ON THE BALKAN-SLAVIC ORIGINS OF THE ROMANIAN CONDITIONAL

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Abstract. This article revisits the well-known problem of etymology of the auxiliary in Daco-Romanian conditionals. Based on cross-linguistic evidence and external analyses of Old Romanian data, it is argued that this auxiliary might derive from *(v)rea* 'want', with phonetic reduction of the initial syllable if not immediately preceded by the infinitive. The study further discusses the special status of Romanian conditionals, which disallows them to be used in future in the past contexts. In these contexts, Romanian is said to behave like several other Balkan languages by combining the main verb in the past with a complement clause in which a future operator takes scope over the event expressed by the embedded verb.

1. A BALKAN-ROMANCE SETTING FOR THE ROMANIAN FUTURE AND THE CONDITIONAL

With respect to the expression of the future and conditional, Modern Daco-Romanian seems to pattern more with Balkan languages such as Serbian, Albanian and Macedonian, than with other Romance languages such as French, Italian and Spanish. Similarities viz. differences between Romanian and the languages with which it is geographically resp. genealogically related, can be found on the morphological as well as on the syntactic level: (i) contrary to for instance French (see 3), in its unmarked reading, the Romanian future is not a synthetic form resulting from the combination of the infinitive and the auxiliary *avea* 'have', but rather an analytic construction in which the auxiliary *vrea* 'want' combines with the infinitive. This type of analytic future construction is the one that is found in most Balkan languages, as exemplified by Serbian in (2):

(1)	Petru va face asta mâine. Peter want$_{3.SG.}$ do that tomorrow	Romanian
(2)	Patar će to da uradi sutra. Peter want$_{3.SG}$ that Subj.marker do$_{3SG.}$ tomorrow	Serbian
vs.		
(3)	Pierre fera ça demain. Peter do$_{INF.}$-have$_{3.SG.}$ that tomorrow 'Peter will do that tomorrow'	French

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(ii) Daco-Romanian also has a future that builds on the auxiliary *avea* 'have', but it appears only in periphrastic constructions and with a connotation of obligation. The future reading of this type of construction sets Romanian apart from other Romance languages in which *have* + infinitive only denotes "pure" obligation and is obligatorily introduced by a preposition (see French in 7). Strikingly, in Romanian, constructions of the *avea* type do not allow the lexical verb to appear in front of the infinitive and do not yield a synthetic form of the Romance type. In this respect, Romanian is again similar to Balkan languages such as Albanian or Macedonian (5,6):

(4) Am să scriu. Romanian
(5) Kam të shkruë. Albanian
(6) Imam da pisham. Macedonian
(I) have$_{1.SG.}$ SUBJ MARKER write$_{1.SG.}$

vs.

(7) J'ai à écrire. French
I have$_{1.SG.}$ to write$_{INF.}$

(iii) unlike other Romance languages, Daco-Romanian disallows the temporal use of the conditional: the forms that occur in the apodosis of hypotheticals (8a) cannot be used to express a future in the past. Future in the past readings are obtained either by means of the imperfect of the auxiliary *have* followed by the subjunctive of the main verb or the analytic future with *vrea* 'want' (8b). The same holds for (literary) Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian, Macedonian and Albanian, in which the future in the past reading of the conditional is equally ruled out and only obtains with imperfect *want* followed by the subjunctive of the main verb. Compare in this respect the conditional in hypotheticals in (8a & 9a) to the analytical verb forms in the future in the past contexts in (8b & 9b):

(8) a Dacă ai fi tu acasă, *ar veni* desigur. Romanian
'If you would be home, he would surely come'

b Paul era sigur că **ar veni/avea să vină/va veni* peste două zile.
'Paul was sure that he/she would come after two days'

(9) a Bez tjax ništo ne *bix mogăl* da napiša. Bulgarian
Without them nothing NEG be$_{AOR.1.SG.}$ can$_{PART}$ SUBJ MARKER write$_{1.SG.}$
'Without them I couldn't write anything.'

b Pavel beše siguren, če **bi došăl/šteše da dojde/šte dojde* sled dva dni.
'Paul was sure that he/she would come after two days'

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(iv) however, modern Romanian is unlike Balkan languages in disallowing *vrea* to bear past tense in future in the past readings. This was not the case for earlier stages of the language: in Old Romanian, in the *Praxis*, *vrea* 'want$_{PAST}$' + *să* + Subj / *a* + Inf was used in particular to express imminent future in the past. Compare in this respect Bulgarian *šteše da dojde* 'want$_{PAST3.SG}$ that come$_{PRES}$' to its ungrammatical counterpart *vrea veni* 'want$_{PAST3.SG}$ come$_{INF}$' in a similar context in (10):

(10) Paul era sigur ca *vrea veni peste două zile. Romanian
'Paul was sure that he/she would come after two days'

Table 1 gives an overview of the Balkan and Romance characteristics of the auxiliaries in the future, hypotheticals and future in the past contexts:

Table 1

Auxiliaries in future, hypothetical and future in the past contexts in Romance and Balkan languages

