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## ON A PARALLEL IN THE USE OF SUBJUNCTIVE CONJUNCTIONS IN RUSSIAN AND BULGARIAN

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## Summary

This paper investigates the use of subjunctive conjunctions (ščo da, šo da, šo da, štoto da, ka da, koto da, oti da) in different Bulgarian dialects in Albania, Bulgaria, and Romania in the last two centuries and shows that such uses correspond to the Russian subjunctive conjunctions čtoby, daby, and kaby (used in Ukrainian and Belarussian too). Besides, the authors prove that the phenomenon is not an innovation in South-West Bulgarian dialects due to Albanian influence (as some Russian scholars think) and it is wide-spread over the Bulgarian language territory.

**Key Words:** Bulgarian language, Russian language, subjunctive conjunctions.

## Introduction

In his article on the da-forms in the dialect of the Bulgarian village of Boboštitsa, Korča district, which is located on the territory of Albania, Maxim Makartsev<sup>[1]</sup>, based on material by Andre Mazon<sup>[2]</sup> and on personally collected examples, shows uses of the mentioned constructions, which in fact are forms of the subjunctive mood (in voluntative and purpose clauses). It's about the constructions containing conjunctions of the type što(to) da (in variants ščo da, šo da, so da). Here are some of the examples shown by Makartsev, which he considers an innovation and attributes them to Albanian influence:

... vi dávam povél'a **ščo da** topčíte nat zmíe 'Ja daju vam prikaz nastupat' na zmej' (= \***čtoby** nastupali na zmej) 'English translation: Behold, I give unto you power to tread on serpents'

(literally: so that you could tread on serpents) Luke 10:19 (Example from Mazon);

Ami kóga da póstiš, da bándiš izmíen gláva i óbraz **ščo da** ne se poznávaš pret ljudíti óti postiš 'No kogda postišsja, pust' u tebja budut vymyty golova i litso, **čtoby** ljudi ne videli, čto ty postišsja' 'English translation: But when you fast, put oil on your head and wash your face, **so that** it will not be obvious to others that you are fasting' Matthew 6: 17-18 (Example from Mazon);

Kélko mnógo rabóti d ímaš paténo, za pjet minúti vo telefón ímaš paténo vrjéme, šo da zbórviš ... 'Skol'ko by u tebja del ni bylo, čtoby pogovorit' po telefonu pjat' minut, u tebja vremja est''. English translation: 'No matter how much work you have to do, you have time to talk on the phone for five minutes (literally: so that you could talk for five minutes)' (Example from Makartsev).

While the verb in the above examples is in the present tense, there are also examples in a relative context where the verb is in the imperfect:

... ne mjejme kordhele šo da odjejme vo daskala, ne miejme šo da jedjejme 'U nas ne bylo obuvi, čtoby hodit' v školu, u nas ne bylo čto est' (= \*čtoby eli). English translation: 'We didn't have shoes to go (literally: so that we could go) to school, we didn't have what to eat (literally: we didn't have something so that we could eat)' (Example from Makartsev).

In some cases *umo* may be dropped:

*Imam straj (šo) da ne panvi* 'Ja bojus', **kak by** on(a) ne upal(a)' 'I'm afraid that he (she) might fall/lest he (she) falls' – Alb. *Kam frikë* (*që*) *të mos bjerë* (Example from Makartsev).

The phenomenon on which Makartsev dwells is neither new nor unnoticed so far in Bulgarian studies. Of particular importance is the fact that the Bulgarian *ščo da* corresponds to *čtoby* or *kak by* in Russian. Elsewhere, one of the co-authors of this article (Iv. Iliev), studying the Bulgarian subjunctive mood in diachronic perspective, drew attention to similar forms in the language of the *Troyan Damaskin* from the 17th century according to the publication of A. Ivanova<sup>[3]</sup>:

... a sedma e zapovæd' božia štoto da ne oukradneš' ... 'And the seventh commandment is not to steal';

... devetata e božia zapovæd' štoto da ne skurviš' ... 'The ninth commandment is not to commit fornication' and others;

Examples from contemporary Bulgarian authors were also shown:

Na tretoto zasedanie se reši, **štoto** v sledujuštoto zasedaniee **da** se izberat podkomisii za otdelni vâprosi Elin Pelin 'At the third meeting, it was decided to select subcommittees on individual issues at the next meeting' (= **so that** subcommittees should be elected).<sup>[4]</sup>

