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FUTURE IN THE PAST AND CONDITIONAL IN THE BALKAN LANGUAGES¹

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0. Introduction

In the paper, we discuss the origin, the formation and the functions of the future in the past and the conditional in the Balkan languages. Considering the formal side, the Balkan languages may be divided into two groups: Bulgarian and Romanian, which have different forms for the future in the past and the conditional, and Albanian and Greek, which have only one form to express both the tense and the mood. As for the functional aspect, we make an attempt to detect the specific functions of each category and the fields where they intersect.

The conditional of the type 'want'-particle + verb in imperfect is considered one of the central features in the verbal system of the Balkan *Sprachbund*. The relation between the conditional and the future in the past has been widely discussed in Balkan linguistics.² In Greek and Albanian, the verbal form with future and imperfect grammatical markers is used both with temporal (future in the past) and modal (conditional) functions. In the Albanian grammar it is defined as homonymy. In Bulgarian, the Balkan-type conditional is found in the Southwest dialects, while in the standard language the form of the type 'want'-auxiliary in imperfect + *da* 'to' + verb in present coexists with the Slavic-type conditional (*бux*-auxiliary + aorist active participle) in the field of modality and has a temporal value too. The Romanian conditional, 'have'-auxiliary + infinitive, formally differs from the other types attested in the Balkan languages, and additionally there is not a future in the past in the temporal paradigm, but

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² Zb. Gołąb, *Conditionalis typu bałkańskiego w językach południowosłowiańskich*, Wrocław - Kraków - Warszawa, 1964; П. Асенова, *Балканско езикознание*, Велико Търново, 2002.

new forms emerge to express this grammatical meaning. Our study is a part of a wider project exploring the verbal categories in the Balkan *Sprachbund*. In this paper we will discuss the functions of the future in the past and the conditional in the modern standard languages, considering their position in the overall verbal system.

1. Future in the past and conditional in the Indo-European languages

The future in the past (*futurum praeteriti*) is a tense that denotes an event which is forthcoming with respect to a past time reference. Similarly to the simple future and other future tenses, the future in the past has developed modal functions, referring to possible or even counterfactual events. In many Indo-European languages, the future in the past is formally related to the conditional, a mood presenting the event as possible only if another event takes place.

In the ancient Indo-European languages, conditional semantics is most often expressed by using the optative or the subjunctive in the apodosis or in the protasis, or in both. A similar situation is attested in Sanskrit, Ancient Greek and Latin. The new special forms which emerged later often contain future and imperfect marking, cf. Sanskrit conditional which is formed from the future stem with augment and secondary (preterit) ending as the imperfect.³ In Old Irish the conditional is formed by adding the endings of the imperfect to the future stem.⁴

A classical example of the evolution of the future in the past into conditional is the history of the Post-classical and Late Latin use of the periphrasis of the infinitive with the imperfect of the verb *habere*, which primarily possessed temporal value. Fleishman claims that for the Romance conditional “the conditional use was a secondary development contingent upon the earlier use of this form as a future for past time”,⁵ though, as Bybee mentions, she presents no direct historical evidence for this position.⁶

According to García Castillero, the future in the past went through three stages of development: (1) first it appeared in a subordinate clause depending on a verb in the past tense; (2) the future in the past did not depend on a past tense

³ The Rig-Veda has but a single example, *ābhariṣyat* ‘was going to carry off’, see W. D. Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, Cambridge, 1950, p. 363.

⁴ K. Stüber, “The morphology of Celtic”, in J. Klein, B. Joseph, M. Fritz (eds.), *Handbook of Comparative and Historical Indo-European Linguistics*, Volume 2, Berlin – Munich – Boston, 2017, p. 1213.

⁵ S. Fleishman, *The Future in Thought and Language*, Cambridge, 1982, p. 66.

⁶ J. Bybee, L. “The Semantic Development of Past Tense Modals in English”, in J. L. Bybee, S. Fleishman (eds.), *Modality in Grammar and Discourse*, Amsterdam, 1995, p. 504.

in the main clause, and furthermore it appeared as an independent clause; (3) it appeared as the verb of the apodosis of a conditional sentence.⁷

However, Bybee rejects the relation between the conditional and the future at least for English, because the modal meaning of *should* and *would* had developed before *shall* and *will* became future markers. She argues that it is the particular combination between modal semantics and past time that creates the conditional.⁸ In our opinion, where there is a combination between future and preterit, the future represents modal semantics.

In support of Bybee's hypothesis it should be noted that the imperfect in Middle Welsh and Middle Cornish can express conditionality.⁹ Similar examples occur in the languages of the Balkan linguistic area:¹⁰

(1) Bulg. *Ако ме благословеше тати, взимах я за жена веднага.*¹¹

'If I had my father's blessing, I would marry her right now.'

(2) Gr. *Αν τα είχα τώρα αυτά τα λεφτά, αγόραζα ένα σπίτι.*

'If I had the money now, I would buy a house.'

(3) Rom. *În locul lui Vodă, eu nici nu vă mai judecam.* (C. Petrescu)

'If I was the prince, I wouldn't even judge you.'

(4) Alb. *Për Perëndinë, s'e besonja kurrë sikur të mos e kasha pare vetë me syt'e mi.* (J. Xoxe)

'For God's sake, I would never believe it, if I hadn't seen it with my own eyes.'

2. Formation and origin

Depending on whether the future in the past and the conditional are expressed with one and the same form, the Balkan languages could be divided into two types:

- (i) conditional ≠ future in the past: Bulgarian and Romanian;
- (ii) conditional = future in the past: Albanian and Greek.

⁷ C. García Castillero, "Grammaticalization as morphosyntax and representation: Mood from tense markers in the Old Irish and Romance conditional", in K. Hengeveld, H. Narrog, H. Olbertz (eds.), *The Grammaticalization of Tense, Aspect, Modality and Evidentiality*, Berlin - Boston, 2017, p. 194.

⁸ J. Bybee, "The Semantic Development of Past Tense Modals in English...", p. 515.

⁹ J. F. Eska, "The Syntax of Celtic", in J. Klein, B. Joseph, M. Fritz (eds.), *Handbook of Comparative and Historical Indo-European Linguistics*, Volume 2, Berlin - Boston, 2017, p. 1236.

¹⁰ P. Asenova, "Hommage au balkaniste Gerhard Rohlfs", in Th. Kahl, I. Krapova, G. Turano (eds.), *Balkan and South Slavic Enclaves in Italy: Languages, Dialects and Identities*, Cambridge, 2018, p. 112.

¹¹ If the source of the illustrative examples is not specified, either it is unknown, or the example is translated by the authors or by native speakers.