	AUX	Fr.	Sp.	It.	Rom.	Bulg.	Mac.	S-Cr.	Alb.
FUTURE	*Present*	Synthetic			Analytic				
	Want	*	*	*	√	√	√	√	√
	have	√ (suff)	√ (suff)	√ (suff)	(√)	(√$_{NEG}$)	(√)		(√)
CONDITIONAL (in hypotheticals)	*Past*	Synthetic			Analytic				
	Want	*	*	*	?	√	√		√
	have	√ (suff)	√ (suff)	√ (suff)		(√)	(√)		
	Be	*	*	*		(√ $_{P.PART}$)	√	√	
FUTURE IN THE PAST	*Past*	Synthetic			Analytic				
	Want	*	*	*	*	√	√		√
	have	√ (suff)	√ (suff)	√ (suff)	√	(√$_{NEG}$)	(√$_{NEG}$)	(√$_{LIT.}$)	
	Be	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

From the data summarized in Table 1 now follow 2 basic questions that need to be answered. Firstly, in view of a longstanding discussion, it should be determined whether the Romanian conditional is of the Romance (*have*) type or rather of the Balkan (*want* or *be*) type. Secondly, there seems to be no clear indication as to why the Romanian *aş, ai, ar… inf* conditional cannot be used as future in the past. Related to the latter question, the alternative constructions also need to be investigated, in particular the use of the simple future and the imperfect of *have* followed by the subjunctive in this particular context.

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2. ON THE ORIGINS OF THE ROMANIAN CONDITIONAL

2.1. The origins of the conditional in Romance languages

Besides Lanly (1957) who traces back the French conditional to the Latin imperfective of the subjunctive, most grammarians agree on *INF-habere* as the basis for the new synthetic conditional in Romance languages. There are two main types that can be distinguished: (i) *infinitive-habebam* (imperfective), giving rise to the conditional in French, Spanish, Portuguese; and (ii) *infinitive-habui* (perfective), giving rise to the Italian conditional

Both types have a modal (11) as well as a temporal (12) use:

(11) Si j'étais riche, j'*achèterais* une maison à la campagne. French
Se fossi ricco, *comprerei* una casa in campagna. Italian
'If I were rich, I would buy a house in the country'

(12) Paul était sûr qu'elle *reviendrait* après deux jours. French
Paolo era sicuro che *sarebbe tornata* dopo due giorni. Italian
'Paul was sure that she would come back after two days'

2.2. The origins of the conditional in Balkan languages

Old Church Slavonic (henceforth OCS) had no specialized forms to express futurity but generally used the present of perfective verbs. Occasionally, both *hotěti* 'want' or *iměti* 'have' + infinitive could also give rise to future interpretations (Feuillet 1999: 174), the latter however with a connotation of obligation, as in Modern Balkan languages:

(13) a glagolati *imatŭ* OCS
speak have$_{3.SG.}$
'he will/has to speak'

b *Xoštetŭ* bo irodŭ iskati otročję da pogubitŭ e
want$_{3.SG.}$ for Herodes seek child-the to let-perish it
'for Herodes will look for the child to have it killed' (Birnbaum 1958: 129)

Following a.o. Vaillant (1948: 241), OCS conditionals are built with the help of two forms of Indo-European 'be': conditional *bimь* (Macedonian, Serbo-Croatian), or aorist *bыxъ* (Bulgarian) followed by the past participle. These forms basically occurred in the protasis and apodosis of *ašte* 'if'-clauses:

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The past conditional is absent in OCS, i.e. the same form is used to express present and perfect conditional. In future in the past contexts, both the imperfect of *hotěti* 'want' or *iměti* 'have' + infinitive can be found.

Table 2 gives an overview of the different paradigms for the future, conditional and future in the past in both Old Church Slavonic and Vulgar Latin

Table 2

A comparison between Old Church Slavonic and Vulgar Latin auxiliaries in future, conditional and future in the past contexts

<table>
<tr><td></td><td>OCS</td><td colspan="2">Vulgar Latin</td></tr>
<tr><td>Future</td><td>want$_{pres}$ + inf
have$_{pres.}$ + inf</td><td colspan="2">inf-have$_{pres}$
(inter alia)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Conditional hypotheticals</td><td>be + past participle</td><td rowspan="2">inf-have$_{perf.}$</td><td rowspan="2">inf-have$_{imperf.}$</td></tr>
<tr><td>Future in the past</td><td>want$_{IMP}$ + inf
have$_{IMP.}$ + inf</td></tr>
</table>

2.3. The origins of the Romanian conditional

From Table 2, we retain that in languages that are geographically or genealogically related to Romanian, the auxiliary of the conditional can be *have, want* or *be*. For Romanian, no conclusive evidence has been given in the literature for one or another. The three main hypotheses that have been advanced concern *have* or *want* or a mixed paradigm of both. We will give a brief overview of the *pros* and *cons* of each of them and finally suggest that the OCS type of conditional, based on the auxiliary *be* must also be taken into consideration as a possible option.

