring to his eyes. And even his crown nearly fell off his head. But the king didn't get angry at that, but said: "It's clear that you're a brave young man!"'  
(Džurenov 1980: 268)

An example from colloquial speech from a village near Vidin (NW Bulgaria):

- (204) *Bez malko tešā da padnam*  
 'I nearly fell' (Mladenov 1969: 107).  
 (N.B. In this dialect there is a single invariant form for all persons:  
*tešā*.)

The use of *šteše* for the iterative/habitual is slightly more frequent in colloquial speech of the dialects, and is extremely rare in folk poetry and prose. I found no examples in Bulgarian collections of folk prose and poetry. According to Gołąb, this lack indicates that it is a new development in Bulgarian, since folk literature is more conservative than colloquial speech. (There is one other monograph where the iterative/habitual with *šteše* is noted: Koseska-Toszew's *System temporalny gwar bułgarskich na tle języka literackiego* (1977: 119–120), where examples in a dialect near Trnovo are cited.)

Instead, the perfective imperfect is frequently used for the iterative/habitual (see example (193) cited by Aronson). There is also a new development in the Bulgarian verbal system: the use of derived imperfective verbs to express modality, especially the conditional. These derived verbs in *-va* are used in the non-past for the non-past conditional, and in the imperfect for the past conditional, but only with the formal syntactic structure of the conditional, e.g.,

- (205) *Kupuvam go, ako mi go dadat na smetka.*  
 'I would buy that, if they gave me the bill.' (Mateev 1954: 151)<sup>4</sup>
- (206) *Dohoždā, ako pozvoljavaš = Bih došel, ako pozvoljavaš.*  
 'I'd come, if you let me.'  
 (Mateev 1954: 151)

Both examples express the non-past conditional. As Mateev indicates in the second example, the standard modal equivalent would be the *bi* construction.

Examples with the past conditional are:

<sup>4</sup> The standard expression 'I will buy' would be expressed by the future: *šte kupja*.

- (207) *Udušvah* te, ako znaeh, če ti si gi izkazal. [= *Štjah da te uduša*, ako znaeh togova, če ti gi izkazal.]  
 ‘I would have suffocated you, if I had known that you had betrayed them.’  
 (Mateev 1954: 151)
- (208) —Viž kakvo, gospodin kmete!—navede se toj. Da beše mi kazal za Petka, belkim mu *povjarvah*. Ama Deča, moja Deča da e vidjal, viž, na besilo da me zakačat, pak njama da povjarvam.  
 ““Look here, Mr. Mayor,” he nodded. “If you had told me about Petko, it’s possible I would have believed him. But Deča, my Deča to have seen it, look, even if they were to hang me on the gallows, I wouldn’t believe it.””  
 (Stankov 1967: 21)

The use of *-va* suffixed verbs to express the conditional is much rarer in the past tense compared to the non-past. Undoubtedly, examples (207) and (208) can be read as a non-past conditional, with nuances of ‘to be ready to do something, to be prepared to something’. In fact, Andrejčin defines this construction exactly this way:

V značeneto na formite za uslovno naklonenie ot tipa *jadvam*, *tǎrpjavam* može da se dolovi poveče ili po-malko jasno osobena otsenka na gotovnost ili sposobnost za izvāršvane na dadeno dejstvie: *izjaždam*—‘gotov sām da izjam’ ili ‘sposoben sam da izjam’ (dokato *bih izjal* se upotrebjava v obšt smišāl na eventualna vāsmožnost). (Stankov 1967: 24)

In the semantics for the forms of the conditional mood of the type *jadvam*, *tǎrpjavam* it is possible to find a more or less clear, particular nuance of readiness or capability for the fulfillment of a given action: *izjaždam*—‘I am ready to eat’ or ‘I am capable of eating’ (while *bih izjal* is used in the general sense of eventual possibility).

In other words, instead of a ‘pure’ conditional, Andrejčin believes that there is an additional nuance of readiness or preparedness in this construction. Mateev agrees to a lesser extent; he states that this nuance is very slight and not always present when compared to the dominant conditional. Indeed, for several examples, he finds that the semantics are equivalent to those with *šteše* or *bi*. He concludes that the status of the new modal expressions with

*-va* suffixed verbs is transitional. He predicts that in several decades they will have “pure” conditional semantics. At that point, I believe, they will help fill the void (i.e., non-past conditionals, and perhaps the potential) left by *bi*, which is already declining in frequency in Bulgarian.

A parallel could be established between these new Bulgarian conditionals with the nuances of preparedness and the quasi-conditional of Serbo-Croatian and the Kumanovo dialect of Macedonian. As the reader will recall, the nuances in the quasi-conditional are often desire, intention, or preparedness to do something. The last nuance is precisely one of the nuances in the new Bulgarian expression. In predicting that the new Bulgarian conditionals will eventually lose these nuances, Mateev compares them to the older stage (middle Bulgarian) of the language, when *šteše* had nuances of desire or intention from the lexical meaning of the auxiliary. By modern Bulgarian, of course, such nuances had been lost en route to pure modality, but in dialectal Serbo-Croatian, *šćaše* clearly remains in a transitional stage with nuances of lexical meaning (except in the Montenegrin dialects). And the new Bulgarian “quasi-conditionals” are also in a transitional stage between lexical and grammatical modality. According to Mateev and Andrejčin, they are most common in dialectal colloquial speech, and are rare in the literary language (usually in language representative of dialectal speech), and are lacking in folk prose and poetry. They are just beginning to gain a foothold in the Bulgarian modal system, where there is already competition between *bi* (declining in power) and *šteše* (growing in power).

One difference which should be mentioned between the Serbo-Croatian quasi-conditionals and Bulgarian quasi-conditionals with *-va* is that the former are linked to the past tense, with only recent expansion into the non-past, but in the latter situation is reversed. The Bulgarian quasi-conditional with *-va* are based in non-past contexts. The later expansion into the past conditional is recent, and accounts for roughly 10% or less of conditionals. (See Table 21 on the following page for a depiction of the interaction of *šteše*, *bi*, and *-va* modal expressions in dialectal Bulgarian.)

Returning to the problem of *šteše*, there are still two minor semantic categories to be discussed. The first is the past presumptive, which is found in the colloquial dialectal speech, but lacking in folk prose and poetry. Presumably it may be found in colloquial speech of the literary language (H. Aronson, personal communication). No mention of this is made in the grammars of Andrejčin, Stojanov, or Maslov, nor in the monographs on Bulgarian dialects published by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

**Table 21.** Competition among *Bi*, *Šteše*, and *-Va* Expressions

	Past, contrary-to-fact conditional	Non-past conditional
<i>šteše</i>	most common, unmarked; used for both formal syntactic structure and “functional” conditionals	marked, rare, used when it is fairly certain that conditions will not be met
<i>bi</i>	infrequent, marked in comparison with <i>šteše</i>	unmarked, common
<i>-va</i>	infrequent, highly marked; the formal syntactic structure must be used (i.e., <i>akollda</i> in the protasis, never negated with an adversative conjunction)	more marked than <i>bi</i> , less marked than <i>šteše</i> ; in competition with <i>bi</i> , but often has nuances of intention

The second minor function is the attenuated modal expression. As we have seen in the attenuated expressions from Serbo-Croatian Montenegrin dialects, the hallmark of this category is tentativeness, or lack of certainty about an event.

In some instances this may be politeness, or it may be the speaker’s doubt about the event itself (e.g., ‘We’re supposed to be going there tonight but I don’t think we’ll be able to go’).

Some examples in Bulgarian are:

- (209) *Nie šjahme da hodim utre na Vitoša, no vremeto se razvali, ta dali šte otidem, ne se znae.*  
 ‘We were supposed to be going//were going to Vitoša tomorrow, but the weather got bad, so it’s not certain if we’ll go.’  
 (Stankov 1967: 150)
- (210) *Margarita-a! Bărzo! Zatopli mi stajata! Prigotvi mi molivite, gumite, hartijata!...—No Aljoša...—reče umolitelno žena mi, kakvo šte praviš? Nali šjahme da izlizame?*  
 ‘“Margarita-a! Quickly! Heat my room! Get [literally: ‘prepare’] pencils, erasers, paper for me!...” “But Aljoša...” said my wife

beseechingly, “what will you do? Weren’t we supposed to be going out [later]?””

(Stankov 1967: 150)

When the imperfect of *iska* is used as an auxiliary, it is quite close in meaning to attenuated modal expressions with *bi*, so close that they are in the same semantic category.

Like certain dialects in Serbo-Croatian, dialectal Bulgarian (and Macedonian) also uses the imperfect of other verbs in attenuated expressions, e.g.,

(211) Izvinete, kolko *struvaše* romanät ‘Tjutjun’?

‘Excuse me, how much does the novel *Tjutjun* cost?’

(Stankov 1939: 137)

(212) Ta v kolko časa *beše* säbranieto utre?

‘So at what time is//was the meeting tomorrow?’

(Stankov 1939: 137)

The English equivalents may also use the past tense for attenuated expressions. In the above examples, there is also a nuance of doubt, or attempt at recollection; the speaker may have had some idea of the price of the book or time of the meeting, and is now trying to remember it. Or such a nuance may be lacking, and the use of the imperfect indicates politeness, softening a categorical.

To complete the picture of modal expressions in colloquial dialectal Bulgarian speech, a word regarding semantic functions for *bi* is in order.

The status of *bi* in dialectal Bulgarian is weakening; the emergence of the Balkan conditional and the development of a very complex verbal system have been factors in its decline.

As in Macedonian, many optative expressions are now expressed by the modal particle *da* + the indicative, rather than by *bi*. The older past and non-past conditionals with *bi* are in competition with *šteše* and with the new conditionals in *-va*.

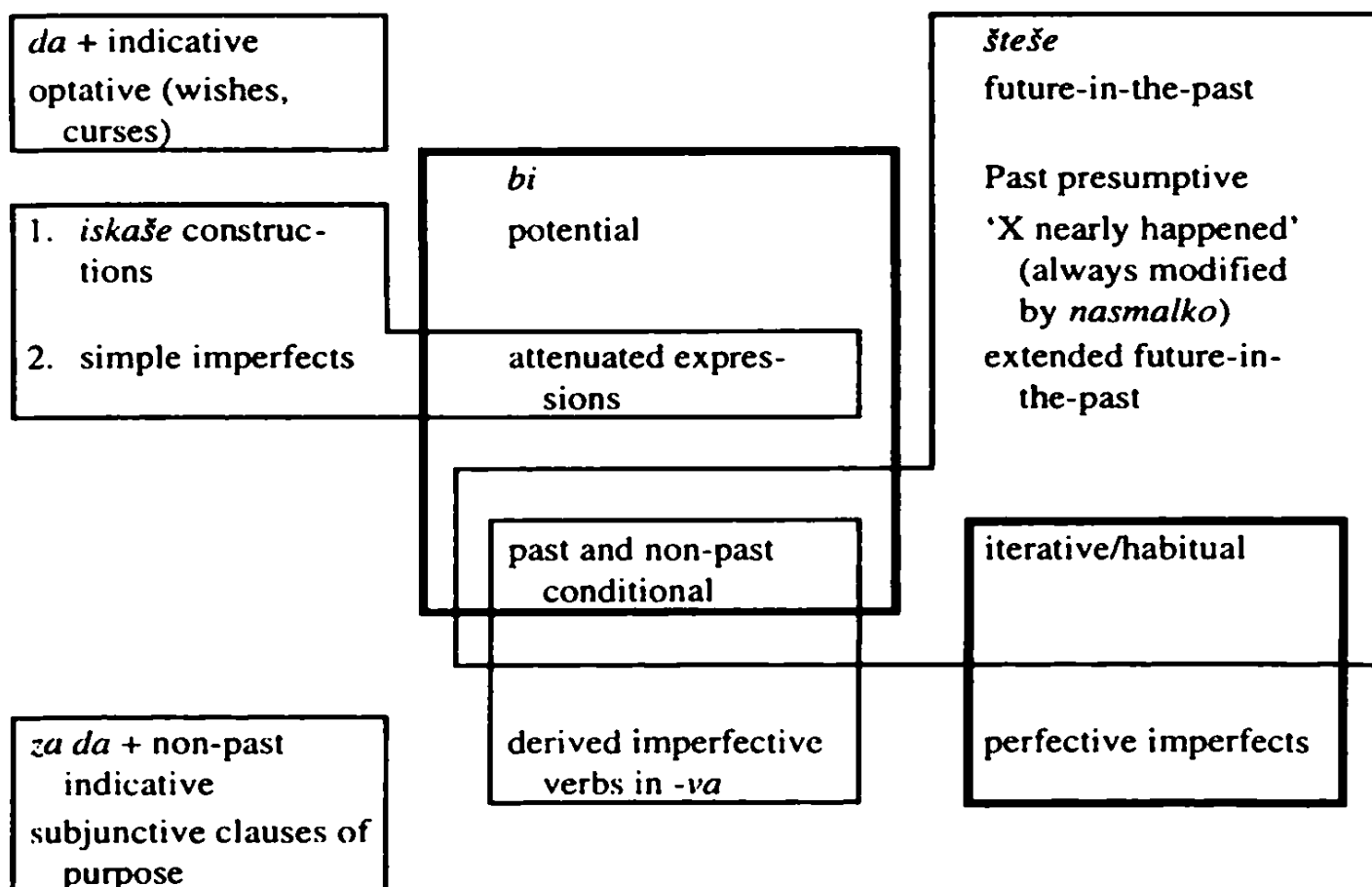
Since the appearance of these competing expressions, *bi* has taken second place as a modal form. Other new modal expressions, such as the derived imperfectives in *-va* discussed earlier are still more stylistically marked than *bi*, with nuances of intention or preparedness (like Serbo-Croatian quasi-conditionals). They may, however, become less stylistically marked as they lose such nuances and become full-fledged members of the modal system.



### Modal Expressions in Dialectal and Literary Bulgarian

The main and most common semantics for *šteše* in literary Bulgarian seems to be the future-in-the-past.<sup>5</sup> It is not surprising, then, that most Bulgarian linguists, including Andrejčin and Stankov take this as the *Hauptbedeutung* and derive the *Gesamtbedeutung* from it: past potentiality, with strong emphasis on temporal, as opposed to modal, elements.

In the colloquial speech and dialectal folk literature, however, the most common semantic function of *šteše* is the conditional, with past conditionals appearing more frequently than non-past conditionals. It is possible that this fact has led other linguists, including Beaulieux and Gołąb, to consider the *Gesamtbedeutung* for *šteše* to be more modal than temporal: unrealized past possibility. (See Figure 29 below.)



**Figure 29.** Distribution of Modal Semantic Functions in Dialectal Bulgarian

<sup>5</sup> This is used for broad semantic contexts, unlike Serbo-Croatian. Indeed, the Bulgarian equivalent of 'to be just on the point of' is the Balkan conditional modified by the adverb 'just' (*tǎkmo*), e.g., *tǎkmo šteše da...*

Certainly we have a modal expression here, but I believe that it is established in the Bulgarian modal system along a temporal axis rather than along one of contrary-to-fact past modality. In the past conditional, this potentiality is 'negated' in the protasis (as it is in the non-past conditional). This potentiality which is rooted in the past can also account for the *nasmalko* ('nearly') expression. The verb transforms an event which was going to happen into one which narrowly missed happening. This past potentiality is also a factor in some of the Bulgarian attenuated expressions with *šteše*. Here the potentiality refers to the future, but it is also carried over from plans made in the past. The past is momentarily brought into focus by the use of the imperfect: the speaker is expressing tentativeness regarding these plans.

The main element in the *šteše* expressions appears to be potentiality (usually marked for past tense) with a secondary component of another type of modality. This modality might be the conditional mood, it might be doubt, it might be the nuances of 'nearly' (from the adverb *nasmalko*), or it may be attenuation.

Some support for this theory is found in the distribution of marked and unmarked semantic functions in Bulgarian. (See Table 22.)

**Table 22.** Markedness for Tense and Contrary-to-Fact Modality in *Šteše* Expressions in Dialectal Bulgarian

+ c-t-f* modality	± c-t-f modality	– c-t-f modality
	<u>+ past tense</u>	
past conditional	future-in-the-past	iterative/ habitual
'X nearly happened' (always modified by <i>nasmalko</i> )	past presumptive	
	<u>– past tense</u>	
non-past conditional	extended future-in-the-past	extended future-in-the-past ("attenuated" use, i.e., remembering previous plans)

Notes: \* contrary-to-fact modality  
+ positively marked for category  
– negatively marked for category  
± unmarked for category

I have used dialectal Bulgarian, where the greatest number of functions is found. The literary and the language of folk literature do not provide examples of attenuated modal expressions, the iterative/habitual, or the past presumptive.

If we take Beaulieux's theory that the underlying meaning of *šteše* is a contrary-to-fact past modality, then we should expect most of the functions to be positively marked for both past tense and for contrary-to-fact modality. Of the remaining functions, three are marked for past tense, but are either unmarked or negatively marked for contrary-to-fact modality. These are (1) the future-in-the-past (2) the iterative/habitual and (3) the past presumptive. The future-in-the-past is unmarked for irrealis, since it may refer to events which did or did not take place, or to events whose existence is not verified. As for the past presumptive, it is by definition not verified exactly; the speaker chooses this construction for its lack of clarity. Iterative/habituals are, of course, negatively marked for contrary-to-fact modality, since the events took place (and more than once.)

To sum up, for expressions positively marked for past tense, we have two marked for irrealis (the past conditional and the expression 'X nearly happened'), two unmarked for irrealis (rather it is their potentiality that is marked), and one negatively marked for irrealis. The factor connecting these three expressions seems to be potentiality—which is the *Gesamtbedeutung* given by Andrejčin, Stankov, and others for *šteše*.

For the non-past functions, we see one positively marked for irrealis (the non-past conditional), one unmarked (the quasi-potentials expressing doubt that the action will occur), and one negatively marked for irrealis (attenuated modal expressions). The first expression is the counterpart to the past conditional; only the marker for tense has been changed. The second could be most closely described as a counterpart to the future-in-the-past, but with added nuances of doubt.

The remaining non-past function—attenuated modal expressions—have a sort of counterpart in the past: the past presumptive. This lack of verification, this hesitancy, or (in the non-past), nuances of politeness are one striking feature shared by both the past and non-past expressions, although the parallel is not exact.

Two semantic functions which do not fit into this system are the iterative/habitual and 'X nearly happened', which could be considered to be either an extension from the future-in-the-past ('X was going to happen and was narrowly averted') or from the past conditional ('X would have happened, but something averted it'). In both instances, the added nuance comes

from the adverb. We could consider the iterative/habitual to be a development of the future-in-the-past into a series of (fulfilled) potentialities. (See Table 23.)

**Table 23.** Pairing of Semantic Functions with *Šteše* in Dialectal Bulgarian

<b>Paired semantic functions</b>	
<u>Past semantic functions</u>	<u>Non-past semantic functions</u>
past conditional	non-past conditional
future-in-the-past	extended future-in-the-past
past presumptive	attenuated expressions (i.e., recalling plans made in the past)
<b>Unpaired semantic functions</b>	
‘X nearly happened’ (always modified by <i>nasmalko</i> )	
iterative/habitual	

Thus, the whole modal system of semantic functions for *šteše* conforms more closely to the theory that potentiality, rather than irrealis, is the dominant element, with an orientation towards the past tense.

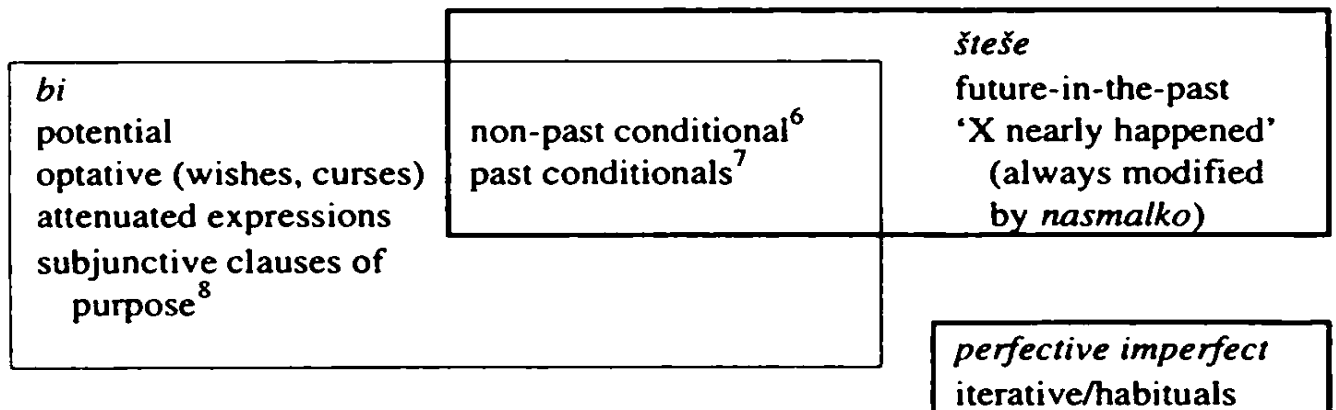
### *The Functions of Bi and Šteše in the Folk Language*

There remain several interesting points to be considered in the Bulgarian modal system. The language of folk literature, more conservative by nature than dialectal colloquial speech, is noted for more frequent use of *bi*. It is used for final clauses of purpose, the non-past conditional, the past conditional (rare), the potential, and for optative expressions such as wishes and curses. (See Figure 30 opposite.) Typical examples are: (1) wishes/curses:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (213) —Lele, bože, lele mili bože!                         | “‘Oh woe, God, woe is me, dear God!                              |
| Ja ne možem brata da si najdem.                            | I cannot find my brother.  |
| Ja me stvori pile kukuvica, da si letim ot dārvo na dārvo, | Turn me into a cuckoo bird, So that I can fly from tree to tree, |

*ega bi si brata pogodila.*

If only I could meet my brother.”  
(Burin 1961: 699)



**Figure 30.** Distribution of Modal Semantic Functions  
in Bulgarian Oral Folk Language

(2) non-past conditionals:

- (214) *Što mi se belee, belee-ljulee,* 'What is gleaming white, what is  
waving whitely,  
*belee-ljulee o'vād prez bjal* Beyond, across the white Danube?  
*Dunav?*  
*Dali sa lebede, ili sa snegove?* Are they swans, or are they snows?  
*da li sa snegove, ili sa* Are they snows, or are they drops  
*dāždove?* of rain?  
*Da biha lebede, prehrvrāknali* If they were swans, they would  
*biha;* have flown past;  
*da biha snegove, stopili se* If they were snows, they would  
*biha;* have melted;  
*da biha dāždove, otekli se* If they were drops of rain, they  
*biha* would  
*za dva, za tri denja, za nedelja,* Have run off in two or three days,

<sup>6</sup> This overlapping of semantics is uneven; non-past conditionals with *bi* are much more common than those with *šteše*.

<sup>7</sup> This overlapping is quite uneven; less than 5% of these expressions are with *bi*.

<sup>8</sup> These subjunctive clauses of purpose are fixed expressions: *za da ne bi* + the indicative. Other constructions are like those in the literary language.

za dve.

in a week or two.'

(Vakarelski 1961: 271)

and

- (215) Otvovara kralja Petrušina: 'King Petrušin answered:  
—Fala tebe, Momčilovo libe, "Thank you, Momčilo's wife,  
[lit.: 'love']  
u Momčila se u svilu odiš, As Momčilo's, you wear silk,  
moja da si, u šarma bi bila. If you were mine, you'd be dressed  
in cloth-of-gold."  
(Burin 1961: 106)

The past conditional with *bi* is very rare in folk literature; it is usually found at the end of an epic poem, as part of the singer's ritual ending, e.g.,

- (216) Ottogava í pesen ostanalo, 'From that time the song has  
remained,  
da se pee, da se spomenuva. To be sung, to be remembered.  
Sestra brata koga šte predava, When a sister will betray her  
brother,  
da si smisli Maninata glava. Let her think of Manina's head.  
*Da ne beše tuj čudo stanalo,* If such a marvel hadn't happened,  
*to ne bi sa sega prikazvalo.* Then it would not have been told  
just now.  
Nazdrave vi, kumove, svatove, To your health, best men, wedding  
guests,  
dobre šte mi pesen poslušale, You have listened well to my song,  
dajte sega, komu kolko í Now give to whomever as much as  
drago, he wants  
i pñinite tova vince blago! And drink some of that sweet  
wine!  
(Burin 1961: 178)

An example of a potential with *bi* is:

- (217) Pri vtorija stanulo saštoto. Pa ne ga pustil, ta carjät obeštal vtorata si  
čerka i preminal. Trägal se carjät i se uteševal, deka če mu ostane  
barem tretata čerka. Ona mu bila naj-mila i nju *za ništo ne bi dal*.

‘With the second dragon the same thing happened. He didn’t let him go, so the king promised his second daughter and went on his way. The king set out and he consoled himself with the fact that at least his third daughter remained to him. She was his favorite and he would not give her away for anything.’

(Karaliičev and Valčev 1963: 362)

Attenuated expressions with *bi* are rare:

- (218) —Deto šte ja kolim, besim i gorim, *as bih kazal*, naj-hubavo šte napravim taka: da napravim edin kovčeg, da go obkovem hubavo, ta da ne vliza vatre voda; da ja turim vatre, če da i dadem ključa,...
- “‘That we will stab, harm, and burn her, I would say, that the best thing is this: that we make a large box, that we line it well, so that it won’t let in water; that we place it outside, that we give her the key, ...’”

(Karaliičev and Valčev 1963: 315)

Of all of these functions, the dominant ones are the non-past conditional and final clauses of purpose. Excepting three instances (from several hundred examples) in the ritualized, formulaic endings of epic songs, I found no use of *bi* for the past conditional. Essentially past conditionals are expressed with *šteše*, and non-past conditionals with *bi*.

As noted earlier, *šteše* is used here mostly in the apodosis of a past conditional, and much less frequently in the non-past conditional. There is some overlapping with *bi*, but I would say that the non-past conditional with *šteše* is more restricted. Likewise, the past conditional with *bi* is considerably rarer than its counterpart with *šteše*.

Thus the semantic scope of *bi* in folk literature is greater than in the colloquial speech of the dialects or the literary language. Correspondingly, *šteše* is mainly limited to the past conditional or the expression ‘X nearly happened’, and a handful of examples for the non-past conditional. (This last is used for virtually impossible situations, as opposed to non-past conditionals with *bi*, which also express conditions capable of being fulfilled.)

This situation undoubtedly reflects the status of *šteše* in older Bulgarian, before its expansion into semantic categories as the iterative/habitual, the quasi-potential, or attenuated expressions.

## *Conclusions*

1. The *Hauptbedeutung* for *šteše* in Bulgarian as a whole is the future-in-the-past (although in folk literature it is the past conditional); the *Gesamtbedeutung* is potentiality originating in the past. This motif has been expanded into the newer non-past semantic categories.

2. The Bulgarian modal system is shifting away from the broad semantic scope of *bi* towards a complex system with *šteše*, imperfective verbs in *-va*, and perfective imperfects, as well as *bi*. *Šteše* is basically unmarked with respect to *bi*. The proliferation of verbal forms from both the aorist and imperfect paradigms has allowed for the expression of various modal nuances, and has helped make *bi* redundant.

3. The simplest modal system is found in the archaisms of folk literature; here constructions with *bi* are still relatively unmarked stylistically. Compared to *bi*, *šteše* is unmarked for the past conditional, but stylistically marked for the non-past conditional.

The literary language reflects the waning of the semantic scope for *bi*: it is clearly more marked than *šteše*. There are a few examples of *šteše* in the literary language which mimic dialectal speech, and thus exhibit new functions, such as the iterative/habitual or attenuated expressions. Eventually these new functions may become part of the literary standard.

The Bulgarian dialects are the most innovative with regard to *šteše*: here *šteše* is unmarked, and *bi* highly so. *Šteše* is mainly an expression of potentiality, with various nuances of modality (such as doubt, politeness, etc.) in non-past contexts and mainly contrary-to-fact modality in the past. All traces of the old lexical meaning 'to want' have been lost to *šteše* in Bulgarian. The new verb *iska* has taken them over; note that constructions with the imperfect of *iska* (e.g. *iskaše*) may be used for attenuated expressions of the type 'I would say' as well as with the full lexical meaning.



**Table 24. Dialectal Variants of the Balkan Conditional in Bulgarian**

<i>šte</i> + imperfect	(western, transitional dialects near Kjustendil)
<i>češe</i> + <i>da</i> + non-past indicative	(central-western dialects, near Sofia)
<i>šteše</i> + <i>da</i> + non-past indicative	(literary Bulgarian, many of the dialects)
<i>tešǎ</i> (invariant particle) + <i>da</i> + non-past indicative	(northwestern Bulgarian)*
<i>šteše</i> + imperfect	(found in folk poetry, western Bulgaria)
<i>šteše</i> + archaic shortened form of the imperative	(folk literature in dialects of the Rhodopes)
<i>sǎ</i> (invariant particle) + imperfect	(dialects in the south-east Rhodopes)

\* Compare this form with *teše* of the neighboring Serbian Torlak dialects

## Chapter 8

### Comparison of the Balkan Conditional within South Slavic and with Modal Expressions in North Slavic

#### *Bulgarian, Macedonian, and Serbo-Croatian*

As we have seen in analyzing the semantics of the Balkan conditional, while generally referring to past modal contexts, each language has a different manifestation with a different emphasis in the invariant meaning.

The most common semantics in Serbo-Croatian are the quasi-conditional. The *Gesambedeutung* seems to be contrary-to-fact past modality with various nuances from the auxiliary verb, which often reflect the speaker's emotions.

In Macedonian and Bulgarian, on the other hand, all such nuances of volition, affectivity etc., have been lost, and the Balkan conditional is a purely grammatical modal expression. Except for the northern transitional dialects, the most common meaning in Macedonian is the past, contrary-to-fact conditional, and the *Gesambedeutung* is past, usually unreal, modality. In Bulgarian, the *Hauptbedeutung* is the future-in-the-past, without the marking for irreality as in Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian. The *Gesambedeutung* for Bulgarian seems to be past potentiality.

Thus the only common elements underlying the semantics for the Balkan conditional in these three languages are their more frequent use in the past tense and their modality. I would add a third element—potentiality—which makes possible the extension of the Balkan conditional's semantics into functions such as the iterative/habitual. In dialectal Serbo-Croatian this last element is weakened by the fact that the future-in-the-past, with certainly the strongest elements of potentiality, was lost at some point before the fifteenth century.

The main differences are the particular emphasis each of these past modal expressions have in each language: in Serbo-Croatian this is lexical nuances from the auxiliary verb which are still connected with the meaning 'to want'; in Macedonian it is contrary-to-factness; and in Bulgarian, the emphasis on potentiality.

It is striking that in each language the *Hauptbedeutung* has carried over into the non-past semantic context, providing the most common non-past function. In Macedonian, with a *Hauptbedeutung* of the past, contrary-to-fact conditional, we see the semantics carried over into the non-past conditional. In fact, this is almost the only non-past semantic function for the Balkan conditional in Macedonian. (Macedonian also has a very infrequent use of *keše* for the gnomic potential, as we have discussed in Chapter 6.)

In Bulgarian, the *Hauptbedeutung* of the future-in-the-past is reflected in the most common non-past function: a reference to plans made in the past for actions still to come at the moment of speech, e.g., ‘Where were we going tonight?’ (Stankov 1967: 151). In this example it is assumed that the event will take place. In other examples, as with the future-in-the-past, we have a lowered degree of probability (although not irreality). If there is a low probability that the event will take place, the extended future-in-the-past may be used in certain contexts, for instance in example (210):

(210) — No Aljoša... — reče umolitelno žena mi, kakvo šte praviš? Nali štjahme da izlizame?

“‘But Aljoša...” my wife said beseechingly, “what are you doing? Weren’t we supposed to be going out?””

(Stankov 1967: 150)

In this case the inference to be made is that they probably won’t go out. Bulgarian does have another non-past semantic function, the non-past conditional, but it is much rarer than the expressions we have just discussed.

In dialectal Serbo-Croatian (but only in Montenegrin dialects), there are two types of non-past semantic functions. The more common is an amalgam of attenuated expressions (e.g., ‘I’d like to talk with you’) and the so-called “intentional” (e.g., example (110) —*Pripaz-ovoga malog čak poć u Prodo* ‘Watch my child for me, for I intend//I would like to go to Prodo’). The main motif of this expression is, of course, nuances from the lexical meaning ‘to want’, which are the hallmark of the *Hauptbedeutung* of the quasi-conditional used in past semantic contexts.

Indeed, here we have a dual base for these modal expressions: a semantic one, based on nuances of ‘to want’, and a grammatical one—the use of the imperfect of a verb (not necessarily *htjeti*) in a non-past semantic context to mark modality. The reader will recall the examples of other imperfects used modally in non-past semantic contexts, e.g., *Ima li trave u*

*one bregove? —Imaše* 'Is there grass on those hills? —There is' (Stanić 1977: 104).

*Htjeti* is also used in non-past contexts to indicate attenuation of one's intention, most often as a polite formula. The actual semantics of this modal verb in addition to its use in the imperfect give it a double markedness for modality. In contrast to expressions with *bi*, (e.g., *ja bi rekao* = I would say) attenuated expressions with *šćaše* (e.g., *ćak reć* = I would say) may also be marked semantically. Thus there is not perfect overlapping of semantics between the *bi* and *šćaše* attenuated expressions.

The other non-past function in dialectal Serbo-Croatian is the non-past conditional, or what is more frequent, the quasi-non-past conditional. Like the quasi-conditional referring to past contexts, its non-past counterpart can have a range of semantics from the formal conditional to intention, preparedness or volition. In other words, this is the *Hauptbedeutung* of past *šćaše* expressions carried over into the non-past.

Clearly we have the opposition of predominantly *lexically* marked modality (in dialectal Serbo-Croatian) to *grammatically* marked modality (in Macedonian and Bulgarian). In the former case I say *predominantly* because there are several semantic functions in which the grammatical marking begins to emerge—notably the past conditional and the iterative/habitual, and the attenuated expression in non-past contexts. In these instances, it is the use of *imperfect* of the verb in a periphrastic phrase that marks these expressions as modal, and not just the lexical meaning of the auxiliary verb itself.

We are actually dealing with several levels of modality in dialectal Serbo-Croatian, from the level of pure lexical marking (in the literary language and some northern dialects) to the predominantly lexical markedness of the majority of dialects outside of Montenegro, to the mixed grammatical-lexical markedness of the Montenegrin dialects. In this last area, the broad use of the imperfect of any verb in modal contexts (i.e., for the iterative/habitual, and for the non-past attenuated and quasi-potential expressions) helps to place expressions with the imperfect of *htjeti* in a system of modal imperfections, rather than keeping it as a simply lexically marked, isolated expression.