2.1. Bulgarian

2.1.1 Conditional

2.1.1.1 The synthetic conditional (type *яд-ва-м*, *яд-ва-х*) is formed by adding suffixes that are homonymic with the imperfectivization suffixes to basic imperfective verbs or derived perfective or imperfective verbs. The synthetic paradigm has two tenses, present and imperfect, formed with the respective inflectional suffixes¹². The synthetic conditional is archaic and has almost disappeared in modern Bulgarian.

2.1.1.2. In today's literary and spoken language, analytical conditional is preferred. It is formed by a specialized and grammaticalized auxiliary originating from the copula 'be' + aorist active participle (of perfective or imperfective stem):

бих казал/казвал

negative form: *не бих казал/казвал*

In Old Church Slavonic, the auxiliary verb is formed from two different themes of the verb *быти* 'to be': *би-мъ* and *бы-хъ*. In the history of the Slavic languages, relicts from *bimъ*-forms are attested only in the South Slavic linguistic area. In the East and West Slavic area only *buxъ*-forms are attested.¹³ According to the common opinion, **bimъ*-forms are etymologically connected to the optative.¹⁴ There is no consensus about the origin of **buxъ*-forms, but most probably they could be related to the aorist.¹⁵

It should be noted that in standard Macedonian the Slavic type of conditional is preserved too, but the auxiliary has been further grammaticalized and the form of the 3rd person singular has been generalized for all persons and numbers as an invariable particle. Horace G. Lunt mentions the formation with the copula added, which "strengthens the sense of moral necessity":¹⁶

(јас, ти, тој) би кажувал/казал

(јас, ти, тој) не би кажувал/казал

би си решил, би смириле.

¹² Р. Ницолова, *Българска граматика. Морфология*, Sofia, 2008, p. 396.

¹³ Дм. Сичинава, "К проблеме происхождения славянского условного наклонения", in Ю. А. Ландер, В. А. Плунгян, А. Ю. Урманчиева (ред.), *Исследования по теории грамматики 3: Ирреалис и ирреальность*, Moscow, p. 297.

¹⁴ See A. Meillet, *Le slave commun*, Paris, 1934 [1951], p. 213-214 ; A. Vaillant, *Grammaire comparée des langues slaves*, tome III. *Le verbe*, Paris, 1966, p. 95.

¹⁵ *Этимологический словарь славянских языков. Праславянский лексический фонд*, Вып. 3 (**bratъrъ—*sъrky*), под редакцией академика РАН О. Н. Трубачева, Moscow, 1976, p. 157-158.

¹⁶ H.G. Lunt, Horace, *A Grammar of the Macedonian Literary Language*, Skopje, 1952, p. 101.

2.1.2. Future in the past

The future in the past in Bulgarian has two alternate forms with dialectal distribution, both containing future and imperfect morphological markers. Their grammaticalization is related to the grammaticalization of the future.¹⁷

1) 'want'-auxiliary in the imperfect + *да* 'to' + present verb form, perfective or imperfective. The negative form has an invariable particle corresponding to the 3rd person singular of negative imperfect form of the auxiliary 'have' + *да* 'to' + present verb form:

цях да казвам/кажа
нямаше да казвам/кажа

2) 'want'-particle + verb in the imperfect (of both perfective and imperfective verbs). In the negative form, the negation particle *не* is added before the 'want'-particle:

ще казвах/кажех
не ще казвах/не ще кажех

In standard Macedonian and in the majority of its dialects, the earlier pattern consisting of 'want'-particle (invariable form of 3rd person singular in imperfect) + *да* 'to' + present verb form (*ќеше да викам/викна*) has been replaced by the 'want'-particle + imperfect pattern (*ќе читав, ќе читаше*),¹⁸ but, interestingly enough, the two patterns of negation have been preserved:

ќе викав/викнев
не ќе викав/викнев
немаше да викам/викнем

In Bulgarian there is a future perfect in the past which has a complex temporal reference based on two points of orientation and may be used to indicate possible or counterfactual events in conditional clauses. This tense is formed by 'want'-auxiliary in the imperfect + *да* 'to' + verb in the perfect; for the negation the 'have'-auxiliary in the imperfect is used.

цях да съм казвал/казал
нямаше да съм казвал/казал

¹⁷ П. Асенова, *Балканско езикознание...*, p. 238.

¹⁸ M. Belyavski-Frank, *The Balkan conditional in South Slavic*, Munich, 2003, p. 4.

2.2. Romanian

2.2.0. Latin uses analytical constructions to express the future in the past: *cantaturus erat* (*cantaturus*– fut. act. pt.), which is later replaced by *cantare habebat* (impf.) and *cantare habuit* (pf.).

In Classical Latin in both parts of the conditional sentence, tenses of the subjunctive mood are used. In Vulgar Latin in place of subjunctive in the main clause (apodosis), describing a hypothetical event, periphrastic constructions came in use: infinitive + *habebat* (impf.) which is inherited in French, Spanish and Portuguese, etc., and infinitive + *habui* (prf.) inherited in Italian.

Periphrases of the type inf. + *habebat* (impf.) / *habui* (prf.) represent the formal and functional type of the Romance conditional where the future and the imperfect markers are combined. Both have temporal and modal use.

Émile Benveniste¹⁹ points out that this form of periphrastic future (infinitive + *habere*) appeared at the beginning of the 3rd century. According to the French linguist, the vast majority of examples prove that: (i) periphrases began with *habere* and the passive infinitive; (ii) it was first used with *habere* in the imperfect; (iii) it was restricted to subordinate clauses, especially relative ones.

We would like to point out an interesting fact that is parallel to the development in Late/Vulgar Latin and the Romance languages. In Old Church Slavonic, the future in the past is grammaticalized earlier than the future tense.²⁰ In our opinion, the imperfect constructions (хотѣахъ) did not arise before the present ones (хотѣа), but the expression of the future tense varied with different periphrases, whilst the future in the past stabilized faster, as also noted by D. Ivanova-Mircheva,²¹ within the frame of the already developed system of preterit tenses.

2.2.1. Conditional.

As it is well known, the Romanian conditional is opposed to that of the other Romance languages (French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian): (i) in its form since it does not inherit the Latin periphrasis *cantare habebat* / *habui*; (ii) it is not used as future in the past; a form expressing this tense has not been grammaticalized in any period of the history of Romanian and the main reason for this could be the absence of tense agreement.

The Romanian conditional is formed with the etymologically unclear auxiliary *aş*, *ai*, etc. We have no intention to take side in the discussion on the

¹⁹ É. Benveniste, *Problèmes de linguistique générale*, tome 2, Paris, 1974, p. 131 sqq.