2.1.1. have

Rosetti (1978) and Elson (1992) both derive the *aş*-auxiliary in the Romanian conditional from Lat. *habere*, the first from the pluperfect subjunctive (HABUISSEM), the latter from the perfect indicative (HABUI) as a Balkan Latin characteristic. Rosetti's hypothesis mainly draws on the semantic relationship between subjunctive and conditional, but is weakened by the absence of the expected form **ase* (see Tiktin 1904). Elson's hypothesis accounts for Eastern Roman conditional formation as opposed to the use of the imperfect in Western Romance, but has to call upon dissociation and reformation of the paradigm to explain the second and third person singular *ari* and *are* and is also confronted with problems of relative chronology, forcing him to posit the existence of sigmatic perfects before the first attestations.

2.1.2. want

Work by Weigand (1896) takes the Romanian conditional to derive from the imperfect of *vrea* (Lat. VOLEBAM) followed by the infinitive: e.g. *face-(v)rea-şi* (*şi*

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< Lat. SIC) > *facere-aşi* > *aşi face*. Reanalysis of word boundaries explains why *reaşi* is reduced to *aşi.* An important argument in favor of this account is that the *vreaşi* paradigm is used as such in the province of Banat and in Istro-Romanian:

(15) "În unele localităţi din Banat, apar forme de condiţionalul present construite cu auxiliarul *a vrea*: *vreaş, vreai, vrea, vream, vreaţi, vrea.* (Sau în variantele menţionate de R. Todoran: *reş, reį, re, re, rem, ret^{i}, re*)" Caragiu (1975: 154)
'In some villages in Banat, the present of the conditional is built with the auxiliary *a vrea*' (… or in the variants mentioned by R. Todoran …)

(16) paradigms for Istro-Romanian (from Kovačec 1971: 148)
'restrictivul (condiţionalul) exprimă dorinţa, voinţa, posibilitatea, îndoiala)'
'the restrictive (conditional) expresses desire, will, possibility, doubt'

reš cântå ; reį cântå; re cântå;
rem cântå, ret cântå; re cântå
reš fost cântå ; reį fost c.; re fost c.;
rem fost c, ret fost c.; re fost c.

Se nu re fi bóra re fi túde maį muśåt. (Kovačec 1971)
if not want$_{PRES.3.SG}$ be tempest, want$_{PRES.3.SG}$ be everything more beautiful
'if it would not be tempest, everything would be more beautiful'

(Se) reš įo tot čåsta avé! (Kovačec 1980: 148)
(if) want$_{PRES.1.SG.}$ I all these have!
'If (only) I would have all these'

A number of difficulties must be considered with respect to this hypothesis. Firstly, the presence of Lat. SIC has to be invoked to derive the 1°p.sg. *aş*, and the 3°p. *are* is said to stem from the the perfect subjunctive (VOLUERIT) instead of the imperfect indicative. More substantive counterarguments can be found in Tiktin (1904) who opposes to the existence of a *reaş, reai, reare,…* type of auxiliary taking Banat and Istroromanian *reaş* to be the result of reinterpretation of *aş* in contexts in which the auxiliary (*aşi, ai, are,…*) occurs in post-infinitival position, e.g. *aşi face* > *facere-aşi.* Under the proposed analysis, Tiktin does not need to call upon phonetic reduction to explain the absence of *vreaş* in Old Romanian. He fails however, to account for the change from long to short infinitive in constructions in which the auxiliary is preposed to the infinitive.

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Taking into consideration that Old Romanian had a present conditional of the type *cântareaş/aş cânta* and a past conditional based on the imperfect of *vrea* + infinitive, Skårup 1982 argues that the paradigm of the auxiliary in the present conditional has developed differently from the lexical verb from which it stems before the introduction of the imperfect of *vrea* + infinitive for the past conditional form. Under such an analysis, the auxiliary of the present conditional can stem from the imperfect of the same verb of which the present has become the auxiliary for formation of the paradigm of the future. This way, the imperfective of *want* is used to form the present, as well as the past conditional (cf. also Aromanian). Skårup further argues that in XVI° Cent. Romanian, the auxiliary behaved more or less like a clitic, i.e. it never occurred in sentence initial position: *AUX-infinitive > infinitive-AUX (cf. *CLIT infinitive > infinitive-CLIT), but both *nu/să/de* + (CLIT) + AUX + INF , and *nu/să/de* INF + (CLIT)+ AUX). In case *reaş, reai, reare,* ... is preceded by an element that is not an infinitive, it is phonetically reduced to *aş, ai, are,* ... :

(17) a Doamne, děi vrě, putě-m-ai curâți. (Ev.St.Luc 5,12, ed. Dimitrescu, p. 107, 123r)
God, if you would, can-$CL_{1.SG.ACC.}$-$would_{2.SG.}$ $clean_{INF.}$
Good Lord, if you wish, you could heal me

b pier'de-lu-vrě ((Ev.St.Luc 17, 33, ed. Dimitrescu, p. 127, 160r)
$loose_{INF.}CL_{3.SG.ACC.}$-$want_{3.SG.}$
he would lose it [his soul]