Again disagreement was expressed<sup>[5]</sup> with the opinion of Ljubomir Andrejčin<sup>[6]</sup>that the use of the conjunction *štoto* (in practice *štoto da* 'so that'), specifically in Ljuben Karavelov's works (where the use of that conjunction is very commonly met) is under the influence of the Russian conjunction *čtoby*. Here is an example from Karavelov:

No v Avstro-Ungarija ... bi želale, **štoto** "opasnata bâčva" **da** pukne, kolkoto se može po-skoro 'But in Austria-Hungary, [they] would like **so that** the "dangerous barrel" (= the Balkans) burst as soon as possible.'

So, on the one hand we have the opinion of Maxim Makartsev that the forms of the type  $\check{s}to(mo)$  da are an innovation in the southwestern Bulgarian dialects (where they logically are used without the extension to), caused by Albanian influence, and on the other hand we have the opinion of Ljubomir Andrejčin that this is a loan from Russian.

As in many other cases, the truth is somewhere in the middle. The forms mentioned by Makartsev can be found all over the territory where the Bulgarian language is spoken, and

Andreychin's statement cannot be true, specifically for the Bulgarian dialect of Boboštitsa. And not only for it, because later we will see that conjunctions of the type  $štoto\ da$  are spread throughout the Bulgarian language territory. It is a well-known fact that phenomena which do not occur in two closely related literary languages are often found in the dialects of those languages, whose literary norm ignores them. This is the case here, as well. In the Old Bulgarian dialects, along with the literary subjunctive conjunctions of the type of  $da\ bi$  or  $jako\ da^{[7]}$  there were probably subjunctive conjunctions of the type  $*\check{c}'to\ (bi)\ da$ , similar to the Russian  $\check{c}tob(y)$  or the Ukrainian  $\check{s}tob$ , from which traces are left in many Bulgarian dialects. Besides, the word order of the conjunctive elements in the examples often varies. For example:

Dâ slòžâ musâkà, **štòtu dâ** puistìne 'Let me put moussaka (on a plate) **so that** it could cool' Dunavtsi, Kazanlak district – Ganka Dragolova, born in 1946;

Mòž dâ nâpâlniš tàjâ kòfâ, **dâ** svâršim pò-bârzu **štòtu** 'You can fill this bucket **so that** we can get (the work) done faster' (From the same informant);

... dâ gu nâkàrâm (vnuka) **štòt dâ** čitè 'to make him (her grandson) read' (From the same informant);

Às ìskâm **štòt dâ** uzdrâvèj (zâbât) 'I want (my tooth) to get well' (From the same informant);

Gòšo, âκu (Joana) ìskâ, da jâ vòdiš na ùlitsata, **štòt dâ** sâ kâpjâ! 'Gosho, if Joanna wants, take her outside to play on the street **so that** I could take a bath' Dunavtsi, Kazanlak district – Iskra Sivova, (around 40 years old);

Zimà gu (kučeto), **štòtu dâ** ni gù izdè 'He pulled (the dog) **so as** not to eat (the meat)' Svezhen, Karlovo district – Filip Babadžanov, (around 70 years old;

*Šâ dòdâ dâ tâ ispràtâ*, **štòtu dâ** *zâkljùčâ pòrtâtâ* 'I'll come and send you off **so that** I could close the gate', Malomirovo, Elhovo district – Dimka Angelova (around 70 years old);

... tùrgâmi gu f klàd'ântsâ, **štòtu** pò-hlàdnu **dâ** sidì 'We put it in the well **so that** it could stay colder' Glavan, Harmanlii district – Rada Kraleva (born in 1932);

Along with the Russian  $\check{c}tob(y)$ , however, the conjunctions daby and kaby (from the older  $kak\ by$ ) are also used in the same language. The latter in Belarusian is found as kab. In the same way as in the Russian-Ukrainian  $\check{c}tob(y)/\check{s}tob$ , in Bulgarian there are correspondences without a b-element, but with the element da ( $\check{s}\check{c}o\ da$ ,  $\check{s}o\ da$ ,  $\check{s}o\ da$ ,  $\check{s}toto\ da$ ,  $da\ \check{s}toto$ ), the Russian-Belarussian kaby/kab also has correspondences in Bulgarian without b-, but with a da-element ( $kaby\ -kab\ da$ ). We can find them in the archaic Bulgarian dialects on the territory of Romania, specifically in the Byala Slatina dialect:<sup>[8]</sup>