²⁰ See П. Асенова, *Балканско езикознание...*, p. 221; К. Мирчев, *Историческа граматика на българския език*, Sofia, 1978, p. 221, 226.

²¹ Д. Иванова-Мирчева, *Развой на бъдещевреме (futurum) в българския език от X до XVIIIв.*, Sofia, 1962, p. 125-126.

origin of the conditional auxiliary from *a avea* ‘have’ or *a vrea* ‘want’ as a starting point.²² In this respect, Gabriela Pană Dindelegan²³ notes:

There are many arguments in favour of the *vrea* (‘want’) hypothesis: it illustrates the typological and semantic relation between the future (the pattern *vrea* in the present + infinitive being already grammaticalized) and the conditional. The emergence of the conditional as a ‘future in the past’, by using the past form of the future auxiliary, would then be the same in western and eastern Romance languages, the sole difference being that this auxiliary was ‘have’ in the west and ‘want’ in the east. An important clue, often mentioned, is offered by the pattern still conserved in Istro-Romanian (*reș/rei/re/rem/reț/re* + infinitive, [...]) and in the regional variant of Banat (*reaș/reai/real/ream/reați/rea* + infinitive, [...]). Finally, the numerous periphrases with *vrea* in OR [...] can be taken as evidence for persistent variation. Moreover, some specific values of the Romanian conditional (optative, desiderative) are better explained by the *vrea* hypothesis.

On the other hand, the Romanian conditional differs from the Balkan conditional forms because it does not contain future and imperfect markers. Attempts to derive the auxiliary verb from the verb *a vrea* in the imperfect seem somewhat tendentious. However, in the history of the Romanian language a variant of conditional, formed by *vrea* (impf.) + infinitive, is attested. It is an exact parallel of the Balkan type of conditional and has been used with the value of future in the past:²⁴

(5) *până vrea întra a grăi cătră dânsul*
 ‘until he had entered to speak with him’

In modern Romanian, there is one pattern of conditional having two tenses. The present conditional is formed by a specialized auxiliary + verb in the infinitive, whilst the past conditional comprises the auxiliary + ‘be’-infinitive + participle:

present conditional: *aș face*
 past conditional: *aș fi făcut*

As the conditional cannot be used with purely temporal functions, Romanian has developed a number of periphrastic constructions, but none of them is completely grammaticalized. A new form emerged to express future in the past based on one of the future patterns, in which the future auxiliary ‘have’

²² See on this recently M. Coene, L. Tasmowski, “On the Balkan-Slavic origins of the Romanian conditional”, *Revue roumaine de linguistique* 51, 2006, 2, p. 231-240; G. Pană Dindelegan (ed.), *The Syntax of Old Romanian*, Oxford, 2016, p. 24.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

acquires imperfect inflectional marker: ‘have’-auxiliary in imperfect + present subjunctive:

am să fac > aveam să fac

Popescu²⁵ explicitly describes the grammaticalization of the constructions as incomplete. This construction has limited distribution: it appears only in contexts with tenses of past reference.²⁶ Colloquial Romanian also uses the imperfect of the verb *a fi* followed by the subjunctive: *era să fac*. In this construction, the modal meaning intersects with the lexical aspect specifying a situation preceding the beginning of a process.²⁷ Comrie notes that “future in the past time reference, though with added semantic parameters, can be obtained also by using other periphrases with future time reference, such as *John was about to leave*, locating a situation of John’s leaving in the immediate future relative to a past reference point”.²⁸

(6) *Tot așa, am avut apoi norocul de a obține o bursă în Italia tocmai când era să înceapă războiul.*²⁹

‘So, I was then fortunate to get a scholarship in Italy just when the war was about to begin’.

A.-M. Barbu also indicates that in interrogative/relative clauses the construction *era* + subjunctive suggests an incertitude:

(7) *Cu cine era să danseze?*³⁰

‘With whom could he dance?’

In addition, other periphrastic forms are used in Romanian. One of them is composed of the impersonal verb *a urma* ‘follow’ in the present (with future semantics) or in the imperfect (with future in the past semantics) + subjunctive.³¹ The construction with *urma* is less grammaticalized than the ‘have’- pattern and the verb has almost completely preserved its lexical content. The impersonal use of the verb *urma* has an exact correspondence in Bulgarian.

²⁵ M. Popescu, “«Viitorul în trecut» în limba română contemporană. Un punct de vedere semantico-pragmatic”, *Revista de Filologie Română* 31, 2014, 1, p. 115.

²⁶ V. Guțu Romalo (ed.), *Gramatica limbii române*, vol I. *Cuvântul*, Bucharest, 2005, p. 441.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 459.

²⁸ B. Comrie, *Tense*, Cambridge, 1985, p. 75.

²⁹ Contrafort.md.

³⁰ A.-M. Barbu, “A fi ‘be’ as modal verb in Romanian”, in M.L. Kotin, R. Whitt (eds.), *To be or not to be? The Verbum Substantivum from Synchronic, Diachronic and Typological Perspectives*, Cambridge, 2015, p. 322-323.

³¹ See *Gramatica limbii române...*, p. 442; D. Vlad, “Le conditionnel en roumain: une forme modale”, *Faits de langue*, 40 (1), 2012, p. 64.

(8) Rom. *Cum nu promisem încă uniforma pe care urma s-o capăt în cadrul bursei, purtam hainele de-acasă.*

‘Since I had not yet received the uniform that was to be given to me as a part of my scholarship, I was bound to wear my clothes from home.’

(9) Bulg. *Ако трябваше да спази ритуала, следваше да отиде в хлебарския и кулинарния магазин и след като купи вестник, да се прибере.* (Андрей Воронин, “Мишена за слепия”).

‘If he had to follow the ritual, he was supposed to go to the baker's and culinary shop and go home after buying a newspaper.’

2.3. Albanian

In Albanian, the conditional is developed on the basis of the future in the past, and in the modern language the tense and the mood use the same form. In the official grammar of Albanian this is defined as homonymy.³² There are several future in the past patterns with dialectal distribution, all of them comprising a future form and an imperfect marker and occurring in conditional sentences.