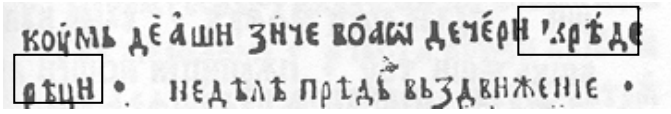
Under this approach, the auxiliary is always *reaş, reai, reară,…*, and the infinitive is always the short one, no additional *-re* morpheme needs to be invoked for infinitives that are preposed to the auxiliary. The absence of Old Romanian *-re* infinitives in front of the auxiliary with preposed clitic (**citire-l-aş* instead of *citi-l-aşi*) is a strong argument in favor of this hypothesis. It is less clear, however, what the origins of *-şi* and *-ră* in resp. *aşi* (1sg.) and *ară* (3sg/pl) might be[1], and why reduction should not take place after the infinitive to which the auxiliary is enclitically attached forms. Tasmowski and Bourova 2005 argue, based on an external analysis of the *Tetraevanghelul* by Coresi (ed. Dimitrescu 1963) that conditional forms of the type INF*reaşi* may occur without any blank space (17a); or, if they occur at the end of a line, hyphenation is found either after the thematic vowel of the infinitive or after *rea-* (17b):

(18) a *vreareai (191r), vreaream (213v), firară (95r), grâireați* (158v)

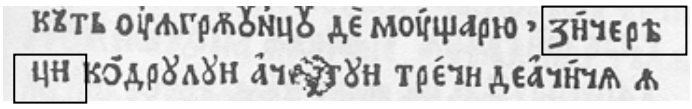
[1] Skårup (1982) suggests that *-ră* is a reflex of preliterary *a* as in e.g. Lat. *laudaver**a**(n)t*.

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b



de pâmântŭ zicŭ voaō şi nu crĕdeţi, cūmŭ de aşi ziče voaō de čeri *crĕde//rĕţi*?
… believe$_{INF}$ *reaţi* (Ev.St.John, ed. Dimitrescu, p. 140, 184r)



zičerĕ//ţi codrului ačestui
say$_{INF}$ *rea-ţi* (Ev.St.Math, ed. Dimitrescu, p.60, 37r)

other examples: *ştira//ră* (130v), *fi//rară* (22v)

Crucially, hyphenation is never found within the *-ea-* diphtongue, as can be expected if the auxiliary were *avea* (e.g. no attestations of *zicere//aţi*).

2.4. Why not BE?

From the previous sections we retain the following findings: (i) the auxiliary of the conditional in both Romance and Balkan languages has been said to be formally past (be it the perfective, Elson 1992, or the aorist/imperfective, Feuillet 1996, Vaillant 1966, Gasparov 2001); (ii) there is no clear counterevidence to Skårup (1982) and Tasmowski and Bourova's (2005) proposal that the auxiliary in the Romanian conditional is *reaş, reai, reară, ...* (whatever its etymology might be) with loss of *-re* if it is not immediately preceded by the infinitive; (iii) there is no satisfactory explanation for the presence of *-şi* and *-ră* in resp. *aşi* (1sg.) and *ară* (3sg/pl), again independently of whether the auxiliary derives from *vrea* or *avea*, (iv) there is no reason why a clitic should be reduced after *să* (i.e. in second position) and not after an infinitive.

Bearing in mind that Romanian verbal morphology shows many similarities with Balkan languages, it seems reasonable to also take *be* into consideration as a plausible candidate from which the auxiliary of the conditional derives. Firstly, contrary to Romance languages, Romanian uses *be* as a perfective auxiliary, instead of *have*. This may be illustrated for the perfect subjunctive (19a), the future anterior (19b), as well as the 16th C analytic past and past perfect (19c,d)

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(19) a <u>subjunctive:</u> Mod. Rom.
Să fi cumpărat el o casă?
SUBJ BE_{AUX} $bought_{PAST\ PART.}$ he a house
'Would he have bought a house?'

b <u>anterior future:</u> Mod.Rom.
Nu va fi cumpărat casă.
$Not\ want_{3.SG.}$ BE_{AUX} bought a house
'he will not have bought a house'

c <u>analytic past</u> *HAVE BEEN + pres. part.*
am fost cântând (Densuşianu 1997) 16th C. Rom.
$have_{1.SG.}$ BE_{AUX} $singing_{PART.PRES.}$
'I have sung'

d <u>analytic pluperfect</u> *eram +past participle* 16th C. Rom.
HAVE BEEN + past participle
spământâ-se (...) ca era elŭ datŭ (*Praxiul* 22, 29, *Coresi*)
frightened-REFL. for $was_{3.SG.IMPERF.}$ him given
'he was afraid for he had laid hands on him'

era vădzuți Trufimu Efeseĭaninulu
$were_{3.PL.IMPERF.}$ seen T. from Ephese
'They had seen T. from Ephese' (*Praxiul* 21, 29, CVoroneț)

