THE SUBJUNCTIVE IN ISTRO-ROMANIAN AND THE STATUS OF *NECA*[1]

RAMONA CĂTĂLINA CORBEANU[2]

Abstract. The aim of this article is to describe the Istro-Romanian subjunctive, as currently there is no consistent study on it. Building on corpus analysis and comparison with other historical dialects of Romanian, I will show that while the Istro-Romanian subjunctive has specific contexts of occurrence, nonetheless it is hard to extract a general rule, because overt subjunctive morphology only occurs with the verb 'BE'. Istro-Romanian must once have displayed a tendency to overtly mark the subjunctive, following the pattern of other Eastern Romance varieties, as well as other Balkan languages. In the first part, I will identify the values with which the subjunctive occurs both in main and subordinate clauses, alongside those structures that admit a subjunctive (after volition verbs, reporting verbs, perception verbs, factitive verbs). In the second part, my goal is to explain the status of the conjunction *neca* in the structure of the Istro-Romanian subjunctive. Is *neca* a complementizer, a subordinating conjunction, or is it an inflection marker?

Keywords: morphology, syntax, Istro-Romanian, Eastern Romance, Romanian dialectology.

1. INTRODUCTION

In the present article I will focus on the Istro-Romanian subjunctive, since, to the best of my knowledge, there is no dedicated study on this topic. Istro-Romanian, spoken in Istria, Croatia, by a very small number of speakers, all of whom are bilingual (Coteanu 1957, Maiden 2016) and diasporically in rather isolated communities, the largest of which is in New York, shows strong influences from (dialectal) Croatian, and the subjunctive has been directly affected by these influences.

My work is based on corpus analysis and on comparisons with the other historical dialects of Romanian. The Istro-Romanian corpus includes texts recorded after the 1900s (*Texte istroromâne*, by Traian Cantemir, recorded between 1932-1933, *Studii istroromâne. Texte I*, by Sextil Pușcariu (1906-1926), *Dialectul istroromân*, R. Sârbu and V. Frățilă, recorded between 1982-1996 both in the north (Žejane area) and in the south (Šušnjevica

[2] "Iorgu Iordan – Alexandru Rosetti" Institute of Linguistics of the Romanian Academy/ University of Bucharest, Bucharest, catalina.corbeanu@unibuc.ro.

area). Some examples are also taken from A. Kovačec's *Descrierea istroromânei actuale* and from the published volumes of P. Neiescu's *Dicționarul dialectului istroromân*.

In the first part, my goal is to identify the values (deontic, volitional, epistemic, conditional, etc.) with which the subjunctive occurs both in main and in subordinate clauses, as well as in structures that subcategorize for the subjunctive (after volition verbs, reporting verbs, perception verbs, factitive verbs or constructions, conditional structures). In the second part, my goal is to explain the status of the conjunction *neca* in Istro-Romanian.

2. THE ISTRO-ROMANIAN SUBJUNCTIVE

What is known about the subjunctive in Istro-Romanian? For almost all verbs in Istro-Romanian there is no morphological distinction between the forms of the present indicative and those of the subjunctive, even in the third person. Istro-Romanian thus goes even further than Romanian, the latter having replaced the original morphological subjunctive forms by present indicative forms in the first and second persons while the subjunctive is still morphologically distinguished in most third person forms. The Istro-Romanian subjunctive may be said to be *weakly represented* morphologically because the verb 'BE' does retain special subjunctive morphology, whereas all other verbs use the same form as the present indicative; and all subjunctive verbs are preceded by the conjunction *se* (Lat. *si* 'if') or *neca* (Croat. *neka* 'let/may/SUBJ'). See further Caragiu-Marioțeanu (1975: 205); Kovačec (1971: 123, 150, 1984: 575); Hurren (1999: 105), Geană (2017: 210).

Daco-Romanian, Aromanian, and Megleno-Romanian all use the marker *să* (*s-/si/sî*) for the subjunctive (TDR: 457, 575). Slavic languages also have a marker like *să*, namely *da*, which in Old Slavic was a demonstrative adverb (SOR: 15). Comparison with the other Daco-Romance varieties suggests that the original situation in Istro-Romanian was no different, the subjunctive originally having been introduced by *se*. Due to prolonged contact with Croatian and its Čakavian dialect, Istro-Romanian borrowed *neca*, so that beside subjunctive *se* there also appeared a subjunctive *neca*. This view is supported by the fact that the reflex of Latin SI has developed identically in Istro-Romanian and in the other Daco-Romance varieties. In Istro-Romanian, *se* is well attested in its etymological sense, but also with final or goal-related meaning, where it followed the grammaticalization path of becoming a complementizer and a subjunctive-marker.