*Markedness and the Balkan Conditional in South Slavic*

As we have seen in previous chapters, the Balkan conditional in each language is marked (or unmarked) for certain elements, of which the most common are past tense, irrealty, and, in Serbo-Croatian, nuances from the lexical meaning of the auxiliary verb.

In all three languages, the statistically dominant tense is the past tense; the use of the Balkan conditional in non-past contexts is a relatively new development (from the mid-nineteenth century on). Furthermore, the logical base for an expression with an auxiliary in the imperfect would be the past tense.

In Macedonian and dialectal Serbo-Croatian, the more common and the dominant form is marked for irrealty, as in the quasi-conditional, the past conditional, the expression 'nearly', etc. (See Tables 25 below and 26 opposite.) Functions which refer to real events are the marked functions: the iterative/habitual, and in dialectal Serbo-Croatian 'to be on the point of'.

**Table 25.** Markedness of Semantic Functions according to Past Tense, Irrealty, and Nuances from the Auxillary Verb in Dialectal Serbo-Croatian

+ past tense				– past tense	
+ irreal		– irreal			
+ nuances	– nuances	+ nuances	– nuances	+ nuances	– nuances
full lexical meaning	past conditional	'to be just on the point of' <sup>a</sup>	iterative/habitual	attenuated//intentional	(quasi)-non-past conditional
quasi-conditional			past presumptive		
'X nearly happened'					

<sup>a</sup> This refers to involuntary, usually inevitable actions.

- + positively marked
- negatively marked

**Table 26.** Markedness of Semantic Functions according to Past Tense and Irreality in Macedonian

+ past			± past	- past
+ irreal	± irreal	- irreal		
past condition- al	future-in-the- past	iterative/ habitual	gnomic poten- tial <sup>a</sup>	non-past con- ditional
'X nearly hap- pened' <sup>b</sup>	past presump- tive			

<sup>a</sup> This is not common, but may be an extension of the future-in-the-past to all tenses; it can be found in folk sayings, referring to any possible situation.

<sup>b</sup> This expression is always modified by the adverb *za malku*.

- + positively marked
- negatively marked
- ± unmarked

There are also semantic functions which are unmarked for reality or irreality, and in Bulgarian these are the dominant expressions—that is, here the stylistically unmarked functions are those unmarked for irreality. The main function is the future-in-the-past, and also the past presumptive. While both of these expressions are found in Macedonian, and the latter in dialectal Serbo-Croatian, in neither language are they the maximally unmarked expressions (see Table 27 on p. 216).

Thus far in considering the most broadly-used semantic functions, we have dialectal Serbo-Croatian and Macedonian marked for past tense and irreality, and Bulgarian marked for past tense and unmarked for irreality. Dialectal Serbo-Croatian has an additional positive marking for lexical nuances.

A hierarchy can be established for each language, from maximally unmarked uses to the most stylistically marked functions. The last marked (i.e., broadest and most common usage) semantic functions are in the past tense, and are irreal for Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian, and unmarked for irreality in Bulgaria. The most marked (most restricted) uses are in the non-past for all three languages, and are marked for irreality in Bulgarian and dialectal Serbo-Croatian, and unmarked in Macedonian). Note the relative

markedness between Bulgarian and Macedonian for functions *positively* marked for irrealty and *unmarked* for irrealty. Throughout the Bulgarian system, expressions unmarked for irrealty are dominant, and throughout the

**Table 27.** Hierarchy of Semantic Functions according to Markedness in South Slavic

Language:	Serbo-Croatian	Macedonian	Bulgarian
most common, broadest use (stylistically unmarked)	+ irreal, + nuances (full lexical meaning, quasi-conditional)	+ irreal (past conditional)	± irreal (future-in-the-past, past presumptive)
common use	+P + irreal, – nuances A (past conditional, 'X S nearly happened') T	±irreal (future-in-the-past, past presumptive)	+ irreal (past conditional)
		± irreal, – nuances (past presumptive)	
		– irreal, + nuances (‘to be on the point of’—a limited future-in-the-past)	
less common use	– irreal, – nuances (iterative/habitual)	– irreal (iterative/habitual)	– irreal (iterative/habitual)
(stylistically marked) least common, narrowest use	–P + nuances A (attenuated//quasi-potential) S T	+ irreal (non-past conditional)	± irreal (extended future-in-the-past)
		+ nuances, + irreal (quasi-non-past conditional)	+ irreal (non-past conditional)

Macedonian system, expressions marked for irrealis are dominant. As has been discussed in Chapter 7, the Bulgarian Balkan conditional is mainly an expression of *potentiality*, which is unmarked for irrealis. In Bulgarian we have the main past tense function of the future-in-the-past, and the main non-past semantic function being the extended future-in-the-past, with the past and non-past conditionals as more marginal expressions. The reverse is true for Macedonian: the main marking is for *irrealis*, and the conditional expressions are dominant. In non-past semantic contexts there is another semantic function, which is quite rare compared to the non-past conditional—the gnomic potential.

In addition to the marking for past tense, Serbo-Croatian has two major markings: one for irrealis (as in Macedonian), and for lexical nuances. The interaction of these three markings gives a superficially complex framework which moves from the maximally stylistically unmarked functions of the full lexical meaning, the quasi-conditional, and the expression ‘X nearly happened’ to the most stylistically marked functions (only in Montenegrin dialects) which deal with non-past semantic contexts. Table 28 (p. 218) shows the general historical development of these functions, which are reflected in the colloquial speech and folk literature of various dialects. Note how the semantics have been extended from past, contrary-to-fact events with lexical nuances to events unmarked for irrealis (or negatively marked), with a gradual loss of lexical nuances. And in the dialect area (#4) with the most extended semantics, the past tense marking has been lost as well.

Before we leave the subject, there remain two contexts for which markedness is important. The first is the relative markedness between the Balkan conditional and older expressions with *bi*.

The status of *bi* in South Slavic can be described as two types: in west South Slavic (Slovenian and Serbo-Croatian as a whole) it is the dominant modal expression, used for many semantic functions (potential, optative, conditional, etc.); in East South Slavic (Macedo-Bulgarian), *bi* is now a marked modal expression, having lost considerable semantic ground to the Balkan conditional and to expressions with the modal particle *da*. In Slovenian and northern Serbo-Croatian, there is only the *bi* modal expression, and in southern Serbo-Croatian dialects, *bi* is still the unmarked member, and the Balkan conditional is stylistically marked and marginal. For East South Slavic, the Balkan conditional is the unmarked member in relationship to *bi*—a reversal of their older status (see Table 29 on the following page).



**Table 28.** Projected Development of the Serbo-Croatian Balkan Conditional

+ past			
+ irreal		– irreal	
+ nuances	– nuances	+ nuances	– nuances
I.	full lexical meaning		
II.	'X nearly happened' quasi-conditional	'to be just on the point of'	
III.	past conditional		past presumptive
IV.			iterative/habitual
– past			
+ nuances		± nuances	
I.			
II.			
III.			
IV.	intentional//attenuated	(quasi)-non-past conditional	
I	level of development of the literary language and northern dialects		
II	level of the Torlak dialects, Dalmatia, inland Croatia, parts of Bosnia		
III	more extended level in Bosnia-Hercegovina, south-central Serbia, the Sandžak, western Montenegro		
IV	highest level of development, in central and northern Montenegro		
N.B.	The past presumptive could also be considered as unmarked irrealty.		

**Table 29.** Relative Markedness of *Bi* and the Balkan Conditional in South Slavic

	<i>Bi</i>	Balkan conditional
dialectal Serbo-Croatian	±	+
Macedonian	+	±
Bulgarian	+	±

+ = marked (stylistically)

± = unmarked (stylistically)

Of course there are degrees of markedness. In the northern Macedonian dialects, the Balkan conditional seems to be somewhat less common than *bi*. In the Serbo-Croatian Montenegrin dialects it appears as though *bi* is beginning to lose some of its dominance, and there is close competition between *bi* and *šćaše*.

Comparing the relative markedness of the Balkan conditional in each language, we have seen that the Balkan conditional in dialectal Serbo-Croatian is the most marked expression, somewhat less marked in the transitional Kumanovo dialects of Macedonian, still less marked in Bulgarian, and the least marked form in Macedonian. The *Hauptbedeutung* is the past conditional, which has taken over ground from *bi*. The Macedonian Balkan conditional most nearly overlaps with the functions of *bi* (i.e., past and non-past conditionals, the iterative/habitual, and the gnomic potential all overlap). Here the Balkan conditional has become the dominant modal expression and is the unmarked form used to express all of the above functions, as well as the future-in-the-past and the past presumptive. (See Tables 30 below and 31 on the following page.)

In Bulgarian, on the other hand, while the Balkan conditional is relatively unmarked, its main semantics are closely connected with the future-in-the-past—a semantic *not* shared with *bi*. Since the main past and non-past semantic functions in the Bulgarian Balkan conditional are outside the scope of *bi*, *šteše* acts, at least in two areas, as an adjunct to *bi*, and not as its replacement. For that reason I would argue that the Bulgarian Balkan conditional is slightly more marked in comparison with other modal expressions (such as *bi* or *da*) in the language. (See Table 32 on the following page.)

**Table 30.** Relative Markedness of the Balkan Conditional in South Slavic

Most marked	Serbo-Croatian dialects of Dalmatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Srem
↓	Torlak dialects, the Sandžak
↓	dialects of Montenegro
↓	Kumanovo dialects (northern Macedonia)
↓	Bulgarian
Least marked	Macedonian

**Table 31. The Main Non-Past Semantic Functions  
Stemming from Past Tense Meaning**

language	Hauptbedeutung	non-past semantic extension
1. dialectal Serbo-Croatian	quasi-conditional	intentional//attenuated expressions <sup>a</sup>
2. Macedonian	past conditional	non-past conditional
3. Bulgarian	future-in-the-past	extended future-in-the-past (reference to past plans for future actions)

<sup>a</sup> This is limited to the dialects of Montenegro.

In Bulgarian, on the other hand, while the Balkan conditional is relatively unmarked, its main semantics are closely connected with the future-in-the-past—a semantic *not* shared with *bi*. Since the main past and non-past semantic functions in the Bulgarian Balkan conditional are outside the scope of *bi*, *šćaše* acts, at least in two areas, as an adjunct to *bi*, and not as its replacement. For that reason I would argue that the Bulgarian Balkan conditional is slightly more marked in comparison with other modal expressions (such as *bi* or *da*) in the language.

In the Balkan Slavic languages, the Macedonian Balkan conditional has come the closest to merging with, and taking over from, the *bi* expression. Bulgarian, while developing some semantic functions along the lines of *bi* semantics, has really concentrated along the axis of the future-in-the-past, using the Balkan conditional to express relative tense. Serbo-Croatian is even more peripheral in its development; most semantic functions have remained closely connected to the lexical meaning of the auxiliary verb, and the only overlapping (outside of Montenegro) is the past conditional. If most of the Serbo-Croatian dialects had not lost the imperfect, and the Balkan conditional had remained a living part of the language outside of Montenegro, then its development would probably have been in the direction of the Macedonian Balkan conditional. (In this case, this hypothetical development would have been furthered even more by the appearance of a new verb 'to want' in Serbo-Croatian.) At any rate, in default of a Serbo-Croatian future-in-the-past, the main semantics have been the quasi-conditional and the past conditional, following several stages behind the development in Macedonian.

Table 32. Projected Development of the Bulgarian Balkan Conditional

past		non-past			
+ irreal	± irreal		– irreal		
		nuances of doubt, lack of verifi- cation			nuances of doubt, lack of verification
I.	future-in- the-past				
II. 'X nearly happened' (always modified by <i>nasmalko</i> )	past condi- tional	past pre- sumptive			
III.			iterative/ habitual	non-past condi- tional	extended fu- ture-in-the- past (e.g., 'We were supposed to be going out tonight, weren't we?')

Another factor is the effect of the nuances of modal meaning from *htjeti* in Serbo-Croatian on the semantics of *šćaše* in context-free position. Here most of the *šćaše* expressions can be seen as *affective* modal expressions, that is, they express the speaker's emotions (such as surprise or doubt towards the events,<sup>1</sup> as in the quasi-conditional 'He *surely* would have done that, but...' Other common semantic functions also involve the speaker's evaluation of the event, but in an impersonal manner, as in the expression 'to be just on the point of' or the past presumptive.

In other words, although mood is the expression of the speaker's evaluation of the event (Gołąb) and holds for modal expressions regardless of their particular semantics, the Serbo-Croatian Balkan conditional has an additional marking of the speaker's emotions. Affective expressions are marked modal forms, and account for the majority of *šćaše* functions, including attenuated expressions, quasi-non-past conditionals as well as the quasi-conditional.

And so we are left with a dichotomy: the highly marked affective modal expression in Serbo-Croatian vs. the unmarked modal expressions of Macedonian and Bulgarian.

#### *Comparison of the North Slavic Modal System with South Slavic*

It might be instructive to briefly contrast the system of modal expressions in the colloquial speech of North Slavic with the South Slavic system. I will be discussing the semantic functions for *bi* in North Slavic as compared to those in Serbo-Croatian, and North Slavic counterparts to semantic functions for the Balkan conditional. The representative languages for North Slavic will be Polish of the West Slavic group, and Russian of the East Slavic group.

A further description of periphrastic modal expressions other than those with *bi* and *šćaše* in Serbo-Croatian is also necessary, for in North Slavic the modal verbs 'to be' or 'to have' are often used as auxiliaries.

In comparing North Slavic periphrastic modal constructions with those in Serbo-Croatian, I am primarily concerned with past tense auxiliaries from the verbs 'to want', 'to be', and 'to have', rather than with *by* (*bi* in Serbo-Croatian).

---

<sup>1</sup> According to Stevanović and Sladojević, *šćaše* is used to reflect the speaker's personal conviction that an event surely would have happened, or his surprise at how close the event came to happening.

Although I have concentrated so far on *bi* and *šćaše* in Serbo-Croatian, constructions with other modal auxiliaries may be found as well, although they are more marginal in dialectal Serbo-Croatian. According to Vuković (1967: 83–92), constructions with the imperfect (or perfect) of ‘to be’ (*biti*) plus the infinitive have the semantics of ‘You should have done something, but you didn’t). The most common usage for this expression, according to Vuković, is to reproach someone for something he has not done. A similar expression is found in English with these semantics, e.g., ‘You *were to have finished* it by today (but you didn’t)!’ Examples cited by Vuković are:

- (219) *Bio ranije doći* (= što nisi ranije došao? ili: što ranije ne dođe?)  
 ‘You were supposed to have come earlier [= why didn’t you come earlier (with the perfect)? or: the same semantics with the aorist of the main verb.]’  
 (Vuković 1967: 83)
- (220) *Bila me, majko, od pređe zvati.*  
 ‘You should have called me earlier, mother.’ (Vuković 1967: 83)

This may also be used in Hercegovina with the imperfect, e.g., *Bijaše doći*.

The expression could be considered as a type of past optative expression, which may be used in examples of the past conditional or in simple sentences. For example, Vuković glosses an example from western Hercegovina in the following way:

- (221) *Bijaše doći, popio bi kafu* (= da si došao, popio bi kafu, trebalo je da dođeš, pa bi popio kafu,—a u daljoj nijansi značenja: zašto nisi došao da popiješ kafu?).  
 ‘You should have come, then you could have drunk some coffee (= if you had come, you would have drunk coffee; you should have come, then you would have drunk coffee,—and with a further shade of meaning: why didn’t you come so that you could drink coffee?).’  
 (Vuković 1967: 83)

Note that his first gloss is a conditional expression, with the *bijaše* construction taking the place of the particle *da* + an indicative in the protasis.

The main difference in the semantics of this expression and *šćaše* is that with the imperfect//perfect of *biti*, we have a nuance of obligation, whereas with *šćaše* we have primarily nuances of volition. *Šćaše* may also express the conditional mood, but expressions with *bijaše* cannot. Since the Serbo-Croatian *bi* expression, which is formed with the aorist of *bi* already expresses the conditional, there is no need for new modals with the perfect or imperfect of *biti* to be used for this. In Vuković's 1967 study, there is a good example with both the semantics of *bijaše* with nuances of obligation and of *šćaše* as a conditional:

(222) *Bijaše se sa mnom dogovoriti hoćeš li je dati, pa ti šćah kazati da je obećana. Znači: trebalo je da se sa mnom dogovoriš, pa bih ti kazala da je obećana.*

'You should have talked it over with me [lit.: 'come to an agreement'] if you wanted to give her in marriage, then I would have told you that she is already promised.'

(Vuković 1967: 86)

The last periphrastic modal construction to be discussed is with the imperfect//aorist//perfect of *imati* plus either the infinitive or *da* plus the non-past. As was noted in the discussion of Montenegrin dialects, much of the semantics of this expressions overlaps with the semantics of *šćaše*. Like periphrastic expressions with the imperfect of *biti* and *htjeti*, expressions with a past tense form of *imati* are used for contrary-to-fact past events. Only *šćaše* uses extended semantics for real actions, such as the iterative/habitual.

One of the main semantic functions of the *imaše* expression is a function we have seen earlier: 'X nearly happened'. With *imati* as auxiliary, there is more a nuance of this *had* to have happened, stemming from the lexical meaning of the auxiliary verb. A typical example is:

(223) *Imah mrtav panut od smijeha.*

'I nearly died of laughing .' [or possibly 'I had to have died laughing.']

(Vuković 1967: 44)

A similar example with an aorist auxiliary is:

(224) *Imadoh juče crknut[i] o[d] studenu [sic] u planini.*

'I nearly perished from the cold yesterday on the mountain.'

(Vuković 1967: 45)

This expression may also express a type of future-in-the-past. According to Vuković, the presence of *imati* in such an expression indicates a type of modal future with nuances of obligation. In his words:

I u današnjim našim govorima ovaj se modalni futur za relativnu budućnost nalazi u svakidanoj upotrebi (...) 'Bijaše to one zime kad ja *imadijah da gradim* ovu kuću (= kad je trebalo, kad sam namjeravao graditi, da gradim.) (...) 'Te godine *imala je da nastupi* teška zima,' sa stajališta onoga ko priča u momentu govora zna se da je nastupila teška zima (a ona je imala da nastupi posle govorne situacije o kojoj se priča). To je bilo onoga proleća kad je zla godina *imala raseliti* pola našega sela (= to je bilo u proljeće prije nego će zla godina raseliti pola našega sela).' (Vuković 1967: 36–37)

And in our dialects today, this modal relative future is found in every use: '... It was that winter when I was going to build this house (= when it was necessary, when I intended to build'). [...] That year a harsh winter was going to come (from the standpoint of the person, who in the moment of speech, knows that a harsh winter actually came, but which was going to come after the speech situation in which he is talking). 'It was during that spring when an evil year was to depopulate half our village (= it was in the spring before which an evil year was to//was going to depopulate half our village).

Unlike the Macedonian and Bulgarian future-in-the-past, expressions with *imati* always involve events which took place; there also seems to be a strong nuance of 'this *had* to happen [i.e., it was inevitable]'. The best English gloss would be something such as 'was to' as opposed to 'was going to' for an ordinary future-in-the-past.

Thus we have a four-way modal system in dialectal Serbo-Croatian, with *bi* as an unmarked modal expression for potential, conditional, and optative expressions, etc., vs. three marked modal expressions, two of which express necessity (*imati* and *biti* as auxiliaries), and one with intention or desire (plus some new unmarked functions for the past conditional and



iterative/habitual) with *šćaše* as the auxiliary verb. (See Figure 31 on the following page.) The geographical area where such expressions is used is roughly the same as for *šćaše*, i.e., the Montenegrin dialects, where the imperfect is often used modally, either alone or in periphrastic expressions.

### *Periphrastic Modal Expressions in Polish*

The Polish unmarked modal expression is with *by* (which is conjugated for person, (e.g., *bym, byś, by*, etc.)). This auxiliary is used as an agglutinative particle which attaches to various words, a problem that does not currently concern us. These expressions are used in optative, subjunctive, conditional, and potential contexts. What concerns us here is the use of marked modal expressions, particularly those with *mieć* ('to have'), which are the most frequent of the modal constructions.

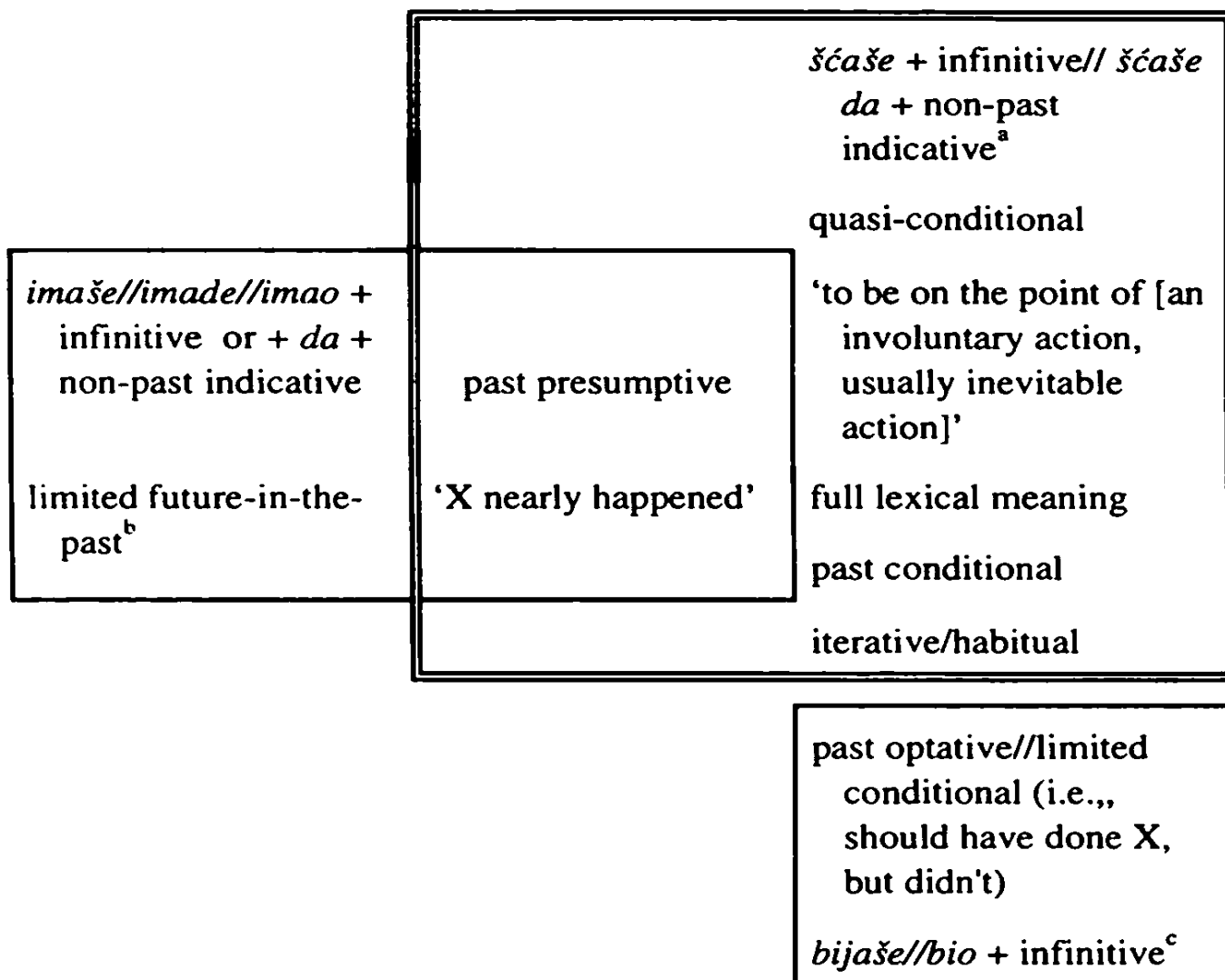
According to Czochrański (1972), Rehacek (1966), and Gołąb (personal communication), constructions with the imperfect of *mieć* plus the infinitive of the main verb express the normal future-in-the-past in Polish (unlike the limited Serbo-Croatian future-in-the-past with *imati*). Like the Macedo-Bulgarian future-in-the-past, this expression is unmarked for irreality. Thus an expression such as *mieliśmy iść* would mean 'We were going to go'.

According to Gołąb, this construction may also express what I have termed the quasi-conditional. In the context of unreal past events, such nuances would be 'X intended//was preparing to do something, but was prevented'. Unlike Serbo-Croatian, the past tense of *chcieć* ('to want') may not be used for the quasi-conditional; *chciał* means only 'he wanted'.

Furthermore, periphrastic constructions with the past tense of *mieć* plus the infinitive and the adverb *właśnie* (= *taman* in Serbo-Croatian, 'just' in English) are used for the expression 'to be just on the point of'. In Polish, unlike in Serbo-Croatian, such an event does not necessarily have to be inevitable or involuntary. The use of the adverb 'just' in this context expresses a limited future-in-the-past in the same way that the adverb *nasmalko* ('nearly') in Bulgarian or *za malko* in Macedonian give the nuance of 'X nearly happened' to the Balkan conditional construction. Take the expression

- (225) *mieliśmy iść*  
 'we were just on the point of leaving'

Or, with an inevitable action,



<sup>a</sup> The first three semantic functions here can be found with the perfect of *htjeti*.

<sup>b</sup> This type of future-in-the-past is used for events that actually are known to have occurred. This is not used to indicate an imminent event (like the expression with *šćaše*).

<sup>c</sup> A major difference between this limited conditional and the conditional expressed by *šćaše* is that the former implies voluntary control over the action, while the latter does not.

**Figure 31.** Comparison of the Semantic Functions for Periphrastic Modal Expressions with *Imati*, *Htjeti*, and *Biti* in Dialectal Serbo-Croatian

- (226) właśnie miało wzejść słońce  
 'the dawn was just about to break'

(Gołąb, personal communication)

This expression may also be used in the non-past, e.g.,

- (227) ma właśnie wyjechać  
 'he's about to leave'

(*Wielki Słownik Angielsko-polski*, S.V. 'about')

'X nearly happened' is expressed in Polish with the adverbial construction *o mało co nie* + the *l*-participle (i.e., the past tense), paralleling Serbo-Croatian *umalo (što) nije* + the *l*-participle. Another Polish construction for this expression with *by* (*żeby//aby*) governed by the phrase *niewiele brakowało* (= lit., 'it lacked but little'), e.g.,

- (228) niewiele brakowało, żeby się rozplakał  
 'he almost burst into tears'

(*Wielki Słownik Polsko-angielski*, S.V. 'właśnie')

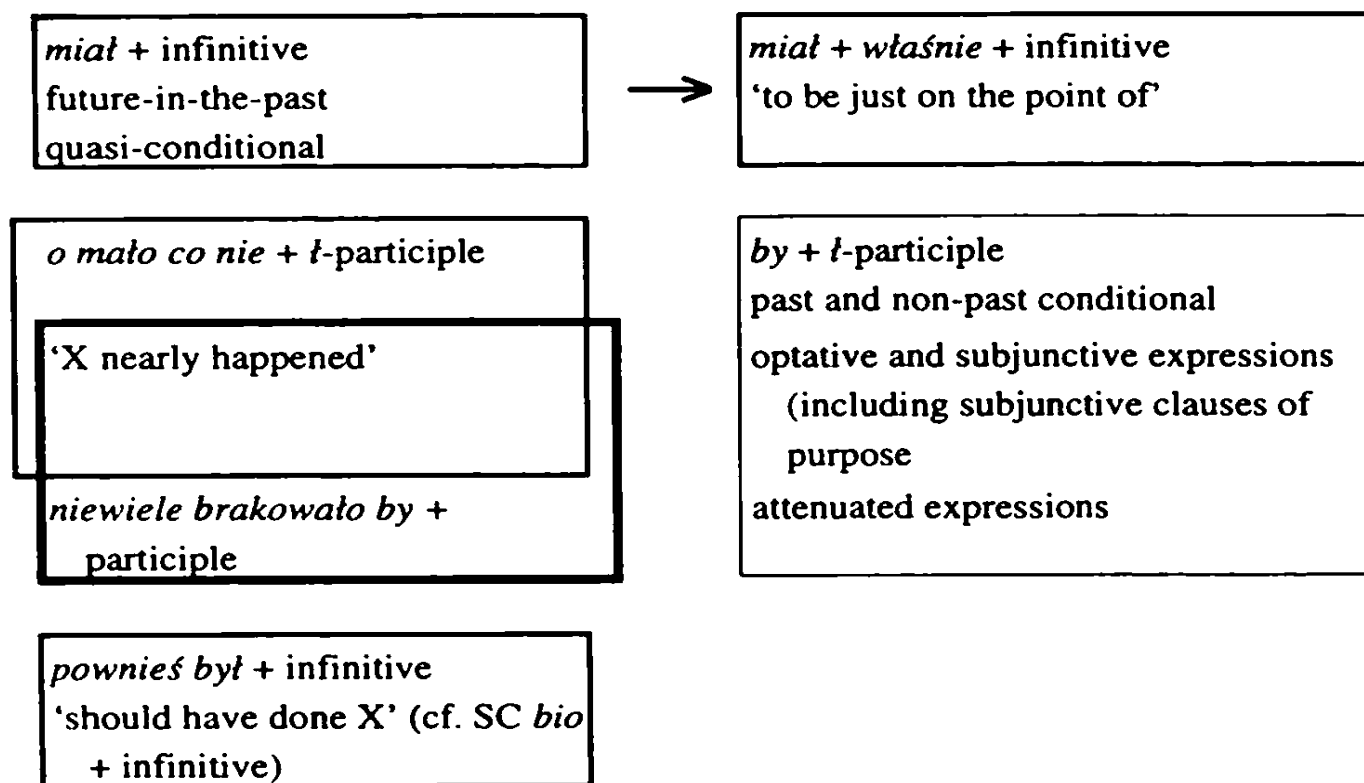
The main, unmarked modal expression is with *by* (see Figure 32 opposite), which covers a great deal of semantic territory.

The past tense of 'to be' is used with modal semantics only with the adjective *powinien* (= Rus. *dolžen*) in the context of 'You should have done something [but didn't]', e.g., *Powiniensbył* + the infinitive of the main verb. There is no comparable construction which parallels Serbo-Croatian *biollbijaše* + the infinitive for this meaning.

As I have noted, the past tense of 'to want' plus the infinitive in Polish may only express the full lexical meaning; there is, however, an extension to an impersonal subject (which is also common in other languages), e.g.:

- (229) rana ne chciała się zagoić  
 'the wound would not heal' [lit.: the wound did not 'want' to heal]

Thus in Polish we essentially have the opposition of *by* modal expressions, which form the unmarked set, to modal expressions with *mieć*, the marked set. There are several striking parallels between these expressions with *mieć* and those in Serbo-Croatian with *htjeti*: in Polish they can express the quasi-conditional, 'to be on the point of' (with a modifying adverb), and the future-in-the-past (this last having died out in early Serbo-Croatian).



**Figure 32.** Semantic Functions of Periphrastic Modal Constructions in Polish

However, expressions with *mieć* seem to be less marked semantically than those with *htjeti*; the phrase 'to be just on the point of' requires the adverb *właśnie* to produce these semantics, while in Serbo-Croatian *šćaće* alone is adequate. Polish has a more clear-cut system, with the use of adverbs to provide nuances. The Polish quasi-conditional with *mieć* does carry these nuances, but other expressions require a modifying adverb.

### *Periphrastic Modal Constructions in Russian*

Next to *bi*, Serbo-Croatian uses the past tense of 'to want' for most of the semantic functions under discussion, and Polish uses 'to have'. Russian uses various past tense forms 'to be' (*byl*).

As in the rest of North Slavic, the main, unmarked modal expression in Russian is with the particle *by*; it is used for the past and non-past conditional, the potential, various optative and subjunctive expressions, and attenuated expressions.

Apart from this old aorist form of 'to be', which is found throughout the Slavic verbal system, Russian has developed special modal particles from the past tense forms of 'to be'.

The phrase 'X nearly happened', for instance, is the particle *bylo* + the past tense (*on bylo upal* = he nearly fell).

A second particle from the derived iterative of 'to be'—*byvalo*—is used with the non-past indicative to express the iterative/habitual. (The non-past iterative/habitual is expressed with the non-past form—*byvaet*.)

The expression for 'X should have done that', as in Polish, is a phrase with the adjective 'ought' (*dolžen* in Russian) followed by the past tense of 'to be' plus the infinitive,

- (230) *On dolžen byl èto skazat'.*  
 'He should have said that.'

The past presumptive falls into the same category, e.g.,

- (231) *Dolžno bylo byt' 500 čelovek.*  
 'There must have been five hundred people.'

Unlike Polish and dialectal Serbo-Croatian, Russian does not use the past tense of the auxiliary 'to have' in periphrastic modal constructions.

The remaining member of our modal triumvirate—'to want'—is used for certain modal expressions in Russian. (See Figure 33 opposite.)

In addition to the full lexical meaning, there is the use of *xotet'* with the *by* construction in attenuated expressions (e.g., *On xotel by skazat'* or *On by skazal* 'He would have said'). This is hardly important, for the meaning of 'to want' is already inherent in attenuated expressions.

The other use of the past tense of *xotet'* ('to want') in periphrastic constructions is more interesting: the expression 'to be on the point of' (usually referring to an involuntary and inevitable action). For instance, under the entry for *xotet'* in the *Slovar' sovremennogo russkogo jazyka* (1950):<sup>2</sup>

- (232) Razg. V. sočetanii s neopr. formoj glag. ukazyvaet, što dejstvie, vyražennoe glagolom, vot-vot dolžno osuštestvit'sja. *Pogoda stanovitsja xuže: Kazalos', sneg idti xotel... Pogoda u nas žarkaja, derev'ja vse v zeleni, sinel' xočet svesti.*  
 'Colloquial. Together with the infinitive indicates that an action, expressed by the (main) verb, is just about to take place. (the

<sup>2</sup> Note that the present tense of the auxiliary verb is used for non-past contexts.

<i>by</i> + <i>l</i> -participle potential past and non-past conditional optative and subjunctive expressions attenuated expressions	<i>xotel by</i> + infinitive
<i>bylo</i> (participle) + <i>l</i> -participle 'X nearly happened' <i>čut' ne</i> + <i>l</i> -participle	
<i>xotel</i> + infinitive 'to be on the point of' [an involuntary, usually inevitable action]	
<i>byvalo</i> (participle) + non-past indicative iterative/habitual (past)	
<i>dolžen byl</i> + infinitive 'should have done X, but didn't' <i>dolžno bylo byt'</i> past presumptive	

**Figure 33. Semantic Functions of Periphrastic Modal Constructions in Russian**

weather (hist. present) was getting worse: It seemed that snow was just about to fall. Our weather is hot, the trees are all in green, the lilac is about to bloom).'