In Albanian, the Balkan pattern is formed by a ‘want’-particle + *të* ‘to’ + verb in the imperfect. The conjunction *të* ‘to’ is optional and is often omitted in colloquial speech. It is used in the South dialect (Tosk). The complex form of future anterior in the past is used as past conditional:

do (të) shkoja
do (të) kisha shkuar

Another pattern, which is usually defined as Romance type, is based on the auxiliary ‘have’ and has several varieties:

- (i) ‘have’-auxiliary in the imperfect + infinitive
kisha me shkue
- (ii) ‘have’-auxiliary in the imperfect + periphrastic infinitival construction
kisha për të shkuar
- (iii) ‘have’-auxiliary in the imperfect + *të* ‘to’ + verb in the imperfect
kisha të veja

The first variety is the main future in the past and conditional, respectively, in the North Albanian dialect (Gheg), the second one is defined as its correspondence in the South and the Middle dialect, while the third one is found in Arbëreshë, the Italo-Albanian dialect.³³ The ‘have’ pattern is believed to preserve a modal sense of necessity and obligation.

³² Sh. Demiraj (ed.), *Gramatika e gjuhës shqipe. I. Morfologjia*, Tirana, 2002, p. 294.

³³ Sh. Demiraj, *Morfologjia historike e gjuhës shqipe*, Pjesa II, Tirana, 1976, p. 108.

The future perfect in the past, which is also used as past conditional, may be formed only by following the ‘want’ pattern: ‘want’-particle + *të* ‘to’ + verb in the pluperfect.

All the patterns of the future in the past in Albanian use the indicative particle of negation, and not the particle of the oblique moods, which is another proof for their primary temporal character:

nuk do të shkoja, nuk kisha me shkue vs. *të mos shkoj, mos shko*.

2.4. Greek

In Modern Greek, only the Balkan type exists consisting of ‘want’-particle + verb in the imperfect and functioning both as future in the past and conditional. The future perfect in the past used also as past conditional is formed by the ‘want’-particle + verb in the pluperfect:

θα έλεγα
θα είχα πει

However, in katharevousa a pattern of ‘have’-auxiliary + infinitive is preserved, whose early origin is a result of the big number of competing constructions, candidates for grammaticalization of future and future in the past:

ήθελα κλείσει/κλείνει

Similarly to Albanian, negation is formed with the indicative particle:

δεν θα έλεγα vs. *να μην λέγω/πω, μη μου λες*

Unlike Bulgarian, where both imperfective and perfective verbs may form the imperfect and aorist tenses (i.e. there are four possible combinations: imperfective imperfect, perfective aorist, which are standard, and additionally imperfective aorist and perfective imperfect), in Greek the imperfect is formed from the imperfective stem and the aorist from the perfective stem. Therefore, in Bulgarian all patterns of future in the past and the Slavic type of conditional comprise aspectual opposition, while in Greek the imperfect does not allow for perfective stem. The combination of the ‘want’-particle and aorist verb form has been grammaticalized as presumptive.

3. Temporal functions

The temporal functions may be defined with respect to the temporal reference of the verb form, i.e. these are the functions of the future in the past. In the case of the Balkan languages an important issue is whether the common

form of the future in the past and the conditional in Albanian and Greek has all the typical temporal functions, and on the other hand, whether the unique form of the conditional in Bulgarian and Romanian can be found in contexts that are specific for the future in the past.

3.1. Future in the past: forthcoming event in past context

This is one of the typical temporal functions of the future in the past. Similarly to the imperfect, which is called present in the past,³⁴ the future in the past refers to a future event in a sequence of events in the past. In this function it cannot be replaced by the simple future, nor by the conditional.

(10) Bulg. *За никого не беше тайна, колко много е привързан дядо Давид към своя кон. (...) Когато конят стоеше в яхъра, той му изплитаеше гривата и опашката на плитки и само когато **щеше да тръгва**, след като го беше счесал и очистил тъй, че козината му лъщеше като коприна, той разплитаеше тия плитки и тогава гривата и опашката на коня се спущаха на вълнисти къдрици, като косите на момиче.* (Йордан Йовков, “Песента на колелетата”)

‘It was not a secret to anyone how much grandpa David was attached to his horse. (...) When the horse was standing in the stable, he plaited his mane and tail in braids, and only when he was going to leave, after combing and clearing it so that his fur shone like silk, he untangled those braids and then the horse’s mane and tail fell down in wavy curls like the hair of a girl.’

(11) Rom. *Prima mea zi în care **aveam să fac** cunoștință cu locul, colegii și sarcinile mele. Nu știam ce implică să fii un ajutor de ospătar, dar eram foarte entuziasmată și dornică să aflu.* (naniibianca.webnode.ro)

‘My first day when I was going to get to know the place, my colleagues and my tasks. I didn’t know what it means to be an assistant waiter, but I was very enthusiastic and eager to find out.’

(12) Rom. *A plănuit timp de șase ani momentul în care **avea să-și ceară** în căsătorie sufletul pereche.* (adevarul.ro)

‘He has been planning for six years the moment when he was going to propose to his soulmate to marry him.’

(13) Alb. *Ai u ndalua nga policia në portin e Brindizit, në kohën që po i mbarkohej në traqetin që **do të nisej drejt** Shqipërisë.* (tv-channel.tv)

‘He was caught by the police at the Brindizi port when he embarked on the ferry that was about to leave for Albania.’

(14) Gr. *Πήγα το επόμενο βράδυ μέσα στην τρελή χαρά, διότι μου είχε πει ότι **θα τον έβλεπα** και μάλιστα μου είχε προτείνει να κοιμηθώ σπίτι του... Ήξερε ότι πήγα να γι’ αυτόν, το επόμενο πρωί **θα έφευγα**. Όταν λοιπόν έφτασα, μου είπε ότι τελικά είναι δύσκολο να με δει...* (lifo.gr)

‘Next evening, I went there very gladly, because he told me that I was going to see him and offered me to stay in his house... He knew I just wanted to see him and the

³⁴ В. Станков, “Имперфектът в съвременния български език – презент в миналото”, *Български език* 15, 1965, p. 3.

next day I was going to leave. Finally, when I went there, he told me it was very difficult to meet me.'

As the context describes past events, the imperfect marker of the future in the past correlates with the general temporal reference, and the future marker indicates that the event is forthcoming. If the text were transformed in the present, the future in the past form would be replaced by a verb form with future reference only, such as simple future or, in certain types of dependent clauses, present (present perfective in Bulgarian and Greek).

In Romanian, the periphrastic forms of the future in the past are incompatible with the simple perfect, due to the very close relationship that the simple perfect has with the moment of utterance.³⁵

3.2. Future in the past: prediction

Similarly to its primary function to present a future event in a past context, the future in the past occurs in texts describing past events and denotes an event that is forthcoming with respect to the other ones. But unlike this general function, which could be taken as neutral, the event here is presented not as potential, but as already completed and known. The speaker takes the position of someone who is aware of what has happened, i.e. this is a stylistic function of the future in the past, in which the speaker assumes the role of predictor in order to underline the inevitability of the event.