We have said that, unlike Daco-Romanian, the difference between present indicative and subjunctive forms originally found in the third person (singular and plural) was neutralized in Istro-Romanian in favour of the indicative form, see Caragiu Marioțeanu *et al.* (1977: 225):

	III sg.	III pl.
(is.)	*(ĭe) vire – (ĭe) neca vire*	*(ĭel) pótu – (ĭel) neca potu*
(dr.)	*(el) vine – (el) să vină*	*(ei) pot – (ei) să poată*

As stated above, the only verb for which our sources show a distinctive inflectional pattern for the subjunctive is 'BE' (Popovici 1914: 76, Hurren 1999: 104), as follows:

Neca/se fi(u̯)u/fi(v)u[3]
Neca/se fii̯, fi
Neca/se fii̯e
Neca/se fii̯én/se fii̯ém[4]
Neca/se fii̯eţ
Neca /se fi(u̯)u/fi(v)u

        In the corpus used, I identified several constructions with the subjunctive of the verb 'BE' in the third person singular (1) and two examples for third person plural (2). The corpus showed no results for the other persons. These subjunctives are introduced both by *se* and by *neca*.

(1) a. ***Se***   ***nu***-*ţ*   ***fii̯e***   *rusire,*
          SE.SUBJ   NEG=CL.2SG.DAT   be.SUBJ.3SG   shame.NOM
          spure! (SI 9)
          say.IMPER.2SG
          'Don't be ashamed, speak!'

     b. *Aså*   *i̯e*   *vrut-a*   ***neca***
          like.that   he   want.PPLE=AUX.PERF.3SG NECA.SUBJ
          fii̯e   *si*   *lui*   *câsę* (SI 23)
          be.SUBJ.3SG   also   3SG.M.GEN   house.NOM
          'He wanted his house to be the same'

     c. *Trebe*   ***se***   *segav* ***fii̯e***! (SI 44)
          must   SE.SUBJ   smart be.SUBJ.3SG
          'He must be smart.'

     d. *Cum*   *ŭåi*   *zis,*   ***neca***-*ţ*
          like   AUX.PERF.2SG   say.PPLE   NECA.SUBJ=CL.2SG.DAT
          fii̯e   (TC 9)
          be.SUBJ.3SG
          'As you said so be it'

(2) a. *E*   *feciori* ***neca***   ***fivu***   *toţ*   *ăn*
          and   children NECA.SUBJ   be.SUBJ.3PL   all   in
          cuhńe (TC 58)
          the kitchen
          'And the children should be all in the kitchen.'

     b. *Ia*   *zis*   *lu fečori*   *ke*   ***neca***
          AUX.PERF.3SG   say.PPLEchildren.DAT   that   NECA.SUBJ
          fivu   *câsę* (apud Hurren 1999: 105)
          be.SUBJ.3PL   home.ACC
          'He told the children to be at home.'

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[3] The present indicative forms of the verb 'BE' listed in DDI-II are: "*i̯o sân (ali i̯o sâm), tu âş, i̯e i̯e, noi̯ smo, voi̯ ste, i̯el' âs* (ALR II N 7/2156-2158); *âsâm, âsti, âi̯, âsno, âste, âs* (Pe-Ne S); *i̯o sâm, tu sti, i̯e / i̯å-i̯, noi̯ sno, voi̯ ste, i̯el' âs / i̯åle-s* (Pe-Ne N S)*; i̯o sâm, tu-şti, i̯e e, noi̯ ismo, voi̯ iste, i̯el' âs* (Pe-Ne C)*; i̯o sâm, tu-şti (ali tu işti), i̯e i̯e, noi̯ i̯ismo voi̯ i̯işte, i̯el' i̯escu (ali i̯el' âs)* (Pe-Ne N); *i̯o sâm, tu sti, i̯e-i̯, i̯å- i̯, noi̯ smo, voi̯ ste, i̯el' âs, i̯åle-s* ; *i̯o sâm, tu şti, i̯e-i̯, noi̯ smo, voi̯ ste, i̯el' escu, i̯åle scu* (Ko B); *i̯o sâm, tu-ş, i̯e-i̯, noi̯ smo, voi̯ ste, i̯el' âs* (Ko J)".