This seems to be precisely the same context we have seen with *šćaše* in Serbo-Croatian ('the dawn was just about to break'). The Russian equivalent, however, is not limited to inevitable, involuntary actions; in Townsend's grammar (1970), the suggested translation into Russian for (233) 'Mitja was about to answer this, when Tanja came back with the beer' is 'Mitja *xotel otvetit'* na èto, kogda Tanja vernulas' s pivom' (Townsend 1970: 96–97 and 1987: 20).

All three languages have a basic, unmarked modal expression with *bi* in common, which expresses pretty much the same semantic functions in each language. One exception is the iterative/habitual with *bi* in Serbo-Croatian, which is not found in Polish and Russian. Furthermore, the semantic functions with *bi* are somewhat more limited in Serbo-Croatian, resulting from the appearance of new modal expressions with the modal particle *da*.

All three languages also have constructions with adverbial modifiers to express various nuances; the one expression in common is 'X nearly happened' with *umalo*, *o malo*, and *čut'*, respectively. As we have seen, however dialectal Serbo-Croatian uses *šćaše* here, without an adverbial modification in this sense. Polish appears to use adverbial modifiers the most (see Figure 32), and Serbo-Croatian the least. One reason for this might be the use of the simple imperfect and aorist as well as the perfect in Serbo-Croatian. With the unmarked past tense expressed by the perfect, constructions with the imperfect or aorist may be used for more marginal expressions. And Russian has developed new particles from the past tense of 'to be', which mark more limited semantic functions in the way that older Macedonian's *keše* and modern Macedonian's *ke* + the imperfect (or for that matter, Bulgarian's *šteše* construction).

Polish and Russian share parallel constructions for the expression 'should have done something' and both, as North Slavic languages, have only a marginal use of 'to want' as an auxiliary in modal expressions.

This seems to be the major difference between North and South Slavic (Slovenian being classed with North Slavic here, and Serbo-Croatian being transitional): the widespread use of 'to want' in modal expressions in South Slavic, and the lack thereof in North Slavic. The only exception is the use of 'to want' in Russian for the idiom 'to be just on the point of', an expansion of the semantics of 'to want' that is found in French, Spanish, and Rumanian, among other languages, first found with impersonal subjects, and then extended to animate subjects. Serbo-Croatian here is at an earlier stage, and Russian at a later one.

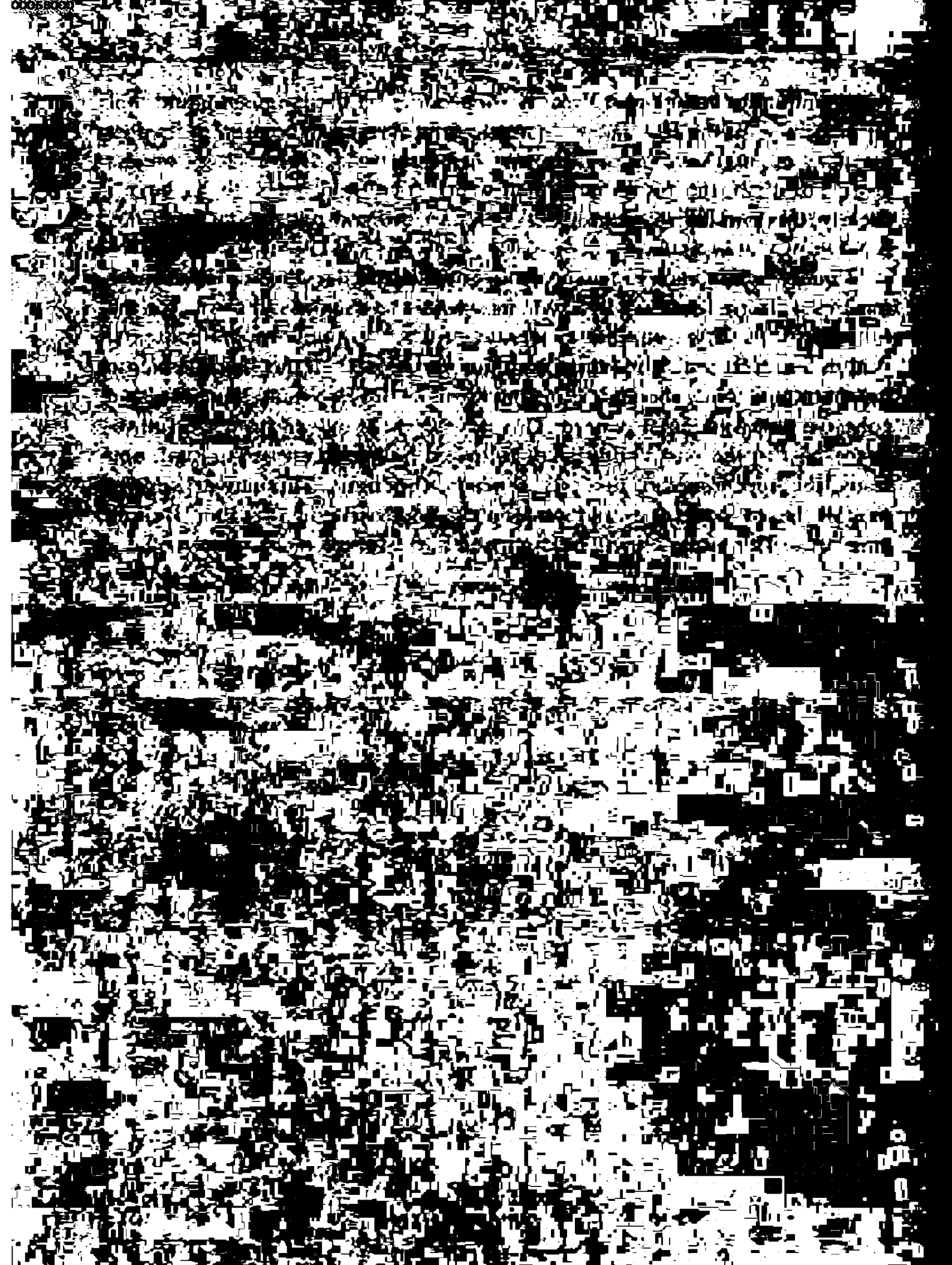
Apart from the natural extension of periphrastic constructions with the past tense of 'to want' in attenuated expressions in Russian and Serbo-Croatian, and the universal tendency for such constructions to express 'to be just on the point of', the extension of this construction into the semantic domain of the conditional, iterative/habitual, and the future-in-the-past seems to be limited to South Slavic (and other Balkan languages).

It may not be accidental that the auxiliary for the future tense in Serbo-Croatian, Macedonian, and Bulgarian became, in its past form, a marked or

past potentiality and/or past irreality (depending on the language), and that the auxiliary for the Russian periphrastic future began to be used in its past forms as an auxiliary for similar semantic functions. Our analogy breaks down in Polish; the future is formed with 'to be' and not with 'to have'. Clearly, this parallel structuring between past and non-past modal functions is not universal in Slavic.

Finally, while each language has its own particular development, there remains a strong tendency in Slavic as a whole to use the old forms for the future with the three auxiliaries mentioned above in new modal contexts. Within South Slavic, while there is minor variation as to the exact semantic functions, and while there are differing levels of development, there is also a cohesive developmental pattern. This development moves from the future-in-the-past to the past conditional, followed by the iterative/habitual, and lastly, the appearance of non-past semantic functions. This universality of modals is, of course, found outside of South Slavic in other Balkan languages. This situation will be discussed in the following chapter.





## Chapter 9

### The Balkan Conditional in Non-Slavic Languages

#### *The Balkan Conditional in the Tosk Dialects of Albanian*

The Tosk dialects of Albanian (in the southern half of the country) became the de facto basis of the literary language, which also contains some features from Gheg dialects (in the northern half of the country). When I speak about Tosk, I am referring to the standard language based on the Tosk dialects, and described in such grammars as Newmark et al.'s *Standard Albanian* (1982).

The Tosk future is formed with a particle from the verb 'to want' (*dua*): *do* plus the present subjunctive of the verb (e.g., 'He will open' = *Do të hapë*). This particle is widespread in standard Albanian; as in Macedonian, it may be used with a past tense form for the future-in-the-past, i.e., *do* plus the imperfect subjunctive (e.g., 'He was going to open' = *do të hapte*). This nicely parallels the Macedonian future: future-in-the-past (*ke* otvori: *ke* otvoreše with the present and the imperfect of the indicative, respectively, as opposed to the Albanian use of the subjunctive).<sup>1</sup>

The future-in-the-past in Albanian has the following syntactic construction: the modal particle *do* plus the imperfect of the subjunctive for the main verb, e.g.,

- (234) Dulla i tha se atë ditë *do të punonin* me orar të zgjatur, ndaj ata nuk *do të bënin* gabim, po të kalonin në ndonjë tavolinë tjetër.  
'Dulla told him that on that day they would be working on an extended schedule so that they would not be making a mistake if they moved over to another table.'

(Newmark et al. 1982: 89)

---

<sup>1</sup> There is also a so-called 'future perfect' form (with the meaning of Serbo-Croatian *future drugi*, Eng. 'shall have done...') with the future of either 'to be' or 'to have' (depending on whether the verb is classified as an active or passive one). For instance, *do të kem larë* ('I will have washed') (with the future of 'to have' in the auxiliary).

The semantic functions of the past and non-past conditional are also expressed with the particle *do*. *Do* + the imperfect subjunctive, i.e., the same construction for the future-in-the-past, is also used for the non-past conditional. For example, *do të shkoja* = 'I would go' (Newmark et al. 1982: 185). The past conditional is formed with the non-past conditional of the auxiliary verb (either 'to have' or 'to be') plus the participle of the main verb, e.g., *do të kisha shkuar* = 'I would have gone' (Newmark et al. 1982: 185). The formal conditional period, with two or more clauses, has either *po* or *sikur* ('if') plus the imperfect subjunctive in the protasis, and *do* plus the imperfective subjunctive (for the non-past conditional) in the apodosis, e.g.,

- (235) Unë, o Sulejman Tafili, *do ti'i duroja më fort, po të më lëshoheshin pa atë djall pipërimë.*  
 'I, oh Sulejman Tafili, could stand them better, if they were to unleash themselves on me without that devilish squeaking.'  
 (Newmark et al. 1982: 83)

The past conditional period is formed with the corresponding past tense forms (the past perfect of the subjunctive in the protasis, usually preceded by *sikur* or *po* ('if'), and the non-past conditional of the auxiliary verb plus the participle of the main verb in the apodosis. For example,

- (236) *Sikur të mos e kishtë parë Sania, Vita do të kishtë rendur andej nga ta çonim jo zemra, po këmbët.*  
 'If Sania had not seen her, Vita would have run over to where her feet, not heart, would take her.'  
 (Newmark et al. 1982: 85)

According to Newmark, the formal conditional period may be used without 'if'.

Thus far we have a system of modal functions (the future, future-in-the-past, past and non-past conditionals) constructed with the particle *do* (< *dua* 'to want'). (The particle *do* comes from the 2nd/3rd sg. present tense of *dua*.)

The verb *dua* by itself is used in Albanian with the full lexical meaning:

- (237) *Pashai i tha se nuk donte të hante.*  
 'The pasha said to him that he did not want to eat.'  
 (Newmark et al. 1982: 69)

The form of *dua* here is in the imperfect in accordance with the rules on indirect speech.

There is at least one instance of the historical full form of the verb, rather than the particle *do*, used in an extended semantic sense: the past definite form<sup>2</sup> of *dua*, now a fixed form, plus the aorist of the main verb, to mean 'X nearly happened'. *Desh vdiq* = 'he almost died' (compare this with dialectal Serbo-Croatian *šcaše umreti/htede umreti* with the same meaning). The former construction, with the imperfect of *htjeti*, may be used for several other semantic functions, but the latter construction with the aorist (*htede*) may only mean 'nearly' or the full lexical meaning. In modern Albanian, the 3rd. per. sg. aorist//imperfect—*desh* has become a modal particle meaning 'nearly'. (See Figure 34 on the following page for a graphic depiction of modal semantic functions in Tosk.)

Other semantic functions which are expressed by the Balkan conditional in languages such as Serbo-Croatian, Macedonian, or Bulgarian use different constructions in Albanian. Albanian iterative/habituals are expressed by the simple imperfect of the main verb. The extended future-in-the-past of the type found in Bulgarian is most typically expressed by the verb 'ought' (see *duhet* below). Attenuated modal expressions use special optative forms; Albanian has an entire system of tenses for optative expressions: present, perfect, pluperfect, imperfect, etc. These are formed with the stem of the main verb to which optative desinences are added, and then desinences are attached according to person and tense.

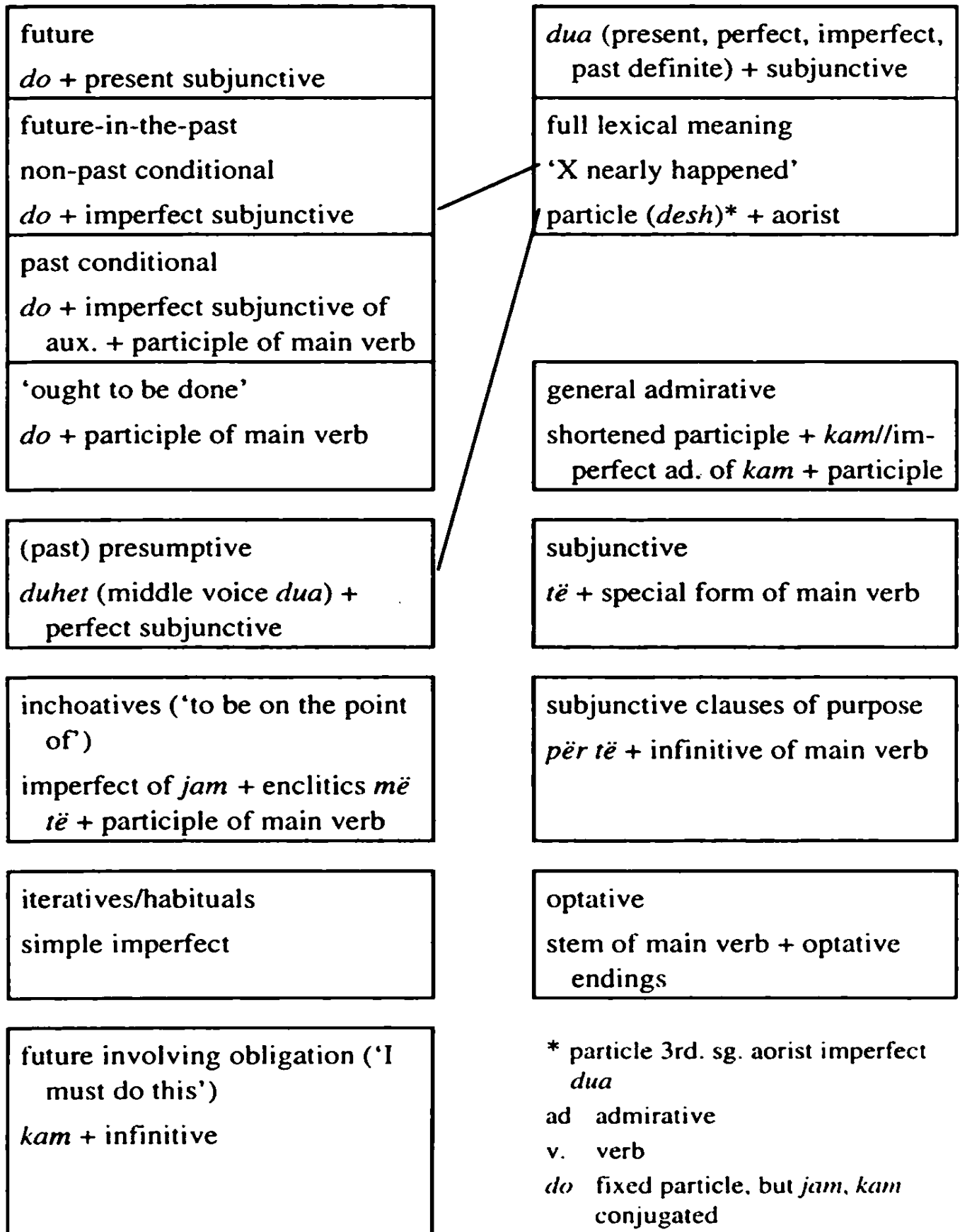
The expression 'to be on the point of (an inevitable or involuntary action)' is found with the past tense forms of 'to be' (*jam*) and the modal enclitics *më të* plus the participle of the main verb. Finally, the minor semantic function of the past presumptive is expressed by a special, non-active impersonal form (i.e., the middle voice) of 'to want'—*duhet* plus the perfect subjunctive:

(238) *Duhet të kem qenë atëherë nja gjashtë-shtatëmbëdhjetë vjeç.*

'I must have been about sixteen-seventeen years old.'

(Newmark et al. 1982: 103)

<sup>2</sup> For this verb the forms of the aorist vs. imperfect are neutralized in Albanian, so this could easily be an imperfect. If so, then it would be an exact parallel to Serbo-Croatian *šcaše* with the meaning of 'X nearly happened'.



**Figure 34.** Distribution of Semantic Functions of Modals (and Non-Modals) in Standard Albanian (Tosk)

Another use of this form should be mentioned: the expression 'X ought to be done//is to be done'. According to Newmark, this is expressed with *do* plus the participle of the main verb, and is mostly found in colloquial speech, e.g.,

- (239) *Vrulli i tyre vetëm do drejtuar, do mbërthyer në vendin e duhur e atëherë ai do të bëjë çudira.*  
 'Their drive only needs directing, needs nailing down in the proper place and then it wil! perform miracles.'

(Newmark et al. 1982: 103)

These last two semantic functions are clearly part of the broader semantics of the verb 'to want'; the latter is also found in English 'It wants doing', i.e., 'it needs doing'. The former semantic function which involves the speaker's estimation of an event is not, as expected, a form of the future-in-the-past (as in Slavic), but is a form of the verb 'ought' derived from 'to want'. Thus, while there is a weak link between 'to want' and 'ought' in Albanian, we cannot say that this extension of *dua* is one of the semantic functions of the Balkan conditional.

### *The Status of Modal Expressions in the Gheg Dialects*

The Gheg dialects, found in the northern half of Albania and in Kosovo (among other areas outside of Albanian proper), have a different system of modal expressions compared to Tosk. In general, the Gheg dialects preserve more archaic features than Tosk. Among these archaisms is a system of modal expressions with the auxiliary 'to have' (*kam*) rather than an auxiliary from 'to want'. The Gheg dialects do have some expressions with *do*, but these have probably come into the language gradually from the southern dialects. (See Figure 35 on the following page.)

First of all, the Gheg future is composed of the auxiliary verb *kam*, which is conjugated (e.g., *ke, ka*, etc.), plus the particle *me* and the short form participle of the verb, e.g., 'he will go' = *ka me shkue*.<sup>3</sup>

Gheg dialects have two other expressions for the future: (1) the particle *do* plus the present subjunctive, borrowed from the Tosk dialects, and rather

<sup>3</sup> In Gheg, the infinitive is the particle *me* plus the short form participle of the main verb. This particle is limited to expressions for the future, and the phrase 'by means of.'

future <i>kam</i> + infinitive	<i>due</i> + infinitive	
future-in-the-past non-past conditional imperfect of <i>kam</i> + infinitive		(past) presumptive <i>duhet</i> (middle voice of <i>due</i> ) + perfect subjunctive
past conditional imperfect of <i>kam</i> + past participle		subjunctive <i>t</i> + special form of main verb
		subjunctive clauses of purpose <i>t</i> + infinitive (?)
		admirative as in Tosk (i.e., with <i>kam</i> )

**Notes:** The auxiliaries *kam*, *due*, and *duhet* are all conjugated in Gheg. There is a third (rare) future construction identical to Tosk Optative, iterative/habitual, and inchoative expressions have the same constructions as in Tosk

**Figure 35.** Distribution of Modal Semantic Functions in Gheg (Albanian)

rare and (2) fully conjugated forms of *due* ('to want') plus the Gheg infinitive, e.g., *due me punue*, *do me punue* ('I will do', 'you (sg.)/he will do'). This second construction is much more common than the one borrowed from Tosk, and indicates, perhaps, a transitional stage between the oldest forms with the auxiliary 'to have' and the newer (and standard) construc-

tions with the particle *do*. On the other hand, they may be remnants of an older system, if we consider *kam* a borrowing from Romance languages.

This latter construction is found in Gheg dialects outside of Albania, for instance in the Gheg dialects of Kosovo and Montenegro, e.g., *due me lyp, do me lyp ... dom me lyp*, etc. (Mulaku 1968: 215–216). According to Mulaku, this expression is found in old Albanian. He feels, however, that there is a nuance of the lexical meaning ‘to want’ in this particular construction, whereas the corresponding construction with ‘to have’ is purely grammatical.

It is interesting that in colloquial standard Albanian there is a construction with the auxiliary *kam* (‘to have’) plus the Tosk infinitive (e.g., *kam për të larë, ke për të larë, ka për të larë* = ‘I, you, he will wash’). Newmark states that in some areas nuances of this type of future include “a modal sense of obligation, similar to English ‘I have washing to do’, or even ‘I have to wash’” (Newmark et al 1982: 50). This is found in other Balkan languages, as in the Serbo-Croatian use of *imati* (‘to have’) (see Chapter 8).

Thus we have a fluid situation in the dialects: if, as in Tosk, the stylistically unmarked future construction is with the particle *do*, then expressions with *kam* plus the infinitive may carry this nuance of obligation; on the other hand, it seems that in some of the Gheg dialects, where the main, stylistically unmarked future is with *kam*, the future with conjugated forms of *due* (‘to want’) may carry nuances of intention, desire, etc.

To complete the picture, in Albanian dialects in Italy (of Tosk origin, but preserving archaisms such as the old auxiliary for the future), we have the auxiliary *kam* plus the present subjunctive (cf. standard Tosk *do* (as a fixed particle) plus the present subjunctive.)

Having established the main construction expressing the future in Gheg is with the auxiliary ‘to have’, it is not surprising that the non-past and past conditionals for most Gheg dialects use the same auxiliary in the past tense. For example, the non-past conditional construction is *kam* in the imperfect plus the infinitive: *kisha me punue* = ‘I would do’. The past conditional uses the imperfect of *kam* and the particle *me* and a special past participle, e.g., *kisha me pas punue* = ‘I would have done’ (Mulaku 1968: 217). In one of the northern Gheg dialects, this non-past conditional is shortened to *kisha punue*.

According to Mulaku, in some of the Tosk dialects there is an analogous expression of the conditional with the imperfect of ‘to have’ plus the Tosk infinitive, e.g., *kisha për (të) punuar* = ‘I would have done’. In the Albanian



dialects of Italy, there is a form for the conditional which parallels the future: the imperfect subjunctive (the future using the present subjunctive).

Judging by Newmark's note on transitional dialects, the same construction is used for the future-in-the-past: 'I was going to wash' = *kisha për të larë*. (Newmark et al. 1982: 51) I would surmise that in dialects with the usual Gheg infinitive, the future-in-the-past would be *kisha me punue* ('I was going to do').

Other modal semantic functions in Gheg appear to be expressed by the same constructions as in Tosk, with the Gheg infinitive replacing the Tosk infinitive.

One other important modal construction in Albanian is the admirative. It is used in various forms (e.g., present, perfect, imperfect) to relate the speaker's surprise that something has happened or is happening which was not expected. According to Friedman (1980), the admirative has a present tense meaning which refers to something of which the speaker was previously unaware (and which is surprising to him.)

The admirative in both Tosk and Gheg dialects is an inversion of the perfect, which has the auxiliary *kam*, e.g., the short form of the verbal participle followed by the auxiliary. (Both the perfect and pluperfect are formed with this auxiliary.) The imperfect admirative has this short participle followed by the imperfect of *kam*, and refers to the past; the past perfect admirative has the imperfect admirative of the auxiliary.

Newmark's citations all refer to events which happened, but which were not expected to do so. However, there is a construction which he calls the subjunctive-admirative; this is the combination of *të* (from the subjunctive) and the imperfect admirative of *kam* followed by the participle of the main verb. For instance,

(240) *Sikur e gjyshja të mos paskësh nxjerrë kokën nga qerrja e të mos a paskësh thirrur kushedi sa gjatë do të kishte mbetur ashtu, më këmbë, në mes të shiut, që ishte shtruar mbi fushë.*

'If this grandmother had not actually stuck her head out of the cart and had not actually called him, who knows how long he would have remained like that, standing, in the midst of the rain that had settled over the plain.' (Newmark et al. 1982: 86)

There are several striking features of the Albanian modal system: first of all, in addition to the simplex forms of the present, imperfect and past definite, there is a whole system of constructions with the auxiliary verbs 'to

have' (for active verbs), 'to be' (for inactive verbs), and 'to want'. The first two auxiliaries are used almost exclusively for the Tosk indicative mood, and the last auxiliary—'to want'—for the non-indicative mood. In Gheg, the older stage of the language, the auxiliary 'to have' is used for both the indicative and non-indicative moods. (See Table 33.)

**Table 33.** Uses of the Auxillaries 'To Have' and 'To Want' in the Gheg and Tosk Dialects (Albanian)

	<b>'to have'</b>	<b>'to want'</b>
Tosk:	<i>indicative</i> — present perfect past perfect pluperfect <i>non-indicative</i> modal future (i.e., 'I have to ...') admirative	<i>non-indicative</i> <sup>a</sup> — future future-in-the-past non-past conditional past conditional 'ought to be done' <i>non-indicative</i> <sup>b</sup> — 'X nearly happened' <i>indicative</i> <sup>c</sup> — full lexical meaning
Gheg:	<i>indicative</i> — present perfect past perfect pluperfect <i>non-indicative</i> — future future-in-the-past non-past conditional past conditional admirative	<i>non-indicative</i> <sup>c</sup> — future (in some dialects with nuances of desire, intention, etc.) <i>indicative</i> <sup>c</sup> — full lexical meaning

<sup>a</sup> This indicates use of the particle *do*.

<sup>b</sup> This indicates *desh*.

<sup>c</sup> This indicates fully conjugated forms.

According to many linguists, among them Sandfeld and Newmark (1968), the use of the particle *do* ('to want') in modal constructions was copied from Greek into the southern (Tosk) dialects, and has become a part of standard Albanian. This new use (and construction) from the verb 'to want' probably spread from the construction for the future to the future-in-the-past, the past conditional, and the non-past conditional, and finally, to the expression meaning 'something ought to be done, needs doing'.

In the northern (Gheg) dialects, however, there is a dual system. The chief auxiliary is 'to have', and, as we have seen, it may indicate the future, future-in-the-past, and conditional. This may be a development of the old verbal system without Greek incursions.<sup>4</sup> Yet there is also the auxiliary 'to want' used in fully conjugated forms for the future alone (and for the full lexical meaning). Indeed, as Mulaku has suggested, it is probable that this future construction carries nuances of desire, intention, etc. in the Gheg dialects, and that the future with 'to have' is stylistically unmarked. He states 'to want' is used as an auxiliary in old Albanian, so it is not a new development.<sup>5</sup> The use of the particle *do* for modal expressions is marginal in Gheg, and comes from the Tosk dialects (or it may be a remnant of the older, more widespread status of *do*.)

Thus we have the natural progression in Gheg from the old future with the auxiliary 'to have' to the future-in-the-past and the conditional. In Tosk, with the neologism of the auxiliary particle *do* from 'to want', a whole new system of modal expressions for the future, future-in-the-past, etc., developed. One reason that constructions with this new particle did not spread further is that Albanian may have already been in the process of developing a system of subjunctive, optative, and admirative expressions with their own particular verbal constructions. If the subjunctive had had the auxiliary 'to have', for example, it, too, might have vanished in the face of the new constructions with *do*. (The admirative, which does have this auxiliary, has it in inverted order, and attached to the verb stem; furthermore, it is based on the indicative construction for the perfect.)

---

<sup>4</sup> According to other linguists (Hamp and others), it seems more probable that *kam* is an innovation (from Balkan Romance), and *do* (from 'to want') is original in Albanian. In that case, the Balkan conditional could have arisen from Albanian, or from Greek, or from contacts between the two. It is also possible that there was yet another verbal auxiliary in early Albanian.

<sup>5</sup> *Do* as a modal auxiliary has been found in the southernmost dialects (bordering on Greek in an area near Corfu) as early as the twelfth century.

A fully conjugated auxiliary from 'to want' was never used, apart from the full lexical meaning. There is an interesting historical development from the old, fully conjugated forms of the aorist: an expression with the now fixed form from the old 3rd. per. sg. of the aorist imperfect, *desh*. This particular expression means 'X nearly happened' (cf. Serbo-Croatian *šćaće*). Since I have hypothesized that such expressions are an early stage in the development of the Balkan conditional, and appear as stylistically marked expressions, it is appropriate that such nuances appear in Albanian with a remnant of the conjugated forms of 'to want', rather than with the particle from 'to want'.

Finally, it is clear that there was no progression, as in Macedonian, from the use of conjugated forms of 'to want' plus the infinitive to a particle from 'to want' plus conjugated forms of the main verbs. Instead, the Greek system of the particle plus conjugated forms of the main verb was adopted by Albanian. It is also possible that the Balkan conditional with *do* is a very old development in Albanian (perhaps influenced by Greek) and that the use of *do* for the future is original in Albanian. The old monolithic system (ignoring the auxiliary 'to be' for the non-active verbs) with 'to have' for indicative and non-indicative functions became a dual system with 'to have' primarily for indicative functions, and 'to want' for non-indicative functions.

### *The Balkan Conditional in Rumanian*

Of the four main groups of Rumanian dialects, Daco-Rumanian, Istro-Rumanian, Arumanian, and Meglenorumanian, all but the last show evidence of the Balkan conditional to one degree or another.

Meglenorumanian, the group of dialects spoken northwest of the Gulf of Salonika in Greece, has no trace left of the Rumanian verb 'to want' (*a vrea* in Daco-Rumanian). (Popovici (1914) and Weigand (1892)). Its future is formed with *si* plus the subjunctive. There is no grammatical category of the conditional in Megleno-Rumanian. The past conditional is expressed with the simple imperfect, as in some Bulgarian dialects, e.g.,

(241) *Ako vem pari, ao kumporám kasa.*

'If I had money, I would buy a house.'

(Weigand 1892: 41)

There is a variant with no links to the Balkan conditional: the conjunction used for conditionals (*tucu*) plus *si* (a particle used with the subjunctive

and other modal expressions) plus the imperfect, e.g., *tucu si cãntam* ('I would have sung') (Matidu, et al.1977: 208)

The Balkan conditional in the remaining Rumanian dialects ranges from marginal expressions in some Daco-Rumanian dialects to a well-established grammatical category in Arumanian.

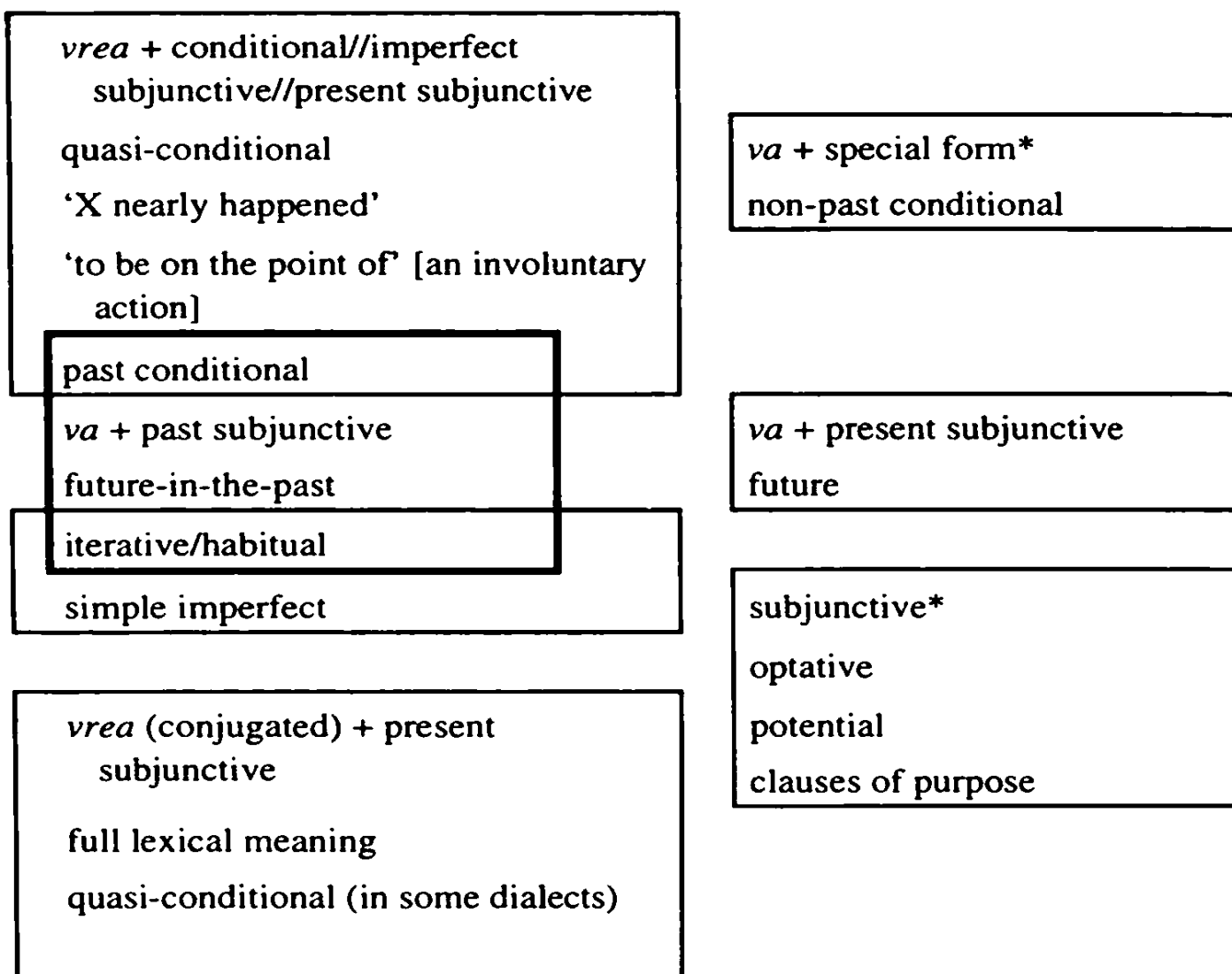
### *The Balkan Conditional in Arumanian*

Generally speaking, these dialects are found throughout northwestern Greece (Pindus), in much of Albania and in the southwestern part of Macedonia. This Balkan conditional functions in a strikingly similar way to the Slavic Balkan conditional; it is used for the future-in-the-past, the past conditional, 'X nearly happened', 'to be on the point of', and the quasi-conditional. The last three functions have semantics linked with the older, transitional stages of the Balkan conditional (as in Serbo-Croatian). Finally, there is at least a marginal use of the Arumanian Balkan conditional for the iterative/habitual (according to Goľab's documentation from the village of Kruřovo in west-central Macedonia.)