Slès po-nadòle pòpule, **ka da** zèmeš kràvi pò-dobri 'Go down into the field **so that** you could get better cows';

... šte si nàseča dârva, šte si gi tùrâ nâ sùšinâ ka da gi ìmam 'I will cut wood and put them dry to have them (= so that I could have them) (for the winter)' and others;

A similar conjunction (*kòtu da* 'so that') is used in the Bulgarian dialects in Bessarabia. For example, in Kholmskoye, Artsyz district (Ukraine) (Personal information);

*Čirvàtâ sâs idìn šìš gi bùčim, kòtu dâ ni sâ nâprâskât* 'The intestines (of the sausages) are pricked with a skewer **so that** they do not spray' (Anya Dimova – 50 years old).

We have noticed the conjunction  $k \delta to \ da$  in Golitsa and Vinogradnoe, Bolgrad district, as well as elsewhere in Bessarabia. In the village of Tsrânča, Dospat region (in Bulgaria) we came across a variant with the Greek loanword  $\delta ti$ :

... òti dâ ni pàri '... '... so that it would not be hot'.

Maxim Makartsev<sup>[9]</sup> rightly points out that in the Boboštitsa's dialect, the conjunction ščo da

is a synonym of the purpose conjunction za da 'so that/in order to'. However, the latter conjunction has other synonyms too: zam da, ta da,  $\check{ce}$  da. Makartsev shows examples from the Macedonian dialects of the Bulgarian language, [10] in which the conjunction za da is used outside the purpose context:

Ni mòži za da stàni tàs ràbuta '9to (delo) ne možet proizojti' (English translation: 'This (case) cannot happen' – instead of the usual ni mòži da stàni.

The subjunctive context of this sentence is clear when compared with synonymous Russian correspondences containing the conjunction *čtoby*, as are:

Ne možet byť, čtoby oto proizošlo 'It can't be that this happens', or:

Nevozmožno, čtoby sto proizošlo 'Impossible for this to happen'.

We hope that everything said so far, and especially the examples shown, prove the truth of our claims.

<sup>[1]</sup>Makartsev, M. Da-formy v slavjanskih idiomah Albanii. K tipologii albansko-slavjanskih jazykovyh kontaktov, Slavjanskoe jazykoznanie. XVI Meždunarodnyj s'ezd slavistov. Belgrad. 20-27 avgusta 2018 g. Doklady rossijskoj delegatsii. Moskva. Institut slavjanovedenija RAN, pp.

<sup>[2]</sup>Mazon A. Documents, contes et chansons slaves de l'Albanie du Sud. Bibliothèque d'études Balkaniques. V. Paris, 1936.

[3]Ivanova, A. Trojanski damaskin. Bâlgarski pametnik ot XVII vek. Izdatelstvo na BAN. Sofija. 1967, pp. 17-19.

[4]Rečnik na sâvremennija bâlgarski knižoven ezik. T. III. Izdatelstvo na BAN. Sofija. 1959, pp. 665.

<sup>[5]</sup>Iliev, Iv. G. Bolgarskij kon'junktiv v sinhronnom i diahronnom aspektah, *Linguistique balkanique*, 1, 2013, pp. 41-54.

<sup>[6]</sup>Andrejčin, L. Ezik i stil na Ljuben Karavelov, *Godišnik na Sofijskija universitet. Istoriko-filologičeski fakultet*, XLVI. 1949/50, 4 (pp. 1-121), pp. 83.

<sup>[7]</sup>See Iliev 2013.

206-224.

[8] Mladenov, M. Sl. Bâlgarskite govori v Rumânija. Izdatelstvo na BAN. Sofija. 1993, p. 148.

[9]See Makartsev 2018, p. 217.

<sup>[10]</sup>According to Gegovski, D. Okolu subjunktivnite komplementarni rečenitsi vo dijalektite na makedonskiot jazik, *Subjunktiv so poseben osvrt na makedonskite da-konstruktsii. Morfosintaksični studii* III, Makedonska akademija na naukite i umetnostite. Skopje. 2015 (pp. 93-106), p. 91.

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