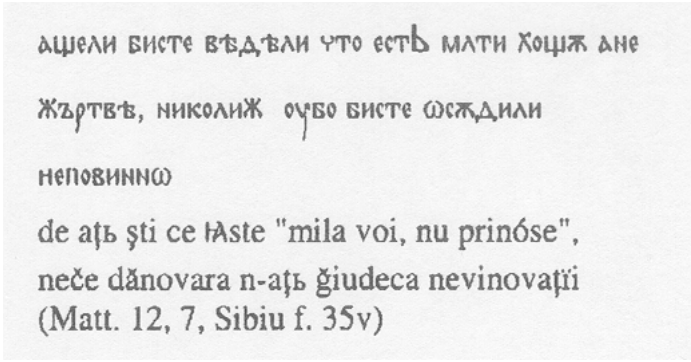
Secondly, the Romanian conditional might derive from *era* 'be_{imperf}' + infinitive, cf. the aorist-imperfective *be* of OCS:

(20) **face-eraşi* > **facereasi*
do-$was_{\ be\ IMP.}$-*şi*
with metathesis of *r* in post-infinitival contexts
(although in Old Rom. metathesis is only found in one particular lexeme, *pertundere,* cf. Densusianu 1997: 417)

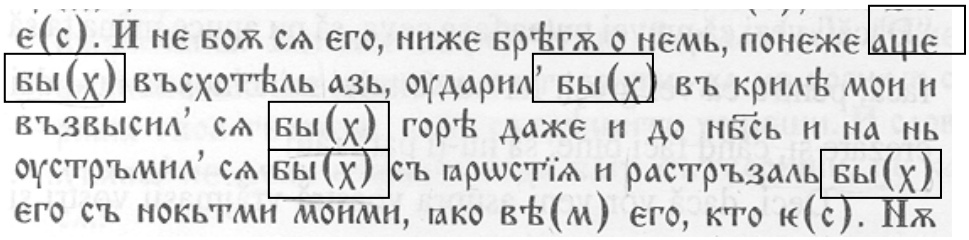
Thirdly, Slavonic-Romanian bilingual texts show that OCS *bi* conditionals are systematically translated into *aş, ai, ar…* conditionals, for instance after *aşte* (OCS equivalent of Romanian *dacă* 'if'):

(21) a. *Evangheliarul slavo-român de la Sibiu*, 1551-1553 (ed. Petrovici 1971)

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аще ли бисте вѣдѣли что естъ мати хощѫ ане
жьртвѣ, николиж оубо бисте осѫдили
неповинноу
de aţь şti ce ĥaste "mila voi, nu prinóse",
neče dănovara n-aţь ğiudeca nevinovaţïi
(Matt. 12, 7, Sibiu f. 35v)

b *Învăţăturile lui Basarab* with Mod. Rom. translation (52r)


є(с). И не боѫ сѧ его, ниже брѣгѫ о немь, понеже аще
бы(χ) въсхотѣль азь, оударил' бы(χ) въ крилѣ мои и
възвысил' сѧ бы(χ) горѣ даже и до нб҃сь и на нь
оустръмил' сѧ бы(χ) съ ꙗрωстїѭ и растръзаль бы(χ)
его съ нокьтми моими, ꙗко вѣ(м) его, кто є(с). Иж

de-*aş* vrea, *aş* da din aripi şi m-*aş* înălţa sus tocmai până la ceruri şi m-*aş* repezi asupră-i cu furie şi l-*aş* sfâşia cu ghearele căci ştiu cine este.
'if I would want, I would move my wings and I would go up right into the sky and I would attack him furiously and I would tear him with up with my claws as I know who he is.'

Similar to the hypothesis advanced by Skårup (1982), one might take the auxiliary to behave like a clitic (see also Tomić 2003 on modal clitics in Balkan future tenses), which, due to a more generalized Tobler-Mussafia rule in XVI° Cent. Romanian ('no clitics in sentence initial position'), have to be preceded by some other element. Only if preceded by the infinitive, the auxiliary is of the form *eraş, erai, erară,…*, otherwise it is reduced to *aş, ai, ară* …

(22) O.R. *nu eraş lăuda > nu aş lăuda
not was *be* IMP.-*si* praise

*lăuda-eraş > *lăudareaş > lăudare-aş
*lăuda-te- reaşi > lăuda-te-aş

Examples from Old Romanian and Modern Romanian poetry show that INF and *reaş, reai, reară,…* may indeed form a cluster if no element (e.g. clitic) intervenes between them (23a). If a clitic is inserted between INF and the auxiliary, *reaş, reai, reară,…* is phonetically reduced to *aş, ai, ară,…* (23b,c,d):

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(23) a veni*re*-ar
come$_{INF\text{-}re}$ would$_{3.SG.}$

*veni-ar
come$_{INF.}$ would$_{3.SG.}$

b arde-l-ar focul
burn$_{INF.}$ CL$_{3.SG.ACC.}$ would$_{3.SG.}$ fire-the
'may the fire burn him'

*arde*re*-l-ar focul
burn$_{INF\text{-}re.}$ CL$_{3.SG.ACC.}$ would$_{3.SG.}$ fire-the

Interestingly, the findings for Romanian INF-CLIT-AUX constructions clearly remind of similar constructions in (older stages of) other Romance languages: if the clitic intervenes between INF and the postposed AUX, no grammaticalization of the auxiliary may occur. Compare Portuguese and Old Spanish (24a-b) to Romanian examples in (23b):