[4] The first person plural is marked by -*m* in the north, as in standard Romanian, vs -*n* in the south.

Another observation regarding the verb *fi* 'be' in the third person subjunctive is the occurrence of an unmarked subjunctive (bare subjunctive), without *neca* or *se*, in independent and imperative sentences (3). Note that in Daco-Romanian the subjunctive without *să* is also present (4), and in old Romanian it was much more frequent (Hill 2013: 553, SOR: 16):

(3)   *Dracu   fiĭe-n   voi,   io*
       devil   be.SUBJ.3SG   2PL.ACC   I
       n-oi   pocni!   (TC 48)
       NEG=AUX.FUT.1SG   go.pop.INF
       'Damn you guys, I won't go pop'
(4)   *Fie   cum   doreşti!*
       be.SUBJ.3SG   as   want.PRES.2SG
       'Let it be as you wish'

3. THE VALUES OF THE ISTRO-ROMANIAN SUBJUNCTIVE

The verb forms introduced by *neca* and *să* have a broad distribution, and its modal values are most obvious in independent sentences and in matrix clauses. In subordinate clauses, the subjunctive may carry a modal meaning, but it can also function non-modally, with the subjunctive being required by the matrix (GALR I 2005: 387).

3.1. The values of the subjunctive in independent sentences

The Istro-Romanian subjunctive occurs in independent sentences, with a special illocutionary force, like the subjunctive of the other historical dialects of Romanian (5).

(5)   *Neca   Domnu daie   cum   a*
       NECA.SUBJ   Lord   give.SUBJ.3SG   how   AUX.PERF.3SG
       facut (TC 163)
       do.PPLE
       'May God reward him as he has done!'

In such cases, as in Romanian, the subjunctive has an imperative (exhortative) value. Thus, the Istro-Romanian independent subjunctive occurs in affective constructions, imperatives, 3rd person, expressing advice (6a, b), wishes (6c, d, f), imprecations (6e).

(6)   a.   *Neca   cu   maşina   vire.*   (SF 81)
              NECA.SUBJ   with   car.ACC   come.SUBJ.3SG
              'Let him come by train.'
       b.   *Neca   scoţę   zos   si   neca*
              NECA.SUBJ   jump.SUBJ.3SG   down   and   NECA.SUBJ
              męre-mnănda.   (SI 15)
              go.SUBJ.3SG=walk.GER
              'Let him jump down and walk.'

<table>
<tr><td>c.</td><td>*Neca*
NECA.SUBJ</td><td>*fiĭe*
be.SUBJ.3SG</td><td>*Domnu*
God</td><td>*și*
and</td><td>*cu*
with</td></tr>
</table>

c.   *Neca*   *fiĭe*   *Domnu*   *și*   *cu*
    NECA.SUBJ   be.SUBJ.3SG   God   and   with
    voi   (TC 17)
    CL.2PL.ACC
    'May God be with you.'

d.   *Neca*   *naidę*   *totile*   *ånu.*   (SF 233)
    NECA.SUBJ   be full.SUBJ.3SG   all   year
    'Let him eat his fill the whole year.'

e.   *Neca*   *męre*   *cu*   *dracu!* (Ko, apud DDI-II)
    NECA.SUBJ   go.SUBJ.3SG   with   devil.ACC
    'Let him go with the devil.'

f.   **la**   *neca*   *jiv**e***   *cu*   *mire*   (TC 7)
    She   NECA.SUBJ   live.SUBJ.3SG   with   CL.1SG.ACC
    'May she live with me'

The subjunctive may also occur in the matrix to a conditional clause, expressing wishes (7a), or may occur with a conditional value (7b):

(7)   a.   *Se-ị*   *nostru*   *țåțe*   *viịu,*
            SE.SUBJ=be.PRES.3SG   POS.1PL father.NOM   alive
            neca-l'   *Domnu* *dåịe*   *zdråvl'e.* (SI 35)
            NECA.SUBJ=CL.3SG.DAT   God   give.SUBJ.3SG   health
            'If our father is alive, may God give him health'

     b.   *Néca*   *știu*   *cåre-s ...* (SF 151)
            NECA.SUBJ   know.SUBJ.3PL   who=BE.PRES.3PL
            'If they knew who are…'