For the majority of the Arumanian dialects, the formal construction for the Balkan conditional is the imperfect of 'to want' plus one of several verb forms. The Balkan conditional in Arumanian does not express the non-past conditional, which has its own construction: *s'* (= Daco-Rumanian *řa*, used for the subjunctive) plus a special optative//non-past conditional form resulting from the contamination of the Latin perfect subjunctive (used for the non-past conditional in Latin) with the imperfect subjunctive (used for the past conditional and future-in-the-past). (Paphagi 1902: 67) and Uriřescu (personal communication). For example, 'I would sing' = *s'cãntarim*; 'I, you, he would give' = *s'darim, s'dariři, s'dari*. (See Figure 36 on the following page for the distribution of Arumanian modals.)

The Balkan conditional, i.e., a construction with 'to want' as an auxiliary outside of the full lexical meaning, is used for the *past* conditional. The imperfect of the auxiliary (a fixed form from the 3rd.per.sg.) is added to the non-past conditional, e.g., 'I would have sung' = *vrea s'cãntarim*, 'you would have sung' = *vrea s'cãntariři*, etc.

Other constructions for the Arumanian past conditional include the fixed imperfect of 'to want' plus the imperfect subjunctive, e.g., *vrea s-cãntam* ('I would have sung'). According to Uriřescu (personal communication), a third construction is the *present* subjunctive preceded by the fixed imperfect *vrea*,



\* For the special conditional and subjunctive forms, see the text. Except where noted, *vrea* is a fixed form, *va* as well.

In several dialects *va* is used for the past conditional and the iterative/habitual.

### Figure 36. Distribution of Modal Semantic Functions in Arumanian

e.g., *vrea s-pot* = 'I could have been able to...' All three constructions may be used for the past conditional, but only the latter two (e.g., with the present or imperfect subjunctive) may express 'X nearly happened'.

Judging from the entries for *voi* and *vrea* in Papahagi's *Dicționarul dialectului aromân* (1902), and from the citations in Capidan's *Aromânii* (1932), the past conditional is also used for minor semantic functions such as 'to be on the point of' and the quasi-conditional. For example,

- (242) *vrea s-moara di foame* (Daco-rom. *era să moară de foame*)  
 'He was about to die from hunger.' (Papahagi 1902: 1297)

The Arumanian future is formed with the particle *va* (from the 3rd. per. sg. of 'to want') plus the present subjunctive, e.g. *va s'daú*, *va s'daí*, *va s'da* ('I, you, he will give').

The future-in-the-past is based on this, and uses this particle with the imperfect subjunctive, e.g., *va s'avea* = 'They were going to have'.

In Gołąb's unpublished documents of the Arumanian dialect of Krušovo, there are examples of this construction used as iterative/habituals, e.g.,

- (243) *Káθi séarë, këndu va-se-γineá afëndusu, fičórl'i lu-aščiptá ku haráo máre. Di-adún va-s-ciná š dupa cínë va-l'-akěcá mirák'a ti këntare ši tútë noapte këntá. Tah'iná nikuk' írlu a kásil'i va-sě-skulá nayón'a ti la lúkru,...*

This is his transcription, and his translation into Macedonian (with its similar construction for the Balkan conditional) follows:

*Sekoja večer, koga ke dojdeše tatko im, decata go pričekuvaa so golema radost. Zaedno ke večeraa i večera ke gi fak'aše (fateše?) merakot za peenje i cela noć peeja. Sabajle (na utrinata) domak'inot na kuk'ata ke se digneše brgu za rabota...*

Every evening when their father would come home, the children would wait for him with great joy. Together they would eat supper and after supper they would desire [literally: 'make a wish for'] to sing and they sang all night. In the morning the head of the house would set off hurriedly for work...

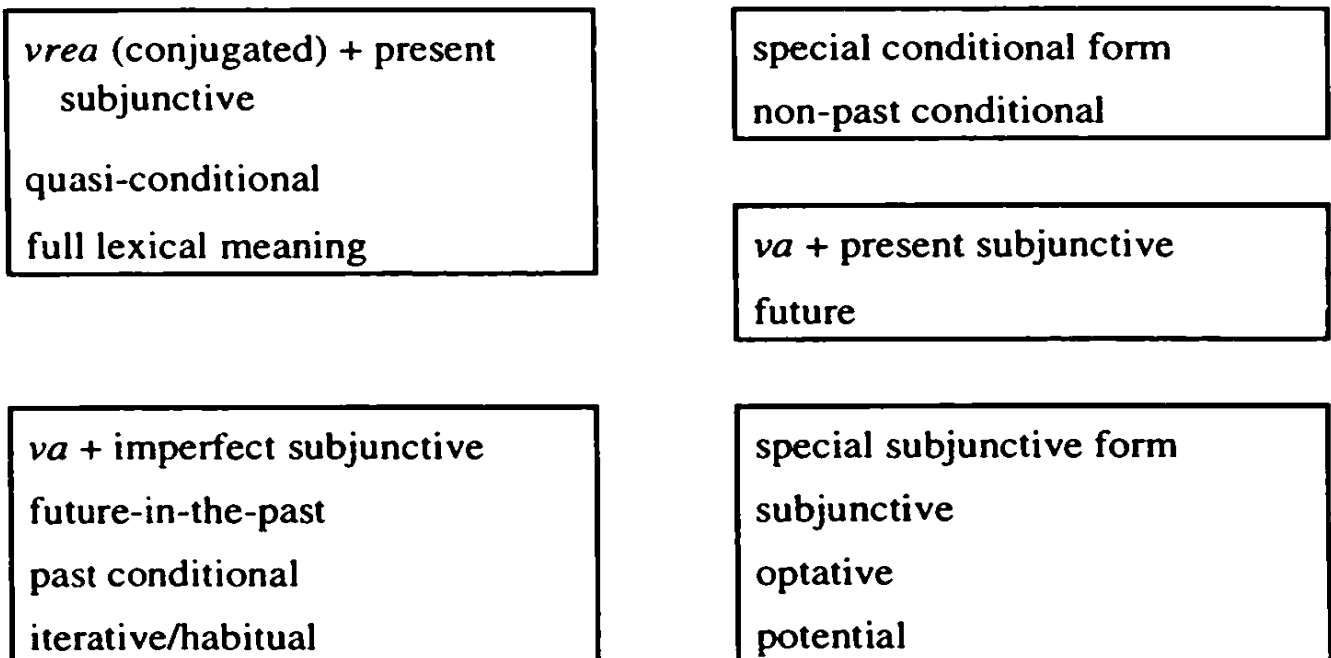
However, Gołąb's is the only mention of this usage in all the studies on Arumanian. Thus I have marked it as a marginal expression, pending further investigation.

Another interesting point regarding the above construction is that Gołąb has found it used for the past conditional as well in the Krušovo dialect (examples are given in his *Conditionalis typu bałkańskiego w językach południostłowińskich* 1964a).

In another Arumanian dialects, the iterative/habitual is expressed by the simple imperfect. The optative, potential, and subjunctive modal expressions use the subjunctive in the present, perfect, or imperfect.

On the whole, Arumanian has a dual system of constructions for the Balkan conditional: (1) with the imperfect particle of 'to want' (*vrea*), as an auxiliary for the past conditional, as well as for other minor semantic functions and (2) with the present particle of 'to want' for the future-in-the-past, and in at least one dialect, the iterative/habitual and the past conditional. (See Figure 37 below.) In several dialects there is overlapping; the past conditional may be expressed by either *vrea* or *va*. The modal system is moving towards a broader use of *va*, paralleling the development in Macedonian from *keše* to *ke*.

In the Krušovo dialect there is an expansion of the semantic domain for constructions with the non-past particle to include the past conditional. This presumably leaves other minor semantic functions (e.g., 'to be on the point of', the quasi-conditional) to be expressed with the imperfect fixed form of 'to want'.



1. Expressions not documented:  
'X nearly happened'  
'to be on the point of'
2. *Va* and *vrea* are fixed forms
3. The conditional form is a contamination of Latin perfect and imperfect subjunctives, e.g. Arumanian *s'cîntarim* 'I would sing'.

**Figure 37.** Distribution of Modal Semantic Functions in the Arumanian Dialect of Krušovo



These two types of construction parallel the earlier and later stages of development in the Macedonian Balkan conditional: the imperfect *vrea*: Mace. *keše da* plus the non-past and the *va* particle: Mace. *ke*. Both Arumanian *vrea* and Mace. *keše* are fixed forms from the 2nd./3rd. per. sg. of the imperfect. It is difficult to say how this system developed in Arumanian; certainly there must have been some influence from Greek, with its particle of the 3rd. per. sg. in the future and future-in-the-past. In some areas Macedonian and Arumanian have a high level of contacts, and so it is not surprising that there are similar constructions and semantic functions in these two languages.

Modern Macedonian, with its *ke* construction, represents a more thoroughly grammaticalized stage than Arumanian, which is just beginning to use the particle in some expressions. It seems that Arumanian is very close to the syntactic stage of Bulgarian, with both fully conjugated forms of the imperfect (and in some dialects a modal particle). This theory is supported by the transitional semantic functions found with the middle stage of development (the fixed form of the imperfect): 'to be on the point of', and 'X nearly happened'.

The Kumanovo dialects of Macedonian and Arumanian, which are in this middle stage, both express these functions with the Balkan conditional, while standard Macedonian (and the other Macedonian dialects), which are in the most developed stage, do not.

In at least one Arumanian dialect (Krušovo), the Balkan conditional is only expressed with the modal particle *va* plus the imperfect subjunctive; the construction with the fixed form *vrea* has been lost—the same process we have seen in modern Macedonian. However, unlike Macedonian, this Arumanian dialect did not develop a new verb with the lexical meaning 'to want', but retained fully conjugated forms of *vrea* for the full lexical meaning, and presumably for the quasi-conditional as well. I would surmise that this same process has occurred in other Arumanian dialects, and there is beginning a gradual abandonment of the system described earlier, resulting in closer parallels between Arumanian and Macedonian.

### *The Balkan Conditional in Istro-Rumanian*

The speakers of present-day Istro-Rumanian are descendents of people who migrated from an area to the east, which was near either Daco-Rumanian or

Arumanian-speaking territory<sup>6</sup>. Istro-Rumanian dialects are found in several villages on the Istrian peninsula, which have been segregated from the rest of Rumanian for several centuries. Istro-Rumanian has been heavily influenced by its neighboring languages of Italian and Serbo-Croatian. But unlike the situation between Macedonian and Arumanian, the Serbo-Croatian Istrian dialects have lost the imperfect (probably by the early nineteenth century), and thus have no Balkan conditional.

The Istro-Rumanian dialects do have a form of the Balkan conditional; it is a construction analogous to what we have seen in Arumanian. In these dialects, the imperfect of 'to want' is conjugated (unlike Arumanian). The non-past conditional, like Arumanian, is derived from the contamination of the Latin subjunctive forms with the future-in-the-past, e.g., "se *putur, verivoi*" ('If I'm able to, I'll come'). There is a second construction for the Istro-Rumanian Balkan conditional with the above imperfect forms of 'to want' plus the infinitive of the main verb. This latter construction seems to be the dominant construction in twentieth-century dialects; it is the only one given, for instance, in Kovačec's *Discrierea istroromânei* (1971).

At any rate, this construction is used for the non-past conditional in Istro-Rumanian, but not for the past conditional found in Arumanian (Urițescu, personal communication). The past conditional is expressed in Istro-Rumanian with the old imperfect forms of 'to want' plus the past participle of 'to be' (*fost*) followed by the infinitive of the main verb. For example, the non-past conditional would be *reș cântă, reși cântă, reș cântă* ('I, you, he would sing') (Kovačec 1971: 148–149).<sup>7</sup> The past conditional forms would be *reș fost cântă, reși fost cântă, reș fost cântă*, etc. ('I, you, he would have sung'). (See Figure 38 for the distribution of modal semantic functions in Istro-Rumanian.)

The Istro-Rumanian future is formed with the present of 'to want' plus the infinitive, e.g., *voi cântă, ver cântă, va cântă* ('I, you, he, will sing'). The future-in-the-past is similar to Daco-Rumanian's construction: the imperfect of *trebuie* ('to be necessary') plus the present subjunctive.

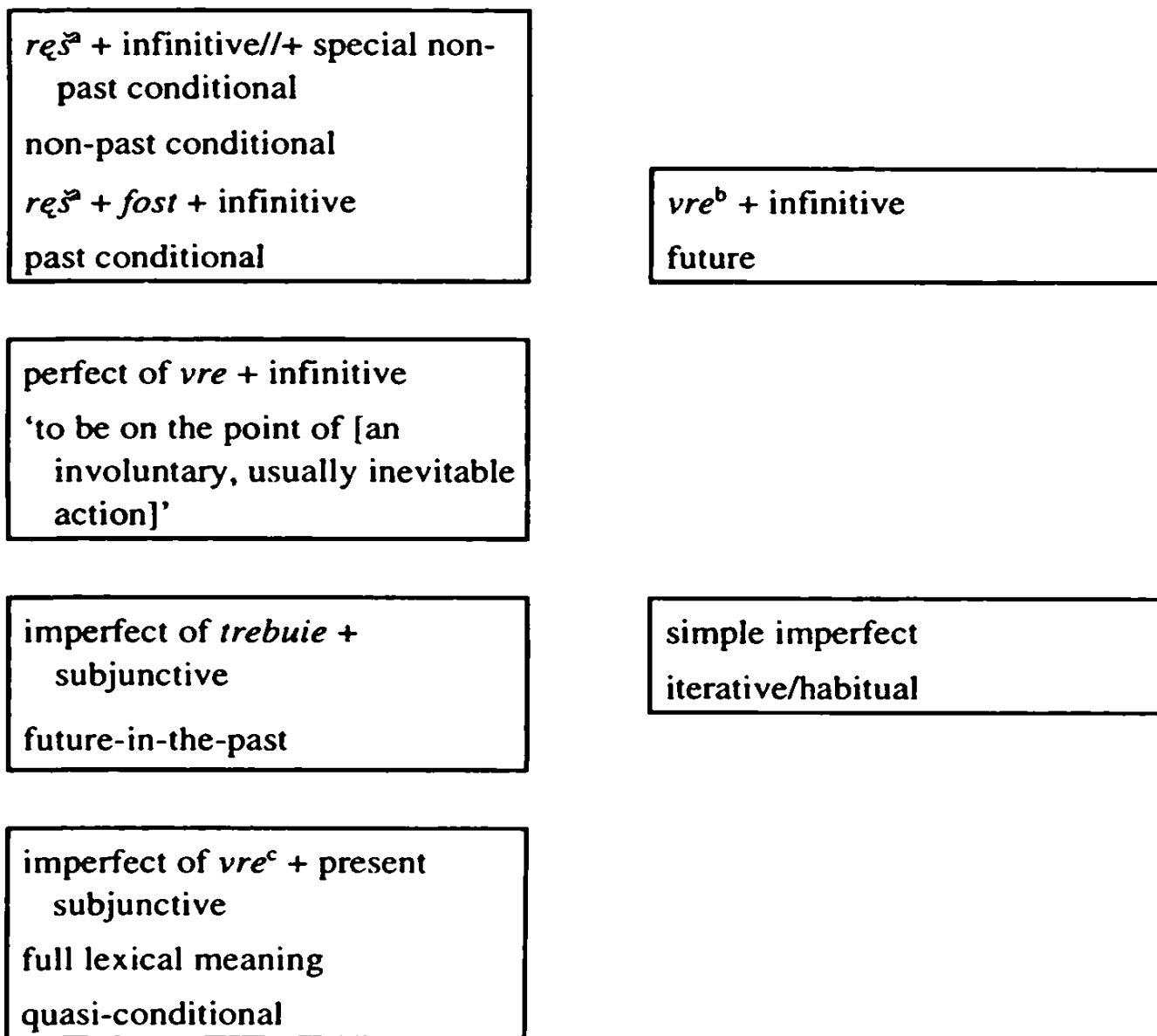
Expressions with the full lexical meaning 'to want' referring to past actions and expressions of the quasi-conditional are formed with the more re-

<sup>6</sup> Whether Istro-Rumanian should be grouped with (proto-) Daco-Rumanian or with (proto-) Arumanian is a question still being debated. The evidence given here for the development of the Balkan conditional (while still a minor factor) suggests that it is more closely linked to Daco-Rumanian.

<sup>7</sup> This may be a calque from Slavic (Serbo-Croatian) use of *bi* in the conditional.

cent imperfect of 'to want' (Figure 38) in conjugated personal forms plus the present subjunctive.

Outside of Arumanian, the other Rumanian dialects employ adverbial modifiers for the expression 'X nearly happened'. The Balkan conditional is never used for this expression.



<sup>a</sup> Conjugated forms of the old imperfect of 'to want'

<sup>b</sup> Conjugated forms of the present of 'to want'

<sup>c</sup> Conjugated forms of the new imperfect of 'to want'

**Figure 38.** Distribution of Modal Semantic Functions in Istro-Rumanian

The remaining minor semantic function, 'to be on the point of', which we have seen in Serbo-Croatian and Arumanian, also occurs in Istro-Rumanian. According to Sandfeld, it is found with the perfect of 'to want' plus the infinitive of the main verb. Documentation is lacking at this point whether it occurs with the imperfect. For instance, Sandfeld cites:

- (244) Cănd a vut gospodăru za muri...  
 'When the gentleman was about to die...' (Sandfeld 1930: 183)

Clearly the above system shows a more marginal use of the Balkan conditional compared to Arumanian; apart from the conditional, the only other function is 'to be on the point of'. The future-in-the-past and the iterative/habitual, both found with the Arumanian Balkan conditional, are unknown in Istro-Rumanian.

### *The Balkan Conditional in Dialectal Daco-Rumanian*

The majority of the Daco-Rumanian dialects have no evidence of a Balkan conditional. Their use of the auxiliary 'to want' is limited to the future construction with non-past forms, and to the full lexical meaning with the past or non-past forms plus the subjunctive.

Actually, Daco-Rumanian's conditional expression may well be an old Balkan conditional, according to linguists such as Weigand, Gołąb, and Ivanescu. They hypothesize that the modal forms *aş fi*, *ar fi*, etc., come from contractions of the imperfect of 'to want'. Other linguists, such as Tiktin and Rosetti, believe that the Daco-Rumanian conditional arises from contracted forms of 'to have' in Balkan Romance, and originally from Latin. The non-past conditional with these forms (e.g., *aş merge* 'I would go') is found only in Daco-Rumanian, and not in the other three dialect groups (Arumanian, Meglenorumanian, and Istro-Rumanian). This non-past conditional seems to be an innovation in Daco-Rumanian; the older form was from a contamination of the Latin subjunctive with the future-in-the-past. These special forms were noted in documents of Daco-Rumanian from the sixteenth century, and are still used in Istro-Rumanian and Arumanian (e.g., *s' cîntarim* 'I would sing').

Furthermore, old Daco-Rumanian also used 'to have' as an auxiliary of the future (as well as 'to want', which is retained in the modern language). For example, sixteenth-century texts record forms such as *am a cînta* 'I will sing.'

The implications of this much-disputed question are important for this study. If Daco-Rumanian does have a Balkan conditional construction, then the language would have to be accounted for in terms of influence from the south, and all of Daco-Rumanian placed nearer the inner core, instead of on the periphery. This would also mean that the new conditional with 'to want' in western Daco-Rumanian dialects would be a secondary Balkan conditional, in much the same way as the new Greek Macedonian Balkan conditional (see the Balkan Conditional in Greek).

On the other hand, if this construction is based on the auxiliary 'to have', then most of Daco-Rumanian does *not* have a Balkan conditional (which would make better sense according to my hypothesis of influence from the south (most probably from Greek)—proto-Daco-Rumanian was the northernmost group, and was probably uninfluenced or influenced to a much lesser extent than Arumanian (and possibly) Istro-Rumanian by the contacts which spread the Balkan conditional. In this case, the Balkan conditional in the western Daco-Rumanian dialects could be either the result of weak, radiating influence from the south or a spontaneous innovation.

Based on the evidence I have found for the development of semantic functions of the Balkan conditional and the pattern of bi-lingual trade contacts and migrations radiating from the south, I would say that the old Daco-Rumanian conditional is not a Balkan conditional. The problem requires further study.

The dialects in western Rumania and the Serbian Banat, on the other hand, do have a marginal use of the Balkan conditional. These dialects are found in the Rumanian Banat and the Serbian Banat (a continuous area in southwestern Rumania and northwestern Vojvodina, in the area of Crişana (western Rumania), and in western Transylvania (central-western Rumania, bordering on Crişana). (See Figure 39 opposite for a rough map of the area in question.)

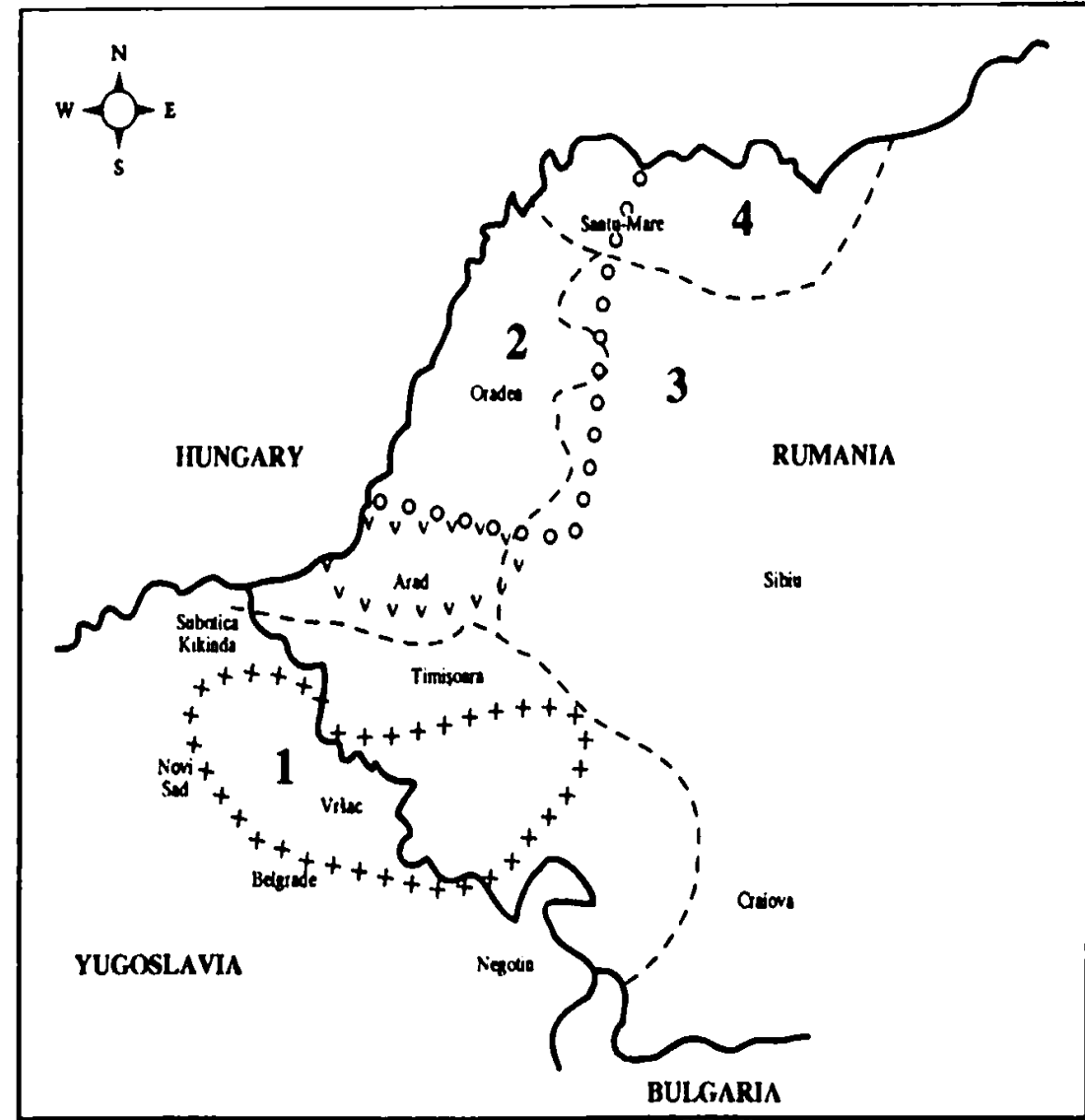
Documentation for this area is not thorough, but from the information available, a picture emerges of the status of the Balkan conditional, one similar to that Istro-Rumanian. As in Istro-Rumanian, the Balkan conditional in these dialects is used for the past conditional and for the expression 'to be on the point of'. Unlike Istro-Rumanian, the Daco-Rumanian dialects

**AREA**

- 1. Banat (extending across the Yugoslav-Rumanian border)
- 2. Crişana
- 3. Transylvania
- 4. Maramureş

N.B. The whole western area of Rumania (encompassing Crişana and Maramureş) is also called Transylvania.

These isoglosses are based on the *Atlasul lingvistic Român (Seria noua, Vol. VII, Bucharest)*.



o o o o o	perfect of 'to want' plus infinitive as Balkan conditional	+++++	imperfect of 'to want' plus infinitive as Balkan conditional	v v v v v	fixed form of imperfect of 'to want' plus infinitive as Balkan conditional
-----------	--	-------	--	-----------	--

**Figure 39. Daco-Rumanian Dialects with the Balkan Conditional**

do not seem to use the Balkan conditional for the non-past conditional. It is also highly probable that the Balkan conditional is also used for the quasi-conditional here.

The actual construction varies according to area. In the northern section, encompassing central and northern Crişana, and extreme western Transylvania,<sup>8</sup> the construction is the perfect of *a vrea* ('to want') plus the infinitive. In the southern section, which includes two separate areas: (1) the southern part of Crişana and (2) the Serbian Banat and the Rumanian Banat, the Balkan conditional is formed with the imperfect of *a vrea* plus the infinitive of the main verb. (In Crişana a fixed form of the imperfect is found.) The Balkan conditional here is used mainly for non-past conditionals. However, in one dialect in southern Crişana, it is used for the past conditional. (See Figures 39 on the preceding page and 40 opposite for isoglosses. Urişescu, personal communication.)

According to Urişescu's documentation, there is a separation between the full lexical meaning 'to want', which is expressed by the past tenses (either the perfect or the imperfect) plus the *subjunctive*, and the Balkan conditional (representing the past conditional), which is expressed by the past tense of 'to want' plus the *infinitive* of the main verb.<sup>9</sup>

Sandfeld, however, quotes an example from a western dialect with the perfect of 'to want' plus the subjunctive with the meaning 'to be on the point of':

(245) *A vrut să moară* (il a été près de mourir).

'He was on the point of death.'

(Sandfeld 1930: 183)

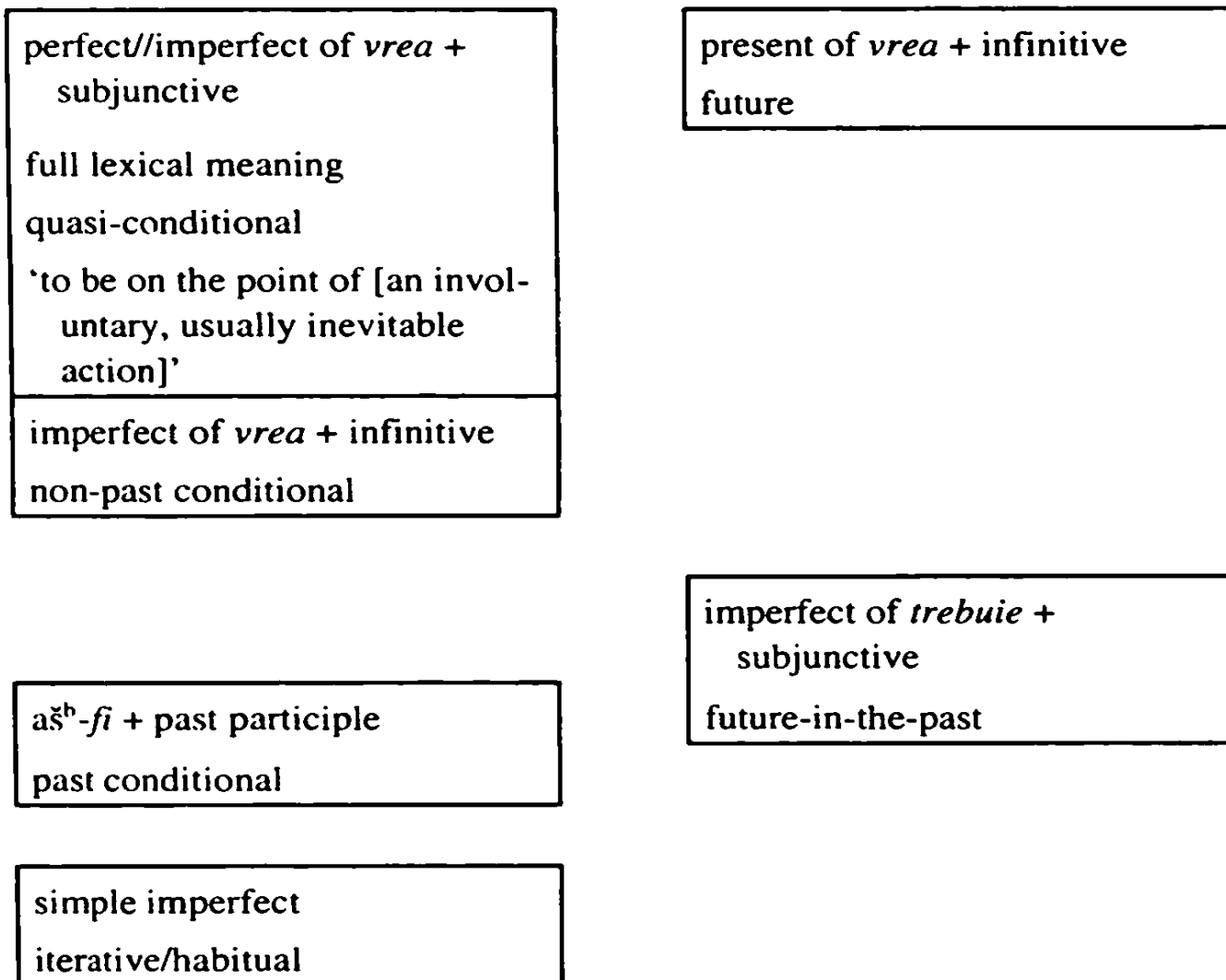
It is possible either that the constructions quoted earlier for the Balkan conditional apply only to the past conditional, and the expression 'to be on the point of' and the quasi-conditional are transitional expressions which evolved from forms with the full lexical meaning (expressed with the subjunctive in Rumanian), much like Russian 'to be on the point of', or that there are no hard and fast divisions between these two constructions and

<sup>8</sup> Transylvania proper is one region in west-central Rumania. In more general terms, Transylvania includes all of western Rumania (including Crişana and Marmureş).

<sup>9</sup> This separation of lexical meaning vs. modal meaning between the subjunctive and the infinitive following 'to want' can be found in at least some Serbo-Croatian dialects, e.g., *hoću da dođem* (in initial position only, where enclitics may not be used) = 'I want to come' vs. *hoću doći* = 'I will come' (with the infinitive).

their semantic functions. If the latter case is true, then the Daco-Rumanian Balkan conditional is transitional in several senses.

One other factor must be reckoned with in the modal system of these dialects. They preserve many archaisms which have been lost in modern Rumanian, among them the use of the infinitive in verbal constructions, where the standard language uses the subjunctive. According to Urişescu, the use of the subjunctive began in the southern dialects to the east of the



<sup>a</sup> In one small area (see Figure 37), the imperfect 'to want' is used for the past conditional; the non-past conditional is as in the literary language.

<sup>b</sup> There are conjugated forms of the modal auxiliary.