(24) a *comprá-lo-á* Mod. Portuguese
buy-it-has
'he will buy it'

b dar le has Old Spanish
give$_{INF}$ him has (Bourciez 1967: 466, §388)
'you will give him'

dezir vos lo he
say$_{INF.}$ you it have
'I will tell it to you'

3. ROMANIAN AUXILIARIES AS AGREEMENT AND TENSE MARKERS

Contrary to other Romance languages, the Mod. Romanian auxiliary *have* can be used to form the analytic present perfect (*have*$_{AUX}$ + past participle) but it may not bear past tense, and is thus disallowed in the formation of the pluperfect. Compare in this respect French (25a-26a) to Romanian (25b-26b). D'Hulst e.a. (2004) have argued that *have* has become a mere agreement marker bearing the person and number features of the subject (27):

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(25) a. [$_{AgrSP}$ av$_t$ons [$_{vP}$ t [$_{T2P}$ chant$_t$é [$_{VP}$ t]]]]

b. [$_{AgrSP}$ am [$_{T2P}$ cânt$_t$at [$_{VP}$ t]]]]

'we have sung'

(26) a. [$_{AgrSP}$ av$_t$·i$_t$ons [$_{T1P}$ t [$_{vP}$ t' [$_{T2P}$ chant$_t$é [$_{VP}$ t]]]]

b. *[$_{AgrSP}$ ave$_t$·a$_t$m [$_{T1P}$ t [$_{vP}$ t' [$_{T2P}$ cânt$_t$at [$_{VP}$ t]]]]

'we had sung'

(27) *a-m, a-i, a-Ø, a-m, a-ți, a-u* + past participle
verbal stem+agreement marker

Similarly, we take the auxiliary in the Mod. Rom. conditional *aş, ai, ar ...* to be mere agreement markers as well. For the formation of the past conditional, Romanian needs to recur to the insertion of a special auxiliary *fi* 'be' that expresses (past) tense:

(28) a. [$_{AgrSP}$ aş [$_{VP}$ veni]] pres. conditional
would$_{1.SG.}$ come

b. [$_{AgrSP}$ aş [$_{T1P}$ fi [$_{T2P}$ ven$_t$it [$_{VP}$ t]]]] past conditional
would$_{1.SG.}$ be$_{AUX.}$ come$_{PAST\ PART.}$
'I would have come'

The use of Romanian *fi* 'be' as a marker of past tense seems to be directly related to the (Balkan)-Slavic tense system, or quoting Lombard 1954: 711 "*fi* est employé avec valeur active imitée du slave". Interestingly, the absence of tense markers on Rom. *aş, ai, ar...* reminds of the absence of tense markers on *bi* conditionals in Balkan Slavic languages where no opposition between present and past conditionals is morphologically reflected:

(29) Ako beše živ, toj bi se razplakal. Bulgarian
If be$_{IMPERF.3.SG.}$ alive, him$_{DAT}$ be$_{AOR.3.SG.}$ burst$_{PAST.PART.}$ into tears
'If he were alive, he would burst (or: would have bursted) into tears.'

(Feuillet 1995: 40)

4. WHY THE ROMANIAN FUTURE IS ALLOWED IN FUTURE IN THE PAST CONTEXTS

4.1. No inherent future in the past

In the previous sections we have argued that there are three possible candidates from which the auxiliary of the Modern Romanian conditional may

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derive: *have, want* or *be*. Furthermore, we have shown that the *have* and the auxiliary used to form the conditional do not allow tense marking, but require the insertion of a special auxiliary *fi* 'be' that serves this purpose. In this section, we want to take a closer look to the verb forms that appear in future in the past contexts. As illustrated for French and Italian in (11), repeated here as (30), Romance conditionals are ideal candidates to appear in these particular contexts, as they are morphologically marked for $R_{PAST} < E$, see figure 1:

(30) Paul était sûr qu'elle reviendrait après deux jours. French
Paolo era sicuro che sarebbe tornata dopo due giorni.
Paul was sure that she would come after two days.

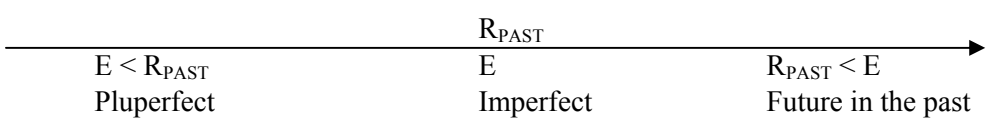


Figure 1

Contrary to other Romance languages, Romanian conditionals are not allowed in future in the past contexts, as the auxiliary (*aş, ai, ar* …) cannot be marked for past tense, having mere agreement features. Instead, the analytic future is used as the Romanian equivalent of the French and Italian conditional in (30):

(31) Paul era sigur că *va veni* peste două zile.
Paul was sure that he/she $want_{3.SG.}$ come after two days.