(15) Bulg. Няколко години по-късно **щеше да се окаже**, че претенциите на Багдад не са били неоснователни. (Валентин Костов, "Войните на Саддам")

'Several years later, it would turn out that Bagdad's claims were not unfounded.'

(16) Rom. Poate că dorința sa de a vorbi a fost cea care i-a atras atenția lui Putin (deși câțiva ani mai târziu **avea să-l coste** slujba). (Roxburgh Angus, "Vladimir Putin. Un țar în căutarea unui nou imperiu")

'Maybe it was his desire to talk that sparked Putin's attention (although several years later it would cost him his job).'

(17) Alb. Ushtria e fundit që u erdhi fliste shqip edhe nuk kishte asnjë vend ku të shkonte. **Do të mbetej** aty për 45 vjet të gjatë. (Rudi Erebara, "Epika e yjeve të mëngjesit")

'The last army that came spoke Albanian and there was no place to go. It would stay there for 45 long years.'

(18) Gr. Κανείς, ωστόσο, δεν γνώριζε τότε πως είχε μπροστά του τον άνδρα που σε μερικά χρόνια **θα γινόταν** ο φόβος και ο τρόμος των Ελλήνων πολιτών. (tromaktiko.gr)

'However, nobody knew at that time that in front of them was the man that several years later would become the fear and the terror of all the Greek citizens.'

³⁵ M. Popescu, "«Viitorul în trecut» în limba română contemporană", p. 116.

In Bulgarian and Romanian, the conditional does not occur in such function, as it is not compatible with its prototypical meaning of denoting possible events.

3.3. Future in the past: transforming direct into indirect speech

The future in the past replaces the simple future in indirect speech, which may be interpreted as agreement of tenses: the past tense in the main clause requires a past marking of the verb in the dependent clause, too. Unlike many other languages (such as the Romance languages, for instance), the agreement of tenses is optional in the Balkan languages and the simple future is quite common in dependent clauses of indirect speech.

(19) Bulg. *Каза ми, че **ще** заминава.*

‘She told me that she would leave.’

(20) Bulg. *Сам ѝ се обади сутринта, преди да тръгне към летището, и ѝ каза, че **щеше** да му липсва.* (Даниел Стийл, “Светлините на юга”)

‘Sam called her in the morning before leaving for the airport and told her he was going to miss her.’

(21) Rom. *A zisă **va rezolva** conflictul în trei luni.* (dw.com)

‘He said he would resolve the conflict in three months.’

(22) Rom. *Mama a zis că **o să ne cumpere** computer.* (Liliana Corobca, “Kinderland”)

‘Mom said she would buy us a computer.’

(23) Rom. *Am cerut ieri zi de odihnă de la antrenorul meu dar el mi-a zis că **am să mă odihnesc** altă dată!* (moldova.europalibera.org)

‘Yesterday I asked my coach a day off, but he told me that I should rest some other time.’

(24) Rom. *Azi el mi-a zis că **are să-mi zică** un secret.* (clubluderas.ro)

‘Today he told me he would tell me a secret.’

(25) Dar preşedintele a spus că avea să procedeze la apelul martorilor. (Albert Camus, Străinul)

‘The presiding judge said he was going to proceed with the calling of witnesses.’

(26) Rom. *Doctorul a spus că **avea să fie** foarte bine până atunci.* (Danielle Steel, “Păcatele mamei”)

‘The doctor said she was going to be very well till then.’

(27) Alb. *Nikoliqi nuk tha se **do të shkojmë** në luftë në Kosovë.* (insajderi.com)

‘Nikoliqi did not say that we should fight in Kosovo.’

(28) Alb. *Kryetari i ri ibashkisë së Devollit Eduard Duro pas betimit para këshillit tha se **do të fillonte** punë të hënën.* (dosja.al)

‘The new mayor of Devoll Eduard Duro after taking oath at the council said that he was going to start work on Monday.’

(29) Gr. *Είπε ότι **θα πάει** για τρέξιμο.* (nassosblog.gr)

‘He said he would go jogging.’

(30) Gr. *Μου είπε ότι **θα την πήγαινε** στο δάσος.* (daynight.gr)

‘He said he was going to take her to the forest.’

In Bulgarian and Greek tense agreement is not common and therefore in dependent clauses of indirect speech the simple future is preferred, while the future in the past is an exception. In Romanian, two future patterns (out of four) are mostly found in this type of dependent clauses: *voi* + infinitive and *o* + subjunctive – (21) and (22), respectively. The patterns *oi* (with apheresis from *voi*) + infinitive and *am* + subjunctive occur only occasionally – (23) and (24), and additionally, in the latter the lexical meaning of the auxiliary is preserved, as in (25). We found a few examples where the *am* + subjunctive pattern expresses futurity, the source being from Moldova. The future in the past based on the *am* + subjunctive pattern illustrated in (26) is not very frequent but still occurs more often and has a more abstract (temporal) meaning as compared to the primary future pattern. Bulgarian and Romanian future in the past examples are found mostly in translations of literature. Albanian is the only Balkan language where the future and the future in the past have similar frequencies in dependent clauses of indirect speech. In Bulgarian, Romanian and Greek the dependent clause inherits the past temporal reference from the main clause and subsequently the past marker is redundant.

The conditional in Bulgarian and Romanian may be used in that context, but not with temporal function. It always retains the modal sense of possible event, and the condition of its realization, if not explicitly expressed, is presumable.³⁶

(31) Bulg. Каза, че **би отишла** в лабораторията, (ако можеше).

‘She said she would go to the lab (if she had a chance).’

(32) Rom. Ion a spus că **ar veni**, (dacă l-ai invitat).

‘John said he would come (if you invited him).’

In Albanian and Greek, a conditional reading is context dependent.

(33) Gr. Η Γουέντι είπε ότι **θα το έκανε**, ανέβηκε στο εδώλιο και κοίταζε γύρω της.
(Anubis.gr)

‘Gwendy said she would do it, went to the dock and looked around.’

(34) Gr. ... είπε ότι **θα το έκανε** μόνο αν η Ellen την ακολουθούσε. (jenny.gr)

‘... she said she would do it only if Ellen followed her.’

(35) Alb. Xhemi më njoftoi pak më parë e më tha se **do të vinte** këtu.
(wattpad.com)

‘Xhem informed me earlier and told me he would come here.’

(36) Alb. Ai tha se **do ta bënte** një gjë të tillë, por në prani të evropianëve, nëse përfaqësuesit e Prishtinës e donin atë. (zeri.info)

‘He said he would do something like this, but in the presence of the Europeans, if the representatives of Prishtina wanted it.’