3.2. The values of the subjunctive in embedded clauses

When it is used as an object in embedded clauses, the subjunctive preserves modal values especially in reported speech structures, where it is subordinated to a declarative verb. In other situations when it is subordinate to modal verbs, the subjunctive denotes the event or the action and no longer has modal value. Compare (8a) and (8b):

(8)   a.   *Ti-ŭam*   *zis*   *neca*
            CL.2SG.DAT=AUX.1SG   say.PPLE   NECA.SUBJ
            ștepți. (TC 17)
            wait.SUBJ.2SG
            'I told you to wait'

     b.   *Aså*   *ịe*   *vrut-a*   *neca*
            like.that   he   want.PPLE=AUX.PERF.3SG   NECA.SUBJ
            fiịe   *si*   *luị*   *cåsę* (SI 23)
            be.SUBJ.3SG   also   3SG.M.GEN   house.NOM
            'He wanted his house to be the same'

3.3. The subjunctive in purpose clauses

Subjunctive *neca* appears in purpose clauses, especially in adjuncts without obligatory control, with disjoint reference (9a and 9b).

(9) a. *A*   *tremes*   *un drac neca*   *mere*
          AUX.PERF.3SG   send.PPLE   a devil   NECA.SUBJ   go.SUBJ.3SG
          din   *Martin.* (TC 17)
          after   Martin
          'He sent a devil to go after Martin'
     b. *čela*   *om*   *av*   *verit*   *la*   *noi̯*
          that   man   AUX.PERF.3SG   come.PPLE   at   us.ACC
          neca   *âl'*   *čevå*
          neca.SUBJ   cl.DAT.3SG   something
          ajutåm (DDI-I s.v. *ajutå*)
          help.SUBJ1PL
          'That man came to us so that we would help him with something'

4. SYNTACTIC CONTEXTS WITH THE SUBJUNCTIVE

In this section we see contexts in which the subjunctive can appear as the object of some verbs, revealing the relationship between the infinitive on the one hand and the *se*-subjunctive or the *neca*-subjunctive, on the other. Istro-Romanian uses the infinitve to a greater extent than does Romanian. For example, in contexts with the modal verb *mor̯ei* 'be necessary', the infinitive is selected (in Istro-Romanian, *mor̯ei* inflects for person), but the infinitive can also appear in modal impersonal epressions *(fi) treba/potriba* 'it is necessary', in which the subject may only be decoded contextually (Dragomirescu 2018: 70).

(10) *mor̯e*   *bine*   *plati.* (TC 98)
       must.PRES.3SG   well   pay.INF
       'S/he has to pay   well'
(11) *nu-i̯*   *potriba* *v̯e*   *frik̯e* (SI 9)
       not=be.PRES.3SG need   have.INF fear
       'You must not be afraid.'

Nonetheless, I identified in the corpus two examples with *treba* followed by the verb forms introduced by *neca* (12a) and *se* (12b):

(12) a. *Ačia*   *treba*   *neca*   *zicu.* (SF 131)
          here   must   NECA.SUBJ   say.SUBJ1SG
          'Here I have to say'
     b. *Cårle*   *va*   *pre lume-mnå,*   *trebe*
          who   AUX.FUT.3SG   on world=GO.INF   must
          se   *segav*   *fii̯e.* (SI 44)
          SE.SUBJ   smart   be.SUBJ.3SG
          'Whoever will travel the world has to be smart'

In contexts with obligatory control, Istro-Romanian selects the infinitive, unlike Romanian which additionally admits a subjunctive.

A. In Istro-Romanian, the modal verb *puțę* 'can' selects a verb in the infinitive, and not a subjunctive form.

(13)   *te*   *poți*   *maritå* (SI 10)
        CL.REFL.2SG   can.PRES.2SG   marry.INF
        'You can get married.'

B. With regard to the aspectual verbs *pošnę* 'start', *fini* 'finish', *provęi* 'try', the corpus showed they select the infinitive.