4.2. The special status of the future

The status of the auxiliary in periphrastic future constructions is comparable to that of the auxiliary in conditionals and to *have* in the analytic past: past tense marking is only allowed by means of insertion of the auxiliary *fi* 'be':

(32) voi cânta
$want_{1.SG.}$ $sing_{INF}$
'I will sing'

voi fi cântat
$want_{1.SG.}$ be $sing_{PAST\ PART.}$
'I will have sung'

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The relative position of the auxiliary *vrea* 'want' of the periphrastic future with respect to negation and the adverb *mai* 'more', shows that it occupies a position higher up in the syntactic structure, presumably somewhere above AgrS, on a par with the auxiliary *have* in the present past and with the subjunctive marker *să*, as illustrated in (33) as compared to (34) and (35) and the schematic overview given in Table 3:

(33)	a.	*nu*	*voi*	*mai*	*cânta*
		not	want.1Sg.	more	sing
(34)		*o*	*să*	*cânt*	
		o	Subj.Mark	sing.1Sg	
(35)		*n-o*	*să*	*mai*	*cânt*
		not-*o*	Subj.Mark	more	sing.1Sg

Table 3

The locus of AUX with respect to NEG and *mai*

	NegP			AgrS	T	…
Pres.Perf.	Nu		am$_j$	mai	t$_j$	cântat$_i$	t$_i$
Future			voi$_j$		t$_j$	cânta$_i$	t$_i$
Subj.Fut.		o	să		cânt$_i$	t$_i$	t$_i$

The auxiliary *o* in the subjunctive future of the *o* + *să* + … type stems from *vrea*$_{3.SG.}$. In the history of the Romanian language, *vrea*$_{3.SG.}$ has gradually lost its agreement features to end up expressing only future. Evidence for such a claim can be found in 16th century paradigms of *vrea*, which still had complete agreement features. From the 18th century on, the auxiliary only bears 3rd person morphology, as is the case for *o/or să cânte* '(s)he/they will sing'; eventually, also number features will be lost. This stage in the evolution of the Romanian language is also illustrated by Modern Aromanian, in which the 3rd person singular form *va* is used in front of the subjunctive for all persons and both singular and plural number. The ultimate step in the evolution of the Romanian future auxiliary is represented by Modern Romanian, where the 3rd p.sg. *va* has undergone an additional phonological reduction to *o* (Lombard 1939):

(36)	Old Romanian	Mod.Aromanian	Mod.Daco-Romanian
	voi să cânt	*va s-cântu*	*o să cânt*
	vei să cânți	*va s-cântsî*	*o să cânți*

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va să cânte	*va s-cântă*	*o să cânte*
vom să cântăm	*va s-cântăm*	*o să cântăm*
veți să cântați	*va s-cântatsî*	*o să cântați*
vor să cânte	*va s-cântă*	*o să cânte*

'I/you/he … will sing'

This kind of evolution is not unique to Romanian. Other Balkan languages such as Bulgarian, Albanian or Greek, have analytic futures built on invariant forms stemming from the 3rd person singular of *want* followed by the present tense of the main verb (indicative or subjunctive).

(37) Utre šte igraja na karti. Bulgarian
Tomorrow, $want_{3.SG.}$ $play_{1.SG.}$ on cards
'Tomorrow, he will play cards'

(38) On će gledati/da gleda film. Serbo-Croatian
He $want_{3.SG.}$ $watch_{inf.}$/subj marker $watch_{3.SG.}$ (a) film
'He will watch a film'

The claim we make is that the particular status of the invariant auxiliary in the analytic future is responsible for its presence in future in the past contexts: its position high up in the syntactic structure (higher than AgrS), turns it into a future operator which has scope over the event expressed in the clause. Hence, unlike Western Romance languages, the Romanian future is not dependent on Speech time and does not project into a tense projection, but has been taken out of the deictic tense system. This is precisely what happens also in complement clauses: the future operator still takes scope over the event expressed by the embedded verb, but if the main verb is in the past, it will yield a future in the past reading. This is illustrated in (8b), repeated here as (39), in which a verb in the past (*era* 'was') takes as a complement the future operator *va* '$want_{3.SG.}$' taking scope over the event expressed by *veni* '$come_{INF}$':

(39) Ion era sigur că va veni peste două zile.
V_{PAST} $[OP_{FUT}…[V]]$
John was sure that (he/she) $want_{3.SG.}$ come after two days.
'John was sure that (s)he would come after two days.

5. ALTERNATIVE STRATEGIES: *AVEA*$_{IMPERF}$ + SUBJUNCTIVE

Embedded clauses headed by a future operator are not the only means to express future in the past in Modern Romanian. An alternative (high register and

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literary) strategy consists in combining the imperfect of *avea* 'have' followed by the main verb in the present of the subjunctive, as illustrated in (40):

(40) a Hărțile ne spuneau că *aveam să intâlnim* in această zi un canal cam pe la km 17.
The maps told us that (we) had$_{IMPERF.1.PL.}$ SUBJ MARKER meet$_{1.PL.}$ that day a canal at about km 17.
'… that we were going to meet …'

b Îi promisese că *avea să vină* într-una din zilele acelei veri toride, fiindcă ardea de dorință şi nerabdare să o cunoască.
He promised$_{3.SG.PQP}$ her that had$_{IMPERF.3.SG.}$ SUBJ MARKER come$_{SUBJ.3.SG.}$ in one of those torrid summerdays because he burned$_{IMPERF.3.SG.}$ of desire and impatience SUB MARKER her know$_{SUBJ.3.SG.}$
'He promised that he was going to come in one of those hot summerdays because he was burning with desire and impatience to know her.'