**Figure 40.** Distribution of Modal Semantic Functions in Southern Crişana and Banat (Rumanian and Serbian) Dialects of Daco-Rumanian

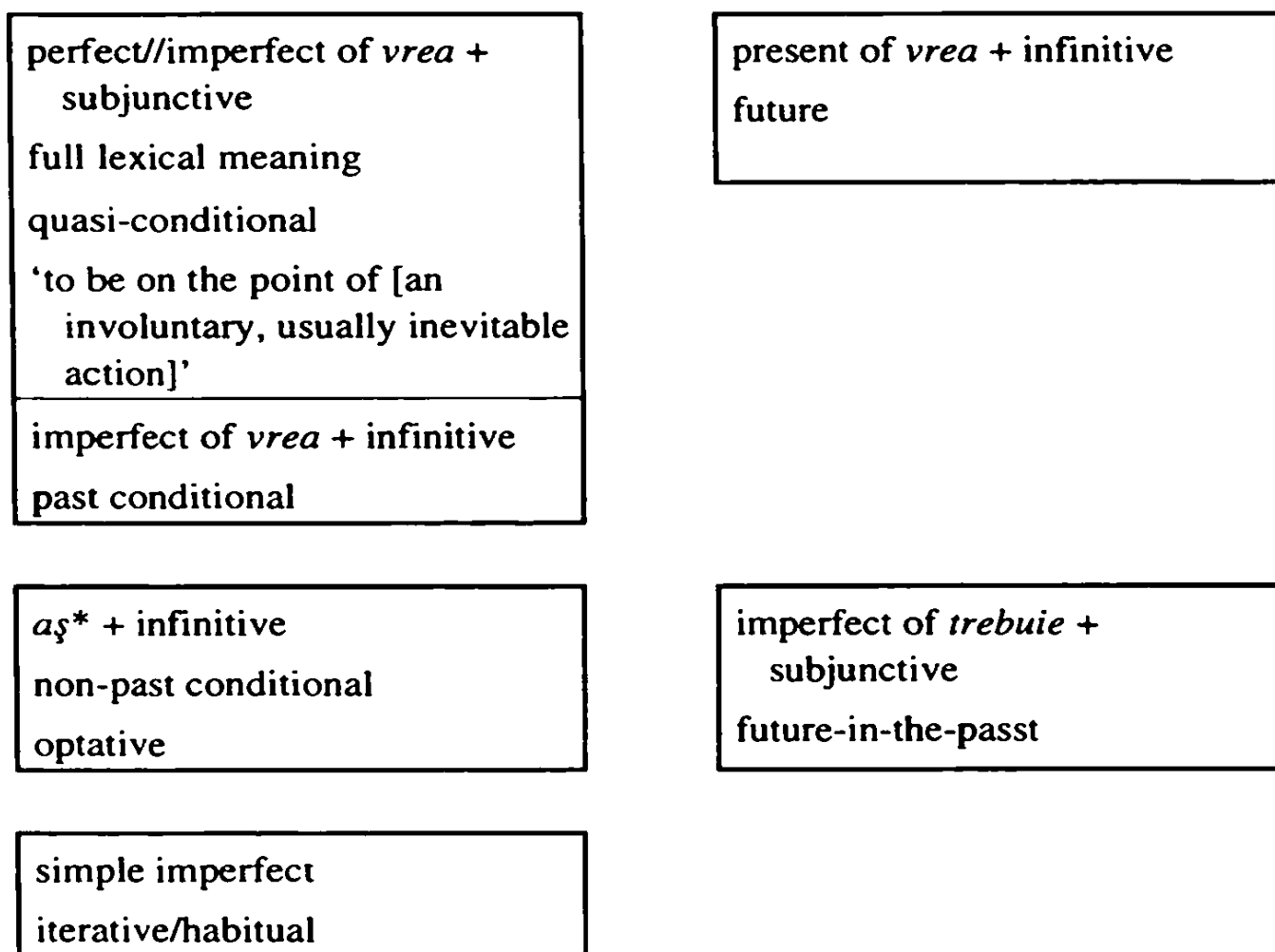


Banat, probably during the sixteenth century. From the late seventeenth to the twentieth centuries this new use gradually spread northwards, while the northern dialects (including the dialects under consideration) were still using the infinitive. So this use for the past conditional may simply be preservation of an archaic feature. Yet the new subjunctive form was also adopted by these dialects, and used to express the full lexical meaning 'to want'. I surmise that in many of these western dialects the old infinitival structure was retained to express "grammatical" modality (i.e., the past or non-past conditional, depending on dialect), and the new construction with the subjunctive was adopted for the full lexical meaning, the quasi-conditional, and most probably other minor semantic functions linked to the lexical meaning, such as 'to be on the point of'.

The use of the infinitive (and the past tense of 'to want' has been found in sixteenth-century Rumanian texts (Urişescu, personal communication); the old construction with the meaning of the past conditional was not found in the eastern or southern dialects. I would expect that in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there was a modal system in the western dialects with an early, transitional form of the Balkan conditional (like that in the seventeenth-eighteenth century Serbo-Croatian documents from Dalmatia). In other words, the past tense of 'to want' plus the infinitive was used for the full lexical meaning, the quasi-conditional, and the past conditional. When the new subjunctive construction appeared in these dialects in the nineteenth century, a restructuring of the modal system took place (with the new subjunctive taking over the lexical meaning, and the old infinitive retaining grammatical modality). (See Table 33 on p. 243.)

Other semantic functions we have noted for the Balkan conditional in other languages, such as the non-past conditional, the future-in-the-past, the past presumptive, etc., never developed in these dialects. The western dialects retained the non-past conditional found in the rest of Daco-Rumanian (see Figure 41 opposite), and semantic functions such as the iterative/habitual and the future-in-the-past were expressed in Rumanian by other verbal constructions.

The northern group of these dialects (most of Crişana and western Transylvania) is separated from the southern group (two areas in southern Crişana and the Banat) by two factors: (1) the northern area uses the perfect of 'to want' as a modal auxiliary, while the southern area uses the imperfect (in one dialect, this is a fixed form of the imperfect) and (2) the northern area uses the above modal construction to express the past conditional, while



\* *Aș*, etc., are conjugated forms of the auxiliary.

**Figure 41.** Distribution of Modal Semantic Functions in Central and Northern Crișana and Western Transylvania

most of the southern area uses its corresponding construction for the non-past conditional. However, there is at least one area in southern Crișana where the imperfect of 'to want' is used to express the past conditional.

In the northern area, where the perfect of 'to want' is used in this new Balkan conditional, there may be a tendency for the perfect to be contracted into a modal particle for these semantics. The full perfect is used with the full lexical meaning, e.g.

- (246) Tura! *Vrut-o* aima bat<sup>ie</sup>. 'Tura! [interjection] They wanted  
to beat me  
No-a avu l<sup>e</sup>éinn e crapat'ě. But they did have split logs.  
*Da-o-vu* cu dranita, They would have hit me with the  
shingle,  
Nu o putut radică. But they couldn't lift it.'
- (Petrovic 1943: 146; trans. by Urişescu)

In this folk song from the extreme northern area of Crişana (Oaş), there is a fully conjugated perfect with full lexical meaning contrasting with a shortened form of the perfect—*vu*—with the meaning of the past conditional. This appears to be another instance of lexical modality being separated from grammatical modality (here the past conditional), like Arumanian *va* and Macedonian *ke*.

In the western Rumanian dialects as a whole, the Balkan conditional has a marginal status, similar to its status in Serbo-Croatian dialects outside the inner core area. Furthermore, there seems to be a two-tiered system of development for the Balkan conditional: the first stage, most probably occurring in the seventeenth century (see Table 33 on p. 243), uses one construction for the full lexical meaning, quasi-conditional, and the past conditional. By the late eighteenth-early nineteenth century, the emergence of the subjunctive in compound verbal constructions helped to split the semantics. The past conditional was now expressed by the old infinitival construction, while the full lexical meaning, the quasi-conditional and the expression 'to be on the point of' were expressed by the new construction. After this point, the expressions became petrified in several of the dialects, and no further semantic functions developed for the Balkan conditional.

The western dialects are locked into a transitional system only a stage further towards the type of functions found in Macedonian or Albanian, compared to the stage for most Serbo-Croatian dialects.

Finally, it may be that the quasi-conditionals and the expression 'to be on the point of' are also expressed with the infinitive in some dialects, leaving the full lexical meaning to be expressed with the subjunctive. In this case, the Balkan conditional has a higher transitional status than that described above.

Looking at the Rumanian system as a whole, one sees that Arumanian has the most advanced development for the Balkan conditional. This is undoubtedly due to Greek influence. Istro-Rumanian has preserved archaisms (such as the special form of the conditional, e.g., *platir*, *platiri*, *platire* <

*plati*), and the use of the imperfect of 'to want' with the meaning of the conditional. This feature may have been carried with the Istro-Rumanians when they migrated to Istria from the south-east or the east.<sup>10</sup> If this feature resulted from early Greek influence in the interactions among Rumanian, Greek and Macedonian, then it undoubtedly was taken northward. However, like the Rumanian Banat dialects, Istro-Rumanian has a form of the Balkan conditional in an early, transitional stage, meaning that at the time of the Istro-Rumanian migration, the Balkan conditional was just beginning to develop in areas outside of Greece. Further development might have been thwarted by the fact that strong "Balkanizing" influences such as those in Macedonia and Greece were lacking in Istria, and by the fact that the neighboring Serbo-Croatian dialects never used the imperfect of 'to want' for the quasi-conditional, 'to be on the point of' or the conditional. Thus interaction between these two languages could not encourage the development of new semantic functions for the Balkan conditional expression.

Thus we have Arumanian with a strong position for the Balkan conditional, fairly near the "core" (i.e., the most grammatically modal system). On the other hand, we have the Daco-Rumanian Banat dialects and Istro-Rumanian, which represent an earlier, transitional stage, which parallels the transitional stage of most of the Serbo-Croatian dialects. In these last three groups there was no underlying support from neighboring languages for semantic development of the Balkan conditional. Such support was found primarily in southern Macedonia, southern Albania and northern Greece, where there was a good deal of linguistic interaction, resulting in many linguistic calques, and in the typical Balkan isogrammatisms.

It is clear that a great deal of the influence both in the development of various semantic functions and in the development of the actual Balkan conditional construction comes from Greek. To better explain some of the phenomena we have been analysing, we will give a short overview of the Balkan conditional in modern Greek.

---

<sup>10</sup> It is debatable whether Istro-Rumanian originally belonged to the Daco-Rumanian group (my evidence supports this), or whether they belonged with the proto-Arumanian dialect group.

### *The Balkan Conditional in Greek*

This brief discussion of the Balkan conditional in modern Greek results from conversations with a native informant. Unless otherwise noted, all examples of the Balkan conditional were given by Kostas Kazazis.

At some point in the first few centuries A.D., Greek began to use a fixed form from the verb 'to want' for conditional expressions (among other semantic functions). This fixed form is the particle *θά* to which correspond Macedonian *ke*, Tosk (Albanian) *do*, and Arumanian *va*. This particle is used in Greek for many modal semantic functions, in which the full lexical meaning 'to want' has only a token representation (see Figure 42 opposite for a graphic distribution of modal semantic functions in Greek).

First of all, the particle *θά* (< *θέλω* 'to want' + the modal particle *νά* are used in the formation of the future: *θά δώσω, θά δώδεις, θά δώσει*, etc. = 'I will give, you (singular) will give, he (she) will give', etc. The full forms, e.g., *θέλω, θέλεις, θέλει*, etc. = 'I want, you want, he wants', etc. The full lexical meaning in the past is expressed with the imperfect of 'to want' plus the perfective non-past.

The Balkan conditional in Greek (the particle *θά* + past tense forms of the main verb) is used for nearly all of the modal semantic functions that have been found in the other Balkan languages: the past conditional, the non-past conditional, the future-in-the-past, the extended future-in-the-past, the quasi-conditional, the iterative/habitual, and the past presumptive (i.e., 'there must have been so many...'/ 'he must have been...') (see Figure 42).

The future-in-the-past, quasi-conditional, iterative/habitual, non-past conditional, and the extended future-in-the-past are all formed with *θά* + the *imperfect* of the main verb. For example, for the future-in-the-past:

- (247) Τὸ βιβλίο θά γέρος ἔωθαινε τὴν ἐπόμενη ἐβδόμαδα.  
'The book was going to be published the following week.'

An example of the iterative/habitual is:

- (248) Κάθε μέρα ὁ θά πήγαινε στό καφενεῖς καὶ θα παρῶγγελενε ἕναν καφέ.  
'Every day the old man would go to the *kafana* and would order a cup of coffee.'

θα + imperfect future-in-the-past		θα + non-past future
iterative/habitual	simple imperfect	
non-past conditional extended future-in-the-past		imperfective θέλω + να perfective non-past full lexical meaning
θα + pluperfect past conditional		
θα + aorist presumptive		μπορεί + perfective non-past potential
θα + imperfective non-past non-past presumptive		παρά λίγο να + perfective non-past 'X nearly happened'
εἶθε (fixed form) να + perfective non-past limited optative		πήγαινε να + perfective non- past//loc. expression 'to be on the point of [an involuntary, usually inevitable action]'

**Figure 42.** Distribution of the Modal Semantic Functions in Greek

However, according to Kazazis, the iterative/habitual with the simple imperfect of the main verb is most probably more common than that with the Balkan conditional.

A typical example of the non-past conditional is:

- (249) Ἄν εἶχα σπαθὶ, θα τὸν σκότωνα.  
 'If I had a sword, I would kill him.'

The extended future-in-the-past, which we have seen and analyzed in Bulgarian (see Chapter 8), is also expressed by the Balkan conditional in Greek. For example, it is used in recalling plans for future events made in the past:

- (250) Τι θα κάναμε απόψε?  
 ‘What were we doing tonight?’

It may be used to express doubt that an action planned in the past will be carried out:

- (251) Δέν θα βγαίναμε έξω αποψε? (οι Θα βγαίναμε έξω απόψε, δέν θα βγαίναμε?)  
 ‘We were supposed to be going out tonight, weren’t we?!’  
 [Literally, ‘not that we were going out...’]

The quasi-conditional may also be expressed with the Balkan conditional, and *not* just with the full form of the verb to want. For instance, the classic example of the quasi-conditional in dialectal Serbo-Croatian could be expressed by either (252a) or (252b):

- (252) a. Ήθελε να τόν σκοτώσει, αλλά κάποιος τόν εμπόδιζε.  
 b. Θα τόν δρότωνε, αλλά κάποιος τόν εμπόδιζε.  
 ‘He intended to kill him//was preparing to kill//wanted to kill him, but someone stopped him.’

The retention of this meaning with the construction of the Balkan conditional can be explained by the nuances of volition inherent in the general semantic context above; such nuances are remnants from the original development of the Balkan conditional in contexts where the subject wanted to do something, but was prevented, which then developed into an expression where the subject would have done something, but was prevented. Moreover, such nuances are probably more often expressed in Greek by the use of verb ‘to want’ rather than by the Balkan conditional, which has a modal particle derived from the verb ‘to want’. It is in transitional languages such as Serbo-Croatian and the western dialects of Daco-Rumanian that the quasi-conditional is a well-established semantic function of the less-developed Balkan conditional (compared to Greek). The past conditional is formed with *θα* + the pluperfect of the main verb, e.g.,

- (253) Ἄν εἶχα σπαθί, θα τὸν εἶχα σκότωσει.  
 ‘If I had had a sword, I would have killed him.’

The presumptive expression referring to past events, e.g., ‘there must have been about so many’ or ‘he must have killed him’, etc., is formed with *θα* + the aorist of the main verb, e.g.,

- (254) θα τὸν σκότωσε.  
 ‘He must have killed him.’

This expression, as the reader will remember, was found in the Balkan Slavic languages. In Greek there is also a non-past presumptive, referring to present situations, with the present indicative of the main verb, e.g.,

- (255) Θα πηγαίνει στὸν κινημα-τοηράφο.  
 ‘He must be going to the movies [right now].’

This last expression is not strictly a form of the Balkan conditional, but an extension of the use of *θα*.

A fixed form, based on the full forms of ‘to want’, is used in a type of optative expression, much as in English:

- (256) Εἶνε νὰ σκοιθθεῖ!  
 ‘Would that he die [literally: be killed]!’

This expression of wishing is a natural extension of the lexical meaning (it is expressed in South Slavic by the simple optative *da* [= Greek *νὰ*] plus the indicative [present or past] of the main verb).

Two of the “hallmark” transitional (and minor) semantic functions of the Balkan conditional (found mainly in languages with only rudimentary development of the Balkan conditional, i.e., dialectal Serbo-Croatian, Istro-Rumanian and the Banat dialects of Daco-Rumanian) are expressed with other constructions in Greek. ‘X nearly happened’ is expressed with a construction paralleling Slavic *umalo*:

- (257) Παρά λίγο νὰ πεθάνει.  
 ‘He nearly died.’

or



- (258) *Παρά λίγο νὰ πέσει ἀπὸ τὸ ἄλογό τον.*  
 He nearly fell off the horse.'

The expression 'on the point of [an involuntary, usually inevitable action]' may be found with at least two constructions, i.e.,

- (259) *Πήγαινε νὰ χυμερώσει δταν.*  
 'The dawn was about to break.' [literally: 'it was going (to) dawn-break'—with the perfect non-past of the main verb]

or

- (260) *Ἐκεῖ ποὺ χεψυχοῦσε.*  
 'He was on the point of death.' [literally, a locative construction: 'there-that he was unsouling himself'—with the imperfect of the main verb, describing the process of dying]

At least some of the potential expressions in Greek are constructed with a fixed form meaning 'may' (= Slavic *može*, e.g., Serbo-Croatian *moгуће је*) (see Figure 42).<sup>11</sup>

Thus, the dominant construction in the modal system of Greek is with the particle auxiliary *θα*; it is the basis of the whole system. The Balkan conditional has expanded into all of the modal semantic categories.

#### *The Development of a Secondary Balkan Conditional in a Greek Macedonian Dialect*

There is an interesting phenomenon in a Macedonian dialect from northern Greece, the speakers of which are now in exile. (This dialect was originally from northwestern Greece, in the area of Kastoria (Kostur) and Florina. In 1948–1949, they were displaced to Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the USSR.

This is the development of a secondary Balkan conditional based on the new Macedonian verb 'to want': *saka*. According to a grammar produced by

---

<sup>11</sup> Attenuated modal expressions, of the type 'I would say', are expressed with the Balkan conditional in Greek, e.g., *θα ἔλεγα πὺς* ('would say'). Attenuated modal expressions which have nuances of volition (e.g., 'I would like to talk with you') are expressed either with the Balkan conditional of the verb 'to want', e.g., *Θὰ ἤθελα νὰ...* ('I would like...') or simply with the imperfect of the verb 'to want', e.g., *Ἦθελα νὰ...* (= 'I wanted to talk with you').

speakers of this dialect after they had left Greek soil, and were settled in Poland, there are two possible syntactic constructions for the Balkan conditional. The first construction is as in literary Macedonian: the modal particle *ke* followed by the imperfect of the main verb, e.g., *ke pišev, ke pišeše* ('I, you/he would have written'). The second, innovative construction is the conjugated imperfect of *saka* plus *da* and the non-past, e.g., *sakav da pišem, sakaše da pišiš, sakaše da piši* ('I, you, he would have written').

Both of the above constructions are used for the future-in-the-past, e.g.,

(261) Drugaro, koj *ke odeše* (ili *sakaše da odi*) denes vo grado go vidov na ulicata.

'The friend, who was going to go to town today, I saw on the street.'

(*Gramatika po makedonski ezik: fonetika-morfologija: 125*)

It appears from the examples cited that they are also used for both the non-past and past conditionals:

(262) Ako imav vreme, *ke gredev* (ili: *sakav da dojdav*).

'If I had the time, I would have gone.) or (If I had the time, I would go.) [No context is given for the grammar's citations]

(*Gramatika po makedonski ezik: fonetika-morfologija: 125*)

(263) Ako ne bev bolen, *ke odev* (ili: *sakav da odam*) na kino.

'If I hadn't been sick, I would have gone to the movies) or (If I weren't sick, I would go to the movies.)

(*Gramatika po makedonski ezik: fonetika-morfologija: 125*)

Without semantic contexts, it is difficult to tell whether they refer to past or non-past conditionals.

There is one clear example of a past conditional with *saka*:

(264) Do snošti *ke imav odeno* (ili: *sakav da imam odeno*) i *ke imav varnato* (ili: *sakav da imam varnato*) ako imaše avtomobil.

'I would have gone and returned before last night if there was a car.'

(*Gramatika po makedonski ezik: fonetika-morfologija: 125*)

There is no mention in this grammar, which was used to teach the "literary" language of these emigres' dialect, of such semantic functions as the iter-

ative/habitual with this secondary Balkan conditional, nor was any mention made of semantic functions for *ke*.

Some tentative conclusions may be drawn from the evidence above: (1) this secondary Balkan conditional, which seems to be in competition with the standard Macedonian Balkan conditional, is a recent innovation, representing a reinvention of the Balkan conditional with a new verb 'to want' after the old verb, *oke* lost all nuances of lexical meaning and contracted to the particle *ke* and (2) this new Balkan conditional has taken over some of the semantic functions of the old Balkan conditional (or is in free variation with them), but is probably not used for the iterative/habitual (which itself was a relatively late development of the standard Macedonian Balkan conditional). (See Table 34.)

This reinvention of a Balkan conditional with the verb 'to want', when the old Balkan conditional has been grammaticalized to the point where the old morphemes signalling the meaning 'to want' can no longer be distin

**Table 34.** Development of Two Balkan Conditionals in Macedonian

Stage	Verb 'to want'	Form	Area
I	<i>oke</i>	<i>keše + da + non-past</i> (conjugated forms)	all of Macedonian
II	<i>oke</i>	<i>keše + da + non-past</i> (conjugated forms)	Kumanovo (northern dialects)
		<i>keše + da + non-past</i> (fixed form)	rest of Macedonian
III	<i>oke</i>	<i>keše + da + non past</i> (conjugated forms)	Kumanovo
	<i>saka</i>	<i>ke + imperfect</i>	rest of Macedonian
IV	<i>oke</i>	<i>keše + da + non past</i>	Kumanovo
	<i>(saka)<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>(sakaše + da + non-past)</i>	
	<i>saka</i>	<i>ke + imperfect</i>	literary + dialectal Macedonian
	<i>saka</i>	<i>ke + imperfect</i> <i>sakaše + da + non-past</i>	Greek Macedonian

<sup>a</sup> This is very rare in the dialect.

guished, seems to have happened in at least two dialects. One of these is the Greek Macedonian dialect where the older stage of Macedonian (the imperfect of 'to want' plus the non-past) had long since been replaced by a construction paralleling the future, i.e., *ke* plus the imperfect (as in the rest of Macedonian). Then the new verb 'to want' began to be used in the imperfect with the same semantic functions of the Macedonian Balkan conditional (i.e., future-in-the-past, past and non-past conditionals).

Note that there is a progression from fully conjugated forms of the imperfect to a fixed form (here the 2nd/3rd per. sg. of the imperfect) to a particle followed by the imperfect. I would hypothesize that the Greek Macedonian emigré group begin to use a fixed form of the imperfect of *saka*, and perhaps, given isolation and the right conditions, we would see the formation of a particle from *saka*, and the eventual decline of the *ke* Balkan conditional, which is now in free variation with the new construction.

This new Balkan conditional may be a spontaneous innovation with the new verb 'to want'. (This is mentioned by Gołąb 1964a: 45–46). Or it may be that there was some influence from the Greek dialects in that area (and even influence from Arumanian and Tosk Albanian, also found there),<sup>12</sup> especially if they used past tense forms of 'to want' rather than the modal particle (which historically comes from 'to want' in Greek). If this latter hypothesis is true, then it would support my theory of Greek influence as the impetus for the development of the Balkan conditional with the verb 'to want' in such diverse language groups as Albanian, Rumanian, and South Slavic.

Even if this innovation cannot be proven to have come from a calque of the Balkan conditional in the local Greek dialect(s), the initial impetus (which started the development of the *keše* [Macedonian] Balkan conditional) may still have come from Greek.

We must also consider the presence of the new verb *saka* in the Macedonian Kumanovo dialect, which has retained the archaic syntactic construction of conjugated forms of the imperfect of *oke* plus *da* and the non-past. In these dialects *saka* is quite rare compared to *oke*, but it is used with both full lexical meaning and as quasi-conditional, although the latter is not found as frequently as with *keše*.

The situation in the Kumanovo dialect, however, is different from that of the Greek Macedonian dialects. In the Greek Macedonian dialects, modal

---

<sup>12</sup> This area of NW Greece has the strongest concentration of "Balkanisms" resulting from contacts among the four languages.

constructions with *ke* had lost all nuances of lexical meaning long before the development of the new Balkan conditional with *saka*. In the Kumanovo dialects fully conjugated forms of *oke* ('to want') are used with the full lexical meaning as well as with the modal functions of the Balkan conditional, including the transitional semantic function of the quasi-conditional. *Saka* is a comparatively new verb in these dialects, entering the Kumanovo dialect area through the literary language and the Skopje area dialects (immediately to the southwest of Kumanovo). *Saka* is not common in the Kumanovo dialect, whereas in the Greek Macedonian dialects of Kastoria, Florina, etc., it is the only verb to express 'to want'. *Saka* has no overt connections with the particle *ke* in Macedonian.

Thus I would explain the tentative use of *saka* as a quasi-Balkan conditional in Kumanovo as a result of the influence of the Balkan conditional with *ke*. This latter expression represents an early, transitional stage in its semantic development with some degree of volition, as in Serbo-Croatian *šćaše*.

In Florina and Kastoria (Greek Macedonia), this new Balkan conditional is a real innovation, possibly resulting from the influence of neighboring Greek dialects.

There is yet another dialect group with a secondary Balkan conditional: the western Daco-Rumanian dialects of Crișana, western Transylvania, and the Banat, if one accepts the view that the Daco-Rumanian conditional is a Balkan conditional, i.e., having an auxiliary based on 'to want'. Such expressions have long since lost all lexical nuances of volition. A second Balkan conditional has appeared, with either the perfect or the imperfect (depending on dialect) of 'to want'. These new, fully conjugated forms are used with full lexical meaning, as well as the quasi-conditional, and past conditional. In other words, they represent an early stage of the Balkan conditional (again, like that in dialectal Serbo-Croatian).

Thus we have at least two instances of a secondary Balkan conditional developing, in two cases in areas where the old Balkan conditional has been fully grammaticalized, and no longer has any connection in its form to the original lexical meaning. I believe that this is a general tendency for grammatically modal expressions with the verb 'to want', particularly in an areal linguistic sphere such as the Balkans, with its many linguistic calques. The impetus for the Balkan conditional with 'to want' seems to have come from Greek, and borrowed in adjacent languages (notably Arumanian, Albanian, and Macedonian), and spread from there by migrations, trading, and other bi-lingual contacts.

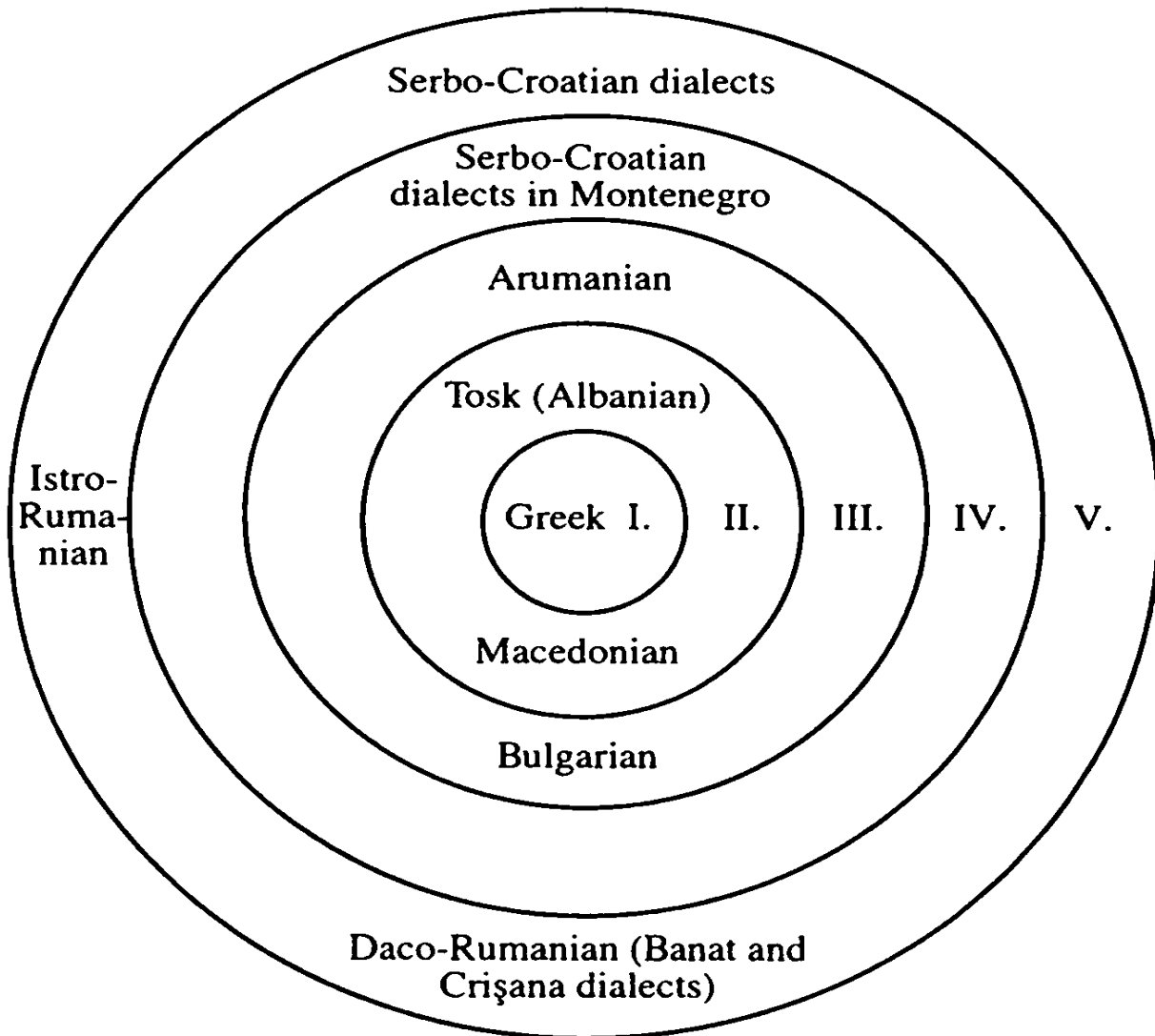
### *The Balkan Conditional in Perspective*

If we examine the status of the Balkan conditional in all the Balkan languages discussed so far, it is immediately clear that there are several developmental stages, from the rudimentary, transitional system of the Serbo-Croatian dialects to the highly developed systems of Tosk (Albanian), Macedonian, and Greek.

With the exception of Meglenorumanian and the Albanian Gheg dialects (which do not have the Balkan conditional), it is also apparent that the level of development depends to a great extent on geography: the closer a language or dialect is to Greek, and the closer its interaction with Greek (either directly or through an intermediary language), generally, the more advanced the development of the Balkan conditional in that language. The “Balkanizing” impetus for the development of the Balkan conditional in all of these languages seems to have come from Greek; its influence has resulted in a radiating pattern of expansion. The center or core area is Greek, judging by the historical development of an auxiliary particle from ‘to want’ and by the number and type of modal semantic functions for the Balkan conditional. In terms of development, Macedonian and the Tosk dialects of Albanian are closest to the core, followed by Arumanian<sup>13</sup> and Bulgarian. The most developed system with the Balkan conditional in the Serbo-Croatian dialects—in Montenegro—is still on the periphery (see Figure 43 on the following page.) On the edge of this entire group are the peripheral, transitional dialects: Istro-Rumanian, the Banat and Crișana dialects of Daco-Rumanian, and the “outer core” dialects of Serbo-Croatian (from Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Sandžak and southern Dalmatia). Istro-Rumanian speakers, who are greatly separated geographically from the rest of the area, brought the Balkan conditional construction from their original home in the southeast or east.

---

<sup>13</sup> This is based on the very limited information available on the Arumanian dialects. It appears that although they began to develop the Balkan conditional very early, and were the carrier for this expansion into Balkan Slavic, Arumanian development as a grammatical category is less advanced than in Macedonian. Further investigation is needed.

*Area*

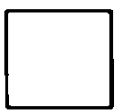
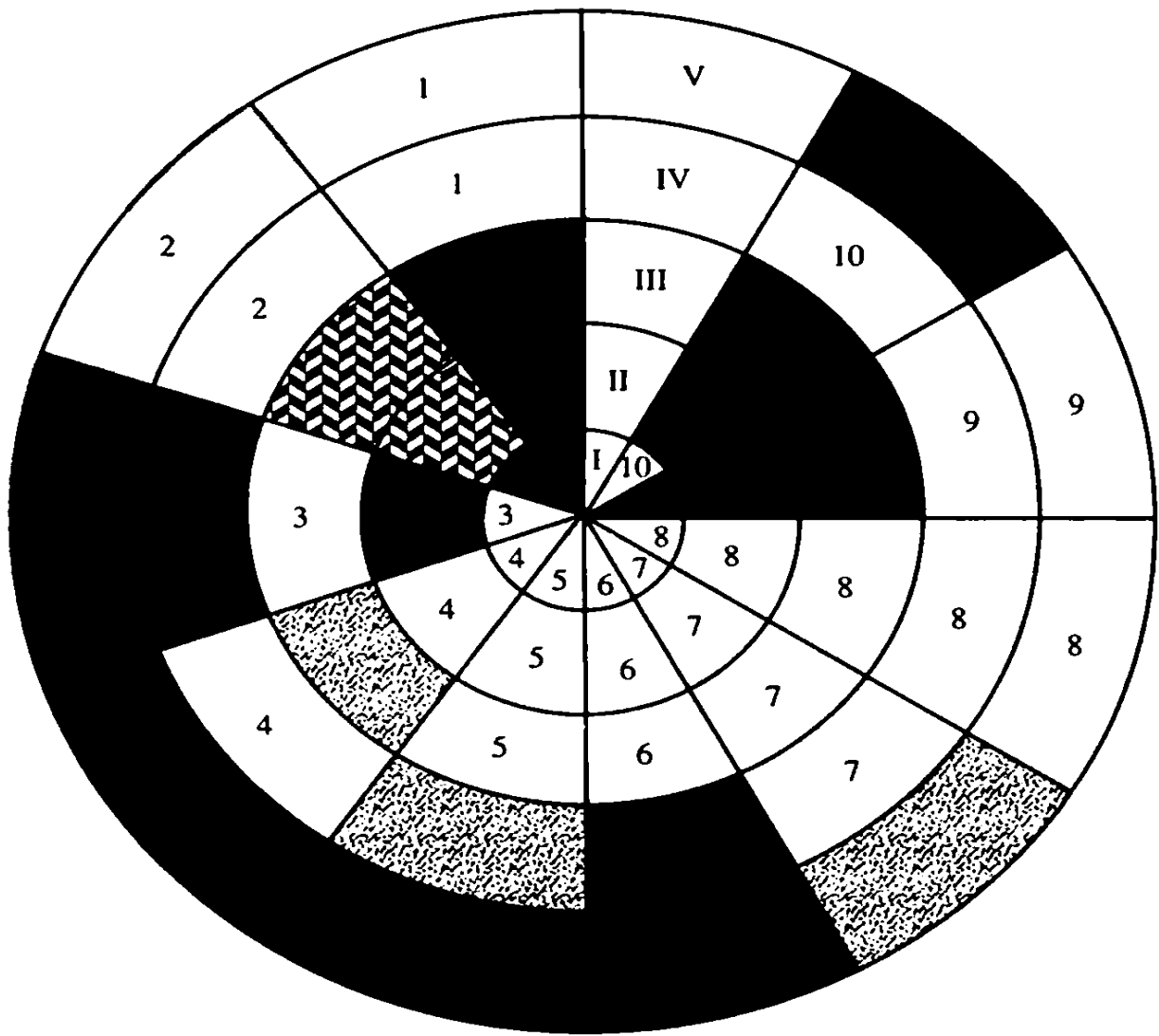
- I. Inner core — Greek
- II. Macedonian, Tosk
- III. Bulgarian, Arumanian
- IV. Serbo-Croatian dialects (in Montenegro)
- V. Istro-Rumanian, Banat and Crişana dialects, Serbo-Croatian dialects

*Lacking the Balkan conditional:*

- Gheg (Albanian)  
 Meglenorumanian  
 Northern Serbo-Croatian dialects, literary language

**Figure 43.** The Balkan Conditional: Development from the Inner Core to the Periphery

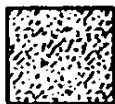
Figures 44 (opposite) and 45 (on p. 274) show the comparative distribution of the Balkan conditional's semantic functions. The only semantic function common to all these languages is the past conditional; in many areas it is the most frequent expression.