(14)   *Åm*   *poşnit*   *lucrå.* (SF 56)
        AUX.PERF.1SG   start.PPLE   work.INF
        'I started to work'

C. In contexts without obligatory control, we encounter, similarly, the infinitive but also the subjunctive in Istro-Romanian. The verbs of wanting select the subjunctive in Romanian (regardless of whether the reference is joint or disjoint), select the subjunctive and the infinitive in Italian (Manzini 2000: 247), but in Croatian they select the infinitive when the subjects are coreferential (Tomić 2002-2003: 355–356):

(15)   *Marija ti ga hoće dati*. (Tomić 2002-2003: 356)
        'Marija wants to give it to you'

In Istro-Romanian, corpus analysis shows that verbs of volition select the infinitive (16), but in isolated cases these verbs may select a verb in the subjunctive (17).

(16)   a.   *Meri-m*   *zutå*   *spelå?* (SI 6)
              want.PRESS.2SG=CL.DAT.1SG   help.INF   wash.INF
              'Do you want to help me to wash?'
        b.   *Meri*   *igręi?* (SI 6)
              want.PRES.2SG   play.INF
              'Do you want to play?'
(17)   *Vrut-a*   *neca*   *l'aie*
        want.PPLE=AUX.PERF.3SG   NECA.SUBJ   take.SUBJ.3SG
        fil'a   *lu cesaru.* (TC 65)
        daughter.DEF   emperor.GEN
        'He wanted to take the emperor's daughter'

Starting from the distinction in Croatian, where some jussive verbs select the subjunctive, whereas volition verbs select either the infinitive or the subjunctive, Zegrean (2012: 37) claims that such a distinction cannot be generalized for Istro-Romanian. Our analysis confirms the presence of the subjunctive in contexts with jussive verbs such as *urdinęi* 'order', *då urdin* 'give an order', *zamoli* 'ask/require' (18), similarly to Croatian,

but with regard to volition verbs, my claim is that they prefer the infinitive, the subjunctive not being totally excluded (in texts recorded, in Noselo, in the south) (see 17).

In sentence (18a) *neca* functions as a particle for subjunctive; the complementizer position is occupied by the *ke* 'that'.

(18)   a.   *Gospodåru*   *mń-a*   *dåt*
            master   CL.DAT.1SG=AUX.PERF.3SG   give.PPLE
            urdin   *ke*   *neca*   *tot*   *din cåsę*
            order.ACC   that   NECA.SUBJ   all   from house
            puńg   *pre baladur.* (SI 19)
            put.SUBJ.1SG   on the porch
            'My master ordered me to put everything from the house on the porch'
       b.   *Grofu*   *urdineit-a*   *lu*   *pechi*
            count.DEF   order.PPLE=AUX.PERF.3SG DAT   bakers
            neca   *fornu*   *zarescu.* (TC 53)
            NECA.SUBJ   oven.ACC   heat.SUBJ.3PL
            'The count ordered the bakers to turn on the oven'
       c.   *Ali*   *ie*   *m-å*   *zamolit*
            but   he   CL.ACC.1SG= AUX.PERF.3SG   ask.PPLE
            neca   *cl'emu.* (SF 168)
            NECA.SUBJ   call.SUBJ.1SG
            'But he asked me to call him'

Verba dicendi (19), factitive constructions (20), impersonal constructions (21) select the subjunctive.

(19)   *Ziţe*   *Domnul neca*   *vire*   *ịe*
            say.PRES.3SG   God   NECA.SUBJ   come.SUBJ.3SG   he
            fåre.   (SI 37)
            outside
            'God tells him to come outside'
(20)   *Domnu fåţe*   *neca*   *vire*   *åpa*
            God.DEF make.PRES.3SG.   NECA.SUBJ   come.SUBJ.3SG   water.DEF
            ăntru
            inside
            'God makes water come inside' (SI 26)
(21)   *Mai bire*   *ra*   *fi*   *neca*
            more well   AUX.COND.3SG   be   NECA.SUBJ
            mejeţ   *din*   *a me*   *iåpa.*   (TC 123)
            go.SUBJ.2PL   from   POS.1SG   mare
            'It would be better to go after my mare''

Relative infinitival constructions are well attested in Istro-Romanian, where the infinitive has no competition from the subjunctive (in Romanian the subjunctive is also allowed in this kind of construction).