Again, a similar option seems to be available in Balkan languages, as illustrated for Bulgarian in (41):

(41) Šibil slizaše ot planinata i otivaše da se predade. Bulg. (ex. Feuillet 1995, 36)
S. was coming down from the mountain and was going to surrender.
Utre taja vest šteše da se razčue navjsakăde, no koj šteše da ja povjarva?
Tomorrow this news want$_{3.SG.PAST}$ SUBJ MARKER REFL spread$_{3.SG.}$ everywhere, but who want$_{3.SG.PAST}$ SUBJ MARKER it believe$_{3.SG.}$
'this news would spread … who would believe it.'

Depending on the language in question, two different types of verbs do the job: *have,* as is the case in Romanian, Albanian, literary Serbo-Croatian and in Bulgarian and Macedonian negated sentences; and *want,* in Bulgarian and Macedonian affirmatives.

We believe that in this type of constructions, both *have* and *will* are full verbs that have not been reduced to auxiliaries. They bear both tense and agreement markers and show overt agreement with the subject of the subordinate clause:

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(42)	Bulgarian	(lit.) Romanian
	štjax da četa	aveam să citesc
	šteše da četeš	aveai să citeşti
	šteše da čete	avea să citească
	štjaxme da četem	aveam să citim
	štjaxte da četete	aveați să citiți
	štjaxa da četat	aveau să citească

The subjunctive marker in this type of biclausal construction cannot be omitted, see (43) as opposed to the optional subjunctive marker of the analytic future as in (44):

(43) štjax da ceta — Bulgarian
want$_{IMPF.1.SG.}$ SUBJ marker read$_{PRES.1.SG.}$
'I would read'

aveam să citesc (lit.) — Romanian
have$_{IMP.1.SG.}$ SUBJ marker read$_{PRES.1.SG}$
'I would read'

(44) šte četa — Bulgarian
do (të) skruaj — Albanian
va (si) scriu — Aromanian
want3.Sg. read.1.Sg.
'I will read'
tha grapho — Modern Greek
want.3.Sg. write.1.Sg.
'I will write'

In a parallelism with analytic future constructions in which a future operator takes scope over the event often expressed in the present of the subjunctive, there is a tendency in Balkan languages to replace biclausal constructions in future in the past contexts by a future operator followed by a subjunctive. In this respect, two general tendencies may be found, with Romanian and Bulgarian on the one side (having both biclausal and OP- subjunctive construction)s and with Macedonian, Albanian and Greek on the opposite side (no longer allowing biclausal constructions). An overview of the different types of constructions allowed in future in the past context is given in Table 4. The relevant examples are given in (45-47):

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Table 4

Biclausal *vs* operator use in future in the past

	Biclausal Want$_{IMPF}$ + (Subj Marker) + present	OP + Subjunctive
Romanian	√	√
Bulgarian	√	√
Macedonian	*	√
Albanian	*	√
Greek	*	√

(45) a aveam să citesc (lit.) Romanian
have$_{IMPERF.3.SG.}$ Subj.Marker read$_{PRES.3.SG.}$
'I would read'

b o să citesc
want $_{FUT\ OP}$ Subj Marker read$_{PRES.1.SG.}$
litt. 'I will read'

(46) a štjax da ceta Bulgarian
want$_{IMPERF.1.SG.}$ Subj.Marker read$_{PRES.3.SG.}$
'I would read'

b šte piša
want$_{FUT\ OP}$ write$_{SUBJ.PRES.1.SG.}$
'I will write'

(47) do (të) mësoja Albanian
want$_{FUT.OP}$ Subj Marker learn$_{IMPF.1.SG.}$
'I would learn'

6. CONCLUSION

Summarizing, we have argued that there is no clear evidence with respect to the etymology of the auxiliary in Daco-Romanian conditionals which might have either Latin (*have*) or Balkan-Slavic (*want, be*) origins. However, regardless of its etymology, it seems plausible for *aş, ai, are, ...* to derive from *reaş, reai, rea,...* by phonetical reduction of the initial syllable *(re-)* in case the auxiliary is not immediately preceded by the infinitive.

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The second part of our study deals with the special status of Romanian conditionals, which disallows them to be used in future in the past contexts. In this type of contexts, Romanian behaves like several other Balkan languages in which the main verb in the past combines with a complement clause in which a future operator takes scope over the event expressed by the embedded verb. An alternative strategy consists in the use of a biclausal construction in which *have* functions as a full verb, overtly agreeing with the subject of its complement clause. In this respect, Romanian is closer to Bulgarian than to Albanian, Macedonian or Greek.

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