Exists



Not found



Marginal



Modified by adverb

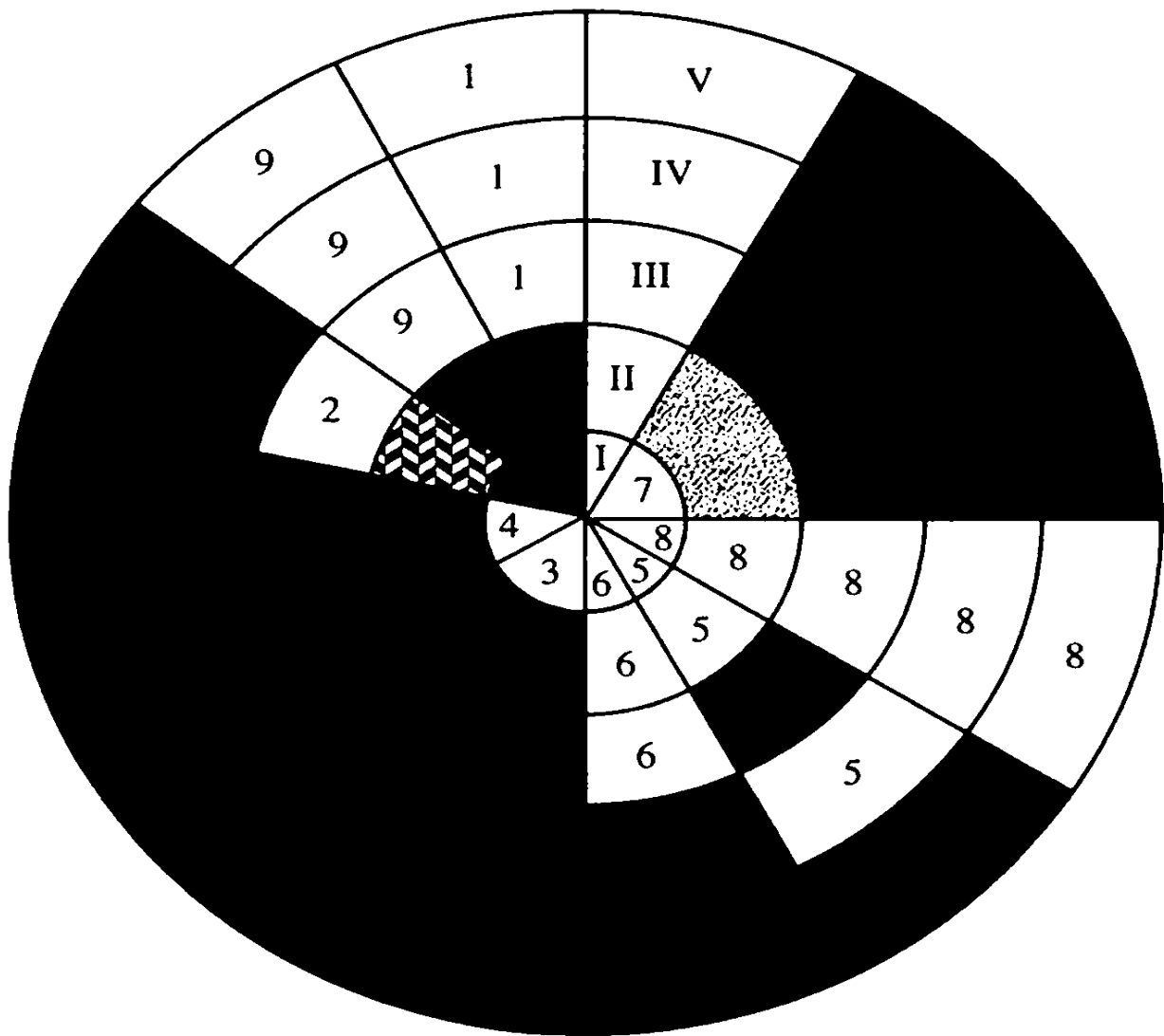
1. quasi-conditional
2. 'X nearly happened'
3. extended future-in-the-past
4. iterative/habitual
5. non-past conditional
6. future-in-the-past
7. past presumptive
8. past conditional
9. 'to be on the point of [an involuntary action]'
10. attenuated expressions

**Area:**

- I. Greek
- II. Macedonian
- III. Bulgarian
- IV. Serbo-Croatian dialects in Montenegro
- V. Serbo-Croatian dialects outside of Montenegro

**Figure 44.** Distribution of the Semantic Functions of the Balkan Conditional in Balkan Slavic and Greek





Exists



Not found



Marginal

Remnant of  
old Balkan  
conditional

1. quasi-conditional
2. 'X nearly happened'
3. extended future-in-the-past
4. iterative/habitual
5. non-past conditional
6. future-in-the-past
7. past presumptive
8. past conditional
9. 'to be on the point of [an involuntary action]'
10. attenuated expressions

**Area:**

- I. Greek
- II. Tosk Albanian
- III. Arumanian
- IV. Istro-Rumanian
- V. Banat and Crișana Daco-Rumanian dialects

**Figure 45.** Distribution of the Semantic Functions of the Balkan Conditional in Greek, Albanian, and the Rumanian Dialects

For Greek and the Slavic languages (Figure 44), the past presumptive, the iterative/habitual, and the non-past conditional are also widespread.

The further out from the core area, the less developed is the Balkan conditional. Furthermore, there are certain semantic functions which are common to these peripheral dialects: (1) the quasi-conditional, (2) the expression 'to be on the point of' and to a lesser degree, (3) 'X nearly happened'. All of these semantic functions have varying nuances from the lexical meaning 'to want', and as such, are transitional functions between the full lexical meaning and pure modal functions such as the past conditional or the future-in-the-past.

In these peripheral areas (levels 4 and 5 in Figures 44, 45), the past conditional function may exist with the Balkan conditional, but is not the dominant expression. Of equal—and usually of greater importance—are the transitional functions just mentioned. Indeed, the past conditional may be only a statistically rare expression in these dialects, especially compared to the main construction for the conditional (e.g., *bi* in Serbo-Croatian, *ar fi*, etc. in Daco-Rumanian).

As we move closer to the core area, and examine the more highly developed Balkan conditional (level 3 in Figure 44), these transitional semantic functions may still be present, but are no longer dominant. They have exchanged places with functions such as the future-in-the-past and the past and non-past conditionals, so that these latter functions are now dominant, showing progression away from the lexical meaning and towards grammatical modality. The construction itself marks the grammatical modality, and not the semantics of the auxiliary. In some cases, these transitional expressions have vanished.<sup>14</sup> In the core area, transitional semantic functions have completely vanished. The entire system is grammatically modal.

Another indicator of the development of the Balkan conditional for these languages is the presence of a modal particle (from 'to want') instead of the full forms. The first and second core levels—Greek, Macedonian, and Tosk—have a fully developed particle, and a system based on this particle with past tense (for the Balkan conditional) and non-past tense forms (mainly for expressions of the future). Arumanian and Bulgarian are one level below this: Bulgarian has both the particle *šte* and the fully conjugated forms *štjah*, *šteše*, etc., depending on dialect and on semantic functions. However, Bulgarian has a separate verb meaning 'to want'—*iska*, which

<sup>14</sup> There may be traces of these transitional expressions left, as in Tosk *desh* (an adverb from the 3rd. sg. imperfect//aorist of 'to want'), which is used in 'X nearly happened', when preceding the aorist of the main verb.

prevents confusion of lexical with purely modal meaning. Arumanian is quite close in syntactic development to Bulgarian; it has both a fixed form of the imperfect of 'to want', and the particle *va*, which vary according to dialect and sometimes by semantic function. The fully conjugated forms of 'to want' (as opposed to the fixed form of the imperfect used for the Balkan conditional, have full lexical meaning in Arumanian.

The peripheral dialects have *only* the fully conjugated past tense forms of 'to want', indicating, in one sense, their close ties to the lexical meaning and its nuances. Also in this group are Serbo-Croatian dialects, which have been extensively discussed.

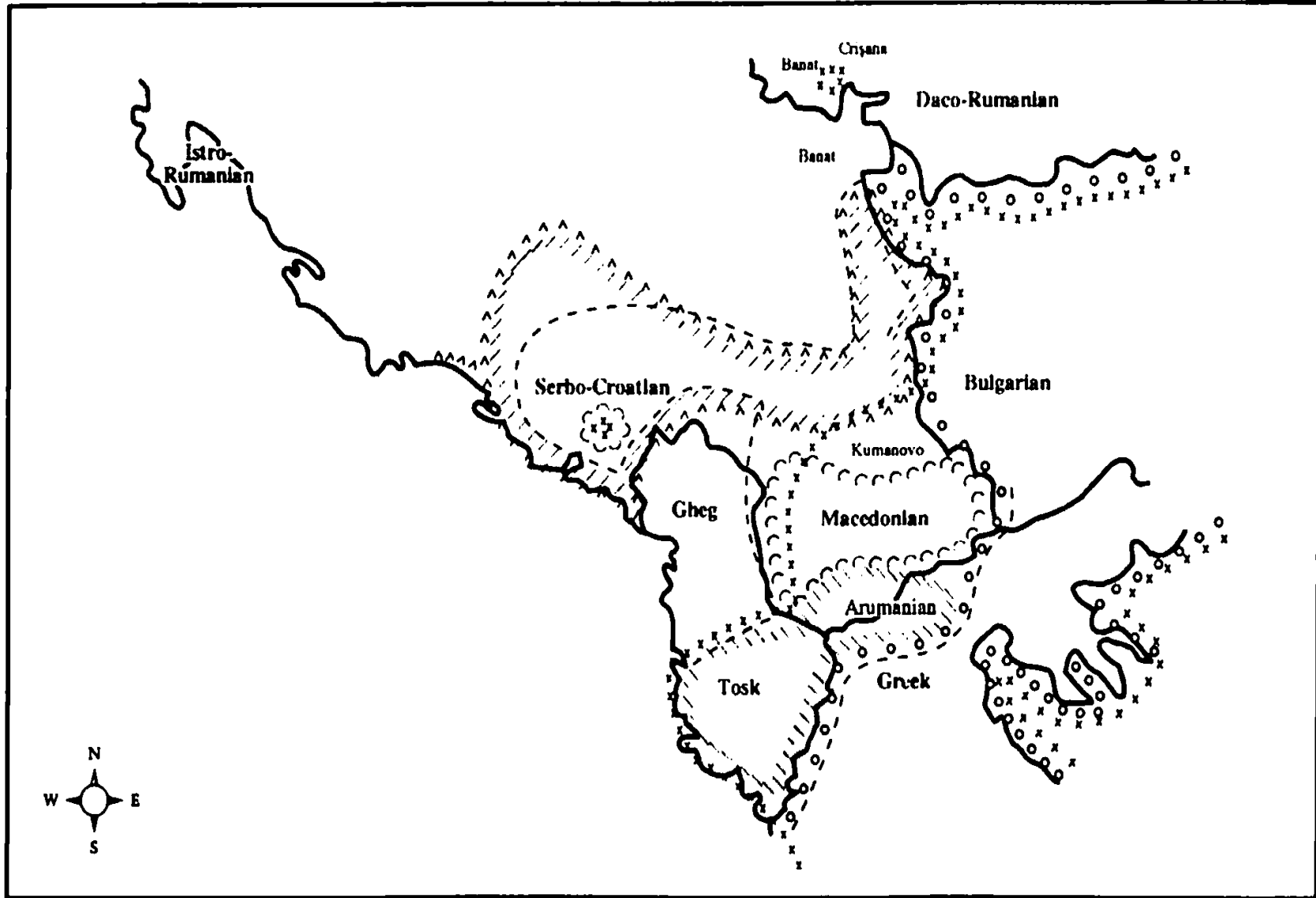
There is also a clear pattern of "limitation of semantics" in this development. As shown by the peripheral areas (such as Serbo-Croatian and western Daco-Rumanian), the first semantic functions beyond the full lexical meaning are highly limited, stylistically marked expressions, such as the quasi-conditional. The other two transitional functions show this even better: the expression 'to be on the point of [an involuntary, often inevitable action]' is a highly limited (note the restrictions!) future-in-the-past<sup>15</sup> and the expression 'X nearly happened' is a limited type of conditional (possibly a contamination of 'to be on the point of' with an emerging past conditional, i.e. ('he was on the point of falling', 'he would have fallen', 'he nearly fell').

By contrast, the development of such broad semantic functions as the future-in-the-past and the past conditional, often meant that the transitional expressions were lost, and modal expressions which could be used in broad semantic contexts became dominant (as in Macedonian, Bulgarian, Tosk Albanian). A classic example of this is found in Tosk Albanian (*desh vdiq*) where an old past tense form of 'to want' is used to mean 'nearly'. Eventually this form was petrified into an adverb, and the Balkan conditional developed a construction with the modal particle *do* (also from 'to want'), thus losing this transitional semantic function with a possible old form of the Balkan conditional.

Note in Figure 45 and 46 (opposite) that the transitional expressions are *missing* from the inner core areas (Greek, Macedonian, Tosk Albanian,

---

<sup>15</sup> This could have arisen spontaneously in both Serbo-Croatian and in Daco-Rumanian western dialects *without* an underlying future-in-the-past in the language. Daco-Rumanian never used the Balkan conditional for the future-in-the-past, yet the western dialects produced their innovative, secondary (?) Balkan conditional with this function. Likewise, Serbo-Croatian lost the future-in-the-past during an early stage of the language, but developed this specific expression several centuries later.



- ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ extended future-in-the-past
- / / / / / / 'X nearly happened'  
(not modified by adverb)
- ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ potential

- - - - - presumptive
- x x x x x x non-past conditional
- ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ quasi-conditional

Figure 46. Distribution of Minor Semantic Functions of the Balkan Conditional

Bulgarian) or in the case of 'X nearly happened' they are remnants (Albanian) or expressed by an adverbial construction plus the Balkan conditional (Macedonian, Bulgarian). Conversely, in the outer areas where the transitional Balkan conditional is found, the stylistically unmarked, broadly modal functions of the future-in-the-past, non-past conditional, iterative/habitual are missing, or marginal. The *one* semantic function that all of these areas show, and which justifies, I think, the name "Balkan conditional" is the *past conditional*. Of course, in the outer, peripheral areas, this past conditional was often dominated by other syntactic constructions (e.g., *bi* in Serbo-Croatian) for the conditional or is in free variation with them. In the inner areas the Balkan conditional is either the sole expression of the conditional, or the dominant, stylistically unmarked expression of the conditional in those languages (e.g., Greek, Albanian, Macedonian, Arumanian, etc.)

Finally, there is the problem of how the Balkan conditional spread from Greek to those other languages, and when. At the end of Chapter 5, I attempted to show a pattern of migration and influences (through trade, schooling, etc.)<sup>16</sup> from Greek to Arumanian to Macedonian to Serbo-Croatian. The last stage of these migrations probably took place as late as the fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries, which means that all other stages took place before then. The earliest stages of this borrowing (as a linguistic calque) of the Balkan conditional from Greek into Arumanian and Albanian (its neighboring languages) were probably sometime between the tenth and thirteenth centuries. The next stage, from Arumanian into Macedonian and Bulgarian (?) and western Daco-Rumanian must have occurred sometime before the late fourteenth century.

There is possibly some evidence to support the timing of this last stage: Macedo-Bulgarian has examples of the future-in-the-past which were retained from OCS during this time, and I would hypothesize that this retention and the gradual development of the past conditional were supported by influence of the Greek Balkan conditional.

However, while Greek may have been the impetus for the development of the Balkan conditional, there is also the factor of natural innovation in the languages involved, to at least some degree. Many of these languages (all of the three Slavic languages, for instance) had a future with the auxiliary 'to

---

<sup>16</sup> In much of Macedonia and Bulgaria, the schools offered instructions in Greek; this could have been one way of spreading this expression through calques. There was also trade throughout the area, and several waves of migration, especially that of populations fleeing from the Turks.

want'. It is a natural development for this to be extended into such semantic contexts as imminent events or the more general future-in-the-past, and the past conditional (as in English 'I would go//would have gone' from the verb 'will'). (Cf. also Russian use of *xotet'* to indicate involuntary, imminent events, e.g., 'The rain is just about to fall', in a language where the expression of the future is with the verb 'to be'.) ('To want' was used as an auxiliary of the future in an earlier stage of Russian.) So, one must also take into account the general semantic tendency for the auxiliary of the future to be extended into various modal semantic contexts found with the Balkan conditional.

### *The Status of the Serbo-Croatian Balkan Conditional in Perspective*

The status of the Serbo-Croatian Balkan conditional is clearly in a transitional stage between lexical meaning and grammatical modality.

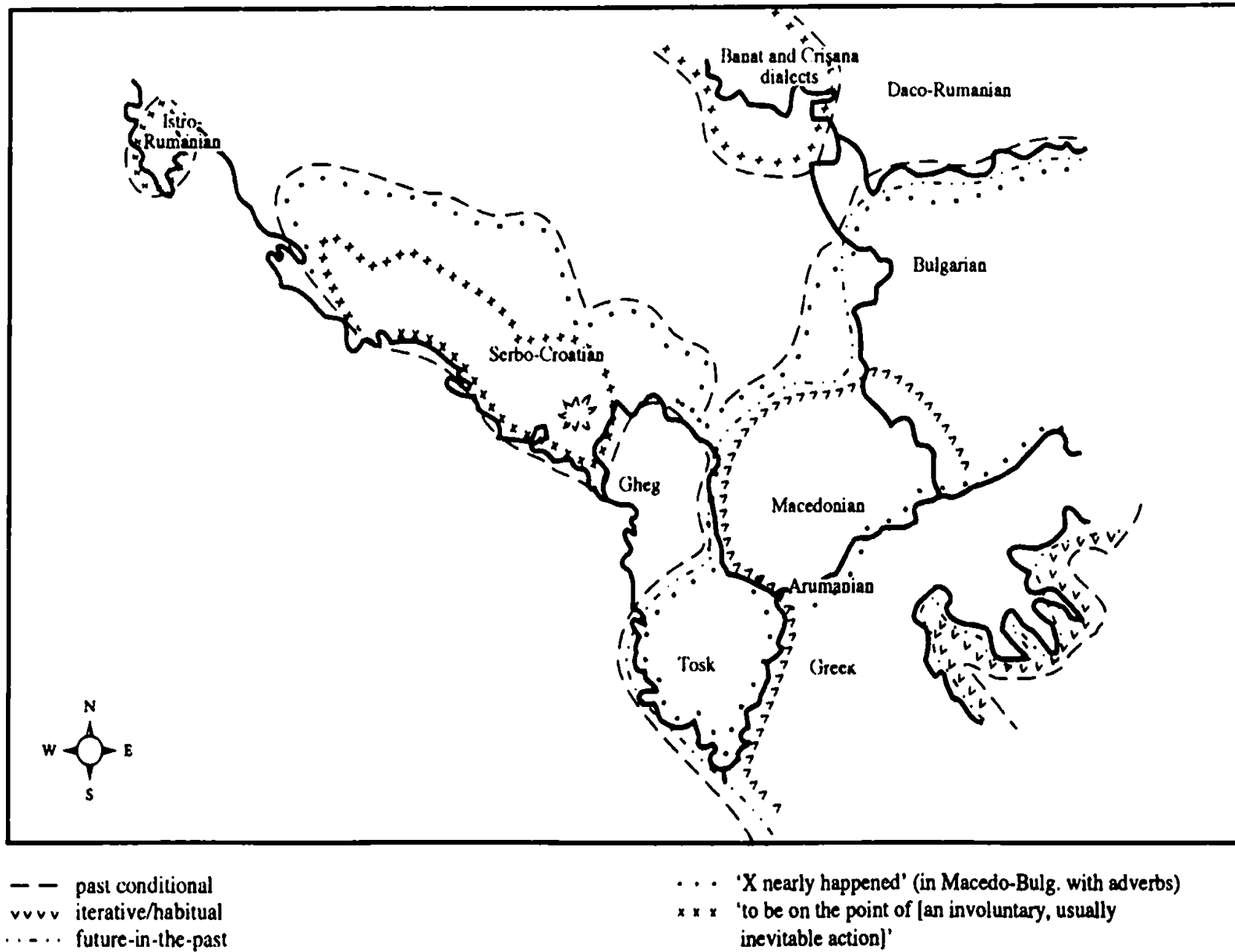
None of the dialects have developed a separate verb 'to want' (as in Macedonian and Bulgarian), which would have facilitated the separation of the two types of modality. Although the future is formed with enclitics of 'to want', this system was never carried over into the past; there are no modal particles from 'to want' (which again would have furthered a more extensive development of the Balkan conditional in Serbo-Croatian). The loss of the imperfect in many Serbo-Croatian dialects contributed to the "petrification" of their Balkan conditional. This petrification is shown by the narrow range of functions such as the quasi-conditional and the Balkan conditional in context-free position: 'X nearly happened'. (See Figure 47.)

The chief exception to this is provided by the Montenegrin dialects, which exhibit the highest level of expansion for the Balkan conditional, including the iterative/habitual and the quasi-non-past conditional. However, the establishment of a pure, grammatical modality (based on the construction rather than on the semantics of the auxiliary) was prevented by lexical nuances which remain attached to the full forms of the verb, with the notable exceptions of the iterative/habitual and the past conditional. The new semantic functions of these dialects are closely linked to the lexical meaning: the quasi-potential and the quasi-non-past conditional.

One of the chief semantic functions in dialectal Serbo-Croatian has been the type of quasi-conditional which functions as an affective form; the speaker uses the construction to express his astonishment that an action which *surely* would have happened, did not happen. Related to this type of affectivity, but without such clear-cut status as a modal shifter are other ex-

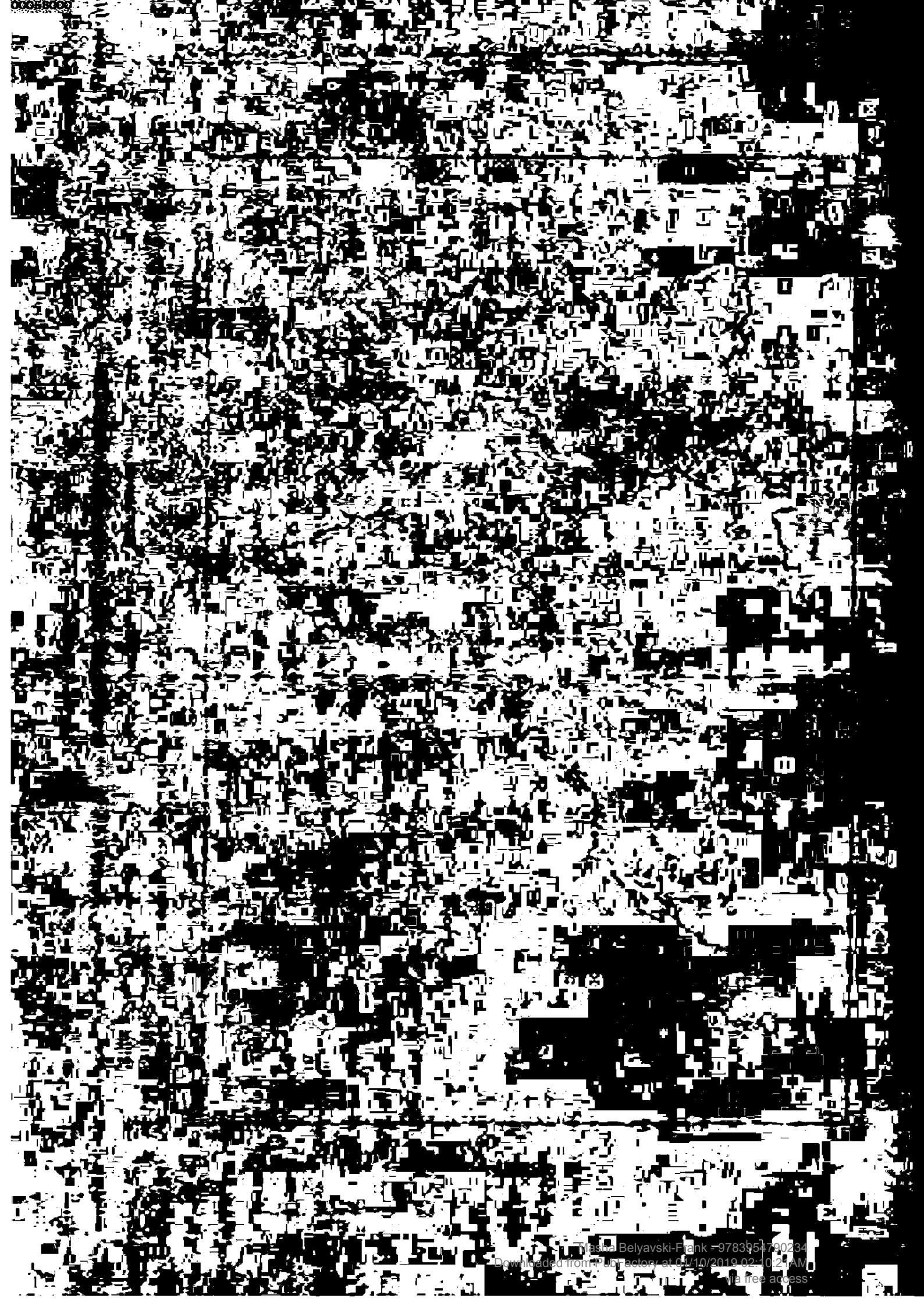
pressions such as 'X nearly happened' or 'to be on the point of'. Other languages, with a more highly developed Balkan conditional, use adverbial constructions for such semantic functions (e.g., Macedonian *za malku ke padneše*—'he nearly fell'). In the other peripheral languages (Istro-Rumanian and the western Daco-Rumanian dialects) a less extensively developed affectivity is found.

Finally, the geographical position of the Serbo-Croatian dialects, at several removes from the influence of Greek, removed from the areal interaction among Arumanian, Greek, Albanian, Rumanian and other South Slavic languages (Macedonian and Bulgarian), and at the end of a long chain of migrations which brought a Slavic calque of the Greek Balkan conditional to the Serbo-Croatian dialects, did not promote the development of Balkan features, including the Balkan conditional.



**Figure 47.** Distribution of Semantic Functions of the Balkan Conditional





## Bibliography

### I. Source Materials

#### *Published collections*

- Aleksić, Dragoslav. *Knežepoljke*. Bosanska Dubica: n.p., 1933.
- Angelov, B. and Vakarelski, *Senki iz nevidilica: baladi*. Sofija: Džržavna pečatnica, 1936.
- Antologija pjesništva hrvatskoga naroda*. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1876.
- Arnaudov, Mihail. *Baladni motivi*. Sofija: Izdatelstvo na Bžlgarskata akademija na naukite, 1964.
- . *Bžlgarski narodni prikazki*. Sofija: Xemus, 1938.
- . *Bžlgarsko narodno tvorčestvo*. Vol. 4: *Mitičeski pesni*.
- . Sofija: Bžlgarski pisatel, 1961.
- . *Krali Marko vo narodnata poezija*. Sofija: n.p., 1918.
- Arnaudov, Mihail and Vakerelski. *Bžlgarsko narodno tvorčestvo*. Vol. 5: *Obredni pesni*. Sofija: Bžlgarski pisatel, 1962.
- Balkanska pjesmarica*. Chicago: Knjižara i Štamparija Dušana Popovića, 1924.
- Bartok, Bela, and Lord, Albert. *Serbo-Croatian Folk-Songs*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951.
- Begović, Nikola. *Srpske narodne pjesme iz Like i Banije*. Zagreb: n.p., 1885.
- . *Život i običaji Srba graničara*. Zagreb: n.p., 1887.
- Bibliografija radova o narodnoj književnosti*. Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti u BiH, Vol. 1, 1972. Vol. 2, 1974. Vol. 3, 1976. Vol. 4, 1977. Vol. 5, 1979.
- Bîrlea, Ion. *Literatură populară din Maramureş*. Vol. 1. Bucharest: Editura pentru literatura, 1968.
- Biserje: Izbor iz Muslimanske književnosti*. Zagreb: Stvarnost, 1972.
- Bjelovučić, N. *Pjesme iz Pelješca ili Račanska pjesmarica*. Dubrovnik: n.p., 1910.

- Blagajić, Kamilo. *Hrvatske narodne pjesme i pripovjetke iz Bosne*. Zagreb: n.p., 1886.
- Blažinčić, Vid. *Narodne pjesme (iz Slavonije)*. Zagreb: Petrinja, 1920.
- Bogetić, Boško. *Muslimanske narodne pjesme*. Belgrade: Rad, 1977.
- Bogišić, Valtazar. *Narodne pjesme iz starijih, najviše primorskih zapisa*. Knjiga 1. Belgrade: Državna Štamparija, 1878.
- Bojevi nakon priključenja Cavtat Konavlima*. Cavtat: n.p., 1940.
- Bosanac, Stjepan, and Broz, Josip. *Hrvatske narodne pjesme*. Knjiga 1. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1896.
- . *Hrvatske narodne pjesme*. Knjiga 2. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1897.
- Bosanska pjesmarica*. Narodne junačke pjesme. Chicago: Knjižara i Štamparija Dušana Popovića, 1924.
- Bošković, Stevan. *Bačvanske pesme*. Novi Sad: n.p., 1879.
- Boškovski, Jovan. *Junak nad junaci*. Epski narodni pesni za Marka Kraleta. Skopje: Makedonska knjiga, 1948.
- Boškovski, Jovan, and Penušliski, Kiril. *Makedonsko narodno tvorčestvo*. *Ajdutski i revolucionerni pesni*. Skopje: Makedonska knjiga, 1969.
- Bozoljac, Milan. *Narodne duhovne-religiozne pesme*. Čuprija: n.p., 1921.
- Budalina Tale*. *Tale Ličanin*. Sarajevo: Obod, n.d.
- Burin, Ivan. *Bălgarsko narodno tvorčestvo*. Vol. 1: *Junaški pesni*. Sofija: Bălgarski pisatel, 1961.
- . *Junak jasno slănce*. Sofija: Bălgarski pisatel, 1955.
- Butler, Thomas, ed. *Monumenta Serbocroatica*. Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic Publications, 1980.
- Buturović, Đenana. *Epska narodna tradicija istočne Hercegovine*. Posebni otisak glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja. Sarajevo: Zemaljski muzej, 1968.
- . *Epska narodna tradicija u Žepi*. Sarajevo: Zemaljski muzej, 1964.
- . ed. *Narodne pjesme Muslimana u BiH iz rukopisne ostavštine Koste Hörmanna*. Sarajevo: Zemaljski muzej, 1966.
- Car Lazar u narodnim pesmama*. Dubrovnik: Jadran, n.d.
- Cepelić, Milko. *Hrvatske narodne pjesme (junačke)*. Djakovo, n.p., 1903.
- Cepenkov, M. *Makedonski narodni prikazni*. Skopje: Kočo Racin, 1959.
- Čojković, Čubro. *Pěvannija cernogorska i hercegovačka*. Leipzig: n.p., 1837.
- Davidović, Stevan. *Srpske narodne pjesme iz Bosne (ženske)*. Pančevo: n.p., 1884.
- Delorko, Olinko. *Istarske narodne pjesme*. Zagreb: Institut za narodnu umjetnost, 1960.

- . *Ljuba Ivanova, Hrvatske starinske narodne pjesme sakupljene u naše dane po Dalmaciji*. Split: Matica Hrvatska, 1969.
- . *Narodne pjesme iz okolice Metkoviča i jednog dijela Pelješca*. Split: Matica Hrvatska, 1964.
- . *Narodne pjesme otoka Hvara*. Split: Čekavski sabor, 1976.
- . *Zanemareno blago. O hrvatskoj narodnoj poeziji*. Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matica Hrvatska, 1979.
- Demeter, Dimitrija. *Djela*. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1968.
- Dijela Andrije Kačića Miošića*. Vol. 1. Zagreb: JAZU, 1942.
- Djela Matije Bana*. Vol. 3: *Kralj Vukašin*. Belgrade: Kraljevska Srpska Državna Štamparija, 1889.
- Dimitrovski, Todor. *Maleševski narodni pesni*. Skopje: Institut za makedonski jezik, 1958.
- Dizdar, Mak. *Stari Bosanski tekstovi*. Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1971.
- Dozon, Auguste. *Blgarski narodni pesni*. Paris: Librairie Klincksieck, 1875.
- Dragović, Djordjije. *Crnogorske junačke pjesme*. Cetinje: n.p., 1910.
- Držić, Marin. *Djela*. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1962.
- Đurđević, Ignat. *Pjesni razlike. Uzdasi Mandalijene*. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1962.
- Đurić, Vojislav. *Antologija narodnih pripovedaka*. Belgrade: Srpska Književna Zadruga, 1977.
- Džaković, Vukoman. *Crnogorske narodne tužbalice*. Titograd: Luča, 1970.
- Džonić, Uroš. *Srpske narodne pesme 1: neistorijski ciklus*. Belgrade: n.p., 1941.
- . *Sveti Sava u narodnim i umetničkim pesmama*. Belgrade: Narodna Misao, 1935.
- . *Ercegovački ustanci i bojevi protivu Turaka za oslobođenje 1852–1861, 1875–1878 god. i i ranije*. Knjiga 1. Bijelo Polje: n.p., 1929.
- Džurenov, Ivan. *Sbornik za narodni umotvorenija i narodopis*. Knjiga 56: *Narodna proza ot Pazardžiško*. Sofija: Bălgarska akademija na naukite, 1980.
- Eschker, Wolfgang. *Untersuchungen zur Improvisation und Tradierung der Sevdalinka an Hand der sprachlichen Figuren*. Munich: Otto Sagner, 1971.
- Filipović, Ivan. *Kraljević Marko u narodnim pjesmama*. Zagreb, n.d.
- Folclor din Transilvania*. Texte alese din colecții inedite 1. Bucharest: Editura pentru literatură, 1962.
- Folclor din Transilvania*. Vol. 2. Bucharest: Editura pentru literatură, 1962.