(22) *N-å*   *avut*   *čire*   *de*   *mire*
      NEG=AUX.PERF.3SG   have.PPLE   who   with   me.ACC
      lucrå. (SF 74)
      work.INF
      'There was no one to work with me'

5. THE ORIGIN AND STATUS OF *NECA*

5.1. The origin of *neka*

Neca is a loan from Croatian *neka*, where it functions as a morphosyntactic marker for suggestion, pleas, exhortation, wish, permission (similar to Engl. *let*) (Tomić 2006: 504), a marker for the imperative sentences:

(23) *Neka u korismu u   naše   selo.*
      'Let it be useful in   our   village' (*apud* Stevanović 1979: 705)

5.2. The status of *neka*

Meillet (1952) and Hamm (1975) mention only the use of *neka* as a permission marker. The *Rečnik srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika* (1969: 701) adds the following syntactic use: IF, EVEN IF, and notes a freer syntax for *neka* in Croatian as compared to Macedonian, where it can be separated from the verb only by a negator or a clitic.

The conditional value and the morphosyntactic function of *neca* in Istro-Romanian are borrowed from Croatian (*neka* 'in order to, so that') (Vrzić and Doričić 2014: 110). In Croatian *neka* is used to denote a fulfillable directive, can be used only for first (expressing an exhortation for the joint completion of an action in which the speaker will participate) and third person (expressing permission, tolerance, concession, request), making it the most restrictive modal particle Kramer (1986: 74). Vrzić and Doričić (2014: 110) argue that Istro-Romanian *neca* is a complementizer.

In Istro-Romanian, *neca* introduces final adjuncts:

(24) *dupa*   *do*   *ure*   *se*   *cu*   *mušl'u*
      after   two   hours   CL.REFL.3   with   moss.ACC
      *poč*epę   neca   nu   zråcu   męže
      cover.PRES.3SG   NECA.SUBJ   NEG   air.NOM go.SUBJ.3SG
      ânuntru (Ko 192)
      inside
      'after two hours it is plugged with moss so that the air cannot get inside'

Neca may still introduce conditional adjuncts, appearing with verbs in the present, future, or conditional:

(25)   a.   *(oi̯a)*   *neca*   *crẹpa*   *ali*   *neca-i̯*
              (sheep)   neca   die.PRES.3SG   or   neca=be.PRES.3SG
              furåta   *neca*   *miliţiia*   *čåre* (Ko 194)
              steal.PPLE.F.SG   neca.SUBJ   police   look.for.SUBJ.3SG
              'If (the sheep) dies or it is stolen then let the police look for it.'
        b.   *Neca-l*   *vom*   *aflå.*   (SF 55)
              NECA.SUBJ=CL.ACC.3SG   AUX.FUT.1PL   find.INF
              'If we will find him'
        c.   *neca*   *i̯o*   *rẹš*   *fos*   *colẹ*   *fi*
              neca   I   AUX.COND.1SG   be.PPLE   there   be.INF
              io   *rẹš*   *tot*   *čåsta*   *fos*   *facut* (Ko 194)
              I   AUX.COND.1SG   all   this   be.PPLE   do.PPLE
              'If I had been there I'd have done everything.'

In Romanian, through a grammaticalization process, *să* became a subjunctive marker (GR 2013: 30). In old Romanian, *să* could be followed by a verb in the indicative (26a) or the conditional (26b), with the meaning 'if'.

(26)   a.   *să eşti şi păcătos, nu te mâhni* (Coresi în SOR)
                    'If you are a sinner, don't be sad'
        b.   *Ce folos e omului, să ară dobândi toată lumea.* (Coresi în SOR)
                    'What shall it profit a man if he should gain the whole world'

5.3. The features of *neca* in Istro-Romanian

5.3.1. Obligatory element
Neca can only be absent in (some) imperative sentences.

(27)   *Dracu*   *fii̯e-n*   *voi,*   *io*
        Devil.DEF   be.SUBJ.3SG=in   ACC.2PL   I
        n-oi   *pocni!* (TC 48)
        NEG=AUX.FUT.1SG   go.pop
        'Damn you guys, I won't go pop'

5.3.2. The absence of **neca** in coordination
In the case of coordinating two subjunctive constructions, *neca* precedes the verb in the former construction, but not necessarily in the latter (which is not possible for *să* in Daco-Romanian: *L-a rugat **să** plece şi *(**să**) nu mai vină* 'S/he asked him to leave and not to come back'):