³⁶ For Romanian, cf. D. Vlad, “Le conditionnel en roumain: une forme modale”, p. 64.

3.4. Future in the past: reminding in interrogative sentences

In Bulgarian, Albanian and Greek the future in the past may be used in interrogative sentences to indicate an event which the speaker has forgotten and of which he / she seeks to be reminded.³⁷ The imperfect and the pluperfect in the Balkan languages may also have the function of reminding. When the future in the past is used with that function, the two grammatical markers, for the future and for the imperfect, have specific roles. The primary role of the future marker is to indicate a forthcoming event, wherefore the simple future may be used instead. The imperfect marker relates the event to a past moment when the speaker knew what he/she would like to recall. The semantic component “knowing in the past” may be found in all tenses morphologically marked for the imperfect, i.e. the future in the past, the imperfect, the pluperfect, but it is not included in the simple future. Additionally, the function of reminding implies a previous mention of the information by the interlocutor.

(37) Bulg. *Кога щеше да заминаваш?*

‘When did you say you were leaving?’

(38) Bulg. *Хайде пак ни излъгаха! Нали щеше да завали днес! А колко по-добре би било ако можехме наистина да разчитаме на метеоролозите.*

‘Well, they lied to us again. They said was going to rain today. It would be much better if we could trust meteorologists.’

(39) Alb. *Kur do të ishte konferenca?*

‘When did you say the conference would take place?’

(40) Gr. *Εσύ δε θα πήγαινες για ύπνο;*

‘Didn’t you say you were going to bed?’

(41) Gr. *Πότε είπες ότι θα έφευγες από τη Βενέτσια;*

‘When did you say you were going to leave Venice?’

In Bulgarian, in this context the future in the past cannot be replaced by the conditional.

3.5. Future in the past: unrealized imminence

The future in the past may denote an imminent but unrealized event (the so-called *imminence contrecarrée* ‘thwarted imminence’), i.e. which was about to happen, but finally it did not. In Romanian, this function is typical for the ‘be’-construction³⁸ rather than for the ‘have’ one. However, it should be noted that the construction *era* + subjunctive is never used as a future in the past in modern Romanian.

(42) Bulg. *Щях да падна!*

³⁷ For Bulgarian, P. Ницолова, *Българска граматика*, p. 313.

³⁸ A.-M. Barbu, “A fi ‘be’ as modal verb in Romania”, p. 322-323.

‘I almost fell.’

(43) Bulg. *Внимавай, щеше да си изпуснеш чантата.*

‘Be careful, you were about to drop your bag.’

(44) Rom. *Era să cad.*

‘I almost fell.’

(45) Rom. *Era sa mă înec când am mai venit eu singură fără barcă și apa era destul de mare.*

‘I almost drowned when I came alone without a boat and the water was deep enough.’

(46) Rom. *Avea să se înece, dar a fost salvat.* (protv.md)

‘He almost drowned, but he was saved.’

(47) Alb. Tosk *Do të bija për dhe! / Gheg Pata me ra për dhe!*

‘I almost fell.’

(48) Gr. *Δεν είπες ότι θα μου τηλεφωνούσες πριν από τις εννιά; Πάει δέκα.* (Δζίμμυ Κορίνης, “Ιντρίγκα στο Ιόνιο”)

‘Didn’t you say you would call me before nine? It’s almost ten now.’

This function may be close to modal interpretation, particularly in a compound adversative sentence that can be easily transformed into a complex conditional sentence. As noted by Gołąb³⁹ and Asenova,⁴⁰ this syntactic context was decisive for the transition of the Old Bulgarian construction ‘want’-auxiliary in the imperfect + infinitive from temporal to modal (conditional) meaning. Nevertheless, out of that context the conditional in Bulgarian and Romanian cannot be used instead of the future in the past.

4. Modal functions

We label as modal the functions of the conditional, but in the Balkan languages the future in the past may express modality too, especially if used in conditional sentences. Additionally, the conditional may be reinterpreted and used with other modal meanings, different from possibility of event realization under certain conditions.

4.1. Conditional vs. future in the past: irrealis

The conditional is considered an irrealis mood as it presents the event’s validity as dependent on some condition and subsequently not pertaining to reality. On the other hand, the future tenses present the event as forthcoming (still not pertaining to reality), but its validity rather depends on the degree of the speaker’s conviction that it will come about. As a part of the indicative mood, the future tenses are believed to be a part of the realis.

³⁹ Zb. Gołąb, *Conditionalis typu bałkańskiego w językach południowosłowiańskich*, p. 124-130.

⁴⁰ П. Асенова, *Балканско езикознание*, p. 227.

The usual context in which the conditional occurs are conditional sentences, in which the condition is expressed in the dependent clause (protasis) and its consequence is expressed in the main clause (apodosis). In the Balkan languages, the conditional is mostly found in the apodosis, but in Romanian and Albanian it is frequent in the protasis, too. In Bulgarian, the Slavic type of conditional was also possible in the protasis, but this use is completely lost in the modern language.

In Bulgarian, the future in the past advances in the field of the conditional, whose frequency decreases respectively. There are two main differences between the conditional and the future in the past that further restrict the usage of the former.

The conditional of Slavic type may be used for controlled actions only, while for the future in the past there is not such restriction. If formed from a verb with semantics of non-controlled action (*падам* 'fall down', *разболявам се* 'get ill', etc.), the conditional still has the meaning of a controlled action, often simulated – (50). That is why the conditional of Slavic type cannot be formed from verbs denoting natural phenomena.⁴¹

(49a) Bulg. *Ако имаше грипна епидемия, щях да се разболя.*

(49b) Bulg. **Ако имаше грипна епидемия, бих се разболяла.*

'If there was an influenza epidemic, I would get ill.'

(50) Bulg. *Бих се разболяла от мъка, ако заминеш.*

'I would be ill of grief if you leave.'

(51a) Bulg. *Ако имаше облаци, щеше да завали.*

(51b) Bulg. **Ако имаше облаци, би заваляло.*

'If there were clouds, it would rain.'

Another difference between the future in the past and the conditional is the degree of probability of the event realization. Both grammatical forms ontologically denote a possible event, but suggest a different probability of its realization.

(52a) Bulg. *Ако имах пари, щях да замина.*

(52b) Bulg. *Ако имах пари, бих заминал.*

'If I had money, I would leave.'

The future tenses imply a high degree of probability, i.e. the realization of the event is presented as sure, if the condition comes about – (51a). The conditional suggests a much lower probability of realization: if the condition comes about, it is not sure the consequence will be realized – (52b). The

⁴¹ Cf. P. Ницолова, *Българска граматика*, p. 400.

probability of the event realization for the future in the past is hence evaluated to be 100%, while for conditional it does not exceed 50%.