- Friedwagner, Matthias. *Rümanische Volkslieder aus der Bukowina*. Halle: Verlag von Max Niemyer, 1905.
- Gazeman, Gerhard. *Erlangenski rukopis: starih srpskohrvatskih narodnih pesama*. Sremski Karlovci: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1925.
- Glavič, Baldo. *Narodne pjesme iz usta i rukopisa*. Dubrovnik: n.p., 1889.
- Grčić, S. *Sinjske narodne pjesme i pričanja*. Split: n.p., 1920.
- Gundulić, Ivan. *Osman. Dubravka*. Belgrade: Prosveta, 1978.
- Hadžiomerspahić, Esad. *Junačke pjesme (muslimanske)*. Banja Luka: n.p., 1909.
- Hörmann, Kosta. *Narodne pjesme muslimana BiH*. Edited by Đenana Buturović. Vol. 1 and 2. Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1976.
- Hrvatska književnost srednjega vijeka od XII do XVI stoljeća*. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1969.
- Hrvatske narodne pjesme*. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, Vol. 3, 1898. Vol. 4, 1899. Vol. 5, 1909. Vol. 6, 1914. Vol. 7, 1929. Vol. 8, 1939. Vol. 9, 1940. Vol. 10, 1941.
- Hrvatski narodni priporod I i II: Ilirska knjiga*. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1965.
- Iliev, Atanas. *Sbornik ot narodni umotvorenija, običaji i dr., prvi odel narodni pesni*. Kniga 1. Sofija, 1889.
- Ilić, Jovan. *Celokupna Dela*. Belgrade: Narodna prosveta, n.d.
- Ilić, Luka-Oriovčanin. *Narodni slavonski običaji*. Zagreb: n.p., 1846.
- . *Lovorike gradiskoga narodnoga graničarskoga puka br. 8*. Zagreb: n.p., 1874.
- Istarske narodne pjesme*. Opatija: Istarska književna zadruga, 1924.
- Jastrebov, I.S. *Običaji i pjesni tureckih Serbov*. St. Petersburg: n.p., 1886.
- Jukić, Ivan Franjo, and Martić, Fr. *Narodne pjesme Bosanske i Hercegovčke*. Osiek: n.p., 1858.
- Kačić, Andrija. *Srpsko-narodne vistežke pjesme*. Zagreb: Pečatnj Medakovića, 1849.
- Karadžić, Vuk. *Sabrana dela Vuka Karadžića*. Vol. 17: *Etnografski spisi*. Belgrade: Prosveta, 1964.
- . *O srpskoj narodnoj poeziji*. Belgrade: Prosveta, 1964.
- . *Srpske narodne pjesme*. Vienna: n.p., Vol. 1, 1841. Vol. 2, 1845. Vol. 3, 1846. Vol. 14, 1862. Vol. 5, 1865.
- . *Srpske narodne pjesme iz Hercegovine (ženske)*. Vienna: n.p., 1866.
- . *Sabrana dela Vuka Karadžića*. Vol. 9: *Srpske narodne poslovice*. Belgrade: Prosveta, 1964.

- Karadžić, Vuk. *Srpske narodne pripovetke*. 4th ed. Belgrade: Državna štamparija kraljevine Jugoslavije, 1937.
- Karaličić, A., and Vālčev, V. *Bālgarsko narodno tvorčestvo*. Vol. 9: *Prikazki vālšebni i za životni*. Sofija: Bālgarski pisatel, 1963.
- Karaman, Dujmu. *Marjanska vila*. Spljet: n.p., 1885.
- Kašiković, Nikola. *Narodno blago*. Knjiga 1, 2. Sarajevo: n.p., 1927.
- Kavaev, Filip. *Narodni poslovice i gatanki od Struga i Struško*. Skopje: Institut za makedonski jezik, 1961.
- Kekez, Josip. *Bugaršcice starinske hrvatske narodne pjesme*. Split: Čakavski sabor, 1978.
- Keremidčiev, Genco. *Bālgarski narodni prikazki*. Sofija: Bālgarski pisatel, n.d.
- Kićine pesme*. Belgrade: Kića, Vol. 1, 1924. Vol. 2, 1926.
- Kilibarda, Novak. *Poezija i istorija u narodnoj književnosti*. Belgrade: Slovo Ljubve, 1978.
- Knorringa, Rosa. *Fonction phatique et tradition orale*. Constants et transformations dans un chant roumain. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1978.
- Kordunaš, Manojlo. *Srpske narodne pesme*. Novi Sad: Vol. 1, 1891. Vol. 2, 1892.
- Kotevska, Cveta. *Bugarštice—epske narodne pesme*. Belgrade: n.p., 1965.
- Krašić, Vladimir. *Srpske narodne pesme*. Knjiga 1. Pančevo: n.p., 1880.
- Krauss, Friedrich. *Orlović der Burggraf von Raab*. (Ein Mohammedamisch-Slavisches Guslarlied aus der Hercegovina.) Freiburg: n.p., 1889.
- . *Slavische Volksforschungen*. Leipzig: Verlag von Wilhelm Heims, 1908.
- . *Smailagić Meho*. Pjesan naših Muhamedovaca. Dubrovnik: Antropološko društvo u Beču, 1886.
- Krnjević, Hatidža. *Antologija narodnih balada*. Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruha, 1978.
- Krnjević, Vuk. *Antologija pripovjedaca iz Bosne i Hercegovine I i II*. Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1967.
- Kuhac, Franjo. *Južnoslovenske narodne popijevke*. Zagreb: n.p., Vol. 1, 1878. Vol. 2, 1879. Vol. 3, 1880.
- Kujundžić Lazo-Car—narodne pjesme*. Banja Luka: n.p., 1970.
- Kukić, Nikola. *Srpske narodne umotvorine*. Zagreb: n.p., 1898.
- Kukuljević, I. Sakcinski. *Narodne pesme puka hrvatskoga*. Zagreb: n.p., 1847.
- Kuna, Herta. *Hrestomatija starije bosanske književnosti*. Knjiga 1. Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1974.

- Kurelac, Fran. *Jačke ili narodne pesme prostoga i neprostoga puka hrvatskoga po župah šoprunskoj, mošonjskoj i železnoj na Ugrih*. Zagreb: Slovi Dragutina Albrechta, 1871.
- Latković, Bido, and Čaćenović, Jovan. *Epska narodna poezija Crne Gore*. Titograd: Grafički zavod, 1964.
- Luburić, Andrija. *Banivić Strahinja*. Belgrade: n.p., 1941.
- Lučić, Hanibal and Hektorović, Petar. *Skladanja izvarsnih pisan razliĉnih. Ribanje i ribarskoprigovaranje*. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1968.
- Maglajlić, Munib. *101 Sevdalinka*. Likovno obogaćenje Safet Zec. Mostar: Mala biblioteka, 1977.
- Maglajlić, Munib, and Terzić, Smail. *Sa gornjeg ĉardaka*. Tešanj: Narodni Univerzitet Tešanj, 1976.
- Makedonski narodni umotvorbi*. Vol. 4: Poslovice. Skopje: Koĉo Racin, 1954.
- Maretić, Tomo. *Naša narodna epika*. Belgrade: Nolit, 1966.
- Mariencescu, Marian. *Poezii populare din Transilvania*. Bucharest: Editura Minerva, 1971.
- Marković, Miloš. *Narodna lirika Źupe*. Belgrade: Bagdala, 1969.
- Mažuranić, Ivan. *Smrt Smail-age Ćengića*. Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1975.
- Mažuranić, Stepan. *Hrvatske narodne pjesme (ĉakavske)*. 3rd ed. Crkvenica: n.p., 1907.
- Medenica, Radosav. *Banović Strahinja u krugu varijanata i tema o neveri žene u narodnoj epici*. Belgrade: Srpska Akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1965.
- . *Naša narodna epika i njeni tvorci*. Cetinje: Obod, 1975.
- Mihajlov, Panco. *Bălgarski narodni pesni ot Makedonija*. Sofija: n.p., 1924.
- Mijatović, Anđelko. *Narodne pjesme o Mijatu Tomiću*. Zagreb: Zajednica samostalnih pisaca, 1969.
- . *Uskoci i krjišnici: narodni junaci u pjesmi i povijesti*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1974.
- Miladinovci, Bratja. *Bălgarski narodni pesni*. Zagreb: A. Jakić, 1861.
- Milanović, Mihajlo. *Odabrane srpske narodne pjesme "Sevdalinke"*. Ljubavne ašiklije. Sarajevo: n.p.
- Miliĉević, Milan. *Kneževina Srbija*. Belgrade: n.p., 1876.
- . *Kraljevina Srbija*. Belgrade: n.p., 1884.
- Miljanov, Marko. *Pleme Kući u narodnoj priĉi i pesmi*. Belgrade: n.p., 1904.
- Milojević, M. *Pesme i obiĉaji ukupnog naroda srpskog*. Belgrade: n.p., 1870.

- Minkov, Cvetan. *Bălgarsko narodno tvorčestvo*. Vol. 12: *Poslovice. Pogovorki. Gatanki*. Sofija: Bălgarski pisatel, 1963.
- Morison, William. *The Revolt of the Serbs Against the Turks*. Translations from the Serbian National Ballads of the Period. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1942.
- Murko, Matija. *Tragom srpsko-hrvatske narodne epike*. Knjiga 1, 2. Zagreb: JAZU, 1951.
- Nametak, Alija. *Junačke narodne pjesme Bosansko-Hercegovačkih Muslimana*. Sarajevo: Štampa, 1967.
- . *Od bešike do motike*. Narodne lirske i pripovijedne pjesme bosansko-hercegovačkih Muslimana. Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1970.
- Nanevski, Duško. *Crniot slavej*. Skopje: Kultura, 1979.
- Narodna književnost*. Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1974.
- Narodna proza*. Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1976.
- Narodne pjesme o Mijatu Tomiću*. Sarajevo: n.p., 1931.
- Nikolić, G. *Srbske narodne pjesme iz Srijema, Like i Banije*. Novi Sad: n.p., 1889.
- Nikolić, Ilija. *Goro le, goro zelena*. Antologija narodne lirike iz istočne Srbije: Zaječar: Timok, 1966.
- Njegoš, P.P. *Gorski vijenac*. Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1979.
- . *Ogledalo srpsko*. Belgrade: Prosveta, 1967.
- . *Pjesme*. Belgrade: Prosveta, 1980.
- . *Šćepan Mali*. Belgrade: Prosveta, 1980.
- . *Svobodijada*. Belgrade: Prosveta, 1951.
- Opačić-Ćanica, Stanko. *Narodne pjesme Korduna*. Zagreb: Prosvjeta, 1971.
- Orahovac, Sait. *Stare narodne pjesme muslimana BiH*. Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1976.
- Osinin, Dmitri. *Bălgarsko narodno tvorčestvo*. Vol. 2: *Hajduški pesni*. Sofija: Bălgarski pisatel, 1961.
- Osinin, Dmitri and Burin, Ivan. *Bălgarsko narodno tvorčestvo*. Vol. 6: *Ljubovni pesni*. Sofija: Bălgarski pisatel, 1962.
- Osvetnik, Milan. *Razne srpske narodne pjesme iz Boke Kotorske i okoline Dubrovačke*. Novi Sad: n.p., 1888.
- Pantić, Miroslav. *Narodne pesme u zapisima 15–18 veka*. Belgrade: n.d.
- Parry, Milman, and Lord, Albert. *Serbo-Croatian Heroic Songs*. Vol. 3: *The Wedding of Smailagić Meho*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974.
- . *Serbo-Croatian Heroic Songs*. Vol. 4: *Ženidba Smailagina Sina*. Cambridge, Mass.: Center for the Study of Oral Literature, 1974.



- Parry, Milman, and Lord, Albert. *Serbo-Croatian Heroic Songs*. Vol. 6: *Ženidba Vlahinjić Alije. Osmanbeg Delibegović i Pavičević Luka*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980.
- . *Srpskohrvatske junačke pjesme (muslimanske)*. Belgrade: Srpske Akademija Nauke i Umetnosti, 1953.
- Parry, Milman, Lord, Albert, and Bynum, David. *Serbo-Croatian Heroic Songs*. Vol. 14: *Bihaćka Krajina: Epics from Bihać, Cazin, and Kulen Vakuf*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991.
- Paskalevski, Paskal. *Narodni pesni od Egejska Makedonija*. Skopje: Institut za makedonski jazik, 1959.
- Pavalesku, Gh. *Balade populare din sudu Transilvaniei*. Sibiu: Casa județeană a creației populare, 1971.
- Pavičević, Mićun. *Ženske narodne pjesme iz Crne Gore*. Knj. 2. Zagreb: Ethnografski muzej, 1938.
- Penušliski, Kiril. *Makedonsko narodno tvorčestvo. Bitovi prikazni i anegdoti*. Skopje: Makedonska kniga, 1973.
- . *Makedonsko narodno tvorčestvo. Junački narodni pesni*. Skopje: Makedonska kniga, 1969.
- . *Makedonsko narodno tvorčestvo. Obredni i mitološki pesni*. Skopje: Makedonska kniga, 1968.
- . *Makedonsko narodno tvorčestvo. Poslovice i gatanki*. Skopje: Makedonska kniga, 1969.
- . *Makedonsko narodno tvorčestvo. Predanija i legendi*. Skopje: Makedonska kniga, 1969.
- . *Makedonsko narodno tvorčestvo. Prikazni za žitvotni*. Skopje: Makedonska kniga, 1973.
- . *Makedonsko narodno tvorčestvo. Trudovi. Semejni. Humoristični pesni*. Skopje: Makedonska kniga, 1968.
- . *Makedonsko narodno tvorčestvo. Volšebni prikazni*. Skopje: Makedonska kniga, 1968.
- Partev, I. *Junačka smrt Hivzi-bega Džunišića. Boj pred Banja Lukom i Junaštvo Duralagić Meha*. Muslimanska junačka pjesmarica. Sarajevo: n.p., 1927.
- Perkowski, Jan. *Gusle and Ganga among the Hercegovinians of Toronto*. Ann Arbor, Mi.: University Microfilms International, 1978.
- Pesme Đure Jakšića*. Belgrade: Slovo Ljubve, 1979.
- Pesne za Krale Marko*. Skopje: Mislā, 1968.
- Petranović, Bogoljub. *Srpske narodne pjesme iz Bosne i Hercegovine*. Sarajevo: Vol. 1, 1867. Belgrade: Vol. 2, 1867. Vol. 3, 1870.

- Petrović, P. *Zbornik junačkih epskih narodnih pesama*. Belgrade: Narodno delo, 1930.
- Pjesmarica odabrane Kačićeve i narodne junačke*. Sinj: n.p., 1965.
- Popović, Aca. *Srbske narodne pjesme (s českim a delomi poljskim prevodom)*. Prague: n.p., 1852.
- Popović, M.S. Rodoljub. *Srpske sevdalinke*. Pančevo: n.p., 1892.
- Popović, Stefan. *Crnogorske gusle*. Belgrade: n.p., 1858.
- Puzović, Miloslav. *Epske pesme*. Knjiga 3. Prijepolje: by author, 1966.
- Radovanović, Vojislav. *Marijovci u pesmi, priči, i šali*. Skopje: n.p., 1931.
- Raić, Blaže. *Narodno blago*. Subotica: n.p., 1923.
- Rendeo, Ivan. *Narodne pjesme o Mijatu Tomiću*. Sarajevo: Hrvatsko Kulturno Društvo, 1931.
- Ristić, Kosta. *Srpske narodne pjesme, pokupljene po Bosni*. Belgrade: n.p., 1873.
- Ristić, Milivoje. *Crnogorske narodne pjesme*. Belgrade: n.p., 1953.
- Romanian Popular Ballads*. Romanian-English bilingual ed. Bucharest: Minerva Publishing House, 1980.
- Romanska, Tsvetana. *Sbornik za narodni umotvorenija i narodopis*. Vol. 53: *Balgarski junaški epos*. Sofija: Balgarskata akademija na naukite, 1971.
- Romanska, Tsvetana and Ognjanova, Elena. *Balgarsko narodno tvorčestvo*. Vol. 11: *Narodni predanija i legendi*. Sofija: Balgarski pisatel, 1963.
- Romanska-Vranska, Cv. *Balgarsko narodno poetično tvorčestvo*. Sofija: Nauka i Izkustvo, 1958.
- Rusić, Branislav. *Prilepski guslar Apostol*. Belgrade: n.p., 1940.
- Sala, Demush. *Këngë popullore Historike*. Priština: Enti i teksteve dhe i mjeteve mësimore i krahinës socialiste autonome të Kosovës, 1973.
- Sazdov, Tome. *Griva trese, biser roni (epski narodni pesni)*. Skopje: Zaštita, 1970.
- Skerlić, Jovan. *Književna hrestomatija iz kulturne baštine srpskog naroda u Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb: Prosvjeta, 1979.
- Stari pisci hrvatski*. Knj.1: *Pjesme Marka Marulića*. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1869.
- Starija Književnost: Bosanskohercegovačka književna hrestomatija I*. Sarajevo: Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika, 1974.
- Stari pisci hrvatski*. Knj.26: *Pjesme Antuna Kanižlića, Antuna Ivanošića i matije Petra Katančića*. Zagreb: JAZU, 1940.
- Stoin, Vasil. *Narodni pesni ot Timok do Vita*. Sofija: n.p., 1928.
- Stojadinović, Blagoje. *Srpske narodne pjesme (epske)*. Belgrade: n.p., 1869.

- Stojanović, Mijat. *Slike iz života hrvatskog naroda po Slavoniji i Sremu*. Zagreb: n.p., 1881.
- Stojković, Sreten. *Kraljević Marko*. Novi Sad: Društvo Svetoga Save, 1922.
- Šapkarev, I. *Sbornik ot Bălgarski narodni umotvorenija I*. Sofija: n.p., 1891.
- Šaranović, Vuko. *Novije crnogorske narodne pjesme*. Trebinje: Kultura, n.d.
- Šaulić, Novica. *Prvi srpski ustanak*. Narodne pesme. Belgrade: Naučna Knjiga, 1954. Knjiga 1. Sveska 1. Belgrade: Narodna Misao, 1929.
- . *Srpske narodne pjesme: Kosovo*. Knjiga 1. Sveska 5. Belgrade: Dom, 1939.
- . *Srpske narodne tužbalice iz zbirke Novice Šaulića*. Belgrade: n.p., 1929.
- Šklifov, Blagoj. *Kosturskiyat govor*. Sofija: Bălgarskata akademija na naukite, 1973.
- Šunjić, Fra Marijan. *Narodne junačke pjesme iz Bosne i Hercegovine*. Sarajevo: n.p., 1925.
- Tahov, Naum. *Sbornik ot makedonski blgarski narodni pesni*. Sofija: n.p., 1895.
- Tosović, J. *Najnovija narodna pjesmarica 1912 Balkanskih Ratova 1913*. Dubrovnik: n.p., 1914.
- Tošev, Krum. *Struškiot govor*. Skopje: Institut za makedonski jazik, 1979.
- Traerup, Birthe. *East Macedonian Folk Songs*. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1970.
- Tragedija na Javorovom Dolu kod Nikšića*. Nikšić: n.p., 1957.
- Ugliș-Delapecica, Petre. *Poezii și basme populare din Crișana și Banat*. Bucharest: Editura pentru literatură, 1968.
- Vakarelski, Hr. *Bălgarsko narodno tvorčestvo*. Vol. 3: *Istoričeski pesni*. Sofija: Bălgarski pisatel, 1961.
- Verković, Stefan. *Beda Slovena*. Obrjadni pesni ot jazičesko vremja. St. Petersburg: n.p., 1881.
- . *Pesme makedonski Bugara*. Belgrade: n.p., 1860.
- Verković-Lavrov. *Narodni pesni makedonskih Bolgar*. Petrograd: n.p., 1920.
- Verković, Stefan. *Južnomakedonski narodni prikazni*. Vol. 2. Skopje: Misl, 1977.
- Vienac uzdarja narodnoga o Kačiću Miošiću*. Zadar: n.p., 1861.
- Visoki Stevan u narodnim pjesmama*. Dubrovnik: Knjižara Jadran, n.d.
- Vodnik, Branko. *Izbrane narodne pesmi Hrvatsko-Srbske I*. Junaške pesmi starejskih časov. Ljubljana: Tiskarna Boranić i Rozmanić u Zagrebu, 1913.

- Vrčević, Vuk. *Hercegovačke narodne pjesme, koje samo Srbi Muhamedove vjere pjevaju*. Dubrovnik: n.p., 1890.
- Vuksan, D. *Narodne pesme (lirske)*. Belgrade: n.p., 1928.
- Valčev, Veličko. *Balgarski narodni prikazki*. Sofija: Mlada gardija, 1954.
- Weigand, Gustav. *Volkslitteratur der Aromunen*. Leipzig: Johann Barth, 1894.
- Wiles, James. *The Mountain Wreath of P.P. Njegosh*. Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 1930.
- Zbornik stihova i proza XVIII stoljeća*. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1973.
- Zbornik stihova XV i XVI stoljeća*. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1968.
- Zlatanović, Momčilo. *Mori Bojo, bela Bojo*. Narodne pesme koje se pevaju u Vranju i okolini. Leskovac: n.p., 1968.
- Zogović, Radovan. *Crnogorske epske pjesme raznih vremena*. Titograd: Grafički zavod, 1970.

### *Journals of Folk Literature*

- Behar*. List za pouku i zabavu. Sarajevo, Yugoslavia. 1900–1919.
- Bilten Instituta za proučavanje folkloru Sarajevo*. Sarajevo, Yugoslavia. 1953–1966.
- Bosanska Vila*. Sarajevo, Yugoslavia. 1885–1918.
- Dubrovnik*. Zabavnik narodne štionice Dubrovačke. Spljet, Yugoslavia. 1886–1887.
- Gajret*. List Gajreta društva za kulturno i ekonomsko podizanje Muslimana. Sarajevo, Yugoslavia. 1925–1940.
- Glasnik Etnografskog Muzeja*. Belgrade, Yugoslavia. 1926–1965.
- Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja*. Sarajevo, Yugoslavia. 1945–1975.
- Gradja za povijest književnosti Hrvatske*. Zagreb, Yugoslavia. 1897–1924.
- Javor*. List za zabavu, pouku, književnost. Novi Sad, Yugoslavia. 1894–1902.
- Luča*. Književna list društva "Gorski vijenac." Cetinje, Yugoslavia. 1895–1904.
- Makedonski folklor*. Spisanie na Institutot za foiklor. Skopje, Yugoslavia. 1967–1977.
- Nova Zeta*. Cetinje, Yugoslavia. 1888–1892.
- Novi Behar*. List za pouku i zabavu. Sarajevo, Yugoslavia. 1928–1939.
- Prilozi proučavanju narodne poezije*. Belgrade, Yugoslavia. 1933–1974.
- Sbornik za narodni umotvorenija, nauka i knižnina*. Sofija, Bulgaria. 1889–1960.

- Srpski etnografski zbornik*. Belgrade, Yugoslavia. 1875–1927.  
*Srpski Zabavnik*. Zagreb, Yugoslavia. 1884–1911.  
*Vila*. Belgrade, Yugoslavia. 1866–1879.  
*Zbornik za narodni život i običaje južnih Slavena*. Zagreb, Yugoslavia. 1896–1935.

*Unpublished Manuscripts (rukopisi)*

**Bogišćev arhiv (Cavtat):**

- Unknown collector. Junačke pjesme.  
 Banović, A., and Vrčević, V. Narodne pjesme.  
 Unknown collector. Splitski rukopis.  
 Unknown collector. Peraški rukopis.

**Arhiv Srbije (Belgrade):**

- Luburić, Andrija. Narodne pjesme iz Crne Gore i Hercegovine 1–340.

**JAZU arhiv (Zagreb):**

- Banović, M. Narodne pjesme iz Foče i Hercegovine.  
 Bobinac, T. Čakavske pjesme u selu Prozoru.  
 Hamgija, Antuna. Muslimanske pjesme.  
 Hörmann, Kosta. Muslimanske narodne pjesme.  
 Ivičević, Stjepan. Narodne pjesme sa Makarskog primorja.  
 Kulinović, K. Muslimanske narodne pjesme.  
 Mažuranić, A. Narodne pjesme iz Novog Vindolskog.  
 Vrbanić, J. Narodne pjesme iz Bosne.

**Arhiv SANU (Belgrade):**

- Besarović, Petar. Srpske narodne pjesme.  
 Debeljković, N. Srpske narodne pesme sa Kosova.  
 Đikić, Osman. Srpske narodne muslimanske ženske pjesme iz Hercegovine.  
 Djordjević, Tihomir. Narodne pesme iz Pirotskoga okruga.  
 Dumba, Konstantin. Epske pesme iz Makedonije.  
 Ivanović, Petar. Narodne pesme iz Bosne.  
 Karanović, Milan. Srpske narodne pesme iz Bosanske krajine.  
 Kirjak, Banar. Hercegovačke narodne pesme.

- Miković, Dionisija. *Pesme iz Boke Kotorske i Crne Gore*.  
 Mutić, Jovan. *Pesme iz Kalinovka, Bosna*.  
 Perović, Jovan. *Muslimanske narodne pjesme*.  
 Profirović, Mihajlo. *Pesme iz Galičnika, Makedonija*.  
 Sulejmanpašić-Despotović, Omerbeg. *Muslimanske pesme iz Bosne 1–11*.  
 Zorić, Dušan. *Pjesme iz Bosne i Hercegovine*.

Arhiv Zemaljskog Muzeja (Sarajevo):

- Buturović, Denana. *Muslimanske pjesme iz Trnova, Bosna*.

Milman Parry Center for the Study of Oral Literature (Harvard University, Cambridge):

- Ćabrajić, Luka. *Hrvatske narodne pjesme iz Bosne 1–100*.  
 Luburić, Andrija. *Narodne pjesme iz Crne Gore i Hercegovine 20–881*.  
 Mijatović, S. *Narodna proza i pjesme iz Srbije 1–150*.  
 Mostahinić, Antun. *Pjesme iz Cavtatske okoline 1–15*.  
 Sijarić, L. *Četiri narodne muslimanske pesme iz Sandžaka 1–4*.  
 Ljubidrag, Nikola. *Pjesme iz Dubrovnika*.  
 Veselinović, Milojna. *Narodne pesme iz Makedonije i stare Srbije*.

## II. Linguistics

- Ajeti, Idriz. *Istorijski razvitak gegijskog govora arbanasa kod Zadra*. Sarajevo: Naučno društvo BiH, 1961.
- Andrejčin, Ljubomir. *Osnovna Bălgarska gramatika*. Sofija: Hemus, 1944.
- Aronson, Howard. "Interrelationships between Aspect and Mood in Bulgarian," *Folia Slavica* 1: 1–32, 1977.
- . "Form, Function, and the 'Perfective' in Bulgarian." Michael S. Flier and Alan Timberlake, eds. *The Scope of Slavic Aspect*. Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publishers, 274–285.
- Atlasul lingvistic Româna*. Seria noua. Vol. 7. Bucharest: Academia republicii populare române, 1966.
- Barić, Henrik. *Istorija arbanskog jezika*. Sarajevo: Naučno Društvo BiH, 1959.
- Barjaktarević, Danilo. *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*. Vol. 16: *Novopazarsko-Sjenički govori*. Belgrade: Naučno delo, 1966.

- Belić, Aleksander. *Istorija srpskohrvatskog jezika*. Vol. 2. Part 2: *Reči sa konjugacijom*. Belgrade: Naučna knjiga, 1962.
- . "O upotrebi vremena u srpskohrvatskom jeziku." *Južnoslovenski filolog* 6 (1926–1927): 214–232.
- . *Osnovni istorije srpskohrvatskog jezika*. Vol. 1: *Fonetika*. Belgrade: Nolit, 1960.
- . *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*. Vol. 6: *Galički dijalekat*. Belgrade: Srpska manastirska štamparija, 1936.
- Belić, Aleksander. *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*. Vols.1 and 2: *Govori istočne i južne Srbije*. Belgrade: Štamparija kraljevine Srbije, 1905.
- Benloew, Louis. *Analyse de la langue Albanaise*. Paris: Maisonneuve et Cie, 1879.
- Benson, Morton. *Serbo-Croatian: English Dictionary*. 1971 ed.
- Bojadžiev, Todor. *Govorăt na s. Săčanli, Gjumjurdžinsko*. Sofija: Bălgarskata Akademija na Naukite, 1972.
- Bondarko, A. *Grammatičeskaja kategorija i kontekst*. Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Nauka, 1971.
- Bosanskohercegovački dijalektološki zbornik*. Vols.1 and 2. Sarajevo: Institut za jezik i književnost u Sarajevu, 1975, 1979.
- Brunel, Jean. "Les périodes conditionnelles du grec et le problème de l'optatif." *Bulletin de la société de linguistique de Paris* 75 (1980): 227–266.
- Bunina, I.K. *Istorija glagol'nyx vremen v Bolgarskom jazyke*. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo nauka, 1970.
- Capidan, Th. *Aromânii*. Dialectul Aroman. Bucharest: Academii Româna, 1932.
- Caragiu, M., et. al. *Dialectologie Româna*. Bucharest: Editura Didactica și Pedagogica, 1977.
- Cimochowski, Waclaw. *La dialecte de Dushmani. Description de l'un des parlers de l'Albanie du nord*. Poznań: Poznanskie Towarzystwo przyjaćiół nauk, 1951.
- Coseriu, Eugenio. *Das Romanische Verbalsystem*. Tübingen: Verlag Gunter Narr, 1976.
- Cvijić, Jovan. *Balkansko poluostrvo i južnoslovanske zemlje*. Belgrade: Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika, 1966.
- . *La péninsule balkanique*. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1918.
- Czochrański, Jan. *Verbalaspekt und Tempussystem im Deutschen und Polnischen*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1972.

- Ćupić, Drago. *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*. Vol. 23: *Govor Bjelopavlića*. Belgrade: Institut za srpskohrvatski jezik, 1977.
- Dejanova, Marija. *Imperfekt i aorist v slavjanskite ezici*. Sofija: Izdatelstvo na Bălgarskata Akademija na Naukite, 1966.
- Dedijer, V., Božić, I., Cirković, S., and Ekmečić, M. *History of Yugoslavia*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974.
- Flora, Radu. *Dijalektološki profil rumunskih banatskih govora sa Vršačkog područja*. Novi. Sad: Matica Srpska, 1962.
- Friedman, Victor. *Grammatical Categories of the Macedonian Indicative*. Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publishers, 1977.
- Friedman, Victor. "The Study of Balkan Admirativity: Its History and Development." *Balkanistica* 6. (1980): 7–30.
- Galton, Herbert. *Aorist und Aspekt im Slavischen*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1962.
- Gołąb, Zbigniew. *Conditionalis typu bałkańskiego w językach połunio-wiańskich*. Cracow: Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1964.
- . *The Main Functions of the Slavic Verbal Aspect*. Skopje: Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1976.
- . "The Problem of Verbal Moods in Slavic Languages." *International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics* 8. (1964): 1–36.
- Gramatika po makedonski ezik*. Fonetika-morfologija. n.p.: Nea Elada, 1953.
- Groen, B. *A Structural Description of the Macedonian Dialect of Dihovo*. Lisse: The Peter de Ridder Press, 1977.
- Hamp, Eric. "La langue albanaise et ses voisins." *Actes du premier congrès international des études balkaniques et du sud-est européennes* 6 (1968): 663–668.
- Hausmann, Klaus. "Der Potential im Mazedonischen." Ph. D. Dissertation, University of. Gottingen, 1956.
- Hendriks, P. *The Radožda-Vevčani dialect of Macedonian*. Lisse: The Peter de Ridder Press, 1975.
- Hraste, Mate. *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*. Vol. 10: *Čačavski dijalekat Ostrva Brača*. Belgrade: Srpska Kraljevska Akademija, 1940.
- Ivanov, Dimitr. *Gevgeliiskijat govor*. Sofija: Pečatnica P. Gluškov, 1932.
- Ivić, Pavle. "Sistem značenja osnovnih preteritalnih vremena u govoru Galipoljskih Srba." *Južnoslovenski filolog* 20 (1953–1954): 47–62.
- . *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*. Vol. 12: *O govoru Galipoljskih Srba*. Belgrade: Naučna Knjiga, 1957.



- . *Srpski narod i njegov jezik*. Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1971.
- Jović, Dušan. *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*. Vol. 17: *Trstenički govor*. Belgrade: Institut za srpskohrvatski jezik, 1968.
- Kici, Gasper. *Albanian-English Dictionary*. 1976 ed.
- Koneski, Blaže. *Gramatika na makedonskiot literaturnen jazik*. Skopje: Kultura, 1976.
- Koneski, Blaže, et al. "Distribution des balkanismes en macédonien." *Actes du premier congrès international des études balkaniques et du sud-est européennes* 6 (1968): 517–546.
- Koneski, Kiril. "Glagolskite konstrukcii so *ke* vo Makedonskiot jazik." Ph.D. Dissertation, Kiril i Metodij University of Skopje, 1979.
- Koseska-Toszew, Violetta. *System temporalny gwar bulgarskich na tle języka literackiego*. Warsaw: Polska akademia nauk, 1977.
- Kovačev, August. *Descrirerea istroromânei actuale*. Bucharest: Editura academiei republicii s socialiste România, 1971.
- Leskien, A. *Grammatik der Serbo-Kroatischen Sprache*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1914.
- Lunt, Horace. *A Grammar of the Macedonian Literary Language*. Skopje: Održavno knigoizdatelstvo, 1952.
- Małeckki, Mieczystaw. *Dwie gwary Macedonskiego*. Cracow: Geberther & Wolff, 1934.
- Mann, Stuart. *An Albanian Historical Grammar*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 1977.
- . *English-Albanian Dictionary*. 1957 ed.
- Mateev, D. "Novata forma za uslovno naklonenie v Bălgarski ezik." *Izvestia na Institut za Bălgarski ezik* 3 (1954): 145–166.
- Matidu, I., Caragiu, M., and Marioteanu, T. *Dialectologie Română*. Bucharest: n.p., 1977.
- Maretić, T. *Gramatika i stilistika hrvatskoga ili srpskoga književnog jezika*. Zagreb: Knjižara. Hartmanna, 1899.
- Mazon, A., and Vaillant, A. *L'évangélique du Kulakia, un parler slave du Bas-Vardar*. Paris: Libraire Droz, 1938.
- Meillet, A., and Vaillant, A. *Grammaire de la language serbo-croate*. Paris: Libraire Honoré. Champion, 1924.
- Milanović, B., and Peco, A. *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*. Vol. 17: *Resavski govor*. Belgrade: Institut za srpskohrvatski jezik, 1972.
- Miletić, Branko. *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*. Vol. 9: *Crnički govor*. Belgrade: Akademija. filozofskog fakulteta, 1940.