(28)   *Voi*   *n-ŭareţ*   *niş*   *ticni*
        you.PL   NEG=PRES.2PL   nothing   touch
        de   *ia,*   *neca*   *ne*   *spele*
        from   she   NECA.SUBJ   CL.ACC.1PL   wash.SUBJ.3SG
        şi   *scuhe.* (TC 49)
        and   cook.SUBJ.3SG
        'You shouldn't touch from her at all, so she will wash us and cook for us'

In the same sentence, coordination may involve a subjunctive with *neca* and another subjunctive with *se*, showing thus that neither of these is specialized as a marker for the subjunctive in Istro-Romanian:

(29)   *Ie-vo*   *tunţe*   *rogę,*
          he=CL.ACC.F.3SG   then   ask.PRES.3SG
          neca-l   *låịe*   *cu*   *sire*
          NECA.SUBJ=CL.ACC.3SG   take.SUBJ.3SG   with   self
          si   *se*   *nu*   *lu niţur*   *spure*. (SI 33)
          and   SE.SUBJ   NEG   DAT no-one   tell.SUBJ.3SG
          'Then he$_i$ asks her, to take him$_j$ with her and not to tell anyone'

5.3.3. Separability

Separability shows *the syntactic independence* of *neca*, given that it is not entirely specialized to mark the subjunctive. Numerous different types of constituents may be intercalated between *neca* and the verb (clitics, adverbs, DPs).

(30)   a.   *neca*   <u>*damareţa*</u>   *vire.* (TC 14)
                 NECA.SUBJ   morning   come.SUBJ.3SG
                 'He should come in the morning'
         b.   *Ziţe*   *neca-s*   <u>*ţevå*</u>   *cumpare.* (SI 32)
                 say.PRES.3SG NECA.SUBJ=CL.3SG   something   buy.SUBJ.3SG
                 'He says to buy something'
         c.   *Neca-<u>l'</u>*   <u>*Domnu pecåtele*</u> *oprostę.* (SI 35)
                 NECA.SUBJ=CL.DAT.3SG   God.DEF sins.DEF forgive.SUBJ.3SG
                 'May God forgive their sins'
         d.   *Io*   *nu*   *voi*   *neca*
                 I   NEG   want.PRES.1SG   NECA.SUBJ
                 <u>*înr-a*</u>   <u>*vostra   roba*</u>   *moru.* (TC 132)
                 in=A.FSG   your.F   coat.DEF die.SUBJ.1SG
                 'I don't want to die in your clothes'

The same text provides both word orders for the same construction, namely without separation from the verb (31a) and with separation (31b):

(31)   a.   *Rogę*   *neca-l*   *neputę*   *ţevå.*
                 ask.PRES.3SG   NECA.SUBJ=CL.ACC.3SG   suggest.PRES.3SG something
                 'He asks him to suggest something to him' (SI 34)
         b.   *Rogę*   *neca-l*   *ţevå*   *neputę.* (SI 35)
                 ask.PRES.3SG   NECA.SUBJ=CL.ACC.3SG   something suggest.PS.3SG
                 'He asks him to suggest something to him'

6. CONCLUSIONS

In Istro-Romanian, the subjunctive has dedicated inflexional forms only for the verb *fi* 'be'. Istro-Romanian clearly developed a dedicated subjunctive marker, similar to the other historical dialects of Romanian, also following a Balkan pattern.

Despite the fact that modal and aspectual verbs seem incompatible with the subjunctive, the corpus showed isolated examples where the subjunctive was used after such verbs.

Of verbs that select a subjunctive, the corpus showed that it is mostly selected by *zice* 'tell/say', *rugå* 'ask/request'.

From the distinction between the non-modal indicative and the subjunctive, I believe that in Istro-Romanian the subjunctive is present especially in contexts where it truly shows modality, namely in independent sentences, but also in embedded clauses, especially after *verba dicendi* in reported speech (when and order, etc., is being reported) or in purpose adjuncts.

To answer the question whether *neca* is a connector or a marker of the subjunctive, my claim is that it cannot be considered exclusively a subjunctive marker. It has come to compete with the subjunctive marker *să*, but it has also retained other values, occurring with future or conditional forms. Unlike the grammaticalization of *să* as a subjunctive marker in Romanian, Istro-Romanian *neca* has not been completely grammaticalized (as witness the fact that several constituents can be intercalated between *neca* and the verb). Likewise, unlike the situation in Istro-Romanian, in Romanian the coordination of two IPs under a common head *să* is excluded, since both verbs require the marker *să*.

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