In fact, there is a relation between the two peculiarities of the Bulgarian conditional. As it denotes a controlled action, its realization depends not only on the condition, but also on the speaker's further decision.

In Romanian the periphrastic forms used to express the future in the past and the conditional do not seem to interfere in the field of irrealis. Similarly to Bulgarian, the future in the past indicates a high degree of probability, but, on the other hand, the conditional is not restricted to controlled actions and subsequently is neutral with respect to the probability of realization (i.e. it can be contextually interpreted). The Romanian conditional holds strong positions in conditional sentences of irrealis, it occurs in both colloquial speech and high registers. The periphrastic forms expressing future in the past are recent formations specialized to indicate temporal relations and may appear in conditional sentences only occasionally.

(53) Rom. *Dacă nu treceam prin aceasta, **aveam să rămân** același copil naiv. Trei ani din viața mea i-am petrecut în Italia.* (teotitude.com)

'If I hadn't experienced all this, I would have remained the same naïve child. I spent three years of my life in Italy.'

As it is expected, in Albanian and Greek there are no semantic restrictions for the use of the grammatically ambiguous form in conditional sentences and it may be formed from verbs both for controlled and non-controlled actions.

(54) Gr. *Σκόνταψα δυο-τρεις φορές και **θα έπεφτα**, αν δε με κρατούσε ο παππούς μου.* (evros-news.gr)

'I stumbled two or three times and I would fall if my grandfather didn't hold me.'

(55) Alb. *Po të më donte Zoti, **nuk do të sëmuresha**.* (forumishqiptar.com)

'If God loved me, I wouldn't get ill.'

Analogously to Romanian, the probability of the event realization is not fixed and may be interpreted with compliance to the context.

4.2. Conditional: potential

The conditional may be used to express a potential event in conditional sentences, but it also occurs in independent clauses without dependency relation to any explicit condition. In Bulgarian and Romanian, in this context the future in the past cannot replace the conditional without changing the meaning of the clause by bringing the temporal reference to the past. The conditional is rather close to the simple future, as potentiality is not related to the past, but the two

grammatical forms differ in terms of certainty. This function exists in Greek and Albanian, which means that the common form of the future in the past and the conditional in this context behaves like the latter and has modal characteristics especially as opposed to the simple future.

(56) Bulg. *Това е основното нещо, което определя колко пари бихме спечелили от един придобит биткойн.* (nova.bg)

‘This is the main thing that specifies how much money we would gain from one bitcoin.’

(57) Rom. *Dacă aş pleca de dimineaţă, aş ajunge la timp.*⁴²

‘If I left in the morning, I would arrive in time.’

(58) Alb. *Pas zgjedhjeve do të shkoja në koalicion me Vetëvendosjen.* (gazetablic.com)

‘After the elections I would enter into coalition with Vetëvendosje.’

(59) Gr. *Για χάρη σας θα έκανα ευχαρίστως μια τέτοια θυσία.* (Pierre Louys, Η γυναίκα και το νευρόσπαστο).

‘For you I would make a sacrifice like this.’

4.3. Temporal orientation of the conditional and the future in the past in conditional sentences

When used in the apodosis of a conditional sentence, the future in the past is restricted by the temporal orientation of the verb in the protasis, as it combines only with past tenses due to its imperfect morphological marking. For the use of the conditional there are no temporal restrictions, i.e. events with past, present and future orientations are possible in the protasis. In Romanian, as already mentioned, the periphrastic forms of the future in the past are not likely to occur in conditional sentences, but in Bulgarian this is another functional distribution of the conditional and the future in the past. In that case the conditional covers a broader temporal range than the future in the past.

(60) Bulg. *Ако вчера беше казал аргументите си, щях да го изслушам / бих го изслушал.*

‘If he had presented his arguments yesterday, I would have listen to him.’

(61) Bulg. *Ако сега казва аргументите си, *щях да го изслушам / бих го изслушал.*

‘If he were presenting his arguments now, I would listen to him.’

(62) Bulg. *Ако утре каже аргументите си, *щях да го изслушам / бих го изслушал.*

‘If he presented his arguments tomorrow, I would listen to him.’

In Albanian and Greek the common form of the conditional and the future in the past may eventually appear in the apodosis, when the event in the

⁴² Al. Graur (coord.), *Gramatica limbii române*, vol. I, Bucharest, 1963, p. 221.

protasis has a present or a future orientation, but as a general rule the simple future will be preferred.

(63) Gr. *Αν δεν βρέξει αύριο, θα πάω / ?θα πήγαίνα.*

‘If it doesn’t rain tomorrow, I will go / ? I would go.’

(64) Alb. *Pra, publikisht po ju siguroj që nesër po të shkojmë në zgjedhje, minimumi 15 deputetë do t’i kemi si parti.* (gazetametro.net)

‘So, I publicly assure you that if we go to elections tomorrow, we will have at least 15 deputies as a party.’

(65) Alb. *Do të ishte diçka e keqe, po të mos shkojmë në Europën e të mëdhenjve për herë të shtatë radhazi.* (gazetamapo.al)

‘It would be bad if we did not enter into the Europe of the big nations for the seventh time in a row.’

The opposition between the future and the conditional consists in the speaker’s commitment to the event realization: the future, as a rule, presents the event as certain, while the conditional as potential and indecisive.

4.4. Conditional of attenuation

The term is borrowed from the Romance linguistics and covers a wide range of functions of the conditional: polite request, wish, or order that something should be done. Using the conditional, the speaker expresses his or her wish in an attenuated manner. This function is well attested in many languages that have a grammaticalized conditional. It is used more often with modal verbs or *verba dicendi*.

(66) Rom. *Ai putea s-o faci tu!*⁴³

‘You could do it yourself!’

(67) Bulg. *Би ли ми подал солта?*

‘Would you pass me the salt?’

(68) Gr. *«Ποιος είστε;» «Το ίδιο ακριβώς θα σας ρωτούσα κι εγώ.»* (Joe Nesbo, “Ογιος”)

‘Who are you? – I would ask you exactly the same thing.’

(69) Alb. *Do të doja të të shoh edhe një herë.*

‘I would like to see you one more time.’

4.5. Conditional as optative

The conditional may have an optative reading in a specific context expressing a desire or hope that something would happen.

(70) Bulg. *Бих пийнал нещо.*

⁴³ S. Reinheimer-Ripeanu, *Lingvistica romanică. Lexic, morfologie, fonetică*, Bucharest, 2001, p. 288.