- Mladenov, Maksim. *Govorät na Novo Selo Vidinsko*. Sofija: Bälgarskata akademija na naukite, 1969.
- . *Ihtimanskijat govor*. Sofija: Bälgarskata akademija na naukite, 1966.
- Mulaku, Latif. *Govor albanaca Bajgorske Šalje*. Priština: Filozofski fakultet, 1968.
- Musić, A. "Kondicional u hrvatskom jeziku." *RAD JAZU* 127 (1896): 141–209.
- Newmark, Leonard, et al. *Standard Albanian. A Reference Grammar for Students*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1982.
- Palmer, F.R. *Modality and the English Modals*. London: Longman Co., 1979.
- Panzer, Baldur. *Der Slavische Konditional*. Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1967.
- Paphagi, M. *Dictionarul dialectului aromân*. 1902 ed.
- Pascu, Giorge. *Dictionnaire étymologique Macédo roumain*. Vol. 1. 1925 ed.
- Pašov, Petar. *Bälgarskijat glagol*. Sofija: Nauka i Izkustvo, 1966.
- Pavlović, Milovoj. *Govor Janjeva*. Novi Sad: Matica Srpska, 1970.
- Peco, Asim. *Pregled srpskohrvatskih dijalekata*. Belgrade: Naučna knjiga, 1970.
- Pešikan, Mitar. *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*. Vol. 15: *Starocrnogorski Srednjekatunski i Lješanski govori*. Belgrade: Naučno delo, 1965.
- Petrović, Emil. *Texte dialectale*. Sibiu: Muzeul limbii Române, 1943.
- Popovici, Josif. *Dialectele Romîne*. Vol. 9: *Dialectele Romîne din Istria*. Halle: By the author, 1914.
- Reháček, Lubos. *Sémantika a syntax infinitivu v současném polském spisovém jazyce*. Prague: Universiteta Karlova, 1966.
- Sandfeld, K. *Linguistique balkanique*. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1930.
- Sandfeld, K. et al. *Syntaxe roumaine*. Vol. 1: *Emploi des mots à flexion*. Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 1936.
- Simić, Radoje. *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*. Vol. 19: *Levački govor*. Belgrade: Institut za srpskohrvatski jezik, 1972.
- Sladojević, P. "O imperfektu u srpskohrvatskom jeziku." *Južnoslovenski filolog* 20 (1953–1954): 219–245.
- Stanić, Milija. *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*. Vol. 22: *Uskočki govor*. Belgrade: Institut za srpskohrvatski jezik, 1977.
- Stankov, Valentin. "Modalna upotreba na glagolnite vremena v savremenija Bälgarski knižoven ezik." *Izvestija na instituta za Bälgarski ezik* 15 (1967): 3–91.

- . *Imperfekat v savremennija Bălgarski knižoven ezik*. Sofija: Bălgarskata akademija na naukite, 1939.
- Stanojević, Marinko. *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*. Vol. 10: *Severno-timočki dijalekat*. Belgrade: Štamparija kraljevine Srbije, 1911.
- Stevanovič, Mihajlo. *Funkcije i značenja glagolskih vremena*. Belgrade: Naučno delo, 1967.
- . *Savremeni srpskohrvatski jezik*. Vol. 2: *Sintaksa*. 3rd. ed. Belgrade: Naučna knjiga, 1979.
- . "Značenje imperfekta prema upotrebi u jeziku P.P. Njegoša." *Južnoslovenski filolog*. 20 (1953–1954): 50–81.
- Stojanov, S. *Gramatika na Bălgarskija knižoven ezik*. Sofija: Nauka i Izkustvo, 1964.
- Stojičević, Aleksander. *Značenje aorista i imperfekta u srpskohrvatskom jeziku*. Ljubljana: Slovenska Akademija Znanosti im Umetnosti, 1951.
- Stokov, Stoiko. *Bălgarskite narodni govori*. Sofija: Nauka i Izkustvo, 1964.
- Šaxmatov, A. *Sintaksis ruskogo jazyka*. The Hague: Moulton & Co., 1963.
- . *Slovar' sovremennogo ruskogo jazyka*. 1967 ed.
- Škaljić, Abdulah. *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku*. Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1979.
- Townsend, C. *Continuing with Russian*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970.
- Umlenski, Ivan. *Kjustendilskijat govor*. Sofija: Bălgarskata Akademija na Naukite, 1961.
- Vidoeski, Božo. *Kumanovski ot govor*. Skopje: Institut za makedonski jazik, 1962.
- Vujović, Luka. *Srpski dijalektološki zbornik*. Vol. 18: *Mrkovići dijalekat*. Belgrade: Institut. za srpskohrvatski jezik, 1969.
- Vuković, Jovan. "Govor Pive i Drobnjaka." *Južnoslovenski filolog* 17 (1938–1939): 75–90.
- . *Sintaksa glagola*. Sarajevo: Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika, 1967.
- Weigand, Gustav. *Die Aromunen*. Leipzig: Johann Barth, 1894.
- . *Vlacho-meglen*. Leipzig: Johann Barth, 1892.
- Wielki Słownik Angielsko-polski*. 1965 ed.
- Wielki Słownik Polsko-angielski*. 1965 ed.
- Zima, Luka. *Nekoje, većinom sintaktične razlike između čakavštine, kajkavštine i štokavštine*. Zagreb: JAZU, 1887.

## Index

The following subject index excludes such ubiquitous expressions as “Balkan conditional” and *šćaše*, which occur on virtually every page of this book. Linguistic forms are cited only when they are mentioned in the text, not when they occur in numbered examples set apart from the text.

- admirative 238, 240, 242–44  
   imperfect admirative 242  
   past perfect admirative 242  
   subjunctive-admirative 242  
 adversative conjunction 22, 32, 56,  
   106, 110, 122, 165, 200  
 affective expression 9, 12–13, 16,  
   222, 279–80  
 affirmative category 97  
 Albania 149–50, 153, 239, 241,  
   246, 261  
 Albanian 1, 235, 237–39, 241–42,  
   244–45, 260, 269–71, 274, 278,  
   280  
 Albanian dialects  
   Gheg 1, 235, 239–44, 271–72,  
     277, 281  
   in Kosovo 241  
   in Italy 241–42  
   Tosk 5, 235, 237–44, 269, 272,  
     274–77, 281  
 aorist 10–11, 13, 15, 50, 52–54, 63,  
   82–88, 90, 94, 96, 98, 100–02,  
   109, 111, 123, 125, 133, 135,  
   139, 146, 209, 224, 229, 232,  
   237–38, 245, 263, 265  
 apodosis 22–24, 31, 52, 55, 58, 97–  
   98, 111, 165, 173, 208, 236  
*ar fi* (Daco-Rumanian) 275  
 attenuated expressions 21–22, 26–  
   28, 35, 37, 40–42, 71, 80–82, 89–  
   90, 96–98, 102, 104–07, 109–12,  
   114–19, 121–23, 125–29, 142,  
   144, 147–48, 153–55, 169, 176,  
   183, 190, 200–06, 208–09, 212–  
   14, 216, 220–222, 229–32, 237,  
   266, 273  
*a vrea* 245, 256  
  
 Banat 5, 255, 258  
   Rumanian Banat 254, 256  
   Serbian Banat 254, 256  
*bez malu* (Macedonian) 169  
*bez malko* (Bulgarian) 187, 195  
*bi* 9, 11, 13, 15, 19–21, 32, 35–36,  
   38–39, 41, 50, 52, 54, 57–58, 83,  
   89–92, 96–100, 102, 105, 108,  
   117, 121–22, 125, 126, 128, 144–  
   47, 154–55, 160, 163–71, 173–  
   74, 176, 181, 183, 190–92, 197–  
   202, 205–09, 213, 217, 219–20,  
   222, 224–25, 229, 232, 251, 275,  
   278  
 Bihać 149  
*biti* 125, 127, 223–25, 228  
 Boka Kotorska 65, 66, 79–80, 82,  
   91, 131, 139, 151, 180

- Bosnia 51, 65–72, 77, 92, 112,  
130–31, 135, 140, 147, 150–51,  
218
- Bosnia-Hercegovina 9–10, 14, 17,  
26, 42, 58, 60, 81, 116, 149, 152,  
180–81, 218–20, 271
- bugarštica* 30, 82, 91, 137, 139–40
- Bulgaria 196
- Bulgarian 2, 5, 19, 22–23, 58, 87,  
94, 97, 99, 155, 157, 169, 185–  
90, 192, 197, 199, 202–03, 205,  
209, 211–13, 215–22, 225–26,  
232, 237, 250, 271–73, 275–78,  
280
- Bulgarian dialects 5, 185, 190, 193,  
199, 201–05, 245
- Kjustendil 185, 210
- Pazardžik 196
- Rhodopes 210
- Sofia 210
- Trnovo 197
- Vidin 185, 196
- by (North Slavic modal particle) 6,  
222, 228–32
- bylo* (Russian) 230–32
- byl'* (Russian) 229
- byvalo* (Russian) 230–32
- cakavism 46 **Why do you want it!**  
*chcieć* (Polish 'to want') 226
- Common Slavic 19
- conditional 106, 110, 116–17, 145,  
151, 160, 168, 174, 181, 190,  
197–99, 202, 217, 223–26, 232,  
241–42, 245, 247, 249, 253, 260–  
61
- contrary-to-fact conditional 1, 10,  
14, 24, 187, 200, 211–12
- formal conditional 22, 24, 117,  
119, 145, 188, 200, 213, 236
- functional conditional 6, 32, 106,  
110, 200
- non-past conditional 6–7, 22–23,  
26–27, 35, 38, 89–90, 96, 98–99,  
102, 108, 115, 121, 128, 145–47,  
163, 165, 167, 169–71, 173, 178,  
181–83, 190–92, 197–99, 200–  
06, 208–09, 212–13, 215–22,  
229–32, 236, 238, 240–41, 243–  
44, 246–47, 249, 251–53, 256–  
59, 262–63, 267, 269, 273–75,  
278
- past conditional 5, 10–11, 13–14,  
16, 23, 26–28, 33, 35–36, 39–40,  
42, 55–56, 58, 61–62, 65, 71,  
80–82, 87, 89–90, 96–99, 101–  
02, 104–06, 108–18, 120–23,  
126, 128–29, 132, 139, 142, 144,  
147–48, 151, 155, 160, 162–63,  
165–67, 170–73, 182–83, 187–  
90, 193–94, 197, 200–09, 211–  
23, 225, 228–33, 236, 240–41,  
243–49, 251–52, 254, 256, 258–  
60, 262–64, 267, 269, 272–76,  
278–79, 281
- pluperfect conditional 11
- consonantal strengthening 46
- Corfu 244
- Crişana 5, 254, 256, 259–60, 270–  
71
- Croatia 9, 42, 49, 51, 58, 67–71, 79,  
80, 91, 116, 140, 151, 218
- Čepino 185
- češa* (Macedonian) 161
- češe* (Bulgarian) 210
- čut' ne* (Russian) 231–32
- da* (Slavic modal particle) 2, 4, 6,  
14, 16, 21, 54, 56, 58, 60–63, 79,  
98–99, 112, 122, 154, 157, 160,  
163–64, 166–68, 170, 177, 180,  
185, 190, 193, 201–02, 217, 219,  
223–24, 228, 232, 265, 267–69

- Dalmatia 9–10, 17, 29–30, 49–51, 60, 79–82, 116, 129–31, 139, 147, 149–52, 181, 218–20, 258, 271
- Debar 158
- depalatalization 46, 48
- desh* (Albanian fixed form from *dua*) 237–38, 243, 245, 275–76
- do* (Albanian modal particle) 235–39, 241, 243–45, 262, 276
- dolžen* (Russian) 228, 230–32
- dua* (Albanian) 235–39
- Dubrovnik 136, 151
- due* 240–41
- duhet* (Albanian) 237–38, 240
- English 1, 6–7, 21, 23, 37–38, 265, 279
- French 16, 232
- full lexical meaning 4, 7, 10–12, 22, 24, 26–28, 35–36, 42, 52, 55, 58, 60–64, 74, 79–90, 96, 98–99, 101, 107–08, 111, 113–16, 118, 121, 123, 126, 128–29, 131–33, 136–38, 140, 142, 148–49, 163, 167–68, 181, 209, 214, 216–18, 228, 230, 236–38, 243–47, 249–50, 252–53, 256–60, 262–63, 269–70, 275–76
- future 5, 11, 62, 87, 105, 232, 235, 238–39, 240–45, 247, 249–53, 257, 259, 262–63, 269, 278–79
- future exactum 10
- future-in-the-past 1–2, 5, 7–8, 13–14, 22–23, 29, 31, 35, 62–63, 86–87, 148, 158, 162–71, 174, 183, 187, 189–90, 194, 202–06, 209, 211–12, 215–17, 219–22, 225–26, 228–30, 232–33, 235–36, 238–40, 242–44, 246–53, 257–59, 262–63, 267, 269, 273–76, 278–79, 281
- extended future-in-the-past 7, 202–03, 205, 212, 216–17, 220–22, 237, 262–64, 273–74, 277
- limited future-in-the-past 228
- reported future 27
- future perfect 235
- Gesamtbedeutung* 189, 202, 204, 209, 211
- Ėvġelija 158
- grammatical modality 4–5, 12, 23, 38, 40–42, 63, 183, 199, 211, 213, 258, 260–61, 275, 279
- Greece 152, 245–46, 261, 269
- Greek 1–2, 5, 48, 97, 99, 153, 181, 244–45, 250, 254, 260–64, 266, 269–78, 280–81
- Greek dialects 269–70
- Gulf of Salonika 245
- h*, loss of 46
- retention of 46
- status of in Macedonian dialects 158
- status of in Serbo-Croatian dialects 47–48
- Hauptbedeutung* 9–10, 183, 189, 202, 209, 211–13, 219–20
- Hercegovina 9, 28, 30, 49, 52, 65–66, 68–71, 77, 79–80, 118, 129–31, 135, 150, 152, 154, 223
- historical present 92, 165, 189
- htjeti* 1, 7, 13–15, 22–23, 38, 43, 50–52, 63, 65–67, 79, 82–83, 88, 90–91, 96, 101, 105–08, 111–12, 119–21, 123, 125, 127, 129, 133, 139–40, 145, 147, 154, 213, 222, 228–29, 237
- clitic forms of 23, 113

- full vocalic root 48  
 zero-vocalic root 46, 48–49  
 -*d*- extension in imperfect 48  
 -*j*- extension in imperfect 48  
 -*v*- extension in imperfect 48–49  
 contamination of imperfect with  
   aorist 48  
   two-syllable variant 65, 72, 74–  
     75, 77  
   three-syllable variant 65, 72, 74  
   four-syllable variant 65–66, 77  
 forms of the imperfect  
   *ćadijaše* 44, 48, 66–67  
   *ćadivaše* 48, 66–68  
   *ćak* 113  
   *ćas* 44  
   *ćaš* 44, 48  
   *ćaše* 44, 48, 65–67, 72, 74, 101,  
     108, 120  
   *ćavaše* 44, 48, 66–67, 120  
   *ćaz* 44, 48, 66–67, 97–100  
   *ćedaše* 44, 48, 66–67, 69  
   *ćedijaše* 44, 66–67, 69  
   *ćedivaše* 44, 48, 66–68  
   *hćaše* 46, 66–68, 72  
   *hoćaše* 46, 49, 65–67, 69  
   *hotaše* 46, 49, 66–67, 69  
   *hoteaše* 46, 49  
   *hoteše* 46, 49  
   *hotijaše* 46, 49, 65–68  
   *hotiše* 46, 49, 66–67, 69  
   *hotjaše* 46, 49–67, 69  
   *hotješe* 46, 66–67, 69  
   *hotěaše* 46 **alphabetization?**  
   *htejaše* 43–44, 69  
   *htejaše* 46, 69  
   *htijaše* 43–44, 65–68, 86, 91  
   *htiše* 43, 66–68  
   *htjaše* 44, 46, 65–68  
   *htješe* 66–67, 69  
   *htěaše* 44  
   *kćaše* 44, 46, 65–68  
   *kteaše* 43–44, 46, 66–67, 69  
   *ktiaše* 43–44, 46, 65–67, 69  
   *oćak* 113  
   *oćavaše* 46, 49, 66–67  
   *oćaše* 46, 49, 65–67, 69, 74, 120  
   *otijaše* 46, 66–67, 69  
   *scijaše* 44, 46, 66–67  
   *střaše* 69, 120  
   *teaše* 66–67, 101  
   *teše* 101  
   *tijaše* 44, 46, 65–68  
   *ščadijaše* 44, 48, 65–68  
   *ščadivaše* 44, 48  
   *ščavaše* 44, 48, 65–68, 120  
   *ščedaše* 44, 48, 66–68  
   *ščedijaše* 44, 48, 66–67  
   *ščedaše* 44, 48, 66–67, 69  
   *ščeše* 65–67  
 forms of the perfect  
   *ćao* 97–98, 108  
   *ćeo* 108  
   *htio* 86, 91  
   *ščaja* 109  
   *ščio* 89–90, 96  
   *teo* 108  
 forms of the aorist  
   *htede* 86, 90–91, 109  
   *kti* 98  
   *hti* 98  
   *šće* 89–90, 96  
 Hungary 255  
 Hvar 66  
  
*imati* (in modal contexts) 14, 22,  
 29, 113–14, 121, 125–27, 154,  
 224–26, 241  
 imperative 13, 111–13  
 imperfect 4, 7, 9, 13, 49–56, 62–63,  
 65, 82–84, 86–92, 94, 96, 100–  
 02, 105–09, 111–12, 119–22,  
 124, 126, 129, 131, 133, 135–36,  
 140, 146–47, 154–55, 157–58,

- 160, 165–68, 170–71, 175, 179–81, 185, 189–90, 197, 201–03, 206, 209–10, 212–14, 220, 223–24, 226, 228, 232, 235, 237–38, 240–42, 245–53, 256–59, 261–63, 266–70, 279
- intentional expression (see *namerno-uzročni*) 38, 220–21
- iotation 43, 46  
 first iotation 46  
 third iotation 48–49
- iska* (Bulgarian) 4, 201–02, 209, 275
- Istria 149, 251, 261
- Italian 251
- iterative-habitual 6, 12–13, 26–27, 33–36, 40–42, 58, 61–62, 65, 71, 80–83, 89–90, 96–98, 104–05, 111–13, 116, 118, 121–22, 126, 128–30, 142, 144, 146–48, 151, 154–55, 160, 162–65, 167–68, 170, 174–75, 181, 183, 188–90, 197, 202–06, 208–09, 211, 213–16, 218–19, 221–22, 224–25, 228, 230–33, 237–38, 240, 247–49, 252–53, 257–59, 262–63, 267–68, 273–75, 278–79, 281  
 with 2nd pers. imperative 34
- jam* (Albanian) 237–38
- jat'* 48–49, 185
- kam* (Albanian modal particle) 238–42, 244
- ka* (Macedonian modal particle) 161
- ke* (Macedonian modal particle) 4, 126, 157–58, 160, 163, 165–68, 170, 174–76, 178, 180–81, 232, 235, 249–50, 260, 262, 267–70
- keše* 4, 158, 160, 162–66, 168–71, 173–74, 176, 179–81, 212, 232, 249–50, 268–69
- ki* (Macedonian modal particle) 161
- Kordun 149
- Kosovo 51, 58, 61, 65, 67, 70, 102, 149, 151, 239, 241
- Krk 149
- Kumanovo 161
- Latin 246, 249, 251, 253
- lexical modality 38, 42, 63, 183, 199, 213, 260
- Lika 147, 149
- Macedonia 99, 149, 151, 166, 246, 261
- Macedonian 1, 5, 19, 58, 87, 94, 97, 99–100, 147, 152–53, 155, 157–58, 160, 162–67, 170–71, 174, 177, 180–83, 185, 190, 201, 211–18, 220–22, 225–26, 232, 235, 237, 245, 248–51, 260–61, 267–73, 275–76, 277–81
- Macedonian dialects 126, 158–59, 166, 169, 171, 173, 181, 201, 215, 219, 250
- Bitola 169
- Galičnik 158
- Ėvgelija 158
- Kostur and Florina (Greek Macedonian dialect) 266, 268–70
- Krušovo 171, 173
- Kumanovo 2, 4, 100, 160, 162–63, 166–70, 179–81, 183, 199, 219–20, 250, 268–70
- Marijovo 173
- Pirin 166
- Prilep 169, 174–75, 178–79



- Skopje 158, 162, 168, 180, 270  
 Struga 169, 178  
 Strumica 158  
 Štip 179  
 Maramureş 256  
*me* (Albanian modal particle) 239, 241  
*më të* (Albanian modal particles) 237–38  
*miał* (Polish) 229–30  
*mieć* (Polish ‘to have’) 226, 228–29  
 migrations 100, 147, 149–53, 254, 261, 270, 278  
*moći* 14, 39, 122  
 Montenegro 9–10, 14, 19, 27–28, 30, 35, 39–40, 42, 52, 56–57, 59–61, 65–66, 68–71, 72, 77, 79–81, 100, 102, 109–11, 116, 118, 120, 129–31, 135, 140, 147–55, 180–81, 183, 241, 271–72  
*namerno-uzročni* (‘intentional-causative expression’) 113, 123, 212  
*nasmalko* (Bulgarian) 187, 190, 195, 202–03, 205–06, 221–22, 226  
*niewiele brakowało by* (Polish) 229–30  
 non-affirmative 97, 133, 178  
 non-witnessed category 12, 97–98, 133, 135, 151, 187  
*o mało co nie* (Polish) 228–30, 232  
*oke* (Macedonian ‘to want’—archaic) 158, 180, 268–70  
 Old Church Slavonic (OCS) 2, 8, 23–24, 43, 48, 157–58, 162, 181, 278  
 Old Serbo-Croatian 19, 43, 48, 98  
 optative 20–22, 24, 26–28, 35–36, 90, 96, 98–99, 108, 121, 163–64, 167–68, 170, 201–02, 205–06, 223, 225–26, 228–32, 237–38, 240, 244, 247–49, 259, 263, 265  
 optative/non-past conditional 246  
 optative-subjunctive expression 16  
 palatalization 43–44, 46, 48  
 past definite 242  
 perfect 15, 54, 86, 88, 90, 92, 94, 96–98, 105–08, 124–25, 129, 133, 140, 146, 223–24, 232, 242, 244, 253, 259–60, 270  
 perfective imperfects 202, 206  
 perfective non-past 263  
 periphrastic constructions 7, 229–31  
   with *bi* 19  
   with imperfect of *biti* and *htjeti* 224, 227  
   with *imati* 227  
   with *mieć* 226  
*për të* (Albanian) 238  
 Petrič 185  
 Plevan 185  
 pluperfect 242, 263–64  
 Polish 222, 226, 228–30, 232–33  
 potential 24, 26–27, 35–37, 55–56, 89–90, 96, 102, 107, 110–11, 114–15, 117, 121, 125–27, 144, 146–47, 163, 167, 169–70, 190, 199, 202, 205–06, 209, 225–26, 229, 232, 247–49, 263, 266, 277  
   future potential 110  
   gnomic potential 20, 22–23, 26, 98, 99, 145, 163, 167, 170, 176, 181, 212, 215–17, 219  
   past potential 6, 14, 22, 39  
 potentiality 1, 5, 8–9, 15, 20, 22–23, 35, 39–40, 107, 181, 189–90, 202–05, 209, 211, 217, 233  
*powinien* (Polish) 228–30  
 presumptive 263, 265, 274, 277

- non-past presumptive 263, 265  
 past presumptive 6–7, 36, 39, 42, 148, 163–65, 167, 170, 176, 189–90, 199, 202–04, 205, 214–16, 218–19, 221–22, 228, 230–32, 237–38, 240, 258, 262, 273, 275  
 Prilep 172  
 protasis 22–24, 31, 39, 52, 54–56, 58, 97–98, 111, 117, 165, 173, 200, 203, 223, 236
- quasi-conditional 2, 9–11, 23–28, 35–36, 38, 41–42, 56–58, 60–65, 70, 72, 74–75, 79, 80–83, 87, 89–92, 94, 96, 98–99, 101–02, 104, 106–11, 114–16, 118–20, 123–24, 126–28, 130, 132, 134, 136–42, 146–48, 151, 163–65, 167–68, 181, 183, 199, 201, 211–12, 214, 216–18, 220–22, 226, 228–30, 246–47, 249–52, 256–62, 264, 269–70, 273–77, 279
- quasi-non-past conditional 36, 40–42, 89, 104, 115–16, 118, 127–30, 144–48, 153–54, 182–83, 213–14, 216, 222, 279
- quasi-potential 36, 38, 40–42, 61–62, 80–82, 89, 104, 115–16, 118, 121, 123, 126–30, 142, 146–48, 153, 204, 208, 213, 216, 279
- regressive assimilation 46  
 reported future 27  
 Romance languages 1, 241  
   Balkan Romance 244, 253  
 Rumania 184, 254–56  
 Rumanian 16, 100, 232, 245, 251, 257–58, 261, 274, 280  
 Rumanian dialects 246, 252, 260, 274
- Arumanian 1, 5, 152–53, 181, 245–54, 260–61, 269–72, 274–78, 280–81  
   dialect of Krušovo 248–50  
 Daco-Rumanian 1, 5, 245–46, 250–51, 253–54, 257–58, 261, 264, 270, 272, 275–78, 280–81  
 Banat 255, 261, 265, 270, 271–72, 274, 281  
 Crișana 255, 274  
 Maramureș 255  
 Northern Crișana 258  
 Serbian Banat 257  
 Southern Crișana 257  
 Transylvania 255  
   Western Transylvania 258, 270  
 Istro-Rumanian 2, 245, 250–54, 260–61, 265, 271–72, 274, 280–81  
 Megleno-Rumanian 1, 245, 253, 271–72  
 Russian 9, 91, 222, 228–29, 231–33, 279
- s'* (Arumanian) 246  
*saka* (Macedonian) 4, 163, 168, 180, 266–70  
 Sandžak 9–10, 26, 30, 51–52, 58, 60, 65–66, 77, 80–81, 100–02, 109, 118, 120, 129, 131, 149–50, 152–54, 180, 183, 218–20, 271  
 semantic modality 12  
 Serbia 9–10, 17, 30, 42, 49, 51, 58, 67–71, 79, 81, 97, 99, 102, 109, 112, 116, 129, 131, 147, 149–53, 180–81, 218  
 Serbo-Croatian 1–5, 7–14, 16, 19, 21–23, 28–29, 37–39, 41, 43, 46, 48–49, 53, 58, 63, 82–83, 85, 87, 91, 97–98, 99, 106, 113, 126, 135, 147–50, 157–58, 160, 162–71, 176, 180–83, 190–91, 199,

- 211, 214–15, 217–18, 220, 222–23, 228–29, 231–32, 237, 241, 245–46, 251, 253, 258, 264, 270, 272, 275–76, 278–79, 281
- Serbo-Croatian dialects** 1–5, 8–9, 14, 16, 19–22, 33, 38, 41, 52, 53, 58, 94, 99, 104, 115, 118, 126, 128–29, 131, 148, 168, 181, 183, 199, 201, 211–15, 217–18, 220, 223, 225, 230, 232, 237, 256, 260–61, 264–65, 271–73, 276, 280
- Geographic subgroups**
- East Serbian** 118
  - Hercegovinian** 38, 120, 126
  - Istrian** 251
  - Kosovo-Resava dialects** 18, 48, 53–54, 102–03, 126, 131
  - Janjevo** 102–04, 108, 129
  - Levač** 102–04, 106–07, 129
  - Resava** 102–04, 107–08, 129
  - Trstenik** 102–05, 107, 129
  - Montenegrin dialects** 16, 21–22, 31, 33–34, 36, 38, 41–42, 100, 115–16, 118–19, 126, 129, 144, 149, 153–54, 182, 199–200, 212–13, 217, 219–20, 224, 226, 271–72, 279
  - Bjelopavići** 103–04, 116, 120, 126–27, 129, 141
  - Cetinje** 103, 141
  - Crmnica** 103–04, 116–17, 119, 127
  - Lješan** 103, 116, 141
  - Mrkovići** 103–04, 116–17, 119–20, 129
  - Nikšić dialect** 34, 112, 141
  - Piva and Drobnjak** 103–04, 126, 128
  - Sredjokatun** 141
  - Uskok** 104, 116, 123, 128
  - Morava-Resava dialects** 100
  - Novi Pazar-Sjenica dialects** 129
  - Gallipoli** 48, 97–101, 104, 116, 129, 153
  - Prizren** 103, 153
  - Prizrensko-Timok dialects** 103–04
  - Torlak** 1, 4, 5, 9–10, 16–17, 97, 99–104, 126, 129, 131, 147, 149, 151–53, 185, 210, 218–20
  - Shop dialects** 99
  - Srem dialect** 219–20
  - Timok dialect** 101–02
- linguistic subgroups**
- štokavian** 18, 43, 47–48, 53–54, 100, 120, 136, 140, 153
  - ekavian** 18, 43, 47–48, 53–54, 101, 104
  - Kosovo-Resava** 18, 48, 53–54, 102–03, 126, 131
  - Prizrensko-Timok** 18, 48, 53–54
  - ijekavian** 18, 43, 47–48, 53–54, 103–04, 109, 112
  - Hercegovinian type** 18, 45, 54, 104, 120
  - Banija and Kordun** 18, 47–48, 53, 54
  - Bukovica** 18, 47–48, 53, 54
  - Dubrovnik** 18, 47–48, 53, 54
  - Hercegovina** 18, 47–48, 53, 54
  - Lika** 18, 47–48, 53, 54
  - Northwestern Montenegro** 18, 47, 53, 54
  - Piva and Drobnjak** 104, 129
  - Uskok** 104, 116, 120–22, 125–26, 129, 154
  - Western Serbia** 18, 47, 53, 54

- Zetsko-Južnosandžak dialects  
 103–04, 109, 117  
 Bjelopavlići 103–04, 109–10,  
 112, 114, 125  
 Crmnica 104, 109, 114, 119  
 Janjevo 104, 109  
 Srednjokatun and Lješšan 104,  
 109, 112–13, 115, 120, 123
- ijekavskoščakavski  
 Eastern Bosnia 18, 34, 47–48,  
 54
- older ijekavski  
 Zetsko Južnosandžak 18, 47, 54
- ikavian 18, 43, 47–48  
 Lika 18, 47, 54  
 Western Hercegovina 18, 47,  
 54
- ikavskoščakavski  
 Central Bosnia 18, 47, 48, 54  
 Dalmatia 18, 47, 48, 54  
 Imotski 18, 47, 48, 54  
 Western Bosnia 18, 47–48
- čakavian 18, 43, 46–48, 53–54,  
 136, 140, 153
- ijekavski  
 Lastovo 18
- ikavski  
 Brač 18  
 Hvar 18  
 Korčula 18  
 Split 18
- ikavski-ekavski  
 Šibenik 18
- Moslem 81, 92, 95
- neoštokavian 120, 126
- si* (Meglorumanian modal particle)  
 245
- Skopje 158
- Slovenia 67, 70
- Slovenian 1, 16, 157, 217
- Spanish 232
- Srem 147, 151
- Strumica 158
- subjunctive 23, 35–36, 89–90, 163,  
 226, 229–32, 235–36, 238–40,  
 242, 244–45, 248, 251, 253, 256–  
 60
- imperfect subjunctive 235–36,  
 238, 242, 246–50
- past subjunctive 247
- past perfect subjunctive 236
- perfect subjunctive 238, 240, 246,  
 248–49
- present subjunctive 235, 238–39,  
 241–42, 246–49
- subjunctive-admirative 242
- subjunctive clauses of purpose 21,  
 26–28, 36, 164, 167, 169, 190,  
 202, 206, 229, 238, 240
- ša* (Daco-Rumanian) 246
- šta* (Bulgarian) 4, 5
- šte* (Bulgarian modal particle) 4,  
 185, 210, 275
- šteše* (Bulgarian) 187, 189–94,  
 197–206, 208–10, 219, 232, 275
- taman* (SC) 226
- tažački* 162, 171–75
- të* (Albanian) 238, 242
- tešđ* (Bulgarian) 210
- teše* (Bulgarian) 4
- ‘to be on the point of’ 2, 13, 15,  
 26–29, 35–36, 41, 58, 61–62, 71,  
 80–82, 86–87, 89–90, 94, 96, 98,  
 116, 118, 121, 123–24, 128, 130,  
 133, 135, 137–38, 146, 148, 183,  
 202, 214, 216–18, 222, 226, 228–  
 32, 237–38, 246–47, 249–50,  
 252–54, 256–61, 263, 266, 273–  
 76, 280–81
- Transylvania 254, 256, 259
- trebati* 112, 121, 125
- truncated perfect 15
- tucu* (Meglenorumanian) 245

- Turkish 16, 20, 97  
*tužbalice* 82, 83, 162, 171
- umalo ne* (SC) 10, 15–16, 28, 84,  
 101, 113, 228, 232, 265
- va* (Arumanian modal particle)  
 247–50, 260, 262, 276
- va* expressions (Bulgarian) 197–  
 202, 209
- Vlachs 100
- Vojvodina 67–71, 254
- volition 40, 42
- volitivno značenje* 15
- vre* (Istro-Rumanian) 252
- vrea* (Arumanian) 246–47, 249–50,  
 257, 259
- vu* (Daco-Rumanian) 260
- witnessed 12–13, 97, 151, 185, 187
- właśnie* (Polish ‘just’) 226, 229
- ‘X nearly happened’ 15–16, 26–27,  
 29, 35–36, 41, 58, 60–63, 71, 80–  
 83, 90, 92, 96, 99, 101, 104, 107,  
 109–10, 116, 118, 121, 128–31,  
 133, 135, 140, 146–48, 151, 163–  
 64, 166–67, 169–70, 176, 183,  
 187–88, 190, 195, 202–06, 208,  
 214–18, 221–22, 224, 226, 228–  
 32, 237–38, 243, 245–47, 249–  
 50, 252, 263, 265, 273–81
- ‘X ought to be done’ 238–39, 243–  
 44
- xotel’* (Russian) 230, 279
- xotel* (past tense) 231–32
- Zadar 147
- za malku* (Macedonian) 165, 170,  
 176, 183, 215, 226, 280
- zamalo ne* (SC) 5–16, 28, 101, 113,  
 125, 164
- εἴθε (Greek modal particle) 263
- θα (Greek modal particle) 262–66
- να (Greek modal particle) 262–63,  
 265–66
- παρά λίγο (Greek) 263