‘I would have a drink.’

(71) Rom. *Ce-aş mai mânca o ciocolată!*

‘How I would like a chocolate!’

In Romanian, this function is further developed to express wishes or curses (optative-hortative) and has no correspondences in the other Balkan languages, where it is carried out by the optative mood in Albanian and the subjunctive (or subjunctive-like construction) in Albanian, Bulgarian and Greek.⁴⁴

(72) *Usca-s-ar izvoarele toate şi marea,*

Si stinge-s-ar soarele ca lumânarea. (T. Arghezi, *Blesteme*)

‘May all the founts dry up, and so may the sea,

And may the sun fade like a candle light.’

4.6. Conditional as presumptive

In Romanian, the conditional is one of the means to express presumption. There are four patterns of presumptive, based on the *voi* + infinitive future (or the auxiliary with apheresis *oi* + infinitive), the subjunctive, the conditional and the infinitive, all of them with identical temporal paradigms.⁴⁵ A peculiarity of Romanian is the specialization of both future and conditional as presumptive. In Bulgarian, the grammaticalization of the presumptive is initially based on the future tenses, simple future and future anterior (future perfect), and the temporal paradigm is further enlarged. It is interesting to notice that the future in the past of the indicative and the imperfect of the presumptive use the same morphological markers, i.e. for future and imperfect, but with different distribution: in the future in the past form the auxiliary is marked for both future and imperfect (*уцеше да бъде*), while in the presumptive imperfect which emerged after the grammaticalization of the future, the future particle combines with the imperfect form of the lexical verb (*уц да беве*). The Slavic type conditional cannot have presumptive reading in any context.

(73) Rom. *Dar parcă aceasta ar fi profesoara de pian a lui Andrei.* (luceafarul.net)

‘So, it seems to be Andrei’s piano teacher.’

(74) Bulg. *Тъкмо минаваше три – три следобед уц да беве.* (Робърт Ранкин, “Нострадамус ми изядехамстера”)

‘It was most probably three p.m. or a few minutes later.’

⁴⁴ For Romanian, cf. L. S. Florea, “Retour sur l’optatif comme modalité d’énonciation. Une étude portant sur le roumain et le français”, *Dacoromania* s.n., 21 (2), 2016, p. 260.

⁴⁵ T. Mihoc, “The Romanian Presumptive Mood: The key to the Romanian *will*-Future”, available on: <http://scholar.harvard.edu/files/tmihoc/files/mihoc2013.final.pdf>, p. 3.

In Greek, the grammaticalization of the presumptive consists in the combination of the future particle and the aorist of the lexical verb. The simple future may also have a presumptive reading. The common form of the future in the past and the conditional (future marker + imperfect) may express presumption in a very specific context, mainly of the verbs ‘be’ and ‘have’. In Albanian there is not a unique form to express presumption. Most often, the future and the future perfect may have a presumptive interpretation. Similarly to Greek, the future in the past / conditional form may be interpreted as presumptive only occasionally.

(75) Gr. *Αυτή θα ήταν η Μαρία.*

(76) Alb. *Kjo do të ishte Maria.*
‘Probably it’s Maria.’

The presumptive development in the Balkan languages, as in other Indo-European languages, is based on future tenses. It seems that in languages where there is a formal equivalence between the conditional and the future in the past, the conditional may have this function too, as it is the case in the Romance languages. On the other hand, Romanian displays a specific development having parallel paradigms formed on the basis of the future and the conditional.

4.7. Conditional as evidential

In Romanian, the conditional may express evidentiality in a context that supports this grammatical meaning. By a conditional form the speaker may present a non-witnessed event, inferred or reported.

(77) *După ce s-a spus că ar avea un fiu secret, Cătălin Botezatu a spus lucrurilor pe nume!* (evzmonden.ro)

‘After rumors that he might have a secret son, Catalin Botezatu clarified the things.’

(78) *Prezentatorul de televiziune Victor Slav a luat atitudine după ce s-a zvonit că ar avea o nouă relație sentimentală.* (libertatea.ro)

‘The TV presenter Victor Slav took the stand after it had been rumoured that he might have a new sentimental relationship.’

For the development of the evidential meaning of the Romanian conditional two hypotheses may be made. On the one hand, in other Romance languages (cf. French) the conditional has developed an evidential meaning too, therefore Romanian may have followed a common Romance trend. On the other hand, all presumptive patterns in Romanian may express meanings of indirect evidentiality which could be explained as an internal development or as an effect of the Balkan environment taking into account the fact that in Bulgarian and Albanian evidentiality is a grammaticalized category. Among all presumptive

patterns in Romanian, the most evolved in this respect is the future pattern as it may be used without lexical markers that indicate and support the evidential reading.⁴⁶ The hypotheses are not mutually exclusive, as the two trends may have manifested themselves simultaneously.

5. Conclusions

The prototypical function of the future in the past tense is to indicate a forthcoming event in a past temporal context. Functions such as prediction, reminding and unrealized imminence can be regarded as additional, as they enrich its functional field with specific and stylistically marked uses. Tense agreement is not characteristic of the Balkan languages and therefore the future in the past forms occur only occasionally, except for Albanian, where tense agreement is not obligatory, but quite frequent.

In Bulgarian and Romanian, the conditional cannot have the functions of future in the past. In Romanian, the conditional has lost its temporal functions, which have been compensated by newly emerged forms that may occur in past context only.

In languages with unambiguous forms for the conditional and the future in the past the two forms may intersect in the field of irrealis, especially in conditional sentences. In modern Romanian it is not particularly expressed due to the fact that all future in the past formations are recent and have limited use, while the conditional holds strong positions having high frequency and being stylistically neutral and therefore used in all registers. In Bulgarian, both the conditional and the future in the past are frequent in conditional sentences and in many contexts are mutually replaceable, but not always semantically and functionally equivalent. The conditional is restricted to controlled actions, which favours the expanding of the future in the past in the field of irrealis. Unlike Romanian, in Bulgarian conditional is preferred in high registers, while the future in the past is used without any limitations in all registers.

The Bulgarian and Romanian conditionals developed new meanings, besides the more or less trivial use to express attenuation. In Bulgarian, the conditional implies volition, as possibility of the event realization depends not only on the condition in the protasis, but also on the speaker's decision. In Romanian, the conditional gained new meanings in the field of epistemicity.

Greek and Albanian forms comprise both temporal and modal interpretations and neither of the two should be excluded when defining their nature.

⁴⁶ T. Mihoc, "The Romanian Presumptive Mood: The key to the Romanian *will*-Future", p. 6.

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